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FROM BEING A DAUGHTER TO BEING A MOTHER:
INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF MOTHERING AND
WOMANHOOD WITHIN TURKISH-JEWISH FAMILIES

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KIZ ÇOCUĞU OLMAKTAN, ANNE OLMAYA:
ÜÇ KUŞAK TÜRK-YAHUDİ KADINLARIN, KUŞAKLAR ARASI ANNELİK VE
KADINLIK AKTARIMI

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ABSTRACT

In this study, the transmission of womanhood from grandmothers to daughters and granddaughters, and the effects of mothering among Turkish Jewish women, is studied.

Five families were selected consisting of three generations of women: grandmothers, their daughters and granddaughters who were born and have been living in İstanbul. Semi-structured interviews were held with these middle class families and all interviews took about an hour. The data analysis of the interviews revealed five major themes: Being A Jewish Woman, Being A Jewish Mother, Mother Daughter Relationship, Intergenerational Change and The Importance of Maintaining Traditions. The findings are discussed in the context of the existing literature and limitations of this study and recommendations for future research are presented.

Keywords: Intergenerational Transmission, Transmission of Values, Jewish Mothering, Sephardic Jews, Womanhood, and Mothering

ÖZET

Bu çalışmada, Türk Yahudi kadınların, çocukları ve torunları üzerindeki kadınlık ve annelik aktarımlarının etkisi araştırıldı. Görüşülen beş aile de İstanbul'da yaşayan Yahudi, anneanne, anne ve kız torundan oluşturuldu. Orta düzey ekonomik seviyesi olan beş aileyle yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirildi. Ardından veriler, Yorumla Dayalı Fenomenolojik Analiz kullanılarak analiz edildi. Yapılan veri analizinde öne çıkan temalar Yahudi Kadın Olmak, Yahudi Anne Olmak, Anne-kız İlişkisi, Kuşaklararası Değişimler ve Geleneklerin Devamlılığının Önemi olarak belirlendi. Bulgular literatür kapsamında tartışılmakta, araştırmanın sınırları ve gelecek çalışmalar için öneriler paylaşıldı.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kuşaklararası Aktarım, Değerlerin Aktarımı, Yahudi Anne Olmak, Sefarad Yahudileri, Kadınlık ve Annelik

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, the motherhood and the womanhood of Turkish Jewish women is examined from an intergenerational perspective. The analysis pertains to three generations of women from each family as, grandmother, mother and daughter/granddaughter who are Turkish and Jewish by religion. The relationships between, transmissions among and characteristics of these women are examined via in-depth interviews. Through this method, comparisons of their womanhood, motherhood and beliefs are made between three generations of women. The interviews aim to look for the history of the families by creating genograms, by exploring the cultural norms and by analyzing women's development from childhood to womanhood and to motherhood.

1.1 CONCEPTUALIZATION OF FAMILY

Every single family creates their unique definition and meaning to the concept of family. Being a family contains, some positive and negative sides within. The positive side embraces the unconditional love, nurturance, support, sharing, teaching, care and affection while the negative side covers the discipline, transmitted fears and pressures, negligence, loneliness and intolerance.

All these aspects of being a family have vital roles in shaping an individual's first relationship with others. Unlike most other species, human beings are dependent on their parents for years before they begin handling life by themselves. Furthermore, people are likely to learn all their basic skills and they begin creating their perspective of life by getting influenced from their family of origin. Reyes (2002) noted, "Our children are distinct products of our beliefs and the way we act. We also forge new pathways for the next generation. Just as, early in their development, children can learn prejudices from those who interact with them every day, they can also learn tolerance and can grow to appreciate difference" (p.4). The nuclear family's role is huge on raising up of a child, since they and the ones they let their child get close to, have important impact on what kind of a human being that kid will become. Being a parent requires accepting

being the one who constructs the identity of a human being while parenting (Cowan, Cowan, & Kerig, 1993)

1.2 INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION

Intergenerational transmission is defined as willingly or unwillingly influencing the younger generation's values (Ijzendoorn, 1992). Intergenerational transmission of parenting is the process through which the older generation, either intentionally or unintentionally, psychologically shapes the parenting behaviors and attitudes of the younger generation (Ijzendoorn 1992). The values of mothers or grandmothers are internalized by the younger generations, mostly unintentionally. Since children mainly learn from experience, the experiences acquired within the household provide a map of behaviors, thoughts and beliefs for the child. Just as a baby learns how to laugh by imitating the mimics of a parent, he/she also learns what to think, what to value or how to behave by observing and imitating the parents. Therefore, Quinton (1988) argues that the transmission of parenting from mother to child is based on more than one learning style (Ijzendoorn 1992).

The similarity between children and parents' value systems reveals the strength of this transmission, indicating that parents do in fact intentionally or unintentionally influence their children (Acock & Bengtson, 1987; Copen & Silverstein, 2008; Miller & Glass, 1989; Vollebergh, Iedema & Raaijmakers, 2001). While some research suggests that this influence is intentional, other studies demonstrate that, the closeness of family members makes it an automatic, unintentional process. There is evidence demonstrating that the better the familial relationship is, the stronger the transmission gets (Bengtson, Biblarz & Roberts, 2002; Pearce & Axinn, 1998; Tarvis 2000).

1.2.1 Transmission of Values

The term 'values' is used in the literature in many different ways. While it conveys the meaning of "standards, ideals and goals" for some, it embodies "the social attitudes and belief systems" for some others (Min, Silverstein & Lendon,

2012). According to Schwartz (1992) values are important because they guide a person about the rules on the path of life. Rokeach (1973) explained values, as desired goals which are relatively independent of a specific social context and which become guiding principles in an individual's life.

Within the scope of this study, the term “values” is conceptualized as the belief system, the norms and principles of life, influenced by the religion of Judaism and influencing the behaviors of individuals. The belief systems and values have their roots within the family of origin, and are easily transmitted to younger generations; the importance of family in the building up of religious beliefs, values and the identity formation of children is inarguable (Bengtson, Copen, Putney, & Silverstein, 2009; Glass, Bengtson & Dunham, , 1986; Myers, 1996, 2004). Transmission of these values also facilitates the preservation of culture and the functioning of society (Fuligni & Zhang, 2004). Children, who have similar values with their parents, live similar lives and they take heed of similar aspects of culture and religion. For example, a child who gives importance to Jewish Holidays has probably grown in a house where such holidays were cherished and celebrated; thus it is expected that this child continues this traditional practice. It is mainly about ‘experiencing’, the child forms up an experience towards a specific value based on the parents’ perspective during socialization, which points to the fact that children internalize specific values mostly in an unintentional way (Roest, Gerris & Dubas, 2009).

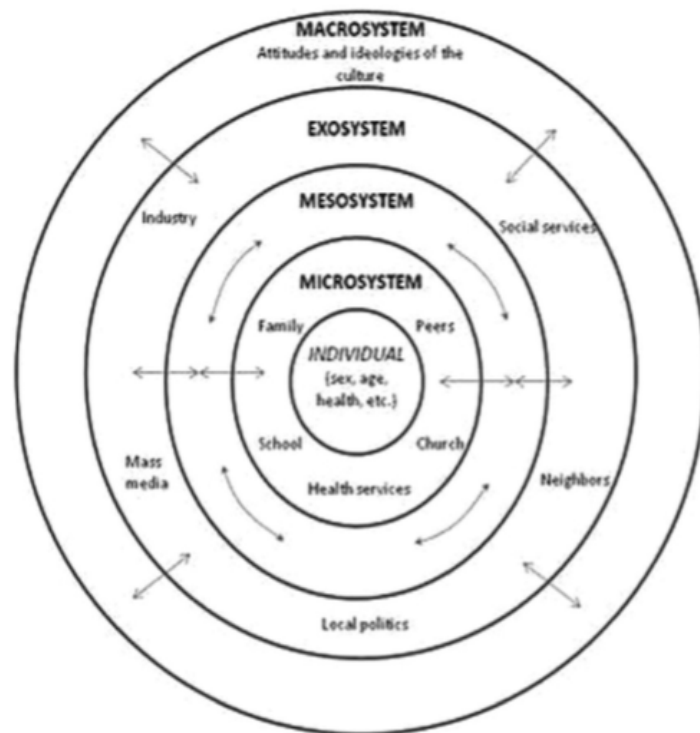
1.3 BRONFENBRENNER’S ECOLOGICAL VIEW

Bronfenbrenner's (1977) well-known theory, getting attention since 1980s in social sciences, basically explains the influence of different layers of environmental systems on human development. Bronfenbrenner claimed that every interaction is two sided, and all participants have impact on this interaction. According to this theory, understanding culture requires considering communities, individuals and their daily actions. In order to gain a deeper understanding of his perspective, the concept of nested environments, which is related to different

relational layers shaping an individual's identity and interactions, should be considered.

In Bronfenbrenner's ecological view, the individual is exposed to five different layers of environment. These are the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem. According to this view, the environment one lives in is the arrangement of those nested sub-structures, each of which includes the next. These layers will be explained in detail in order to take a deeper look at the intergenerational transmission of values.

Figure 1: *The Second Version of the Ecological Theory, Which Bronfenbrenner Applied in 1977*



(Oppenheimer & Agosto, 2017)

The Microsystem: Microsystem is individual's closest environment such as school, home, working area, and playground and the individual's very relation with this environment (Berk, 2000). The important feature of the microsystem, the

individual, is in a direct and frequent contact with those environments. Within the microsystem individual exists with differing roles such as the student, daughter and workingwoman. There are three dimensions of this layer, the role of others in individual's life, the relationships and the activities the individual engages with others, and the social meanings of these activities (Oppenheimer & Agosto, 2017).

The Mesosystem: This main feature of this layer is that it defines the relationships between microsystems (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). This relationship has a lot of impact on the value transmission process from parents to child. When there is agreement among parents' attitudes towards the child, the possibility of transmission of values increase (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981).

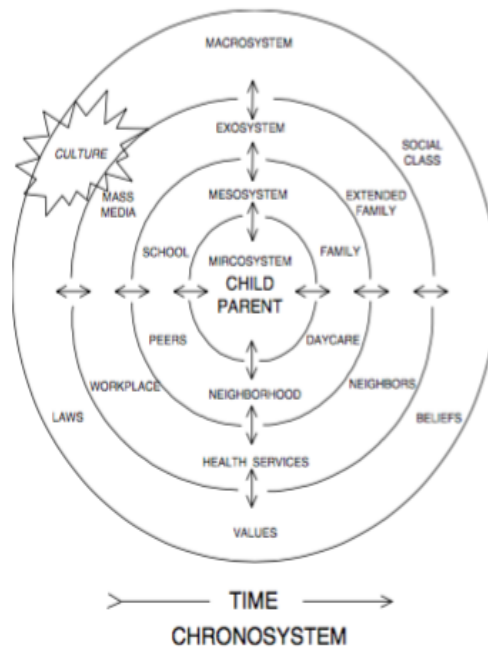
The Exosystem: As an extension of the mesosystem, exosystem includes the microsystems that the individual is involved in. It is the sum total of different settings that the individual is not in direct but indirect contact, or has knowledge about, received through transmission. The parents' education level or their social class can be examples of this layer (Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986). The more educated a parent is the more he/she lets his/her children have autonomy and, such parents are likely to not expect full obedience (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007).

The Macrosystem: This is the outer system, in which all the other systems are embedded. It can be explained as culture in total, which includes beliefs, values, religion, social class and traditions. The macrosystem has influence on the development of the other systems and helps the individual know what to expect from the future. The participants in this research are a part of the macrosystem of collectivist Turkish culture embedded in the traditional Sephardic Judaism.

The Chronosystem: In 1986, Bronfenbrenner linked this last system, which shows how the individual's social and developmental changes are parallel with and influenced from the changes in the environment (Akyıl, 2012).

Urbanization and industrialization in Turkey opened way to many developments, which led to changes in chronosystem, as observed in the interviews of the first and the third generation participant.

Figure 1.2 *The Contextual Ecological View of Development*



(Oppenheimer & Agosto, 2017)

1.4 GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TURKISH FAMILIES

Besides being a bridge geographically, Turkey is also a cultural bridge binding different ethnic groups since the Ottoman Empire's Era. Turkey has strong connections with both the West and the East, which in return create a harmony influencing Turkish population (Sunar, 2005). In spite of the harmony seen for years, the socio-economic developments and urbanization resulted in different conflicts for Turkish families, besides leading to differentiation of values (Baştuğ, 2002, as cited in Sunar, 2005). The rapid development of technology, urbanization, the accessibility of social media and increased exposure to Western ways widened the gap between generations. Even though the protection of shared

values limit the gap between the first and second generations, the gap between the second and third generations keeps expanding. The expectations and practices of first and second generations are labeled as unrealistic and unnecessary by the third generations.

The values in the predominantly patriarchal Turkish society revolve mainly around the authority of elders and the respectfulness of youngsters (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1970, 1966; Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992). Women in the society are expected to have a more respecting and obedient attitude. The importance of patriarchy and the gender role differences are underlined in the literature. Sakallı (2001) pointed to “ a clear-cut gender role difference”, while Ataca, Sunar and Kağıtçıbaşı (1994) claimed that parents in Turkey raise their daughters to be more obedient and dependent, however, when it comes to sons, they give importance to independence and aggressiveness, qualities regarded as needed to manage the real world outside home.) Many sociologists and psychologists have found that his top level in the family hierarchy, grants the father to be the "ruler" in the families in Turkish society. Men have more authority than women and women, compared to men, have less power (Fişek, 1982, 1993; Kagitcibasi, 1982; Kandiyoti, 1988; Sunar, 2002). The notions of dependence and independence have important meanings for Turkish families. While parents want to raise independent and self-sufficient children, the way they raise them render the children dependent on their parents (Ataca, 1992; Basaran, 1974).

According to the literature, the Turkish family hierarchy places the father at the top, then the mother and the children based on age and gender (Fişek, 1993, 1995). However, it is believed that, Jewish women have more right to speak and are more valued compared to women from other cultural groups in Turkey. For understanding the structure, values and traditions of a Jewish family, detailed information is provided below. On the other hand according to the Japanese culture it is pretty similar with the Turkish family order, the man of the house is accepted as the most respectful one in the family. Respect and obedience is crucial within Japanese families, no matter the age from younger to the older, from

children to parents and from women to her husband, respect must be shown. (Tanaka & Kikumura, 1981)

The Turkish family is patriarchal and the father of the house creates the rules, there are some cases that work the opposite. Women have a silent obedience over the rules of the house and the children. (Özensel, 2004). In a typical Turkish family, woman makes a decision and afterwards she gets her husband's blessing in order to tell the child, since the father figure is equal to authority, which was referred as the silent obedience. The family has a lot of rights over the child's life, such as his/her education, who he/she'll be married to and where he/she will be living in future. According to the literature, the decision making power of the families about who their children will get married is high (%52). (Sertelin, 2003) Also the 'unity' issue is both an advantage for the Turkish families and a disadvantage. Being united is making the participants of a family feel strong and not alone. On the other hand, it is a threat to the other relationship with the outer world. Since an individual is really close to his/her family, there might be no space for another person. (Yapıcı, 2010)

1.4.1 Collectivism and Turkey

Collectivism, being an important notion to evaluate the structure of Turkish society, is basically prioritizing the group over the individual, favoring social benefit instead of individual profit. Being a part of a collectivist society makes the participants bond with the others from the heart. This group can be the family, the working environment, the religious community or the national group of the individual. The individual in collectivistic societies prioritizes the goals he has for his community besides always remaining connected to his group. On the other hand, in individualistic societies, the benefit of the individual has higher priority over common benefit and individuality is given greater importance.

According to research of Hofstede (1980) Turkey was rated as a collectivist culture and Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) described the Turkish society as "culture of relatedness". Göregenli (1995) found both individualistic and

collectivistic tendencies co-existing among the university students According to elder researchers Turkish society was accepted in the collectivist spectrum, later studies indicated that Turkish culture has both individualistic and collectivistic values (Sunar, 2002). Although the concept of freedom and individuality are important especially for the third generation members of Turkish families today, respect for the elders, obedience and honor in the meaning of ‘namus’ are still underlying notions for Turkish society. Therefore, in this study, Turkish society is accepted as a collectivistic one.

Collectivism is influential on parent-child relationship and also on the whole family dynamics (Akyıl, 2012). A mother living in a collectivist culture may impact her children and may transfer her own beliefs to them in order to support their survival in the community. If a child doesn’t know the importance of the community, eventually she/he might be isolated and alienated. Youniss (1994), referring to the rise of autonomy within collectivistic cultures as Turkey, demonstrated it as resulting from the parents’ emerging awareness towards the demands of today’s world, and their need to prepare their children to adapt to it.

1.4.2 History of Sephardic Jewish Families

There are two different roots of Jewish society living in Turkey; these are the Sephardic Jews who are from, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Greece and the Ashkenazis who are from Germany, France and Eastern Europe. The roots of the word Ashkenazi came from Germany in Hebrew and the Sephardi comes from Spain in Hebrew. There are some differences between these groups. One of the differences is that while the Sephardic Turkish Jews speak ‘Ladino’ as a second language, the Ashkenazi’s speak ‘Yiddish’ which is a language closer to German. Another difference is the eating culture. The cuisines of these two different origins have some differences reasoned by their different histories. Ashkenazi Jews use a lot of sweet herbs and flavors while cooking a meal, which Sephardic Jews don’t. Another important difference with the cuisine appears during the

Passover. While members of the Sephardic Jewish community do not eat rice or any kind of legumes, Ashkenazi Jews cook them.. Ashkenazis were not allowed to have education for a while and after the World War 2 they tried hard to close the gap, learn more than religious knowledge. And after that phase of their history ‘education’ became something that they cared the most about. Meanwhile Sephardic Jews didn’t have a restriction about their education in the countries where they were living, and so education never became something that valuable. While Ashkenazi’s name their new born children after some family member who have passed away in order to continue his/her name, Sephardic Jews prefer to name their new born after their living or passed away mother or father name in order to honor them. There are some religion-based differences as well. Since the participants were all Turkish Sephardic Jews the chapter will mainly be about the history of Sephardic Jews.

Queen Isabella and King Ferdinand expelled Jewish community from Spain in 1492 with the aim of recreating Spain as a ‘Catholic Kingdom’ where only the Jews accepting to be converted to Christianity were allowed to stay. Very few decided to convert and stay, even after a very strict monitoring period began for them. During that era, Sultan Beyazid the Second of Ottoman Empire accepted the Jews within the territory letting them to continue their religion. Sending his navy ships to Spain he helped one hundred fifty thousand Jews to be brought into the Ottoman borders. These Jews named themselves ‘Sephardic’ which means ‘Spain’ in Hebrew. The present study is conducted with five Sephardic Turkish Jewish families.

Jews have been living mostly in Istanbul, Edirne, Selanik and İzmir from the sixteenth century onwards. During 19th century there were 150000 Jews living in Ottoman Empire. After the Turkish Republic was established, this number decreased almost by half (Hayim, 2009). When the State of Israel was declared, many Jewish families migrated and began to live in the ‘‘Holy Land’’, especially in the first half of the twentieth century (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2003).

The first generation of Sephardic Jews still speak the language from their past ‘Judeo-Española’ (Jewish-Spanish, Ladino), however, it’s fading away from

generation to generation. All the first generations of this study speak 'Ladino', most of the second generations understand it and some can speak, but the third generations only understand some words. In 1928, a campaign named "Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş" which means "Speak Turkish Citizens" has begun in Turkey to make sure all the minorities know and speak Turkish properly. Even though there was a good purpose, the Jewish community was offended and refrained from speaking Ladino or Yiddish (the language Ashkenazi Jewish community in Turkey used to speak) outside the home.. The Jews decided not to teach Ladino to their kids and didn't let them speak languages other than Turkish in public.

1.4.3 General Characteristics of Turkish Jewish Families

Turkish culture has a modernist attitude although various traditions and values are still protected. Even though having an oriental structure, the multi-ethnic and multi-religious system the Ottoman Empire was built upon, enabled Jews to be a part of the community without losing their religious identities. Besides being a religion, Judaism also conveys an ethnic part within (Neuberger, 1995 cited in Sinclair & Milner, 2005). Therefore, Jewish community is defined as a "Religio-Ethnic" group (Sinclair & Milner, 2005, as cited in Hayim, 2009).

Jewish community is a minority group in a predominantly Muslim populated Turkey (Yaman, 2013). Since the Sephardic Jews migrated from Spain to Ottoman Empire and the country that their religion comes from is Israel, they are living in Diaspora. The 'diaspora religion' was defined in the literature as "the religion of some people who live away from their land of religion or away from their old country" (Hinnels, 1997) The theme of Jews living in Diaspora and being a minority in Turkey has been processed many times within the literature and the theme 'being a Turk' was mentioned more than once. Since the 'Turk' concept was equivalent with being Muslim according to the Turkish community, the Jewish-Turkish community was affected from the understanding of the 'Turk' as they were not a part of it. Toktaş (2005) who made a research about 'the conduct of the citizenship with Jews in Turkey as a minority group' noted that the

first generation participants believe that being a Turkish citizen is more about having legal duties and responsibilities,. While the third generations believe being a citizen of Turkey should be about the unity and being a part of something bigger than us while the government embraces their citizens.

In the same study, a Jewish Turkish citizen who was a first generation participant mentioned that since Jews in Turkey refused to be accepted as minority, Turkish Jewish community doesn't have the minority status while Armenians and Greeks accepted the status. (Toktaş, 2006) The participants also mentioned that some of the obstacles that they have gone through was due to being non-Muslim Turkish citizens. For instance, one of the male participants mentioned that he would like to work with the Foreign Ministry but since he belonged to a minority, he knew there was a non-written decision about national security that non-Muslims were never accepted, even though there is no such written law.

One other finding of this study was that ,the third generations defined themselves as Turkish citizens and that Judaism is only a religion to them, which brings some culture but still doesn't mean a lot. But the second and third generations accept Judaism as a nation and something bigger than just a religion but a lifestyle. Still, the generous and embracing attitude of the Ottoman Empire towards different cultural groups prevented Jewish individuals from feeling as outsiders or minority most of the time. There were some rights taken away from the Jews such as in 1928 'Citizen, Speak Turkish!' campaign which disseminated enormously quick in order to make Ladino, Armenian and Greek languages fade away, since the Turkish language was the sign of loyalty to the republic. On the other hand, Ottomans had many negotiations before opening some synagogues and letting Jews live as they wanted..

Keeping the traditions preserved and practicing the rituals are of primary importance for the Jews. Having male babies circumcised on the eighth day of their life and celebrating the 13th birthday of a boy and accepting him into the

community as a responsible man, are examples of traditional practices which nurture the sense of belongingness in the Jewish community. An important fact about Sephardic Jewish community is their great emphasis on marriage and raising children properly according to Jewish rules (Rosen & Weltman, 1996). Within the Jewish families, the father has the authority over the family. For example, according to Tanah, fathers pick the women their son is going to marry. Since the daughter-in law will be an extension of the family, the father of the family has the right to choose (Çinpolat, 2017). According to Judaism, if a men and women are involved, they have to get married and have children (Washofsky, 2001). According to the Orthodox Jewish community, the use of birth control is not allowed since it means wasting the chance to have a son. There is pressure on the young adults for finding an adequate Jewish spouse and to get married so they can have children to enable their roots to continue. Since the children are accepted as extensions of their parents and the community, having children is a very important requirement of Judaism (Hayim, 2009).

The theme of intermarriage is a difficult decision to make, since the issue of raising Jewish children is very important for Jews (Çinpolat, 2017). In the past, paganism was forbidden to Jews, and being in connection with pagans was also prohibited. This ancient knowledge, being transmitted across generations, used to define the attitude of Jewish people to intermarriage. Today if a Jewish man decides to get married with a non-Jewish woman, during the marriage ceremony, the bride has to promise to Rabbi that she'll raise her kids being loyal to Jewish laws (Gürkan, 2012).

Since the religion passes from the mother to child, Jewish women have a lot of responsibilities, such as teaching the religion, values and traditions (Davey, Fish & Robila, 2001). This demonstrates the mother's great role in terms of the socializing of her children in terms of tradition and religion. A similar situation is observed in Christian community with mothers overseeing their children's relation with religious practices, and fathers influencing them for joining the Church (Clark, Worthington, and Danser, 1988).

The Turkish Jewish families can be considered as less hierarchical and more democratic when compared to non-Jewish Turkish families. The children are always allowed to speak and to express their thoughts and feelings. Also a loving and nurturing family environment is a very important requirement for a Jewish family no matter how difficult life situations are. Since Judaism is accepted as a Religio-Ethnic group, the patterns of relations and traditions of both parents are influential on children. In the study conducted by Davey and her colleagues (2001) among 48 Jewish-American families, the themes that emerged included “gendered decisions, negotiating continuity, family of origin, survivors, active learning, traditions and cultural religion”. Because the continuity of traditional values, or family heritage is fundamental for Judaism, the parents are given great responsibility and importance regarding education of their kids (Davey et. al., 2001).

1.4.4 Collectivism and Judaism

Judaism is a collectivistic religion. The traditions, holidays and the rules of Judaism insist on respecting the elderly, educating young ones wisely and celebrating all the holidays together as a family. The whole tradition of Judaism is transmitted from parents to children, and Knafo and Schwartz (2001) argue that collectivistic values are more often transmitted than individualistic ones.

When we take the history into consideration, one of the main reasons why Sephardic Jews easily got along when they moved to Ottoman Empire, was the similarity of the family structures. The lifestyle of Jews did not bother or wasn't peculiar to Ottomans at all. This similarity created an affinity between Sephardic Jewish people and the Ottomans. Collectivist societies create powerful bonds between the members of the group, so that all individuals in a collectivist society favor the whole group instead of themselves, keeping the society harmonious (Hui & Triandis, 1986).

1.5 MOTHERHOOD

Since the individuals adapt themselves to life through ‘social learning’ and ‘imitating’ the behaviors of others, the motherhood and the womanhood of a parent or a grandparent impacts a young woman’s motherhood and womanhood.

In an ordinary Turkish-Jewish Family the mother is the one who spends most time with children compared to the father or other individuals in the house. That is why their mothers ‘instead of the fathers’ mostly influence the children’s belief system and behaviors. This basically explains why Judaism indoctrinates the mother to introduce their children to the beliefs, values and practices of religion. The stereotypic Jewish mother is described as loving, nurturing and making reimbursable sacrifices for her kids. (Rosen and Weltman,1996). However the changing family dynamics in modern life, bring forward the fathers’ role on children’s’ education, which necessitates the scholars to pay more attention to father’s changing position at home towards children (Daniel, Madigan & Jenkins, 2016). In order to raise a good person, the mother of the child has a lot of responsibilities. This responsibility can be accepted worldwide. In Japanese culture conveying love is equivalent to conveying values and to the character formation of the child. The main target is to raise up a good person. A person who becomes to be good in his adult life, must have received love from his family. (Tanaka&Kikumura, 1981). A Jewish mother’s main aim can be accepted similar, to raise a nice, respectful, polite children who can stand up his/her own feet’s eventually.

1.6 CONCEPTS OF JUDAISM

Judaism is not only a religion, but at the same time it is an ethnicity. Even if a Jew is not an orthodox, he or she still might regard himself or herself as Jewish. A man may still celebrate Holidays without being religious, but the traditions acquired from the family remain as a life-style.

1.6.1 Importance of Traditions

Holidays, Friday night dinners, Bar Mitzvah, Brit Mila are all traditions that are mandatory in Judaism, but even the least religious person is devoted to keep those traditions and to teach them to their children.

Judaism is a religion of traditions. Jewish families are run by traditions even if the family is not religious. The holidays and the rituals provide a unique way of living for all Jewish families automatically. The wedding dates are planned according to these holidays. So if a Jewish couple decides to get married, first they have to check the permitted months to get a date from the Synagogue. Also if a Jewish family expects a boy, they know that if everything goes right and the kid is healthily born, he will have his “Brit Mila” (circumcision) on the eighth day according to the agreement of Jews with God. There are many more lifetime traditions that offer a way of living to Jewish community. The religious beliefs and values are related to the family history, and so therefore, the parents are the influencers of the identity and of the religious practice (Bengtson, Copen, Putney & Silverstein, 2009; Glass et al., 1986; Myers, 1996, 2004).

1.6.2 Jewish Holidays

Holidays are the practices gathering Jewish family together and making the extended family a core unit. The Jewish Holidays are the most important aspect of Judaism. The main idea of every Holiday is to “remember the past”, to “be thankful for today” and to “hope for the future”. In these holidays, Jewish families gather around a table to have a feast and share the experience as all together. They pray to remember the reasons bringing them together, to recall the meaning and the message of the holiday.

1.6.3 Shabbat

According to Torah, Saturday, 7th day of the week, which starts on Sunday, is determined as an absolute day of job dismissal and is called "Shabbat". It is a day, when a Jewish person has to pause all his professional work, has to

read and learn Torah, has to refrain from all material concerns such as earning money, and to strengthen his spiritual life. Any activity necessitating physical strength is prohibited on Shabbat. The only work one can do on Shabbat is to learn more from Torah, to communicate with God, and to remember the spiritual side of being human. The Shabbat, like all other Holidays of Judaism, begins with the sunset on Friday night, till the sunset on Saturday night.

Shabbat is a weekly tradition but is still very important to all families. All family members must get dressed neat and tidy. They set a table as if expecting a very important guest, which is Shabbat itself. The family gathers together on Friday night to have dinner and to celebrate. It's one of the most practiced traditions in Jewish families.

There has to be two Challah Breads specially baked for the Shabbat and a Kiddush wine, which has to be Kosher for the prayers of Shabbat. The reason of the Challah bread goes back to the time 'Children of Israel' were sent from Egypt, and when they were nourished by the 'manna' that God sent them. The amount God gave them was enough for a day, but on the sixth day, which was Friday (Shabbat) the amount was twice as much, so that they had enough for Friday and Saturday. The two breads on the table is for the Jewish to commemorate these days.

Wine is a traditional piece of every Jewish holiday taking its place on the dinner table, as a symbol of peace and joy. The eldest man of the family performs the Kiddush prayer with the glass of wine in his hand. All the participants of the family take a sip from the wine. There are two different orders about the wine drinking. Some families pass the wine beginning from the youngest man to the oldest man and then when the men finish, from the youngest women to the oldest one. Some men prefer to give the second sip to the wife of the house to honor her for preparing for Shabbat and then the second oldest man in the room and the same order goes on.

If a second eye watches a Shabbat dinner, he can think of a feast, various food on the table, the "Shalom Aleichem" song the whole family sings together before the Kiddush and the very atmosphere of the dinner can remind anyone a

celebration. While men prepare for Shabbat by going to the Synagogue to pray, the women have other responsibilities. They have to prepare the table, the food and the kids properly for the Shabbat night. And before the sun goes down, the woman and the daughter of the house light two candles.

1.6.4 Passover

Passover (in Hebrew, Pesach) is a Jewish holiday to remember the exodus of the Jewish slavery from Egypt. Since the Jewish community had to run away from Egypt, their food didn't have the time to ferment. For the commemoration of those days, the Jewish families eat non-fermented food during the Passover, which is 7 days in Israel and 8 days in diaspora.

Passover has a very long preparation process. The women have to clean all the bread and fermented food from the household, which is known as 'chmetz'. The Passover dishes are mostly separated in the Jewish houses and they are only used from Passover to Passover. The community eats only kosher food during Passover even if they don't keep kosher in their daily lives. There are two main symbols of Passover, the Seder and the Haggadah. Seder means 'order' and it is the Passover dinner for two nights in diaspora. Seder has some important elements and these elements are the symbols of the exodus from Egypt.

The Haggadah is the book that whole family reads together before starting the dinner, and is the story of Passover in detail. During the Haggadah there are some traditions like, the youngest girl of the family pours water while the oldest male relative washes his hands. Also, all food on the Seder have different meanings such as the matzah or matzo symbolizes both "freedom and the slavery"; maror, which is bitter herbs, done by using horseradish root or a bitter lettuce, symbolizes the painful events experienced by the Jewish ancestors in the past; the charoset is a mixture of fruits, honey, nuts, spices and wine that symbolizes the bricks Israelis made during the slavery; zeroa, the burned lamb bone symbolizing the korbans (sacrificed animals) at the Beit Hamikdash; and the Karpas which is a leaf of celery symbolizing the tears of the ancestors.

The purpose of the Haggadah is to remember, and also to teach the children of the family, the history of Judaism. That is why Haggadah includes four different types of children within. These are the wise son, the rebellious son, the simple son and the son who doesn't know to ask. After reading it all together, the children of the house begin a conversation about the stories to learn them better.

METHOD

2.1 PARTICIPANTS

15 participants (grandmother, mother, daughter) from 5 different families volunteered to join the study. Convenience sampling method was used through word of mouth. While preparing for the interviews, the researcher asked the family and friends if they know families who fulfill the criteria for joining the study. Meanwhile some grandmothers in some families whom the researcher agreed to work with passed away or got sick and new participant families were found.

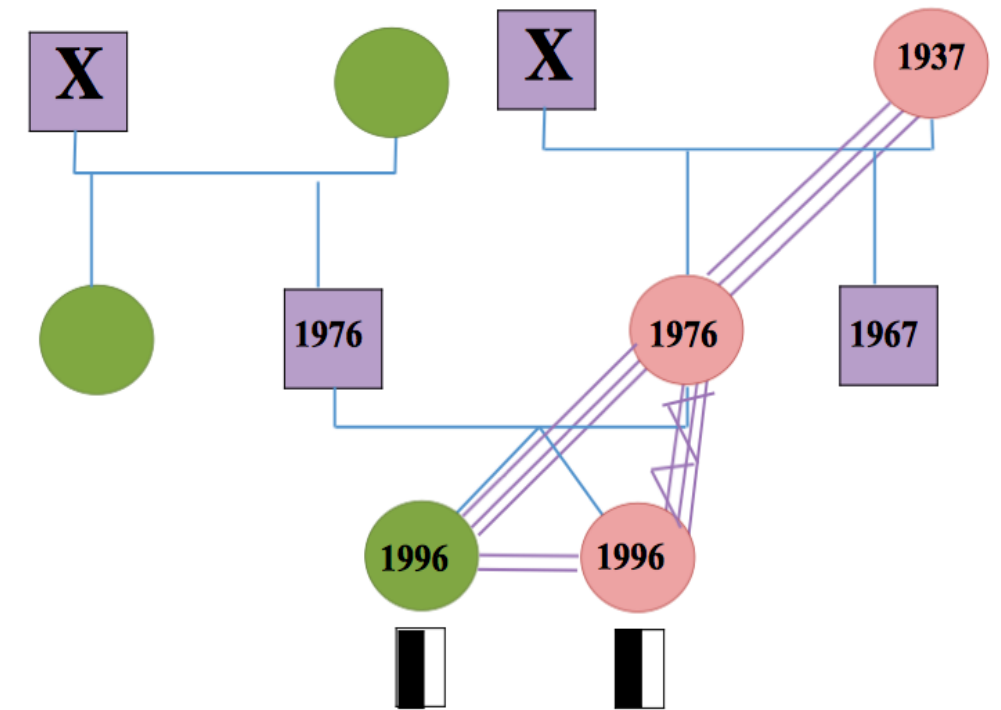
After the Ethics committee of İstanbul Bilgi University approved the proposal of the thesis, the researcher set the time and date of the meetings with the participants. All the participants knew before they met for the interview that the researcher would take recording of the meetings and would destroy them after the thesis was finished. The participants who hesitated or didn't want their voices to be recorded did not join the research. One of the inclusion criteria was to be able to join the interviews as a three-generation family, grandmother, daughter and granddaughter. The other was to be from Jewish – Turkish families and to be willing to talk about their relationships with the family. The genograms and demographic information's are presented below.

2.2 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PATIENTS AND THE FAMILY CLUSTERS

In this section, brief information about 15 participants and their family clusters are given. Family and generational numbers are used to prevent any confidentiality violation.

2.2.1 First Family (Family 1)

Figure 2: Genogram of First Family



2.2.1.1 First Generation (Family 1, Grandmother)

The participant was born in 1937 in Üsküdar. She has a son and a younger daughter. Her son has an older daughter and a younger son. Her daughter has twin daughters who are 22 years old. She is a grandmother of four. Her husband passed away in 2015, since then she lives by herself in the same house they grew their kids. She is an only child. Her father died while she was five. Her mother didn't have another child even though she remarried. She mentioned that she and her first cousin grew as sisters. She studied till middle school, and then helped her mother with the housework. She worked from age 17 to 19 as a secretary, until she got married. She explained her motherhood as 'devoted' and very into her kids.

2.2.1.2 Second Generation (Family 1, Mother)

The participant was born in 1969 in İstanbul. She was born into a house where she had an eight years older brother. Her mother was 32 years older than her, while her father was 40 years older. She studied in Robert College, and then

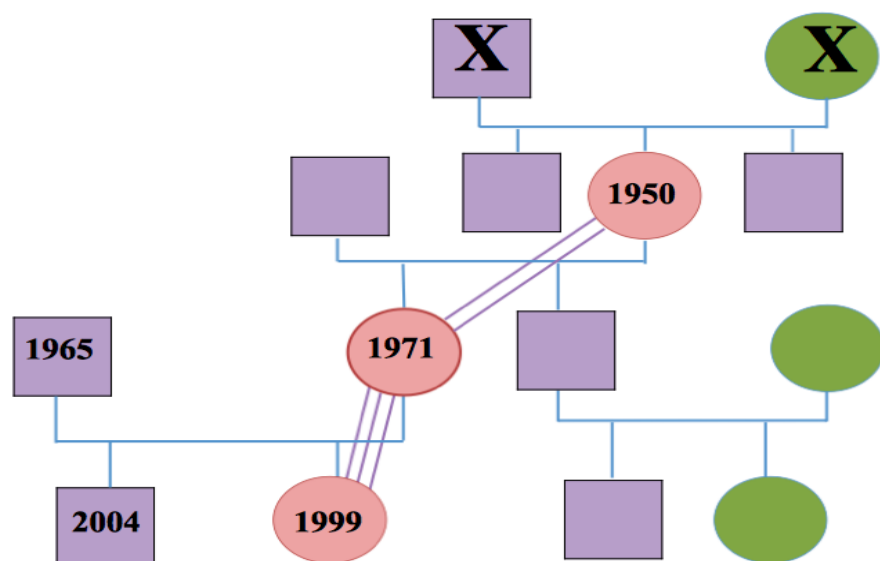
she became a dentist and had her doctoral degree. She has two twin daughters who are 22 years old. They are cerebral palsy patients; both are capable of all neurological activities except walking. She got engaged at 19 and got married at age 23. One of the most interesting things she said is that her parents never stayed separated in 59 years of marriage, not even for one night while she had to do that so many times especially in last 2 years, after moving to Miami from İstanbul.

2.2.1.3 Third Generation (Family 1, Daughter/Granddaughter)

The participant was born in 1996 in İstanbul. She has a twin sister. She studies 'Movie and Television' in Lynn University, Miami. She is a cerebral palsy patient moving with an electronic wheel chair. She studied until the end of high school in İstanbul, Ulus Jewish School. She is planning to work in the University for the first time this year. Her mother taught her the importance of being self-confident individual and to always go for areas where she is talented and makes her feel good. She believes that if her mother didn't raise her with this motto she wouldn't feel that self confident in her condition.

2.2.2 Second Family (Family 2)

Figure 3: Genogram of Second Family



2.2.2.1 First Generation (Family 2, Grandmother)

The participant was born in 1950 in Balat. She is married for almost 50 years. She has two brothers; one is one and a half years older than her while the second brother is 9 years older. She has a son and a younger daughter. Each of her children has an older daughter and a little boy, so she has four grandchildren. Her mother made a lot of sacrifices while she was raising her kids. The participant mentioned that she used to be upset about how devoted her mother was to her and to her brothers but now she has similar attitudes towards her own children.

2.2.2.2 Second Generation (Family 2, Mother)

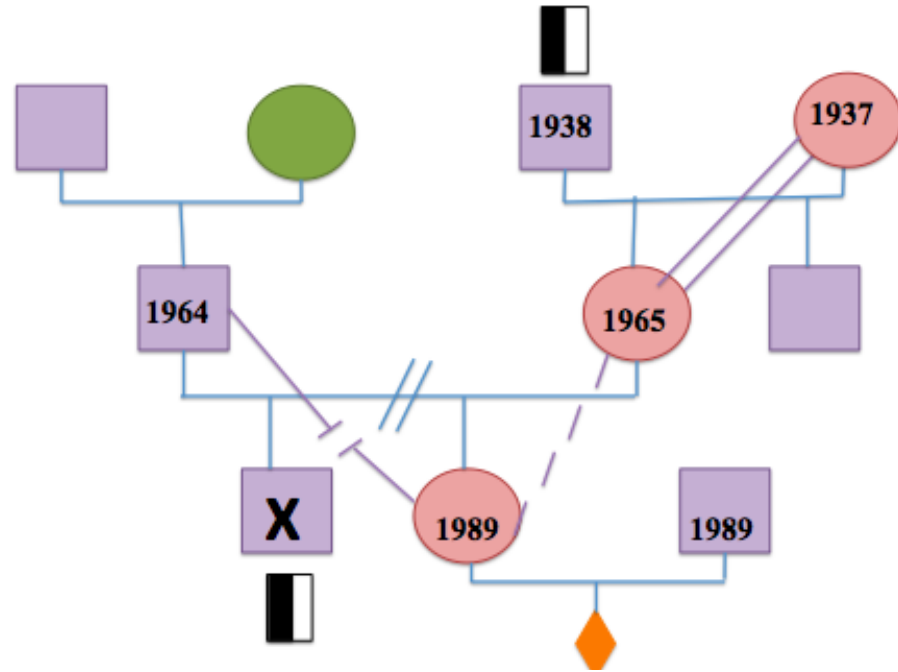
The participant was born in 1971 in İstanbul. She was born to a house where she had a brother who was only one year older than her. She explained that her parents never got along; she had to stay at her grandmother's house many times, because her parents were fighting. She also explained that her brother was a very responsible child, emotionally helping her mother while she was always using the advantage of being the 'younger child'. She didn't like to be a student, so instead of going to university she decided to work. She worked as 'executive secretary' in an international company after she got pregnant. She has a daughter who studies psychology in University of Amsterdam and a son who is still in high school.

2.2.2.3 Third Generation (Family 2, Daughter/Granddaughter)

The participant was born in 1999 in İstanbul. She has a 5 year younger brother. While she was explaining her family, she mentioned 'My parents are together' meaning that most of her friends' parents are divorced so she had to make sure that I know her parents are not. She graduated from high school, Ulus Jewish School, and then moved to Amsterdam to study psychology. She mentioned that it has been hard for the first couple of months; for she had to do everything by herself, while in Turkey her parents used to do everything for her.

2.2.3 Third Family (Family)

Figure 4: Genogram of Third Family



2.2.3.1 First Generation (Family 3, Grandmother)

The participant was born in Bursa. Her parents are also born in Bursa but after she was 1 years old they all moved to İstanbul. She has an older sister and they have four years of age difference. Her father was a shoemaker and her mother was a housewife. They had a dog. The dog was a guide to the mother who had some health issues. After her father had a stroke while she was a teenager, their life totally changed. Her sister got married with their first cousin. It was a love marriage. She, herself got married while she was 23, her husband is one year younger and they met at a disco while she was with her friends and cousins. After three months she got pregnant to a boy and three and a half years later to a girl. She never worked outside the house because according to her, it is not worth to leave the kids alone, but she sold some embroidery.

2.2.3.2 Second Generation (Family 3, Mother)

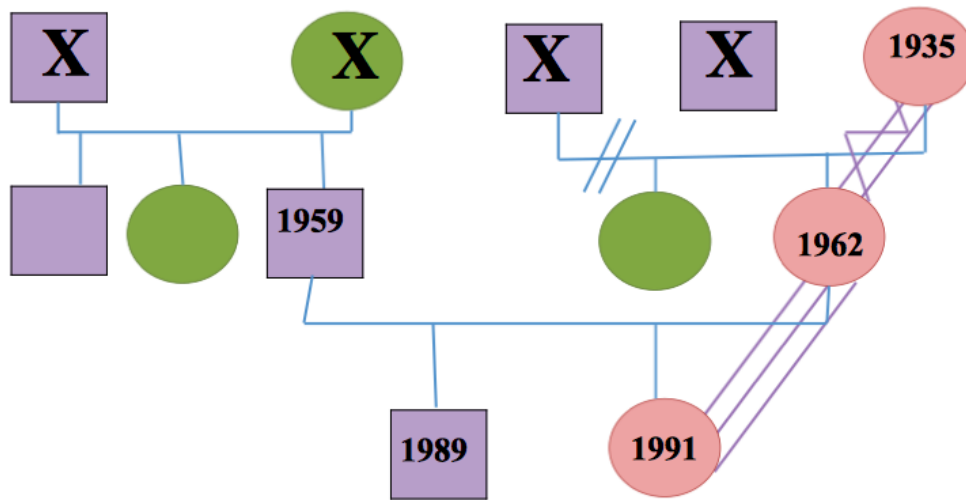
She was born in İstanbul, Şişli. Her father was born in İstanbul too and her mother was from Bursa. She has a three and a half year older brother. When she was three, her father had to run away from Turkey. They lived in İsrail for 10 years. Her brother wanted to stay there but her vote was for returning back to Turkey since she loved the times they spend in Büyükada, so they returned. Her mother is a very strong woman while her father is not defined as such. Her brother is a genius and he has a lot of power in the house, even today he is the one who controls the parents' finances. She also is a clever girl and she studied in university, and has been working all her life. She got married and had two kids, a girl and a boy. The two siblings have 6 years in between. Her son got sick after he was four and they lost him after 7 years. She is in the middle of a divorce right now and moved in with her parents. Her father has Alzheimer disease. Her daughter got married and lives in Los Angeles with her husband and her dog.

2.2.3.3 Third Generation (Family 3, Daughter/Granddaughter)

She was born in İstanbul in 1989. She was an only child who craved for a sibling for six years. When she had a brother she was blessed, but he was sick so she had to help her mother for a long time. Her relationship with her father was never close and she had some trust issues with her mother too. Her biggest companion was her boyfriend during those hard times who is now her husband. She mentioned that she doesn't recall any memory about the first 10 years of her life. She has a lot of anger towards her parents because of the way they handled things after they lost her brother. She was neglected for some time. Now she is married for two years, she moved to L.A. a year ago and she adopted a dog. She is expecting her working permit and she'll be working there just like she used to work while she was in İstanbul.

2.2.4 Fourth Family (Family 4)

Figure 5: Genogram of Fourth Family



2.2.4.1 First Generation (Family 4, Grandmother)

She was born in İstanbul in 1935 as the youngest of four children. When she was 8 years old she got sick and stayed in hospital for 6 months. Nobody believed she could survive, but her parents fed her with all the nutritious food and helped her to gain weight. She got married when she was 20 and had two daughters in five years. Then she lost her husband and worked as a maid in her own brother's house to make sure her daughters were safe. She got married for a second time and lost her second husband a year ago. She explained that she earned enough money to get both of her daughters married and now she lives on her own, her daughters seeing her everyday.

2.2.4.2 Second Generation (Family 4, Mother)

She was born in 1962 in Şişli. She has a sister who is 3 years older than her. She lost her father when she was 15 and took a lot of responsibilities in the house since her mother was not in good psychological state for a year. Her father, on the one hand, had some drinking and gambling problems which she realized later, on the other hand, he was a very self sacrificing man who took care of her daughters as much as the mother. She got married in 1987 and got pregnant to a boy in 1988. After having a healthy boy she wanted a daughter and got pregnant in a year to make sure she has a daughter too. She mentioned that her daughter is

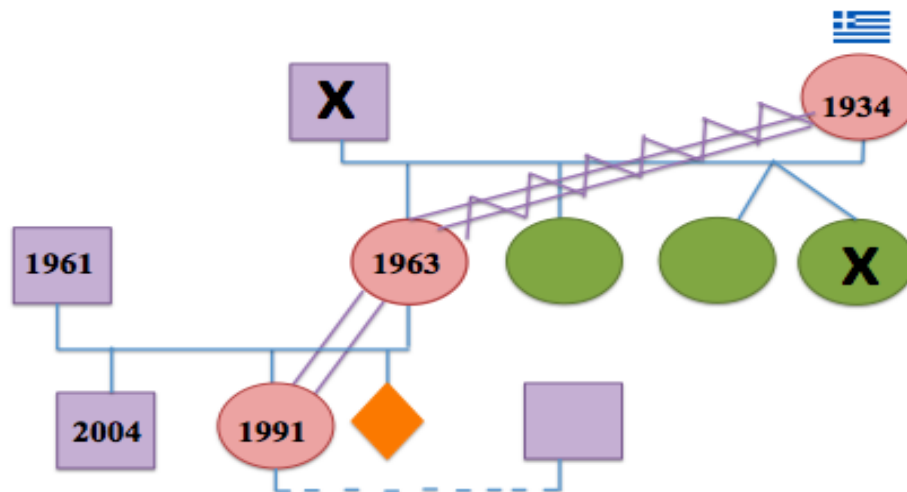
like a medicine to her, she knows her really good, she senses her feelings and needs, and is there for her mother whenever needed.

2.2.4.3 Third Generation Family 4, Daughter/Granddaughter)

She was born in 1991 in İstanbul. She has a two-year-older brother. She described her house as a very peaceful place. She studied Sociology in İstanbul Bilgi University and she is working with her father and brother in their family company. She explained that they eat dinner together every possible night and they talk about their day. Her brother moved out three years ago but he still joins them as much as possible for dinners. She is not married but she has dreams about being a mother someday; she hopes to make sure that her children feel the same love and trust she has for her own mother.

2.2.5 Fifth Family (Family 5)

Figure 6: Genogram of Fifth Famil



2.2.5.1 First Generation (Family 5, Grandmother)

She was born in 1934 in İstanbul. Her mother was Greek, ran away during World War 2 from Demotiko and migrated to Turkey and married to one of the five sons of the tailor woman whom she was working for. Their parents could

only afford one kid so the participant doesn't have any siblings. She went to a Greek school for kindergarten and afterwards she graduated from Jewish High School. She worked as a secretary in various law firms. She explained that her mother never wanted her to learn how to sew because she thought that one could never retire from tailoring. She got married with a man 12 year older whom she wanted to. It was an arranged marriage. After she got married, first she had twin daughters but one of them passed away for a reason that couldn't be explained by doctors back in those days. Then she had two more daughters. Her mother got cancer but they never told her so she had to talk to doctors behind her mother and tried to motivate her. She mentioned that after her mother passed away she went to her grave and yelled 'Mom, you had cancer'.

2.2.5.2 Second Generation (Family 5, Mother)

She was born in İstanbul. She is the youngest of three sisters. She explained that they were a poor family. Since her father worked away from home, her mother was a very tough mother who had so many rules for the girls. There was a very big issue named 'namus' (honor) for the girls. She finished high school and started to work. After she got married her father-in-law didn't want her to work, so she stopped working. She got married in 1983 and had her son in 1985; her second daughter was born in 1991. After the kids grew up, they convinced her to start working and she resumed working in real estate, where she has been working for years now. She expressed that she loves her husband really much, because unlike her mother he always lets her free and trusts her.

2.2.5.3 Third Generation (Family 5, Daughter/Granddaughter)

She was born in 1991 in İstanbul. She has a six years older brother. She studied sociology in Galatasaray University. She has been a very hard working and successful student all her life. She is working as a HR Regional Director. Because of her hard work she got promoted. Her parents' biggest complaint about her is not seeing her enough. She has a very close relationship with her grandmother; during the interview she realized that they don't actually share a lot.

She is engaged and has been living with her fiancé for couple of months. She described a house environment where there was democracy and their parents didn't treat her and her brother differently.

2.3 MATERIALS AND PROCEDURE

The researcher prepared one general question sheet. The questions for all three types of participants begin with the past, then comes the present, continued by their relation to religion and terminate with the future expectations and their awareness about their relationship with the other women in their family clusters, after the interview. The questions also investigate the relationship and emotions among the three women.

While the interview questions for three generations covered the same themes and topics, there were some extra questions according to their generational status. To be more specific, while the grandmother's sheet included a question about the relationship with their granddaughter, what traditions and values they tried to pass both to their daughters and granddaughters, the mother's sheet only has the question about their relation with their daughters. The granddaughter questions included their future dreams about being a mother. The mothers' sheet included a question about what her dream was before she became a mother and what actualized.

The interviews were ordered as grandmother, mother and daughter to make sure the researcher got all the details from the ancient history to the present. There was one exception in family 2; since the granddaughter lives abroad and she had only one week in İstanbul, the first interview was made with the granddaughter, then with the grandmother and the mother.

Fifteen in-depth, semi-structured, one-to-one interviews were conducted, and all interviews took approximately an hour. The researcher met with the participants in their houses or their workplaces for them to feel safe and comfortable. Interviews were recorded by the permission of the participants to be used for transcription purposes for the analysis. While the phone was recording

the interview, the researcher took some notes about the effects of the participants and built a therapeutic rapport with them.

2.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The interviews with 15 participants were analyzed with a qualitative method called 'Thematic Analysis Method'. This process helps to use the details that may be missed while using other analysis methods, and to get a reasonable conclusion out of the details. The recorded data of 15 participants were transcribed in MAXQDA, which is brilliant software for qualitative researches. While the first family clusters transcription completed, the coding processes begun with systematic reading of the text in order to gain an understanding of the details and some possible themes in these interviews. Secondly, general categories of information were chosen. The meaningful information of these general categories was labeled and the memo tool of the software, which was used during the categorization, in order to make meaningful associations with other, related segments. After reading the transcriptions of all participants multiple times, and making memos, the coding and smaller level categories were assigned. There were some segments, which were noted at the beginning of the first couple of transcriptions that wasn't mentioned later and never turned into a code, and there were some codes that were more than in one code category. Revisions of the themes and subthemes happened during the re-reading process of the transcriptions. The related subtopics were combined, and the main themes were chosen. The grouping kept going until the themes were not specific anymore but inclusionary.

The researcher of this study, in addition to being a coder, did the complete analysis process. During the coding processes, two other coders who served as supervisors of this research re-coded and helped to make the grouping more generalized and choosing the best themes in order to make the research reliable and useful. After three meetings with the supervisors, the core categories were set by consensus.

The six steps of Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2013) were used during the process. The first step is getting to know the data and familiarizing oneself with it. In the second step, the codes that seemed meaningful for the research were highlighted. The third step was to search for the theme; the researcher took a deeper look, determined the themes and created a thematic map. Afterwards, the researcher wrote the report of the analysis.

The first theme is named 'Being A Jewish Woman', and has 8 sub-themes which are; Value of Women, Gender Roles, Educated and Working Women, Duties of Women, Woman as a Spouse, Being Friend with the Husband, Importance of Support between Spouses, Being Respectful to the Husband.

The second theme is named 'Being A Jewish Mother', and has 6 subthemes which are; Self Sacrificing Mother, Mother As a Bridge Between Father and Daughter, Expression of Love towards Children, Feeding the Child, Authoritarian Mother, Respecting The Child's Opinions.

The third theme is named 'Mother Daughter Relationship', and has 3 sub-themes which are; Mother and Daughter Like Friends, Child as Priority, Boundaries.

The fourth theme is named 'Intergenerational Changes', and has 8 sub-themes which are; Respect for Parents, The Issue of Flirting, Decisions and Process Related to Marriage, Grandmother and Granddaughter Relationship, Family Union, Children Assuming the Role of Parent, Relationship with the Larger Non-Jewish Community, Ladino (Turkish-Spanish language of Jews).

The fifth theme is named 'The Importance of Maintaining Traditions', and has 5 sub themes, which are; Transmission of the Mothers' Recipes, Sitting at the Dinner Table as a Family, Religious Holidays, Shabbat, and Enjoying A House Full of People.

2.5 RESEARCHERS PERSPECTIVE

During the thesis topic decision phase, I always knew that I would like to work on something 'relational'. Since I was a student of 'Couples and Family Therapy' programme I was either going to work with couples or a family cluster. I

decided to choose the family and the special relationship between the mother and daughter duo. The reason that I wanted to see the 'intergenerational transmission' of motherhood from three generations was that, I had witnessed some amazing scenes during my psychodrama training that taught me how intergenerational transmission affects contemporary lives.

Since I was a child, I have frequently criticized my mother and her motherhood, and I would even criticize her relationship with my grandmother. After years of studying psychology, I discovered that my grandmother was an 'authoritarian' parent and my mother was a 'permissive' one. Growing up in a permissive family type, I found that I was raised in an insecure manner during my childhood, because it did not provide me with 'safe space' and 'borders'. Probably this permissiveness and lack of borders is related to our religion. Since the mother uses her self-sacrificing side, in order to control the family, she actually has to make some mistakes such as not arranging safe boundaries for the children. Since Judaism puts the mother responsible of the childcare and the continuity of religion, the mother has to be a part of the children's world in order to teach them all these responsibilities. Also, the Turkish-Jewish community is a minority, so the mothers are always on pins and needles when it comes to their children. Letting their children be free and happy in the house makes the children stay away from the outer world and non-Jewish community too.

I began to observe all the Turkish-Jewish mothers around, in order to understand their parenting styles and motivations with their children. I saw that while the first generations were in charge of the family, with the 'working woman' concept, women lost some power in the house and they felt guilty from time to time.. The guilt of the working mothers explained as 'Work-Family Guilt' in the literature. Which includes choosing between work or family time (Conlin 2000; Pollock 1997), or failing to balance between these two. (Napholz 2000) Since the second-generation mothers are mostly working women or have an active social life, in order to suppress the guilt feeling about balancing family and outside world, they got friendlier with their children. They let them do what they

want, in order to make the children happy so they won't complain about mother being outside.

During the question preparation I began with 25 questions, which I thought, would be enough; but after having a pilot interview with three generations, I had to add many more, in order to have an effective interview.

My interview questions were formed as the result of my literature review about value and value transfer while creating them. The first 15 questions were mainly about getting the genogram from the participants and help them to remember their childhood and the life when they were a child of someone instead of mother or grandmother of another. Some questions such as, 'what information have you learned from your mother about being a mother and what have you learned during your daily practice?' and 'what has changed between the time when these traditions used to be applied and what is the situation in the present?' included my own curiosity. I expected to hear about the changing climate in Turkey and the gap between generations due to change of technology. I was curious if the grandmothers would complain about not understanding the language of their grandchildren, or not catching up because the third generations are always connected to the phones. I also expected to hear some complains from the third generations that the mothers and grandmothers are incapable of doing many things of today's needs such as using a phone or a computer easily. I also was curious if the daughters imitate their mothers' lifestyles or were they creating a different life for themselves.

As a Turkish-Jewish woman and a potential Turkish-Jewish mother, I expected to understand the motives and norms of being both at the same time. I had some biases and concerns about being a mother one day, since I knew how much you matter in somebody else's life, so I felt anxious about the possibilities.

RESULTS

In this study, Turkish-Jewish women described their experiences of being Jewish, living in Turkey, and their relationships with family members. In this section, the results of the analysis pertaining to the 15 participants will be presented. Detailed information about the participants and the family clusters will be given regarding their demographics and family history to enable the reader's familiarity with the participants' world, and to be able to obtain the understanding of their experiences and quotations vividly. In addition, the genograms without names will be provided. The themes will be listed describing the categories. The narratives of the participants will be used with the quotations, where the Turkish version will be presented first, followed by the translated version into English.

According to all the information obtained from 15 interviews, 5 main themes came forward. These are: Being A Jewish Woman, Being A Jewish Mother, Mother Daughter Relationship, Intergenerational Change and The Importance of Maintaining Traditions.

3.1 BEING A JEWISH WOMEN

Being a Jewish woman includes many features as being self-sacrificing, having values, being careful about whom you are and being aware of your gender and related boundaries. Jewish Turkish women have many responsibilities and the participants mentioned them all. There have been some changes from the first generation to the third, but still there are many role-relevant responsibilities and duties transmitted from one generation to the next.

3.1.1 Value of the Women

One of the sub-themes of "Being a Jewish Mother" was about how valuable the Jewish women feel in the family. The participants implied that they

feel different from non-Jewish women not because of their religion but because of the positioning of women in the Jewish culture. According to the participants there are not wide differences between two genders. Women and man are accepted as equals in Jewish families, differently from non-Jewish Turkish family system.

For example a participant of third generations said;

*There is nothing that I choose not to apply but I've always seen that, women and man are equal. In Turkey's general, we live in a patriarchal society but in our family's specific, both genders are equal. So I haven't seen any privilege on the women's side.***(Family 1, Generation 3)**

And a second-generation participant from another family supported her sayings.

We are freer and more comfortable, that's what I see. The way we explain ourselves, the way we live is totally different. No matter what, the value attributed to man is greater in Muslim traditions. We don't overthink about man's value, in Jewish families women are valuable too, men don't expect too much value from the women, therefore the rules are equal and we live comfortable life as women. Religion doesn't have a lot of impact on this. **(Family 2, Generation 2)**

Jewish women have more freedom compared to typical Turkish families and Jewish men manifest a sharing attitude toward women, perceiving them as equals. Two different second generations explained that the men of Jewish families are letting the women to be free compared to non-Jewish family structures. While a second generation mentioned "*Man's point of view in the family structure is a little bit more softer, kinder and sharing.*" **(Family 1, Generation 2)** another one supported her as: "*No, on the contrary, one of the reasons I love my husband so much is that he always gave me a lot of freedom.*" **(Family 5, Generation 2)**

Therefore, the women have the chance to improve and to invest on themselves. The participated women described the women in their families as strong and independent. They also explained that Jewish women are a little spoiled because of this positioning in the family.

Women to be strong and independent are something both men and women of Jewish families expect from women. A third generations point of view about women is a strong, independent one." *I don't know, most of all, I can tell you, women who can stand on their own feet.* " **(Family 1, Generation 3)**

On the other hand, a participant mentioned the independency more like a flaw, she explained since the Jewish women have their independence in order to make their own decisions, they get spoiled." *In my opinion, Jewish women are more spoiled. We are different than the other because, Jewish women mostly have lived a comfortable life, they could live the way they want, it's not being classy but sophisticated.* " **(Family 2, Generation 2)**

3.1.2 Gender Roles

Event though there is a sub-theme about the value of the women, there is still an inequality between the women and the men in families. The difference isn't observed between partners but between siblings from different genders. The belief that a boy has less responsibility at home while the daughters are expected to do more is relevant. It is suggested that these responsibilities prepare the daughter of the house to become the wife of her own house in the future. Even though the men perceive women as equals, still there are different duties expected from men and women.

A mother explained these responsibilities because of the patriarchal family structure of Turkey.

We had responsibilities, but I had to do more. There was the belief that because he was a man he wouldn't do much. We've been risen in a patriarchal family. My

brother was supposed to do nothing, but I had to help my mother. So it's obvious, that we didn't have equal rules. (Family 2, Generation 2)

Another participant explained how father or the men of the house ruled the women even the brothers. They were the ones to set the rules.

In old times, pretty girl (mentioning the interviewer), the boys were very jealous about their sisters, they were not aloud to go outside in order to prevent the possibility of them having a boyfriend! So my brother didn't let me go out but the bigger brother of ours intervened and let me do what I wanted. (Family 4, Generation 1)

A second generation compared her life and her brothers and realized that he had more freedom because of his gender.

So, when I compare myself with my brother, he had more freedom than me, he could travel whenever he wanted, he could return home whenever he wanted, he could stay at his friends' house. I never had these privileges. (Family 1, Generation 2)

Another second-generation participant was already aware of the inequality with her and her brother in the house, when she was a young girl.

No, these weren't applied to my brother. Truthfully, I don't recall any rules he had to obey or responsibilities he was suppose to take. But he was away when I started to grow up, we were born years apart. (Family 1, Generation 2)

According to the participants, husband's main responsibility is earning money. Helping the housework or not is his own choice. A third generation mentioned the expectation with these words, "*A typical Turkish family: women take care of the house, and the men earn money.*" (Family 4, Generation 3)

Only now, some of the third generation daughters explained that her father is taking some responsibilities in the house, but still she is aware that it is not necessarily expected from him.

My father is involved with house chores more than what would normally be expected. He can clean he can cook. Therefore, there is always an equal distribution in the house, if mom is cooking, dad may help to prepare the table, or if she has prepared it we put the dishes to the dishwasher. My little brother doesn't join the process of helping. Maybe it's because he is young. But my parents always act equally. (Family 2, Generation 3)

3.1.3 Educated and Working Women

When it comes to the notions of education and working outside of the house, differences were observed among different generations. While men have always been working and getting education, the women began to educate themselves after the second half of the 1900's, which is including the second and the third generations.

Since the main responsibility of a woman is accepted as raising the kids, teaching values and taking care of the house, they mostly didn't go to school or didn't work outside of the house. None of the first generations attended the university but some of them had handcraft courses such as sewing and embroidery. The only work they did was selling embroidery and similar things from home. Leaving the house and the kids, and working was not an option for the first generations; it was accepted equal to not being a good enough mother and wife. The father of a second generation believed that it was women's job to take care of the house. " *According to him, 'women have to take care of her family'. That's how he thought. "* (Family 1, Generation 2)

Only the third generation participants witnessed a father who might help his wife, when he has time. It is more familiar for the third generation's husbands

to help with the housework and the shopping since both men and women are working hard.

There is no big difference between my mom and dad but still my mom takes care of the house while my dad is working. When he is not at work, he helps. Despite my dad cooks really well and he likes to spend time in the kitchen; he has no obligation, but he cooks only at the times he feels like cooking. (Family 1, Generation 3)

The first and second generation of Family 3 immigrated to Israel many years ago; therefore they met a lot of working and highly educated women there. With this knowledge, the studying and working women became a regular concept for them. The second generation studied Computer Science while the first generation sews some handkerchieves and sells from the house. *"Everybody is working."* (Family 3, Generation 1)

I just don't know. It wasn't weird to see working women when I was in Israel. I wanted to work before I got married, but couldn't find a job. I explained my mom that I didn't want to stay home all day, but because I didn't know how to use a typewriter I couldn't get a job. (Family 3, Generation 2)

I believe it's normal; I've lived in Israel for 7 years, and there are almost not a single woman who doesn't work. (Family 3, Generation 1)

It is important not leave kids at home alone for the first generations. The first generation women chose to work from home, in order to not leave their kids alone. While the grandmother of family 3 explained this she said;

I've worked too, but I worked from home and never let my kids alone.. I had a friend who worked in sewing and packaging handkerchieves business (This is very private information, she says and brings some examples of handkerchieves) my friend who used to live in Israel for years used to buy white handkerchieves

and sewed patterns on them. There were silvery wrapping boxes, so I used to fold and put them in those boxes. After all was done, I used to take them all to the shop and earned my money. That's how I worked, but never let my kids alone. (Family 3, Generation 1)

The second generation of the same family mentioned;
I studied computer engineering. In fact, I was accepted to Chemical Engineering, but after getting engaged I realized that it was going to take a long time for me to graduate. Since Chemical Engineering was one of the top grades requiring subject, I had the means of transferring my degree to a lower one easily. I might have also study Tourism; but my fiancé didn't allow me. I loved computers anyway. I was always interested in areas such as physics and mathematics.

(Family 3, Generation 2)

One obvious pattern emerges when the women get married or pregnant. All of the second generation working women quit working either after getting married or after having a baby. They chose to stay home, doing the housework and raising the kids. Even the woman who has the best education decides to raise her child by herself for at least one year.

The second generation of the first family did not work because of her daughter's health issues even though she always wanted to work.

After my daughters were born they had some medical conditions that's why, I couldn't do my job. My working life wasn't more important then their health. I was always eager to work. But my daughters' future seemed more crucial to me; it's not a normal thing not to work for a doctoral student. (Family 1 , Generation 2)

On the other hand, the daughter hopes to be a workingwomen, which her mother couldn't do because of their health issues.

I always imagined being a self-confident mother. In Turkish society, there is a belief that it is the man who puts the rules when you get married. If the man accepts, women can work but if not, he will be the bread earner. But in my case, I want to work no matter what. (Family 1, Generation 3)

While first generation of family four's mother was a workingwomen, her own daughter quit working after getting married.

My Mom and Dad were equal, because both of them were working. My mother was a tailor and she used to come home after work, she cooked and cleaned too. My dad used to work in a factory, when he had time he used to do shopping for the house. (Family 4, Generation 1)

There was no problem. After I graduated from high school I started to work, found a job that I loved. I worked for five and a half years. After getting married, I quit. I planned to get pregnant so I had to quit. (Family 4, Generation 2)

Stop working after getting married or getting pregnant is a common concept during the interviews. The concept was in family 3, " *My mom used to work till my brother was born, after he was born she quit. " (Family 3, Generation 3) "* Also in family 2, *I graduated from academy when I was 17, I began work at 18. When I was 24 I was married and till then I worked. " (Family 2, Generation 2),* family 1, " *Afterwards, my daughters were born and I had to quit to take care of them. " (Family 1, Generation 2)* and family 5, " *Yes, they wanted. When I got married I directly quit. I worked for two years; afterwards I got married and quit my job. " (Family 5, Generation 1)*

The only example about working while being married or pregnant came from the third generation. One of the participants who is from family 4 is not married or a mother and she works in her family business. " *Yes, now I'm working at my family company, we create paper cupcake molds. I'm working with my dad*

and older brother; therefore we see each other every day. " **(Family 4, Generation 3)**

3.1.4 Duties of Women

According to the participants the main duty of a woman is taking care of the house and the children. The phrases 'A woman has to know how to manage the house' or all participants especially in the first two generations repeated the sentences beginning with 'Of course a woman has her mothering and housewife duties'. This subtheme is very much related to the 'gender roles' theme, because whereas men's only role is to earn money for the family all other duties are on women's shoulders.

Being a housewife is the normal thing to do for a first generation participant. *"No, my mother, didn't work, she was a housewife naturally."* **(Family 3, Generation 1)** As another first generation participant mentioned, *"A woman with management skills knows how to manage the house."* **(Family 1, Generation 1) "**

This belief was not changed for some of the third generation participants too. *"Men are the bread earners, women take care of the house, a typical Turkish family."* **(Family 4, Generation 3)**

3.1.5 Women as a Spouse

The woman as a spouse is a very important sub-theme. Even though the interview did not include a lot of questions about the relationship with the husbands, all women explained the house rules and the main issues between them and their spouses. This sub theme has three sub-sub themes: Being Friends with the Husband, Being Respectful to the Husband and Importance of Support between Spouses.

3.1.5.1 Being Friend with Husband

The first, sub-sub theme points to the importance of having a friendly relationship with the husband. When the spouses are like friends, they have a better relationship. The first generation of the participants and their parents had this kind of a relationship. The children of the first generation explained their parents being very helpful and friendly to each other. They were more than spouses and companions of each other. And this companionship was based upon 'trust', this was the strength of this relationship.

The second-generation participants mainly explain being friend with the spouse since that was what they see from their own parents relationships.

As an example, my parents lost their close friends while they were really young, and they were together by themselves for a very long time. They did not have a lot of friends, so they became each other's friends; they accompanied each other, which was really nice. That's what I'm trying hard as much as I can with my husband. (Family 1, Generation 2)

She used to talk about 'Marriage should be about love' all the time. She kept saying 'Everything should be done with love' because my parents got loving each other. (Family 3, Generation 2)

That's mainly what the second generations tried to continue with their own husbands.

What I see in my parent's relationship is more than being lovers but also friends. They share a lot of things they are like friends. I learned being understanding and friendly in my relationships from my mother, and I believe I can manage to do so. (Family 2, Generation 3)

And some of the third generation participants managed to keep this friendly relationship with their husbands. The third generation of family three explained that it was because they had gone through all the bad times together.

Those times, I already had my today's husband Cem who was before my boyfriend in my life. He and his parents helped me a lot to get through those days. I've been involved with him and his parents' life very fast, I used to stay at their house for a long time. That's the time I realized there is another kind of family, who cares about their children a lot, and prioritize them. They are a very in love couple and they have respect for each other. (Family 3, Generation 3)

3.1.5.2 Importance of Support within Spouses

The second sub-sub theme is about the wives' support to their husbands. One of the main transmitted values from the mothers to daughters is always watching out their husbands and never leaving them no matter how difficult the situation gets. If the wife stays with her husband even in difficult times and supports him, it is seen that with time the strength of the relationships sparkles.

This is information that is learnt from the first generations and the older ones. *"I learned the importance of supporting the spouse from my mother and the importance of not letting him go even on the worst days. " (Family 1, Generation 2)*

That is what second-generation participant of family four created with her husband.

We are not pretty similar with my mom, I don't remember a lot, I arranged all my relationship according to my husband, what he likes or doesn't like, what I like, what we like. We created a whole new relationship. He never told me that I was similar to my mother. (Family 4, Generation 2)

3.1.5.3 Being Respectful towards the Husband

The last sub-sub theme is about the obedience of women. One important doctrine of the mothers that was taught to daughters is to be respectful to the husband. Even when the spouses have a disagreement or the woman knows something better, the priority of the relationship is respecting the husband. This respect is meant to be mutual, and this is what helps them to remain friends. *"First of all, I learned to be respectful to my husband. "* **(Family 1, Generation 1)** That is how second generations were raised, seeing their mother being respectful to her husband. *"Imm, of course, first of all my mother was always very respectful to my father, and they had a friendly relationship. "* **(Family 1, Generation 2)**

My husband and me are more relaxed about being spouses. For example, I've never seen a day that my mother and father stayed separated. Well I guess life is changing these days. I don't know, my husband and me stay in different houses mostly in the summers because he goes to work and I stay in the Island (Büyük Ada) with my daughters. That's something that makes me feel uncomfortable; I don't really like this situation. That's something I envy most about my parents' relationship, for example when I delivered my daughters, she spent whole day with me but always went back to her home, to her husband. I was upset about it back in those times but it is actually an amazing aspect. **(Family 1, Generation 2)**

It is accepted as a rule to teach and transmit to the children in order to have a happy family. *"Never be unfaithful to you husband. You'll teach your children the right things and will always uplift your husband. "* **(Family 2, Generation 1)**

This respect also includes the respect of the husband for the family. The first-born male child's name comes from the father's father, while the first-born female child's name comes from the father's mother. If there is a second boy or a girl than the given name is inspired from the mother's side. Also all holidays' first nights are reserved to the husband's family and the second nights for the wife's

side. Judaism prioritizes the male side because the surname and the descent will be continuing from the male side.

My mother in law was a sick woman, she was old, and when we first got married I had to celebrate the first big holiday at my house. After three months of marriage we celebrated Passover in my house. My husband gives a lot of value to these kinds of things. So I cherished his wishes all the time, especially in the first couple of years of our marriage. (Family 4, Generation 2)

3.2 BEING A JEWISH MOTHER

Being a Jewish mother was one of the main subjects this research wanted to explore. It was not a surprise that it also emerged as theme. A typical Jewish mother explained by participants is a woman who cares about her family, children, husband and peace at home. She is also devoted to her religion and teaches it to her children as much as possible. She also respects the older family members and her husband, she is self-sacrificing and a happy cook who works all day long to feed the family members.

She takes care of her children, loves her children, sacrifices for them. That's what an ideal mother has to do. A mother prioritizes her children. My mother was someone like that; she showed her love all the time, attended to our nutritional needs. (Family 1, Generation 1)

A typical Jewish mother was explained as a caring one from family three generation one, "*Respects the rules, as you said, cooks the same food on holidays, looks out of window to see her children on the way back home.* " **(Family 3, Generation 1)** while another families generation one explained the typical Jewish mother in below.

There are many typical Jewish Mamas, for example my own mother. She cooks, she takes care of the kids, dresses them, undresses them, amuses them, typical mother. Most of our mothers are typical Jewish Mamas. (Family 2, Generation 1)

Taking care of their own babies is accepted as an important responsibility; even there are others to help with the baby. *"They should take care of their own babies as much as possible. Of course there is a maid, but still I used to say to my daughter that she should do as much as possible. That's what I did. "* (Family 3, Generation 1)

Taking care of children is something that makes Jewish mothers feel satisfied. *My mother-in-law. All she got is her kids. Her kids' happiness is her priority in life, she doesn't eat unless they eat, she doesn't get dressed unless they did. She has a good relationship with her husband; she keeps continuing her values and tradition. (Family 3, Generation 3)*

According to first generation participants there are also responsibilities about teaching the children the religion and it's rules to the children. *She has to be bonded with her religion and her children. We as Jewish mothers keep the Kosher food tradition, we buy meat from Kosher Butchers, even though we are not Ortodox, we care about these. I care about my children. A Jewish woman should be into her husband, but should mainly be involved with her children. (Family 4, Generation 1)*

3.2.1 Self Sacrificing Mother

One of the main sub themes of the Jewish Mother is being self sacrificing and prioritizing all other members of the family over herself. All three generations explained their mothers as very devoted to the family, as never prioritizing herself over other members and as living for the family. This is an important

characteristic making the mothers to be role-models for their daughters. A first generation explained her and her mothers similarities as, "*She is a self sacrificing mother, so am I. My children are my priority.*" **(Family 1, Generation 1)**

Other generations also accept being self-scarifying normal for a mother. *If it's about motherhood, definitely I learned about self-sacrificing. She always used to do as much as possible for us, never stepped back, she did all the best as she could do all the time.* **(Family 1, Generation 2)**

The intention of the third generation woman is not to be overly self-sacrificing, but when she thinks of her grandmother, she remembers and appreciates her sacrifices. "*I directly recall of my grandmother. Her motherhood, it was her biggest mission in life, all she did was serving the other members of the family. All she thinks of is their food and needs.*" **(Family 4, Generation 3)**

Making sacrifices for the children and the family is mainly something to be proud of for a first generation participant.

At 38 years old, I was a widow. My husband died in a heart operation. After three years, I got married with one condition, not to have any other kids. I expected my husband to live 6 months but only lived 1, I sold everything to save him. But after he died, I got broke. So I asked my brother to send away his maid, and pay me for the cleaning... As I said, I worked too hard in order to get my daughters married. **(Family 4, Generation 1)**

The attitude they have towards life is equal to being 'good mothers' for Jewish women. Rejecting the children's certain demands or not being able to prepare adequate food for the family fuels their insufficiency. This role they adopted, with all missions and responsibilities are a norm for them; they appear to be happy and proud of being born to be in the service of their families.

The sacrifices the mothers make are never forgotten, not by the mothers and not by the family.

You will take care of the kids; you will be a good mom, that's it. My mother was a woman who took care of the kids; she was clean and hard working. That's me too. I killed myself in order to make sure my daughters get education. My second daughter was accepted to a high school, but there were some incidents on the street so her father didn't let her to go. (Family 5, Generation 1)

Sacrifice is something that separates the mother and the father from each other. Father's don't make that much sacrifices for the family according to the Jewish mothers.

It was very bad, 10 days before my son passed away I said my goodbyes, as I was expecting. On a Sunday, I felt something peculiar. (...) My husband asked the doctors to help him, but I said let go, meanwhile he's been hitting all around. I said 'enough', he asked me what kind of a mother was I, I asked him to let him go. We have to let someone who wants to leave, go away. He was so upset and angry. He yelled 'we could have made him live longer' and I said it wasn't okay to make him suffer any more. (Crying) (Family 3, Generation 2)

Even though the first generation mothers are proud of their motherhood, the women of third generation are not happy about this devoted attitude of their mothers. They want their mothers to care about themselves more instead of caring for the family all the time. They want their mothers to have their own self-care times, to feel comfortable in their children's house and to be able to say whatever they feel, instead of doing the things they believe it is for the common good of family.

What we learned about mothering is that she has to be devoted to her children... Yes, exactly. So I have some similarities, but my children are upset about my sacrifices. When I am at their houses I don't take any food from the fridge in order not to make them upset. They keep saying that I'm very similar to my mom no matter how upset I was about similar sacrifices. (Family 2, Generation 1)

3.2.2 Mother As A Bridge Between Father and Daughter

Another important role mothers undertake is being the mediator within the family members, especially between the father and the children. The patriarchal structure of Turkish society puts the fathers in a ruling and restricting position towards children. Thus the children primarily ask for mothers' support when they need help. Mothers learn all the information at first hand from their children, and then they explain those to the husband or persuade him for fulfilling the child's demand. They are the ones who moderate the conversation because of being the ones who know the husbands' vulnerabilities better. With this role women create the 'balance' and eventually the 'peace' at home. *"The closest one to me is my mom, I can talk to her easily, when I need to get a permission from dad, she is the one who helps."* (Family 2, Generation 3)

One of the participants explained that her father is close-minded and that is the main reason she is not as close with him as she is with her mother.

My father is close-minded about my boyfriends; he doesn't even want to know. When we talk about him, he changes the subject. When I go to a vacation with my boyfriend, my mom tells that I go with a group of friends to be more convincing. (Family 2, Generation 3)

Another third generation mentioned a very similar thing that her mother is the one who really listens.

When my mom makes a decision she listens with her heart, I listen with my mind, that's a feature I got from my father. For example, if my dad says 'no' you can't change it, but I never heard 'no' from my mom, she says 'we'll see'. She doesn't have strict boundaries. You can change her, sculpt her, she is open to any kind of innovation. (Family 5, Generation 3)

3.2.3 Expression of love towards children

All 15 participants expressed that no matter how hard times they've gone through or how authoritarian their parents were, they all felt the 'love' of their parents, which points to the "expression of love towards children" as one of the main themes. The mothers also explained that they all try to make sure their children are feeling loved, either by gestures, touches or through verbal communication. That is more important than most of the rules or traditions; a parent has to make sure that the children feels loved by them. Feeding them, cooking their favorite food, cleaning the clothes are all ways to show the love for these mothers. "*Love towards the children, is the most important one.*" **(Family 1, Generation 1)** That is one of the main thing Jewish mothers give to the children, love and nutrition. "*That's how my mom was, she showed her love and care about our nutrition.*" **(Family 1, Generation 1)**

Even the Ladino nicknames for the children include some love words, a first generation participant explained. "*She used to say 'presyada' which means 'my precious one' in Sephardic Ladino. That's how she called me.*" **(Family 2, Generation 1)**

After seeing many families around who show love to their children, the third generation participant explained her husband's family as a big loving family, and she needed the same kind of intimacy from her own parents, but the 'showing love' was missing. Seeing and feeling the love from the mother is something that especially the third generation participants were expecting for. "*You can't teach me anything after these years, but you have to transfer a lot of love and information to your kids.*" **(Family 4, Generation 2)**

3.2.4 Feeding the child

In the literature when there is a 'Jewish Mama' there is always 'food' following it. In order to be a real Jewish woman, you need to know how to cook Jewish food and to feed the kids well. Feeding the children is a really important

theme for the mothers; it's a way of showing love, care and compassion. A good Jewish mother knows how to feed her babies.

Second-generation participant of family three explained the need of her mother about feeding her.

My mom was a great mother, she had her own rules, she kept applying her own mom's rituals. She really cared about out nutrition. She has some rules about eating healthy, we had to eat fish twice a week and meat three times a week. Especially she was very strict about the food. (Family 2, Generation 2)

I directly recall of my grandmother. Her motherhood, it was her biggest mission in life, all she did was serving the other participants of the family. All she thought of was their food and needs. (Family 4, Generation 3)

According to the participants, their mother's main concern was the feeding of the children. They kept asking about if they wanted to eat something, they cooked different foods to make sure that they liked something. And even today these mothers ask to their children on the phone, if they ate anything or what they ate. "*When I was a kid I almost ate nothing, especially comparing with today. I was very skinny so my moms kept telling me, eat this, eat that and tried to feed me. (Family 2, Generation 3)* While the third generations mother does that, first generation mothers used to do the same thing, it's a value that has been taught. "*Someone who feeds her children, ask them if they are hungry, or if they want to eat anything? My mother in law's priority is always the kids and she feeds them too. (Family 3, Generation 1)*"

The participants mentioned that they do the same thing with their kids and granddaughters too because it is important to them if their children are well fed and happy. They are aware that it is about culture. Especially the first-generation participants feel like feeding someone is equal to loving him/her.

I keep asking if she eats, because she doesn't have a stable eating habit, she wakes up drinks a coffee and spends hours with that coffee. I tell her, eat some nutritious food, not coffee. But I don't know if she listens. (Family 3, Generation 1)

I believe it's about culture; my grandmother keeps trying to feed me, with the service she tries to show her love to me. When I want to eat a fruit or something. I can't recall a time when she lived with us and not serving me something. My mom on the other hand she is pretty similar, she never gets tired and she can prepare me food in the middle of her sleep. (Family 5, Generation 2)

3.2.5 Authoritarian Mother

Even though these Jewish mothers are mainly self-sacrificing and very generous, they also receive a lot of respect from the family members. The main reason could be their authoritarian side. Participants explained that even though their mothers are very caring, they also provide rules and discipline in the house. These mothers believe that they know the best and better than their children so they make decisions for their children most of the times. That's how these mothers protect their children and also teach them the right way to do things. *"Very dominant. She always wanted to decide what to do next. She used to be that way all the time. " (Family 5, Generation 2)*

The authoritarian mother theme was not active in every family cluster, but still there was a strong side in every mother, that the daughters find trust and peace within.

Even though I felt a very big pain when I lost my dad, and missed his love, when I think about it, if my mom were the one who died, my youth would have been harder. Because she had a very protective side, she got married for us, and still

made me feel I was her priority. Still, she was authoritarian and tough but still cares about me a lot. (Family 4, Generation 2)

3.2.6 Respecting The Child's Opinions

The participants mostly emphasized the democratic nature of their houses, where the children has right to speak up, to make decisions for themselves and to participate in the process of decision-making for the family. *"I believe that I grew up in a free environment. Umm, they always asked my opinion according to my age's decision capacity." (Family 1, Generation 3)* Participants also explained how they feel lucky to be a part of this environment of freedom and to receive respect in all ages. *"No matter how old I was, they always took my opinions, and never felt pressure but felt 'valuable' in this family. They also taught me the importance of love. I hope they do in all families. " (Family 1, Generation 3)* As a child, the expectation from the parents is acceptance and respect. *"An ideal mother is the one who accepts her children as 'individuals', I can't comment about ideal Jewish mother. " (Family 2, Generation 2)*

The mothers of the house mainly create this environment of freedom. Their motivation on sustaining a democratic house is supporting the interactional skills of their children so that they will be capable to communicate and protect themselves in daily life, outside home. The mothers highlight the importance of respect for themselves. Thus they argue that for receiving respect from the child, the parents should also be respecting the child. Asking the child's opinion reinforces the child's self-identity and unique existence, making him feel that his family trusts him. This is seen as a situation increasing the honesty among family members. The second-generation mother explained how they respect their children's' decisions below.

I've never asked my children to accept my authority; it's not my mothering style. The children have their rights too, my child can say, "I am sorry" to me and I can

tell her too, we are the same. I've never supported the authoritarian mothering. I expected and supported respect to a mother but not obedience. (Family 4, Generation 2)

My daughter uses Sipralext since he had a panic attack in Holland because of her thyroid. (...) Half of her thyroid was taken and I believe she doesn't have to use the medicine, but she decided to use it for one year and I respected her decision. (Family 2, Generation 2)

3.3 MOTHER DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIP

The third main theme in the result part of this research is about the mother and daughter relationship. Since the whole research was done with three generations of mothers and daughters, there was a lot of data about their relationships with their own mothers and daughters. There are three sub themes of this main theme and these are: Mother and Daughter like friends, Child as Priority and Respect Limits. These three sub themes almost summarize the relationship between Turkish-Jewish mothers and daughters.

What I get from her is, she will make me laugh no matter what happens, she makes her dad to get up, and cheers him up too. But in the family, I am the responsible one to be strong for everyone. (Family 4, Generation 2)

I love to share the excitements of both of my daughters. One of my daughters studies television and she is so interested in the topic. She loves to talk about new TV series, explain her thoughts about the TV shows with me. We often go to movie sets and meet people, share it with others. I try to share her feelings and support her needs of her excitement. We've been in places that nobody could, and done many undoable things together, she has a peculiar and resistant personality. (...) I try to support these kinds of things as much as possible, and try to help her self-

respect to grow, I have the same ambitions for the other daughter of mine, only she has other interests. (Family 1, Generation 2)

My mother is a woman who bears the mothering role in a great way; she is also a good friend who understands me. In my opinion, she is a very good mother. Everybody can take over the mother role, but they can't manage to be a good friend, I believe we're lucky on that side. (Family 1, Generation 3)

3.3.1 Mother and Daughter like friends

This main sub-theme is about the relationship between the mothers and daughters. Participants and especially the daughters claimed that they can talk anything with their mothers and their mothers are like best friends to them. All of the participants gave the same answer as “mother”, to the question ‘Who is the closest person to you, in the family’. No matter if they had a sister or brother, they all explained that mother is the one who understands the best and cares the most, which makes their mothers the closest one. *“I mostly feel that we are like friends with my mother. ” (Family 1, Generation 3)* The participants kept bringing up that they were friend like with their mothers / daughters. *"My mother is the closest one to me. Since she is a friend like woman. I share anything that I share with a friend. " (Family 4, Generation 3)* And having an intimate relationship like that is something that they were very happy with.

I guess we have a more friend like relationship than a mother-daughter relationship with my mom. She is a delicate, emotional and a good person. We have many differences in between, but I still feel that we have a good relationship. Sometimes I became the mother of the relationship, sometimes she needs my help since she can't cope with today's speed and she is not thinking rationally. And sometimes I need her experience in my help. My mom is someone who listens with her heart, not with her mind and I use my mind, in this area I remind of my father. (Family 5, Generation 3)

On the other hand, since the authoritarian side of the Jewish mothering exists, they reminded that the friendly relationship doesn't mix with non-seriousness.

Even though our relationship is really close, like to friends, she never lets disrespect, in this relationship. She puts borders when there is rudeness. She doesn't have rules but some principals and a hard side. (Family 2, Generation 3)

3.3.2 Child as Priority

This sub-theme is both related to 'expression of love towards children' and to the notion of 'the self-sacrificing mother'. These women believe that the most important thing as a Jewish mother is taking care of child's needs and demands. That's the reason why most of the participants quit working after getting pregnant or have never worked in the first place. A second-generation participant mentioned about her mother's thought as follows, *"In her opinion 'a woman is the one who should take care of her family'. That's how she thought. "* **(Family 1, Generation 2)** while a first generation participant explained her mothers choices of work as, *"My mother was with us all the time, she never worked outside"* **(Family 3, Generation 1)** According a first generation participant the meaning of Jewish women is: *" 'Jewish', cleaning, celebrating holidays, caring for the children. "* **(Family 5, Generation 1)**

3.3.3 Boundaries

Even though the relationship between mother and daughter is very close within Turkish Jewish families, there are still rules and boundaries. "Respect" is one of the main attitudes a mother expects from her children. When there is respect within the family, the closeness and openness doesn't cause any problems, but helps them to have a healthier relationship. If a child talks to her mother about the deepest secrets, she can't be impudent to her.

They wanted me to be respectful from the beginning. Other than that, they prioritize being together more than teaching me the values and traditions. Being a family was very important for them. (Family 2, Generation 3)

A first generation participant explained how world changed, and what was different from her own childhood, with some regrets about the boundaries between her and her mother.

The World has changed, point of views have changed. I talk to my kids about anything. After I got married I had a very little chance to talk with my mother. I was even ashamed to tell my mother that I was pregnant these were reasons of shame. We had to live in the same house with my parents for two years, we never went to our room before they go to bed, it was a shame. She understood that I was pregnant because I was vomiting. (Family 4, Generation 1)

3.4 INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGE

The fourth theme is related to the changes that have occurred over the years. Since the participants were from three different generations (the grandmothers, mothers and daughters/granddaughters) they underlined various changes occurring in terms of relationships, beliefs and lifestyle. These changes mostly emerge because of the technology and accessibility in today's world, which were not available in the past. While the first generation mothers have access to the newly changing old traditions and old style of living on their minds, second-generation mothers are like a bridge between their daughters and mothers. The second generations, just like their mothers, know about all these old and new traditions whereas the third generation knows what has changed though not being able to imagine, they have the knowledge of what has changed but no experience about it. The sub-themes of the fourth theme are; respect for the parents, the issue

of flirting, grandmother and granddaughter relationship decisions and process related to marriage.

While the first generation participants explained what has been changed, almost all of the third generation participants were already aware about the life in the past and how it has changed a lot.

The new generation is very different from us. We used to be very respectful to our parents; I don't see the same in today's youth. I don't see sharing, the families don't share a lot, parents are all selfish, they let the kids and go out. They all try to hide this with spending money. We really worked hard not to give money, not to teach how to spend money to our kids. (Family 2, Generation 1)

Things are changing, the world is changing, and people are changing within. We're living a comfortable life comparing to old times conservatism. On the other hand Judaism has a motto 'Keep reminding', 'Don't let them forget', so we keep transferring the religious holidays and values to our children. We are not conservative about religion, but we continued the values and traditions. (Family 2, Generation 3)

My parents or grandparents used to live as ghettos; everybody was living in the same areas, Taksim, Şişhane, Şişli, now we are all separated. On my grandmother's time, a non-Jewish was not accepted or loved a lot, today being friend with a non Jewish is very normal, I believe there are many more civilized people from the others comparing to the Jew's. But I can understand since they faced with 'Asset Tax' and many others, also their generation is closer to World War 2. On the other hand, we lived the Synagogue bombings too. I believe they were too afraid to be out. (Family 5, Generation 3)

For example, in my grandmother's era, even in my mother's' era, they shared about their boyfriends, only when the relationship moved to be serious and they

wanted to get married. Nowadays, I'm teaching them the new generation.
(Family 1, Generation 3)

3.4.1 Respect for Parents

As explained before, one of the main needs of first generation participants is to be respected. However the meaning and demonstration of respect has also been changing with time, according to their reports. The older participants see the younger generation as showing less respect to elderly. " *They have to show us respect, that's really important.* " **(Family 4, Generation 1)** On the other hand, the grandmothers add, buying respect with money from the children is now observed between second-generation parents. " *There was respect towards the parents always.* " **(Family 1, Generation 2)**

The new generation is very different from us. We used to be very respectful to our parents; I don't see the same in today's youth. I don't see sharing, the families don't share a lot, parents are all selfish, and they let the kids and go out. They all try to hide this with spending money. We really worked hard not to give money, not to teach how to spend money to our kids. **(Family 2, Generation 1)**

Previously, the children had hesitations about the content and the quality of the communication with elderly, whereas today everything is much more openly debated, especially for the third generation. The members of the third generation freely communicate with their parent's grandparents, showing much less attention to the content and the manner of communication. " *Respect to an elder, you can't do everything or can't say anything around an elder, you have to be careful, that was a rule.* " **(Family 2, Generation 2)**

In family, my mother set up the orders, the rules and the prohibitions. My father adjusted himself according to her rules. On the table order, my father always had the priority and I also use this placement. My mother used to put food on her plate

first, we used to sit on the table all together and leave it all together. (Family 4, Generation 2)

3.4.2 The Issue of Flirting

Another important theme emerged about flirting and having boyfriends. First generation participants explained that they had to hide any kind of relationship from their parents, especially from the father, unless getting engaged. However today, third generation is more open and free to share their flirting experiences with their parents. It is seen as acceptable for young, single people to have different boyfriends and girlfriends, the families are more open and willing to meet them. As a third generation participant mentioned, "*For example, in my grandmother's era, even in my mother's era, they shared about their boyfriends, only when it got serious and they wanted to get married. Nowadays, I'm teaching them the new generation.*" **(Family 1, Generation 3)**

Yes yes, my mother was a very open minded and comfortable woman. When we were engaged, my fiancé was in the army and he came to see me once in a while, that time the house was very crowded, so my mom asked me to take my fiancé and go to the island to bring some stuff she forgot in the house. She let us to stay alone for a while, these day people don't need that, but at that time I had my sister and her husband in the house all the time. (Family 3, Generation 1)

The participants explained that although having a very close relationship with their mothers, there was one topic, which could not be discussed, sexuality. The topics of sexuality or the sexual relationship between men and women was not allowed. The first and second generation participants argue that although being a necessity for them, talking with mother about sexuality was not possible. However the daughters from the third generation are open and free to communicate about such issues with their mothers. The second-generation mothers are more open to share information and to help to their daughters on

issues related to health, relationship and sexuality when compared to the first generation mothers.

I can talk with my daughter about the man-woman relationship, such as if she is using protection or if she took her pill. I can tell her if she's not enjoying sex she has to tell her partner about it. This topic was something that my mother never talked to me. (Family 2, Generation 2)

We used to talk everything, maybe except the husband and wife issues, it was taboo. But I have to share my private with my mom. After getting married, I had a very hard time with having a sexual relationship with my husband, so we've gone to doctor together. She was so upset about the processes I've gone through but I believe it happened because of her pressure on me. (Family 5, Generation 2)

Of Course, talking about relationships or sexuality was very rude in my time, we could never talk about these with my mother. But I talked and explained all to my children. It was a show of respect, not talking about it with my mom. (Family 4, Generation 1)

I can talk to mother about anything, but with my grandmother I wish I could talk about my romantic relationships more with her, and of course be on the same page. (Family 2, Generation 3)

I wish I had a chance to tell about my recent husband to my mother, but I couldn't. My dad never knew about him, mom knew but didn't want to hear, so we never talked about it. (Family 5, Generation 2)

3.4.3 Decisions and Process Related to Marriage

In addition to the issue of flirting, the decisions of engagement also have changed over time. The first generation participants either got arranged with their husbands

or met them somewhere including family members. They all got married to some convenient man. The second generation mostly chose their own husbands, but the way they decided to get married was either with the pressure of a family member or as an arrangement of two families. The third generation doesn't date solely to get married but to know more people, and they decide getting married together as a couple, having a proposal scene to crown it. " *One day, when I go out by myself, I met with the father of my daughters.* " **(Family 4, Generation 2)**

We used to talk about marriage on phone, but I didn't get any proposition. I guess he wrote a letter to his father, told him that I would stay at their home, and he understood that this was going to happen. (...) One day when we were talking on the phone, he asked me not to go to Büyükada on summer but to Burgaz Island, he was afraid that while he was in army some other guy would steal my heart. I asked him how could I stay at his house while I'm his girlfriend, so the marriage plans happened. **(Family 3, Generation 2)**

3.4.4 Grandmother and Granddaughter Relationship

It is obvious that all the granddaughters were raised by the influence of the grandmothers and that all the participants have close relationships with their grandmothers. The main difference between the mother-daughter relationship and grandmother-granddaughter relationship is related to the notion of openness. The relationship with the grandmother is not as open as the relationship with the mother. Since the first generation participants never talked about sexuality or flirting neither to their own daughters nor to their mothers, whenever a granddaughter tries to share something about her boyfriend the subject gets dropped by the grandmother. This relates to issues of confidence for the third generations. " *We don't have a clear enough relationship with my grandmother, her point of view and conservatism is the reason why.* " **(Family 2, Generation 3)**

I can't say that we are as close and friendly with my grandmother as I am with my mother; there is a generation difference. There is always a respect limit; I don't want to explain it wrong. I can't talk with my grandmother as I speak with my mom. We're still close but, respect is a barrier between us. (Family 1, Generation 3)

I tried to talk about my boyfriend with my grandma once, I thought we could talk since I could with my mom, but, whenever I tried she wasn't pleased to listen about my relationship. Therefore I stopped talking about these intimate issues or asking for any advice, we chat about daily life with my grandmother. That's because now I know that we are not on the same page about relationships. (Family 2, Generation 3)

The granddaughters who don't look at life from the grandmothers' point of view, still experience a stronger and enjoyable relationship with their grandmothers. Jewish women usually prefer having a social life, where they meet with family members, spend time with their children and grandchildren. Especially the grandmother undertakes an important role in the family, helping her daughter to raise the kids, to educate them and to prepare them to life. Thus the grandmothers become important people with whom the granddaughters share a lot.

I really love my grandmother, we have a strong relationship, we have fun together, and we use our mimics a lot and enjoy it. But we still have very different perspectives. (Family 5, Generation 3)

We had a really great relationship with my mom we could talk about anything. Only when I was little, we never talked about being in relationship and being a woman, we were ashamed. Mothers didn't talk. Now I see that my granddaughter can talk anything with her mother, it was rude in my time. (Family 5, Generation 1)

It is really good that I can talk to my grandchildren about anything. I ask them anything, as I am the mother-in-law, if they have a boyfriend or a girlfriend. I'm a democratic and free person and so I can enjoy talking with them about anything.

(Family 4, Generation 1)

3.4.5 Family Union

Judaism is a religion that has some rules, which preserve the unity of the family. This sub-theme is about how the family gets together many times a year. Friday nights, which is another sub-theme is one of the main gathering reason for the Jewish families. On Friday nights, all the extended family gets together around a table and spends quality time together over dinner. This theme is being changed by the third generations due the prioritization of work, school or friends over family, making Friday nights one of the stretching traditions.

My mother taught me the importance of closeness and that a person should never stay away from her family. The whole family should gather together on Shabbat nights, my mom always want the extended family instead of the core one on Shabbats. So I grew up with my cousins as if we were siblings, I don't feel like we are cousins. When you ask me about being a family, I recall the extended one.

(Family 3, Generation 1)

*If my mother wasn't demanding on being all together as a family, we wouldn't be, but her reasons were always the Jewish holidays. On the other side, we are not as close as with my father's side. **(Family 3, Generation 1)***

Even though there have been many changes, some of the third generation participants mentioned that they still want to continue some values in order to have unity.

I really would love to have my own family to continue the Shabbat dinners, because you can see the extended family that you don't have to see and share too much by the help of the Friday nights, such as me and my uncle. (Family 2, Generation 3)

Also because the Turkish Jewish community is small by number, almost every member knows each other even from a glimpse. The celebrations, rituals and summers in Island unite Turkish Jewish community, helping them to feel unified in the core and extended family, also as a community.

It's a very small community, everybody knows each other and you can evolve your human relationships. Therefore, if I wasn't Jewish I might not be as much as in contact with all these people. I could be a person who chose to be a loner, instead. (Family 2, Generation 3)

My husband and me kept mentioning our children to share us anything. It doesn't matter if it's good or bad, or very bad, they have to share with us so we can solve it all together, we are a team of four and we solve problems together. (Family 4, Generation 2)

3.4.6 Children Assuming the Role of Parent

Since there is a democratic environment in Jewish houses, the roles may be blending. Some children take more responsibilities than they have to sometimes actively participate into the decision-making process for the benefit of the family. Also since Judaism is about to teach and to transmit to the younger ones, mothers have confidence in their children's maturity and their capacity to handle the important issues. The children undertaking the roles of their parents and claiming responsibilities generally feel proud of having this position; however, the parents are not aware that it is a good thing.

I was around 17-18 years old. My mom was really upset about the affair, and she didn't want my brother to learn so I said I'll handle it. I went to her door and told her I knew everything and if it continues somehow I would make her to feel the shame in front of whole community. After that incident, I mentioned it to my father in some sneaky ways. (Family 3, Generation 2)

My daughter was an amazing child, when I was really tired and the situation of my son wasn't so serious, she used to take him sleep. She was in love with her brother; she is such a motherly girl. (Family 3, Generation 2)

No, just the opposite, I wished not to let my daughter know everything. I put lots of burdens on her shoulders that in fact were not her business. Sometimes I made her my mom and I became the daughter, that's what I realized. (Family 3, Generation 2)

We learned that she had cancer when I was 9 years old. She lived like that for 15 years. I've never told her that she had cancer, I asked for the doctors not to tell her the real case, but if she had another symptom the doctors blamed my father who might have the virus. (Family 5, Generation 1)

3.4.7 Relationship with the Larger Non-Jewish Community

The feeling of connection with the non-Jewish community differentiated among the first generation participants from the third generation. First generations have migration stories, their parents lived during World War II and also they heard stories about 'asset tax'. Therefore, the first generations experienced more negativity about the non-Jewish community; they were mostly afraid of them, it was not allowed to play with the Non-Jewish neighbors or to date with them. " *Yes, those times Jewish people only married with Jews, marrying with Muslims was very rare, while today it's pretty normal. "* (Family 3, Generation 1) Especially the first generations had a lot to say about the non-Jewish community,

since their history had some unpleasant memories. *"They didn't want me to be in the streets all alone, they were afraid of Turk's. That's what my mom had learned when she was in Greece, she was afraid of them."* **(Family 5, Generation 1)**

Only Jewish children came, there were no Turk's. I had only Jewish friends for a long time; I had non-Jewish friends only after we moved into an apartment when I was 10 years old. When I was around 13 years old I had Greek and Muslim friends. We used to sit on the stairs and spend time together till midnight, but we were all girls. **(Family 2, Generation 1)**

Of course it's related to religion. For example, my grandma wouldn't recommend me to get married with a non-Jewish. According to her, it's not allowed to go in a Church. She has a conservative side. She has a conservative side about women man relationship too, she expects some things from a woman that I disagree. **(Family 2, Generation 3)**

The second generation was also raised with this knowledge of fear, but they had more chance to embrace more than one culture with their friends from school and the neighborhood. They felt the differences between the Jewish and non-Jewish community. The dating and marriage topics were still not allowed or accepted. Since Judaism is transmitted from the mother's side in opposite of other religions, the religion the child will adopt could always be a problem in marriages of different religious groups.

It's good to feel the two cultures when you're with Turk's. It's good to see the diversity. Maybe I would feel that way if I were Christian too. There are many differences about everything, the frame of mind, what we see and experience; even the most high-toned Turk has a different lifestyle then us. It's not the same environment we've been living. The way we treat our spouses, the way our husbands treat the women, I don't know everything is different. **(Family 2, Generation 2)**

In our society, the educated group is mostly living in families where the women rule the house, man adapts, and there is no violence in the family, it's a bit different. Therefore, if my child marries with a Jewish person, she can have a similar lifestyle; she won't have to change her environment. (Family 4, Generation 2)

My mother didn't give me a chance like this. She abandoned me and put fear in me all the time. For example, if I ever get married with a non-Jewish she told me that she wouldn't be in my life anymore. (Family 4, Generation 2)

My mother used to take us to Fenerbahçe, Harem, we always went from Europe side Şişhane to Asia. There were no men, but only women were going to the beach at Harem. My mother was so afraid of the Muslim men, seeing us. You know, that time it was a horrible thing to getting married with a non Jewish. (Family 5, Generation 2)

On the other hand, the third generations live in a more integrated world; enjoying the culture of diversity by creating rapport with Muslim, Christian, Armenian and Greek friends, they empathize with both orthodox believers and the reformist ones. Third generation participants argue that people are more similar these days due to the technology and social media while the society embodies all sociocultural groups, labeling no one as an outsider. Thus the interreligious marriage is no longer a conflictual union for Jews. Third generations have friends who date or who get married with non-Jews. Yet, still some difficulties emerge, especially about the names since they are not typical Turkish names.

I mean, I believe that two people who shares a common culture has more chance in order to be in sequence, and it would be easier to build a life together. The 'children' issue is important, the religion passes from the father according to

Islam while it passes from the mother according to Judaism. I wouldn't raise a kid with this chaos. (Family 4, Generation 3)

Even though the participants were minorities, the concept of “being a minority” came up only once in the interviews. The participants did not report the notion of being a minority. If the research was conducted in an individualistic country where Jewish community had been living as a minority, the results might have been different.

I've studied in a Jewish school but also have been a part of a private tutoring class. They kept asking me about my religion because of my name. Also in University, there were some reactions against me. I believe it's a hard thing to be Jewish women in Turkey since we are minority and not liked much. (Family 3, Generation 3)

3.4.8 Ladino (Turkish-Spanish language of Jews)

Ladino is the half Turkish half Spanish language that Sephardic Jews mostly communicate with each other. It was the only language spoken in the first generations' houses. The 1928 ‘Citizen Speak Turkish’ (Vatandaş Türkçe Konuş) campaign prohibited non-Turkish communities from speaking their native languages in public places. Speaking the native language in public used to end up with being warned as “Citizen Speak Turkish” by a Muslim Turkish. This was horrifying for the first generation participants, some of them were just kids back in these days and their parents taught them not to speak their languages but just Turkish in public. However Ladino still remained as the language with which they communicated at home.

I remember the times we used to talk ‘Jewish Spanish’ with my mom on streets. Then the ‘Citizen Speak Turkish’ propaganda began. We weren't that much

afraid, we lived a good life. I even tried to teach my children Ladino, but they didn't learn, now they try to understand. (Family 3, Generation 1)

For example, in my time Ladino was vanished in many families, it's a language that Sephardic Jews used to speak in the houses which includes Turkish and Spanish. "We didn't lost the language, we speak it as a second language within our family. " (Family 1, Generation 2) Also the second generation who was a little children during the time explained as, "There was the 'Citizen Speak Turkish' propaganda. So it was rude to speak Ladino, it was second-class language. Therefore our parents didn't transmit the language to us. " (Family 1, Generation 2)

The first and second-generation participants still know and speak Ladino. They gave some examples in Ladino during the interviews too. *"There is a very nice lie in Ladino. 'Only the spoon knows, what's happening in the pot'. You understand if the food is burning while moving the spoon". (Family 4, Generation 2)* And another participant gave the example of: *"How they say it I mean 'two collars' (las dos yakas). " (Family 3, Generation 1)*

Third generations regret that they don't really understand or speak Ladino. They try to learn Spanish, which is really close so they can catch up with their families. Even though the second generations knew Ladino, they did not prefer speaking at home thinking that it was not 'cool' then. During the interviews, while first generations used many 'ladino' words, the second and third generations only used these words to explain some Judaic elements. This was a great example of the assimilation of the language. Even though the language was forgotten as generations passed, there were many transmitted values, which create a similarity between generations. It's expected from an individual to teach the practices of their society to the next generation. Especially among immigrants who aim to preserve their values and beliefs in the new homeland, the parents undertake a vital responsibility to teach these traditions to their children (Vedder, Berry, Sabatier & Sam, 2009). *"I'm not sure if it's a tradition but my grandmothers*

generation speaks Ladino Spanish. My mom also speaks in the house, but now I try hard to understand it and I take Spanish lessons. " (Family 1, Generation 3)

3.5 THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING TRADITIONS

The holidays and the rituals create a way of living to all Jewish families automatically. Judaism conveys many responsibilities to women, especially about being a mother. One of the main duties of Jewish women is to be a mother and to teach her children about Judaism, its values and traditions. The participants' narrations about Jewish traditions came forward in every single interview. There are some sub-themes emerging under the main theme 'importance of traditions' based on the participants' expressions.

These sub-themes are as following: Holidays, Transmission of the Mothers Recipes, Shabbat, Sitting to a table as a Whole Family, Love to be a Crowded Family.

Of course an ideal Jewish women has to be traditional and she has to transmit it to the children but not forcing them. She has to apply it in order that they can see and let them chose if they want to continue or not. (Family 2, Generation 3)

I have tried to transmit them all. I want them to continue the religion, care about the holidays. I want them to get married with a Jewish person, otherwise I would be devastated. I hope all my grandchildren to marry with a Jew, and I hope I can see it with my eyes. (Family 4, Generation 1)

For example, when my dad comes from work, we all gather around, kiss him and say "hi". It's important for us to sit around the table all together. On Shabbat nights we often eat together but we have the chance to ditch it once in a while. We gather together on special occasions. On the holidays extended family gets together too. (Family 4, Generation 3)

One of the main salient narrations of these women was about the importance of the continuity of the traditions, and the main responsibility for continuing those traditions is on women's shoulders.

Of course an ideal Jewish women has to be traditional and she has to transmit it to the children but not forcing them. She has to apply it in order that they can see, and let them chose if they want to continue or not. (Family 2, Generation 3)

Especially the third generation (the granddaughters) unite on the idea that the continuity of the traditions is women's responsibility; however, the way they do is found to be very crucial for the third generation. The mother's forceful attitude towards the children regarding the internalization and practice of traditions can backfire. So, for children to embark on such responsibilities as a lifestyle, the parents represent all such traditional practices in the form of a lifestyle too.

Of course, without forcing I would like to transmit everything. When I was 4, my mother used to lit candles on Friday nights, I was curious and wanted to join the process but nobody forced me. It's healthier for children to be involved by herself. (Family 1, Generation 3)

Most of the traditions linked to the Jewish Holidays necessitate a preparation time for women.

My mother was a religious women, I remember on Yom Kippur, before the fast began, we turned off the lights except the corridor, and only a non Jewish could touch the lights that day. We really cared about these things. (Family 3, Generation 1)

This third quote below shows the importance of the family integrity for the continuity of these traditions.

I didn't grow up in a religious family, but my father became more interested in religion when I was 10. He is not very religious but cares about Shabbat nights more so we care more. We always do the prayers before Shabbat dinner. (Family 3, Generation 3)

It can be noted that the importance, which every generation gives to the traditions, changed through the moderation of the required sacrifices. While the first-generation women internalized the religious traditions as rules, the second-generation women stretched these rules. When it comes to the third generation women, they don't know if they will continue these traditions as strictly as their parents did by applying all practices in detail, besides hoping to transmit some of their practices to their children. The first quote below is about the 'kosher' diet and the second quote is about the changing life of the third generations. "*My parents only bought meat from the kosher butcher, but they didn't apply the rule about cooking meat with milk. They were more flexible but my family takes it more seriously.*" (Family 1, Generation 2)

It is about the transmission of the new generations. The life is constantly changing, Friday nights are the ones that youngsters prefer to go out, so they are out of the circle. The globalization of the world and the technology is the reason why. (Family 4, Generation 3)

3.5.1 Transmission of the Mothers' Recipes

During the interviews, food as a family tradition emerged as an important part of the tradition. The Jewish Holidays include special foods such as, Challah bread is necessary for Shabbat dinner, Matzah and Seder specialties are mandatory for Passover tables, and there are special vegetables that have to be on the table. Dinners are supposed to be eaten while all family is together according to Jewish traditions. Thus, the transmission of the mother's recipes comes up as a sub-theme of 'importance of traditions'.

A Shabbat dinner, which is every Friday night, is a once in a week feast. The mother of the house prepares many different meals for the family. It might seem too much for a non-Jewish, but Shabbat is the most important tradition for many Jewish families.

While a first generation said she learned all from her mother, *"I learned everything from her, how to treat people and how to cook. "* **(Family 4, Generation 1)** another first generation participant said she learned from her mother in law. *"I learned most of the Sephardic Jewish recipes from her. But I learned the most from my mother in law, since my mother was a sick woman, she had no energy to teach me".* **(Family 5, Generation 1)**

The cooking is definitely important, when my daughter told me that she would move to America I bought a notebook and wrote all my recipes. I added and index and a dedication in the notebook. I wanted her to have all my recipes with my handwriting. **(Family 3, Generation 1)**

Yes, the Passover table is very important in my opinion. My mom used to tell me, 'You can do the same in your own house when you grow up'. I try to continue all these traditions; we also celebrate the holidays too. As my grandmother has taught my mother and my mother did the same to me, I do the same. I enjoy maintaining the traditions. **(Family 3, Generation 3)**

One of the main skills expected from a Jewish woman is to be able to cook Jewish food. The importance of feeding will further be examined as a sub-theme, but they are all linked to each other. So when a daughter gets married or decides to leave the house, mothers' priority is to make sure that she knows how to cook.

The cooking is definitely important, when my daughter told me that she would move to America I bought a notebook and wrote all my recipes. I added and index

and a dedication in the notebook. I wanted her to have all my recipes with my handwriting. (Family 3, Generation 1)

The recipes of a Jewish mother have their own differences. Sometimes a woman's mother and mother in law might cook the same meal in different ways, so she has to learn both, to make the husband happy and comfortable.

The Holiday meals take place in the first generations' house mainly. If the holiday is for two nights, in the first night the second generations go to the men's families' house and the second night to the woman's side. When the first generation gets older, and the third generations become young adults the holiday dinners take place in the second generations' houses. So to make sure those traditions continues, second generations imitate their mothers' and mother in laws' methods and recipes.

For example, I really try to cook the holiday foods as my mother did. I watched it when she cooked, took notes and I maintain it. (Family 3, Generation 2)

Even though some of the traditions come up with a lot of responsibilities and duties, the third generations still want to preserve the tradition of Jewish food in their lives. They hope to transmit the recipes to their own children, just as their mothers did. The food is the 'fun part' of the Jewish tradition.

3.5.2 Sitting at the Dinner Table as a Family

Gathering all family members together around the dinner table is an important part of Jewish Holidays. While explaining their traditions, participants emphasized the notion of sitting at the table together, especially on Holidays or Shabbats. This is what makes Jewish families close and intimate with each other, eliminating the negative impact of the age difference. This is a tradition which has been protected since the first generation and which the third generations hope to

maintain within their own families too. *"Since we are in Miami, some traditions will be lost, the holiday tables will be smaller, and maybe I won't be able to transmit these to my children. "* **(Family 3, Generation 3)** A first generation explained this value as a rule, *"All families eat dinner all together. "* **(Family 1, Generation 1)** and the second and third generation participants approved, *"Eating all together around a table is very important. "* **(Family 4, Generation 3)** *"The main rule was, that we used to sit on the dinner table all together. And always celebrated the first night of the holidays with my father's families side. "* **(Family 4, Generation 2)**

3.5.3 Religious Holidays

Religious Holidays are the pleasant parts of Judaism. Thus, even a Jew who is indifferent to religious practices, celebrates and practices the religious Holidays. It is a tradition that has continued for generations, as seen in the reports of participants from all three generations. While the first generation participants express themselves and their parents as being stricter on the celebration of holidays, second and third generations continue to celebrate those holidays not as mandatory religious practices but as pleasant traditions. Thus they don't perceive as problematic, the stretching of the rules according to their changing lifestyle.

My mother was a religious women, I remember on Yom Kippur, before the fast began, we turned off the lights except the corridor, and only a non Jewish could touch the lights that day. We really cared about these things. **(Family 3, Generation 1)**

I do care about the holidays a lot. The next holiday evening I will be at my younger daughters house, since my husband has passed away. It's really important to celebrate holidays as an extended family. My precious mother used to prepare very neat Holiday tables; we used to eat all together as five siblings. **(Family 4, Generation 1)**

Passover and Yom Kippur were important. When Kippur was ending there would be home baked cookies on the table, on Tu Bishvat the white pudding and nuts were always prepared. It was for fun but not for religion, it was a tradition. We used to live in Israel and it was normal, to keep Kosher and everything. On the other hand, we used to eat shrimps, which is forbidden and everything. (Family 3, Generation 2)

No she wasn't a religious one but Friday evenings were always important. The traditions were maintained. Even though we didn't practice the rules of religion, we celebrated the holidays. Also respect to the elder ones, not acting as you want around them or talking around elders had very strict rules. (Family 2, Generation 2)

As mentioned before, acculturating their daughters and granddaughters into the proper celebration of religious holidays is the mothers' and grandmothers' mission. The reason why third generation participants still continue such traditions and enjoy them is based on the mother's attitude towards the child while introducing him/her the religious practices. Mother's approach, which doesn't include any kind of pressure, makes the third generations easily socialize into religion and helps them to internalize it not as an obligation but as a lifestyle.

Yes, Passover table is very important in my opinion. My mom used to tell me, 'You can do the same in your own house when you grow up'. I try to continue all these traditions; we also celebrate the holidays too. As my grandmother has taught my mother and my mother did the same to me, I do the same. I enjoy maintaining the traditions. (Family 3, Generation 3)

My mother lit the candles with the prayer on Shabbat's but she never tried to make me do it too. She never asked me to join her, and I never felt like it. Normally she puts pressure on these kind of topics but she didn't I wonder why, maybe because I wasn't at home. (Family 5, Generation 3)

3.5.4 Shabbat

According to the 15 interviews, one of the irreplaceable traditions is the Friday night, which gathers the extended family around one table. In Turkish culture, Friday nights are as popular as Saturdays for hanging out with friends at nights, especially for the younger generations. Thus, for the third generation Jewish people, staying at home and eating with family on Friday night is indeed a big social sacrifice. *"I would love my own family to continue the Shabbat traditions, in order the extended family to gather around. "* **(Family 2, Generation 3)** The importance of Shabbats is the bending together of the extended family, becoming a nuclear one.

My mother taught me not to stay away from the family on Friday nights. She always wanted the extended family around her. Therefore when I think about our family, I recall all my cousins and uncle. **(Family 1, Generation 3)**

Shabbat night rituals also include another rule within. After the children get married, the sons continue to be in the house of their family of origin on Shabbat nights but the daughter has a new place where to be; the husband's family house. The father's side is mostly accepted more important, as they are the elder ones and they are the ones continuing the family surname.

We used to gather around on Friday nights. Even when the kids got married I always invited them for Noche de Shabat (Friday Night). My daughter used to eat at her mother in laws house mostly but my son and his family was at my place all the time. Afterwards the grandchildren grew up, problems happened, now we gather around occasionally. **(Family 3, Generation 1)**

Visiting the father's family of origin on Friday nights is both a tradition and a secret rule. The reports show that although the second and third generations lean towards stretching this tradition, the first generation is strict on it. The order

of priority is always the same; the man's side of the family comes first. The father's side is the first to be visited in the Holiday nights and also the newborns are named after the father's side. *"Especially on Friday nights, we were always together. That's a how Jewish do."* **(Family 1, Generation 1)**

I am Jewish but I'm not a religious person only a traditional one, yes on Friday nights the dinner is served more neatly, it's a tradition. On Saturdays we don't work, clean the house etc. **(Family 4, Generation 2)**

We used to gather around on Friday nights. Even when the kids got married I always invited them for Noche de Shabat (Friday Night). My daughter used to eat at her mother in laws house mostly but my son and his family was at my place all the time. Afterwards the grandchildren grew up, problems happened, now we gather around occasionally. **(Family 3, Generation 1)**

The only tradition I would like to continue from my religion is Shabbat. I can't be as strict as my mom, but they didn't work hard to teach me I suppose. Maybe they accepted that these traditions would vanish too. **(Family 5, Generation 3)**

3.5.5 Enjoying A House Full of People

It was expressed that the nature of Jewish traditions unites the whole extended family around one dinner table. Since Jewish parents are curious and sharing towards their children, the friends of children are also invited to join the dinner. The house being full of family members and their friends enriches the happy family environment. As mentioned above, since feeding the children is one of the main expertise's of a Jewish mother, the more crowded the house, the more proud they feel for being able to host many people.

While a third generation of third family said that, *"I guess the more related we are with the children, the more they stay with us in the house. It's about us. I wish my*

children will leave the house after 20-25. " (Family 3, Generation 3) the third generation of family four mentioned, "We gather around together on the special occasions. We get together on holiday nights as the extended family. " (Family 4, Generation 3)

I like the full house; I like to host a big group of people. Otherwise I am not alike my mother, I'm not tough, maybe because of my husband, or I used to have a sick son, and I was so tempered. (Family 3, Generation 2)

I can do it, the fridge is always full, I have a lot of back up foods. My daughter or husband could invite 10 people at once and I will make them happy and full. That's what I love, to nurture people, I love to serve, so my mom too. (Family 3, Generation 2)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This study aimed to examine the Turkish-Jewish women's experiences regarding motherhood and womanhood. The study included 15 Turkish-Sephardic Jewish women's experiences. The participants were of three different generations: mother, daughter and granddaughter from five different families. The study aimed to analyse the principles and values that are transmitted among the generations and to understand the transmission process.

Judaism, is both religious and half ethnic, is collectivistic and conveys a unique lifestyle built upon various traditional practices. As discussed in the above sections, the three generations of women have both similarities and differences. While the similarities are mainly about being a Jewish mother and a Jewish woman, the differences were observed in terms of changing lifestyles, the continuity of the traditions and the religious perspectives of participants.

Majority of the women defined their mothers characteristically as “devoted” and “like a friend”, they also emphasized their grandmothers' self-sacrificing position in the family. As highlighted in the literature review, Jewish mothers also label themselves as ‘self sacrificing’. The mothers also have the responsibility of organizing the family life, by actively participating in the decision-making process, tending to control both the present and the future based on their past experiences. However, knowing that their mothers had devoted themselves to the common good of the family, Jewish children find themselves in a constant position of indebtedness (Rosen & Weltman, 1996).

Using the ‘sacrifice’ card instead of authority is how a Jewish mother controls the house. On the other hand, the friendly attitude they embrace towards their daughters enriches the trust-based relationship they aim to build. This feeling of confidence supports daughters to share every detail about their lives with their mothers. Instead of becoming overprotective or annoying, these two characteristics help Jewish mothers to control their children.

In line with Thematic Analysis Method, the five themes presented in the results section were analysed according to the observed similar and different experiences of women from three generations.

4.1 BEING A JEWISH WOMAN

Although success and earning money has always been expected from men, women are increasingly expected to be active in the labour force as well. This expectation creates an opportunity for women to study and to work. While first generation women's only duty was to be a housewife and to take good care of the kids, second-generation women started working outside the home. All members of the third generation are university graduates and they all have a business life, which they explain with excitement. According to third generation participants, working and even earning more money than men is natural. The third generation participants feel proud of their mothers' working outside the house. In the fifth family, the children persuaded their mothers to work in a real estate business and they are happy about their mother earning her life.

Previous research shows that individualistic and collectivistic values co-exist among the young educated population in Turkey (Göregenli, 1995). In this study, the third generation participants are more individualistic and even though they are all Jewish women, they don't define themselves as 'Jewish Woman' or 'Turkish Jewish Woman' but just as who they are as an individual. Another emerging difference between generations is observed on the individual attitudes towards the community. While the mothers and grandmothers define themselves based on their religion and behave as the traditions and the values of the community necessitate, the new generation rebels against this mandate.

The topic of relationship with men yielded some interesting results. While the first and second-generation women put great emphasis on treating their husbands respectfully, the third generation does not prioritize the husbands' needs although claiming to notice their state of mood. The friendly attitude they observed between their parents is a relational characteristic, which they want to

carry into their romantic relationships; however, protecting the equality of positions and receiving the support of their husbands at home are given more importance by the third generation.

The theme of 'Being A Jewish Woman', has 8 sub themes which are value of woman, gender roles, educated and working women, duties of women, women as a spouse, being friend with the husband, importance of support among spouses, being respectful to the husband. There is lots of expectation from the women in the Jewish community. To be a successful and good mother, to be active in life such as being well educated, having a job, being a loving and successful member of the Jewish community and being a good and helpful spouse (Rosen & Weltman, 1996). Therefore, participants explain the importance of both their talents and their daughters' capabilities on making them feel valuable and accepted. In order to be an acclaimed Jewish woman, fulfilling all these expectations is required, because solely being good at motherhood is not seen as an achievement, but is accepted as a moral duty.

If this very same research were made with the Turkish Muslim women of three generations, the subthemes would be expected to be different. Since the Muslim religion has a more patriarchal and obedience oriented (Özensel, 2004) structure compared to Judaism; the theme 'Being friend with the husband' would probably not be a part of Muslim participants' answers but a more obedience oriented theme would be such as, 'Being Respectful to the Husband'. Probably another theme would be about the 'the transmission of the importance of cleaning' since Turkish-Muslim women be more likely to define themselves by the cleanness and tidiness of their homes instead of the cooking or the transmission of religion. The routine of a typical Turkish-Muslim woman is the house being cleaned everyday and spend one whole day for the 'heavy cleaning' such as washing the windows, scrubbing the parquet or shaking and clean out the carpet. (Özyeğin,2000).

In fact this is also the case in the Turkish-Jewish families, but this is something mostly the maid in the house does that the women can't be proud of all the time. They are proud about the food they cook instead. Of course, social class

differences also exist, such that the middle class Turkish women also get the same help with housecleaning from their maids.

4.2 BEING A JEWISH MOTHER

According to the literature, a Jewish mother devotes herself to her family in order to be loved, accepted, appreciated and at this leads the children to feel indebted to their mother. A typical Jewish mother is described as nurturing, caring and showing positive affect towards her children and her partner (Rosen & Weltman, 1996). The self-sacrificing nature of the mother gives her control over the family besides provoking an inner guilt in her children, since they grow up knowing that they will not be able to pay back what they have done for them. (Rosen&Weltman,1996). However, Hayim (2009) quoted that “ the boundaries between the parents and the children are seen as less rigid in Jewish families. Thus less hierarchical and more democratic relationships compared to other ethnic groups exist in the Jewish family structure.” Since the children feel that they have to pay back, mothers do not need to use a lot of authority or rules over them; the children are already willing to help. During the literature review and the interviews it was obvious that daughters prefer not to lie, not to steal, not to hide anything from their parents. They explained their relationship as friendly as possible, that they could share everything.

Children may pass to answer whole the details of their lives to their mother when they feel like they are under pressure or they actually have no time to explain. The emotion of guilt was not talked a lot within the interviews, maybe because of the questions or maybe because it was hard to open up for the participants. In the literature there were some hints about Jewish children feeling guilt towards their parents. According to the literature, when academic success was the topic, when there was a non-Jewish boyfriend or there was a lie, there was a feeling of guilt; otherwise, the relationships seemed so steady and good. The academic success topic would be a big deal if the participants were Ashkenazi

instead of Sephardic Jews, since the education is their priority in life.

There were examples of self-sacrificing mothers in all five families. All three-generation women explained their own mothers as: loving, caring and devoted to the family. Although being devoted is a must for the first generation, the second and third generation daughters stated a feeling of suffocation from this feature of their mothers. The new generations reported their expectation towards their mothers for having a life other than the family. The expectation of the Jewish mother in the new era is being strong, educated and independent.

An important and mandatory role and responsibility of a Jewish mother is to teach the religion, the culture and the traditional practices to her children (Davey et al., 2001). The participants expressed the way they have been exposed to religion as a lifestyle, but not as an obligation. The third generations- explained that they learned many of the religious values and practices by watching their parents practice. The holidays and Shabbat night practices have been a lifestyle to them since they were young, and by the time they got older, their mothers educated them about the reasons, aims and the process of these religious practices. After acquiring the knowledge, the third generation now has the option to decide which practices to continue or to abandon.

One of the main differences between the three generations is on the notion of rules of womanhood and motherhood. The first generations obeyed the norms without any questioning because that was what they had learned from their own mothers. Although the second generation started questioning those rules, their mothers compelled them to continue to obey those rules, by representing them as the requirements of being a Jewish mother. The third generation is given the right and freedom to decide on the rules, which they want to follow according to their logic and point of view.

4.3 MOTHER-DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIP

The literature suggests that Jewish family structure has a very strong family orientation, is cohesive and closely knit (Rosen & Weltman, 1996). The typical family explained by the participants appears to be very similar. The mothers describe a very close, friendly and cohesive relationship with their daughters. Especially the second and the first generation participants argue that they share everything.

The second-generation mothers are also proud to say that they are close as a friend to their daughters. Some of the second-generation participants expressed that although they shared most of their secrets with their mothers, topics such as sex and boyfriends were not talked about. Particularly the second-generation participants asserted their wish on having a more open and friendly relationship with their mothers. Although mentioning the need of having a closer relationship with their mothers, the first generation participants are aware that for the time period they lived in, such a relationship with the mother was impossible. Thus they don't demonstrate a blaming attitude towards their mothers. It won't be wrong to say, daughters of devoted mothers don't show their negative emotions such as anger or disappointment to their mothers.

Jewish holidays and the traditions get family members to be as close as possible to each other. The rule of celebrating the Shabbat all together, unite the extended family together for at least one night, every week. Thus by sharing about their lives, by being in close contact with each other, they keep the sense of familial connectedness alive. In addition, the preparation for the holiday and the dressing of the table provide a chore sharing opportunity between mothers and daughters. They spend extra time in the kitchen and the dining room together, which inevitably keeps strong the connection between family members.

4.4 INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGES

Another important focus of the study is "intergenerational changes". While having many common features, the three generations also reported some differences among each other, which rose by the generation difference.

There were two kinds of differences; one is the ‘‘differences in thinking’’ and the other is ‘‘behavioural differences’’. Literature shows that for the Jewish women intermarriage is not a preferred option even in the future (Davey et al., 2001; Sinclair & Milner, 2005). The participants in this research also have a similar attitude towards intermarriage. While the first generation was highly opposed to intermarriage, for second generation it is not a preferable option. They hope for their children to marry a Jew. On the other hand, the third generation of participants claimed that although having Jewish partners they are not against intermarriage in theory, since both religions and people become increasingly more similar, due to the increased connection provided by the Internet.

The third generations can’t imagine the life, which the first generations lived. The only times they can visualize it, is the times they watch old time movies. Life without smart phones and televisions seems impossible to them. Only the second generation understands these two different lives, they’ve been a part of the first generations lives, while they are in the third generations today. The second generations (mothers) can be accepted as the bridge between these two generations, they can understand the new life and they do remember the past.

Jewish families value sharing opinions of three generations and autonomy, still the first generation had some restrictions between themselves and their children, it was not aloud to talk about everything. On the other hand, children did not have privacy (second generations). Only the third generation has both a closer relationship with their parents and more privacy.

The understanding of religion changed over time too. It was argued above that Judaism is accepted as a Religio-Ethnic group (Davey, 2001). According to the first generation and some of the second generation, Judaism is a religion with strict rules organizing life. While the third generation also accepts Judaism as an ethnic culture, they participate in it as much as they want, in order to add variety to their lives. The understanding of Judaism has been changing both theoretically and in practice.

4.5 THE IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING TRADITIONS

According to the literature review, the Jewish traditions and rituals strengthen a person's inner stability and closeness to family. The religious responsibilities are given importance both because they are accepted as mandatory and also because they create stronger family ties (Davey et al., 2001; Sinclair & Milner, 2005). Also Amyot and Sigelman (1996, as cited in Sinclair & Milner, 2005) suggest that with the absence of Jewish religious faith, there is no Jewish identity.

The culture and the rituals are what shape a Jewish person's identity. Therefore, all three generations of the participants are aware of the importance of traditions, values and Jewish Holidays. They are aware that these aspects are what their core identity was built from. Thus continuing the tradition and the Jewish holidays is common to all three generations. The reason behind the wish to continue the religious practices doesn't lean on obligations, but the spirituality they mean to Jewish families, uniting around a table and sharing the sense of belonging to something bigger than them.

Since the 20th century, Turkey evolved and the 'chronosystem' explained before in the Bronfenbrenner's Theory has changed too. With the chronosystem changing the entire sub systems and the interactions between the participants had changed and evolved too. Turkish culture, which is accepted as the 'macrosystem' began to accept women as an individual who can work, earn money, have right to speak up and capabilities. That's a reason why the women of first generation participants speak more about their house works and family while the second and third generations emphasized about their working life and their hopes for future. On the other hand the religion has not changed, the rules and the values of Judaism remained the same. But the second and the third generation participants mentioned that they try to continue some values but not all of them; which is because the changed chronosystem has more impact on the new generations.

One other thing as a Turkish-Jewish researcher, I expected some more information about being a minority, the terrorism history of Turkey or even Holocaust stories. During the interviews, these topics only came up once or twice and the Holocaust word was never mentioned. I suppose since all the participants were Sephardic Jews they didn't have great grand mothers or grand fathers who survived from that era. The theme 'Family Union' and 'Enjoying A House Full of People' has a lot to do with being a minority. Since the fear of assimilation and the urge to be strong together, made the Jewish families tighter as an iron knit, that's how they survived, all moving, and creating a new life together all around the world. Even the mother daughter relationship has been affected from being a minority.. Since being together, sticking tight is an important context, the relationship of mothers and daughters is closer too. This explains the reason for the daughters being indebted to their mothers because of their self-sacrificing attitude. The other aspect is that since the family have a lot of meaning in a minority community, there is no chance for a daughter to turn her back on her mother. Hayim (2009) explained that minority groups are more tolerant and empathic to each other and they have responsibilities such as being a part of whole Jewish community activities. Having a good relationship with the mother is covering both of the minority law. Another point was that; since we were talking about their family, daughters and values, none of the women felt lonely during the interviews, but on the contrary they were filled with good memories of past, present and hopes for future. Therefore, some of the points I expected to be mentioned were not mentioned at all.

I also didn't expect that the mothers willingly transmit their values and religious rules to their children. But they all explained how they worked hard on teaching their children about what to continue and how to do it. In the literature review, the value transmission processes was explained as something happening unwillingly, by teaching and observing of the kid, but in this case, the transmission is a mission for Jewish women, that's a difference of them in comparison of a Non-Jewish Turkish women's daily routines.

One other point to be discussed is what if the participants weren't all Sephardic Jews but if some was Ashkenazis. According to the Sephardic Jews the continuity of cuisine and traditions is very important. If there had been an Ashkenazi family, which attended the research, there would have been another theme which included 'education'. Since their history had a ban about education, their priority during raising a child is for him/her to be educated and bright.

During the literature review, it was surprising to find out that the Ashkenazi Jews name their children after a dead family member. After the interviews, I thought that if the participants were Ashkenazis, they might have talked about the ancient parents more since they care to make them feel alive and also maybe the emphasis on 'honoring' the parent's speeches would have been less. The debt, which participants felt toward their mother, might not have been as obvious. Since the culture of Germany and Eastern Europe is more individualistic compared to the Mediterranean culture where Sephardic Jews came from; if this research were made with the Ashkenazis, the self-sacrificing mother theme might not have come forward. This could have made a big difference between the themes and the interpretation process by me.

4.5 CLINICAL IMPLICATIONS

In accordance with the interviews, we observed that the values are concepts that are passed down from one generation to other. Since Judaism is a religion, which is based on values, Jewish lifestyle, the understanding of parenting, the concept of being, a women themes are all influenced by an elder generation. The results of the study show how much impact a mother or a grandmother has on their daughter and granddaughter's life and decisions. It's inevitable even though a woman tries hard to not set any limits on her children's life, they see, watch, learn and internalize.

Therefore while working with Jewish families, as in the case a very closed and conservative clusters of family, the clinicians should be aware of the importance of the transmission of values and making decisions as a group in order

to understand and help them. The clinician should learn about the history of the family, the migration stories and the real origin of a Jewish participant. As it will be touched later under the “Being an Insider” and the “Limitations” headline, in the cases that the interviewer is closely interested or a part of the society, there can be some advantages and disadvantages too. In some cases, the therapist might have some biases during the sessions and he/she can interpret the session from a fully cultural aspect according to her/his own experiences. On the contrary in some other cases the therapist might not listen from a biased aspect and he/she can ignore his/her basic knowledge, doesn’t let his/her own countertransference’s to take over and interpret the process as a new life. Therefore, the therapist should ignore to give meaning to information from a Jewish identity but still accepting the client’s origin.

During the interviews many participants kept asking for some information to be censored in order not to be too vulnerable. The third generations especially specified that the only reason they accepted to the research was their trust in me since I am Jewish too. According to this knowledge, the clinicians should be careful with the Jewish clients since their history of migrations, the genocide and some specific events their ancestors were a part of their having huge ‘trust issues’. They can be accepted as more vulnerable than a Muslim Turkish client. In order to these, a Turkish therapist should be more sensitive and give the trust that all that’s happening in the therapy room, stays between those walls so that the client can open up.

Literature shows that, clients who are a part of a minority such as Jews in Turkey prefer to see a therapist, who is from their own race or religion, and accept them more positively and trust faster (Cabral & Smith, 2011). One study has showed that if a client has mistrust towards a racial/ethnic group or the majority while he/she is the minority, it could affect the process of therapy in a negative way. (David, 2010) The trust of the participants during the interview process was because I was one of them; on the contrary my personal view according to choosing a same race therapist is not the same. I believe especially the third generation of the participants would feel more comfortable with a non-Jewish

therapist, in order that the therapist would not know anybody they talk about during the session. Also for a couple therapists it would be better for the trust issues for him/her to be from a different race so that the couple can open up easier and talk about real problems without any hesitation of 'community gossip'. This issue would have been different 30 years ago; since the first generation of the participants chose to live as a close cluster,, they would have been happier with a Jewish therapist to work with.

As it was mentioned before, the Jewish community has a collectivist life style and an enmeshed family structure especially because of the past of their migrations and sticking up together in order not to be assimilated. While working with the Jewish clients, the therapist should take at least one session to fill the genogram, in order to get all the past possible traumas, beliefs and values that have been transmitted from the ancestors. The therapist should consider the client's concerns such as being a minority, anxiety of separation and anxiety of being exposed.

Furthermore, focusing on the relationships with the parents and the extended family would be meaningful. The parts of the family's traditions, values, and beliefs, parenting styles, way of communications and the transmissions for sure, create the whole of the individual. A detailed investigation about the self-sacrificing mother and the consequences of it can be done.

Is there any feeling of guilt, etc. when the child quits the house, or lies, or fails to satisfy the expectations of the family.

The therapist can search for what are the transmitted and accepted values and on the other hand what are the new values that are evolved in order not to be like the parents during the therapies. Since the three-generation participants explained their home during childhood and their recent family lives, they all explained what they value and continued and what they rebelled to in order to be themselves.

One last thing for a clinician to take into consideration is, the 'motherhood' and 'being a woman' concepts can be a little different with a Turkish-Jewish woman when it's compared with a Turkish-Muslim woman.

Being a woman is an evolving concept within the Jewish community, while it has some extra burdens on the shoulder. It is believed and constantly said that a Jewish woman has to be perfect in everything, on cooking, cleaning, raising the kids, teaching about the values and religion and expected to be a great wife. Even though working outside the home is more likely in 21st century, these aspects are mostly still expected from the women. The therapist must take the perfectionist expectations of the society in to consideration. And also he/she might search for some 'guilt' feelings, since the new era's mothering is not as it was expected from the elders. The 'Jewish Mama' explained above is mainly about talking about expectations and making these expectations come true for their children's well being.

4.6 LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study explored the intergenerational transmission of mothering and womanhood across three generations with 15 Turkish Jewish women. The study is important because it is one of the first studies including three generations of Sephardic Jewish women in the research context. Even though more participants would have given richer results, the sample size is good enough for a graduate thesis and the in-depth interviews yield meaningful outcomes.

During the participant selection phase of the study, there was no requirement of being "Sephardic" as the only selection criteria was being "Jewish". The available participants came out to be all "Sephardic". If there were also "Yiddish" participants, some answers would have been different, and it would be valuable to include such participants in future research since they are an important part of Jewish Turkish Community.

Another limitation of this study is that only Jewish Turkish individuals living in Istanbul participated in it. The participation of Jewish individuals inhabiting in other cities could create a difference on the results. Another limitation of the study is that since the participants had to be from a family

cluster, convenient and available families were accepted, so there wasn't a second elimination for the similar families.

The third generation was supposed to be mothers too, but the grandmothers of the third generations who have children had all passed away. That's why the third generations included in the research are not parents. Further research can search for the parenting styles and transmission of values among third generation participants, as they become mothers.

The researcher analyzed the participants' interviews but a second person did not do the coding. Therefore there is no inter-rater reliability. In order to have trustworthiness, coding by a second person is required before the paper can be considered for publication.

Also 'member check in' method could have been used, in order to give the participants an opportunity to correct any errors and specify any wrong interpretations. That would have helped to confirm the data and research would increase the validity of the data..

More research information and chronological data from the Turkish Chief Rabbinate was desired for use during the interviews and for enriching the content. However, the Jewish Community was not available to get the needed information.

This study was only conducted among women; a further study could examine the fatherhood and manhood of the Jewish Turkish men in three generations. Also the mothering and the womanhood can be examined within Turkish Muslim women of three generations also, for obtaining a comparison between two socio-cultural groups. In this way, the gender and the religious differences impacting the parenting styles could also be observed.

In qualitative study, the researchers own bias and inner processing also affect the interpretation of the results. Since the researcher is also a member of Turkish Jewish Community and a woman, the interpretations of the interviews, and the expectations while forming the questions might have been influenced by her identity. On the other hand, the identity of the researcher has helped the participants to have confidence regarding the study; especially the usage of

Ladino has helped the first generation participants to easily open up themselves to the researcher.

4.6.1 Being an Insider

There have been some arguments about researching your own culture as an insider. There is a belief that only an outsider can get the truth out of the participant's mouth since she/he will be trustworthy to them. And some others believe that, the subjectivity is the main component in order to make a reliable research, therefore, and outsider can be the most subjective one during the interviews.

As a part of Turkish-Jewish community I was eager to know about the transmission of the mothering and womanhood processes between these women. According to my perspective, the interviews and the coding processes was all subjective from the information taken by the participants. Beyond that, during creating the interview questions, being an insider was an advantage in order to make sure all the questions had a purpose and the answers will be meaningful.

Since the participants were from three different generations, the gap between the first generations and me were great. And it was the most interesting interviews for me in order to get more and more and make sure I understand how everything was at that time. It was a bonding process for both the participants of first and second generations who were listened from by a third generation in my opinion. Kikumura (1981) mentioned that “the difference between the three generations could be bigger within the same culture when it's compared to the different cultures.” Therefore, by the research, third and second generations were filled with memories and the joy of being listened by a third generation. And the third generations opened some new perspective for the coding process.

In my opinion, an outsider would write some other details, which would be new to her/him, but during the interview processes the spontaneous questions in order to fill some gaps and have a better understanding it wouldn't be as meaningful as an insider's questions. It was a great opportunity for me to be able

to make this research, and to meet some great Turkish-Jewish community members, listen to them and engage their stories. There were some answers and stories that I expected to hear from the participants, but the majority of the stories were unexpected and enlightening.

During the question preparation processes my identity must have played some role. Since my focus point was about the transmission processes of mothering and womanhood, I ignored to add many questions about the experience of being a Turkish Citizen, or being a minority. Being a mother in a culture of minority obviously had some impact. The participants didn't mention a lot about being a minority; since the questions were mainly about mothering and value transmission, the topic of "being a minority" didn't come up during the interviews. Still there appeared some themes that referred to the impacts of being a minority such as 'the Decisions and Process Related to Marriage'. In the literature, , the topic of intermarriages for Jews was referred to as not preferred in order to prevent assimilation.. The participants of the research explained the intermarriage dilemma as they want their grandchildren to be Jewish and the children not to have cultural problems with their spouses. But I deeply, it was a feeling about losing the values, the religion and the ethnicity; so, it was about being a minority even though the word never came out. The probable reason I refused to ask questions about the traumas or prejudices of Judaism is my having a minority psychology and not willing to engage in any political confrontation myself.

I could have asked more questions about the 'emotions' in the house, if they were able to talk about them within the family, and about any 'guilt' feelings due to mother's self-sacrificing attitudes burdening the children. Being a part of the community enabled me to see many things clearly, in order to create and reorganize the themes and writing this thesis. Since I am a part of the Turkish-Jewish community, during the interviews being an insider might have stopped me in order not to learn about these 'religion based flaws'.

4.7 CONCLUSION

This study aimed to get a better understanding about Turkish-Jewish women and the transmission of motherhood and womanhood between generations. It focused on the experience of three generations of women from 5 different families. The analysis of their values and linkages between their experiences were examined partly based on Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory. The main objective was to gain better understanding of these participants' lifestyles, belief systems, values and expectations regarding being a woman and mother. Considering the lack of qualitative research on the topic, the study was designed to provide in-depth information about the topic.

Interviews were conducted among women from three-generations, from the same family, as grandmother, mother and daughter, in order to reach to a more comprehensive portrait regarding the notions of 'womanhood' and 'motherhood'. That the study was done on five different families, and from three generations, make the findings stronger.

Results show that a Jewish woman has many responsibilities to undertake, no matter which generation the woman is from. Secondly, the collectivist religio-ethno aspect of Judaism facilitates the transmission by older generations of their values and lifestyles to the next generations. Thirdly, as the continuity of traditions and lifestyle is very important for Jewish families, the traditions are widely preserved. Lastly, even though the continuity is important, values and the lifestyle have been changing and becoming more flexible from the first generation to the third. Overall, results indicate that Turkish-Jewish women's lifestyles are pretty similar in terms of values, rules, expectations and responsibilities in all ages and, the literature suggest the same even for different countries. Moreover, although claiming to have received a lot from their parents, the younger generation participant's claim that they don't feel the obligation to comply with all religious requirements as their parents and grandparents did; instead, they prefer internalizing the tradition as a unique lifestyle.

APPENDIX A: GÖRÜŞMELER İÇİN SORU YÖNERGESİ

1. KUŞAK SORU LİSTESİ

1. Bize biraz kendinizden bahseder misiniz?
2. Nerede doğdunuz?
3. Kardeşleriniz var mı?
4. Annenizden bahseder misiniz?
5. Babanızdan bahseder misiniz?
6. Yaş farkınız kaç (aile bireyleriyle)
7. Okuyor musunuz? Nerede ne kadar zamandır?
8. Çalışıyor musunuz? Nerede ne kadar zamandır?
9. Ailenin ve/veya annenizin çalışmanız ile ilgili görüşü nasıldı?
10. Nasıl bir aileye doğdunuz? Nasıl bir ev ortamında büyüdünüz?
11. Evde kadınlar ile erkeklerin rolleri arasında bir fark var mıydı?
12. Erkeklerin sahip olduğu haklara evdeki kadınlar da sahip miydi?
13. Evde bir görev dağılımı var mıydı iki cinsiyet için?
14. Ailede size en yakın kişiler kimlerdir? Kimlerle ilişki kurmak daha kolaydı ve sizce neden?
15. Anneniz nasıl bir kadın? Nasıl bir anneydi?
16. Annenizle ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Size neler öğretti, nasıl konuşur, nasıl davranır, sizden neler beklerdi?
17. Çocukken annenizin size en çok söylediği kelimeleri/cümleleri hatırlıyor musunuz? (sevgi sözcüğü, emir kipi, aranızda bir espri lakap vs. olabilir.)

18. Büyüdüğünüz evde, ailenizden gelenek görenekler, olmazsa olmazlar nelerdir? (Burada evlilik yaşı, dota kavramı, cinsellik ile ilgili konuşmak, cinsel eğitim gibi konulara değinilebilir ben de aralarda sorabilirim)
19. Peki annenizden özel olarak aldığınız, size özellikle aktarmak istediği gelenek görenekler var mıydı?
20. Bu geleneklerden hangisini şuan ki hayatınızda da uyguluyorsunuz? Bu değerler size ne katıyor?
21. Annenizden ‘kadın’ olmaya dair edindiğiniz, öğrendiğiniz ve bugün uyguladığınız veya uygulamamayı tercih ettiğiniz bilgiler neler?
22. Kadın olarak annenizle bir paralellik görüyor musunuz? Eş olarak, kadın olarak sizce annenizden edindiğiniz özellikler neler?
23. Annenizden ‘anne’ olmaya dair edindiğiniz, öğrendiğiniz ve bugün uyguladığınız veya uygulamamayı tercih ettiğiniz bilgiler neler?
24. Bu geleneklerin uygulandığı zaman ile bugünküler arasında neler değişti, devam eden geleneklerin devamlılığını sizce ne sağladı, kaybolanlar neden kayboldu?
25. Anne olmaya nasıl karar verdiniz? (beklentileriniz, hayalleriniz)
26. Kendinizi nasıl bir anne olarak tanımlarsınız?
27. Kendi annenizle anneliğiniz benzer mi? Ne konularda aynı , nerelerde farklı?
28. Az önce bahsettiğiniz ailenizden ve özel olarak annenizden size geçen geleneklerden hangilerini çocuğunuza ve sonra torunuza da katmak için uğraştınız?
29. Edindikleriniz dışında kadınlık konusunda çocuğunuza kattığınızı düşündüğünüz, bilgiler neler? Onlara verdiğiniz özel bir öğreti var mı?

30. Edindikleriniz dışında annelik konusunda çocuğunuza kattığınızı düşündüğünüz, bilgiler neler? Onlara verdiğiniz özel bir öğreti var mı?
31. Kızınızla ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Onunla konuşur musunuz? Neler hakkında?
32. Torununuzla ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Onunla konuşur musunuz? Neler hakkında?
33. Annenizle bu konularda konuşur muydunuz? Neler ile ilgili konuşmuş olmak isterdiniz?
34. Torununuza katmak için uğraştığınız değerler, gelenekler nelerdir?
35. Türkiye’de Yahudi bir kadın olmak nasıl bir şey ?
36. Yahudiliğin kadın kimliğinizi nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz? Yani Yahudi bir kadın olarak zorunluluklarınız, öğretilerinizi, yaşam tarzınız sizi nasıl siz yaptı?
37. Dinin sizin üzerinizdeki etkileri nedir? (kadınlığınızın)
38. ‘Jewish Mama’ , ‘Yahudi Anne’ deyince aklınıza ne geliyor?
39. Sizin bu kavrama yakın mısınız, kendinizi tipik bir ‘Jewish Mama’ olarak tanımlar mısınız?
40. Size göre ideal Yahudi anne nasıl olmalı?
41. Size göre ideal Yahudi kadın nasıl olmalı?
42. Ailenizdeki kadınlardan İdeal Yahudi Kadını veya Annesine örnek verebilir misiniz? Bu kişilerden siz neler öğrendiniz, ve onlara neler kattınız?
43. Çocuk yetiştirirken en önem verdiğiniz şeyler neydi, nasıl değerler katmaya çalıştınız?

44. Kız çocuk için ayrı erkek çocuk için ayrı değerler var mıydı? Örnek verebilir misiniz?
45. Annenizin size en çok söylediđi cümlenin olduğundan bahsetmişsiniz. Siz çocuđunuza en çok söylediđiniz kelimeleri/cümlelerin ne olduğunun farkında mısınız?
46. Peki torununuza sık söylediđiniz bir cümle var mıdır? Var ise nedir?
47. Annenizle/ kızınızla / torununuzla ilişkinizi konuşmak size nasıl hissettirdi? Neler anımsattı?
48. Konuşma sırasında fark ettiđiniz ilişkiniz ile ilgili en önemli şey ne oldu?
49. Eklemek istediđiniz bir şey var mı?

2. KUŞAK SORU LİSTESİ

1. Bize biraz kendinizden bahseder misiniz?
2. Nerede doğdunuz?
3. Kardeşleriniz var mı?
4. Annenizden bahseder misiniz?
5. Babanızdan bahseder misiniz?
6. Yaş farkınız kaç (aile bireyleriyle)
7. Okuyor musunuz? Nerede ne kadar zamandır?
8. Çalışıyor musunuz? Nerede ne kadar zamandır?
9. Ailenin ve/veya annenizin çalışmanız ile ilgili görüşü nasıldı?
10. Nasıl bir aileye doğdunuz? Nasıl bir ev ortamında büyüdünüz?
11. Evde kadınlar ile erkeklerin rolleri arasında bir fark var mıydı?
12. Erkeklerin sahip olduğu haklara evdeki kadınlar da sahip miydi?
13. Evde bir görev dağılımı var mıydı iki cinsiyet için?
14. Ailede size en yakın kişiler kimlerdir? Kimlerle ilişki kurmak daha kolaydı ve sizce neden?
15. Anneniz nasıl bir kadın? Nasıl bir anneydi?
16. Annenizle ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Onunla nelere dair konuşurdunuz? Şimdi neler konuşuyorsunuz?
17. Size neler öğretti, nasıl konuşur, nasıl davranır, sizden neler beklerdi?
18. Çocukken annenizin size en çok söylediği kelimeleri/cümleleri hatırlıyor musunuz? (sevgi sözcüğü, emir kipi, aranızda bir espri lakap vs. olabilir.)

19. Büyüdüğünüz evde, ailenizden gelenek görenekler, olmazsa olmazlar nelerdir? (Burada evlilik yaşı, dota kavramı, cinsellik ile ilgili konuşmak, cinsel eğitim gibi konulara değinilebilir ben de aralarda sorabilirim)
20. Peki annenizden özel olarak aldığınız, size özellikle aktarmak istediği gelenek görenekler var mıydı?
21. Bu geleneklerden hangisini şuan ki hayatınızda da uyguluyorsunuz? Bu değerler size ne katıyor?
22. Annenizden ‘kadın’ olmaya dair edindiğiniz, öğrendiğiniz ve bugün uyguladığınız veya uygulamamayı tercih ettiğiniz bilgiler neler?
23. Annenizden ‘anne’ olmaya dair edindiğiniz, öğrendiğiniz ve bugün uyguladığınız veya uygulamamayı tercih ettiğiniz bilgiler neler?
24. Bu geleneklerin uygulandığı zaman ile bugünküler arasında neler değişti, devam eden geleneklerin devamlılığını sizce ne sağladı, kaybolanlar neden kayboldu?
25. Sizin şuan ki çekirdek aileniz ile ilgili biraz bilgi verebilir misiniz?
26. Anne olmaya nasıl karar verdiniz? (beklentileriniz, hayalleriniz)
27. Kendinizi nasıl bir anne olarak tanımlarsınız?
28. Kendi annenizle anneliğiniz benzer mi? Ne konularda aynı , nerelerde farklı?
29. Kadın olarak annenizle bir paralellik görüyor musunuz? Eş olarak, kadın olarak sizce annenizden edindiğiniz neler var?
30. Az önce bahsettiğiniz ailenizden ve özel olarak annenizden size geçen geleneklerden hangilerini çocuğunuza da katmak için uğraştınız?
31. Edindikleriniz dışında kadınlık konusunda çocuğunuza kattığınızı düşündüğünüz, bilgiler neler? Onlara verdiğiniz özel bir öğreti var mı?

32. Edindikleriniz dışında annelik konusunda çocuğunuza kattığınızı düşündüğünüz, bilgiler neler? Onlara verdiğiniz özel bir öğreti var mı?
33. Kızınızla ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Onunla konuşur musunuz? Neler hakkında?
34. Annenizle bu konularda konuşur muydunuz? Konuşmadığınız neler ile ilgili konuşmuş olmak isterdiniz?
35. Türkiye’de Yahudi bir kadın olmak nasıl bir şey ?
36. Yahudiliğin kadın kimliğinizi nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz? Yani Yahudi bir kadın olarak zorunluluklarınız, öğretilerinizi, yaşam tarzınız sizi nasıl siz yaptı?
37. Dinin sizin üzerinizdeki etkileri nedir? (kadınlığınızın)
38. ‘Jewish Mama’ , ‘Yahudi Anne’ deyince aklınıza ne geliyor?
39. Sizin bu kavrama yakın mısınız, kendinizi tipik bir ‘Jewish Mama’ olarak tanımlar mısınız?
40. Size göre ideal Yahudi anne nasıl olmalı?
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42. Ailenizdeki kadınlar’dan İdeal Yahudi Kadını veya Annesine örnek verebilir misiniz? Bu kişilerden siz neler öğrendiniz, ve onlara neler kattınız?
43. Çocuk yetiştirirken en önem verdiğiniz şeyler neydi, nasıl değerler katmaya çalıştınız?
44. Kız çocuk için ayrı erkek çocuk için ayrı değerler var mıydı? Örnek verebilir misiniz?

45. Annenizin size en çok söylediđi cümlelerin olduğundan bahsetmiştiniz.
Siz çocuđunuza en çok söylediđiniz kelimeleri/cümlelerin ne olduğunun farkında mısınız?
46. Annenizle/ kızınızla ilişkinizi konuşmak size nasıl hissettirdi? Neler anımsattı?
47. Konuşma sırasında fark ettiđiniz ilişkiniz ile ilgili en önemli şey ne oldu?
48. Eklemek istediđiniz bir şey var mı?

3. KUŞAK SORU LİSTESİ

1. Bize biraz kendinizden bahseder misiniz?
2. Nerede doğdunuz?
3. Kardeşleriniz var mı?
4. Annenizden bahseder misiniz?
5. Babanızdan bahseder misiniz?
6. Yaş farkınız kaç (aile bireyleriyle)
7. Okuyor musunuz? Nerede ne kadar zamandır?
8. Çalışıyor musunuz? Nerede ne kadar zamandır?
9. Ailenin ve/veya annenizin çalışmanız ile ilgili görüşü nasıldı?
10. Nasıl bir aileye doğdunuz? Nasıl bir ev ortamında büyüdünüz?
11. Evde kadınlar ile erkeklerin rolleri arasında bir fark var mıydı?
12. Erkeklerin sahip olduğu haklara evdeki kadınlar da sahip miydi?
13. Evde bir görev dağılımı var mıydı iki cinsiyet için?
14. Ailede size en yakın kişiler kimlerdir? Kimlerle ilişki kurmak daha kolaydı ve sizceneden?
15. Anneniz nasıl bir kadın? Nasıl bir anneydi?
16. Annenizle ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Size neler öğretti, nasıl konuşur, nasıl davranır, sizden neler bekledi?
17. Çocukken annenizin size en çok söylediği kelimeleri/cümleleri hatırlıyor musunuz? (sevgi sözcüğü, emir kipi, aranızda bir espri lakap vs. olabilir.)

18. Büyüdüğünüz evde, ailenizden gelenek görenekler, olmazsa olmazlar nelerdir? (Burada evlilik yaşı, dota kavramı, cinsellik ile ilgili konuşmak, cinsel eğitim gibi konulara değinilebilir ben de aralarda sorabilirim)
19. Peki annenizden özel olarak aldığınız, size özellikle aktarmak istediği gelenek görenekler var mıydı?
20. Bu geleneklerden hangisini şuan ki hayatınızda da uyguluyorsunuz? Bu değerler size ne katıyor?
21. Annenizden ‘kadın’ olmaya dair edindiğiniz, öğrendiğiniz ve bugün uyguladığınız veya uygulamamayı tercih ettiğiniz bilgiler neler?
22. Kadın olarak annenizle bir paralellik görüyor musunuz? Eş olarak veya sevgili rolünde kadın olarak sizce annenizden edindiğiniz neler var?
23. Annenizden ‘anne’ olmaya dair edindiğiniz, öğrendiğiniz ve bugün uyguladığınız veya uygulamamayı tercih ettiğiniz bilgiler neler?
24. Peki anneannenizden size aktarılan bilgiler var mıydı?
25. Bu geleneklerin uygulandığı zaman ile bugünküler arasında neler değişti, devam eden geleneklerin devamlılığını sizce ne sağladı, kaybolanlar neden kayboldu?
26. Sizin şuan ki çekirdek aileniz ile ilgili biraz bilgi verebilir misiniz? Evli misiniz? Ailenizle mi yaşıyorsunuz, kendi eviniz var mı?
27. Gelecekteki anneliğinize dair nasıl bir hayal kuruyorsunuz, beklentileriniz ne olur?
28. Kendinizi nasıl bir anne olarak hayal edersiniz?
29. Sizce kendi annenizle anneliğiniz benzer mi? Ne konularda aynı , nerelerde farklı olacaktır?

30. Az önce bahsettiğiniz ailenizden ve özel olarak annenizden size geçen geleneklerden hangilerini çocuğunuza da katmak için uğraşacağınızı düşünüyorsunuz?
31. Edindikleriniz dışında kadınlık ve annelik konusunda çocuğunuza katmayı planladığınız, bilgiler neler? Onlara vereceğiniz özel bir öğreti var mı?
32. Annenizle ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Onunla konuşur musunuz? Neler hakkında?
33. Anneannenizle ilişkinizi nasıl tanımlarsınız? Onunla konuşur musunuz? Neler hakkında?
34. Anneniz ve anneannenizle konuşmadığınız ne konularda konuşabilir olmak isterdiniz?
35. Siz ileride çocuğunuzla ne konularda konuşmak istersiniz? Konuşamayacağınız bir konu olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
36. Türkiye’de Yahudi bir kadın olmak nasıl bir şey ?
37. Yahudiliğin kadın kimliğinizi nasıl etkilediğini düşünüyorsunuz? Yani Yahudi bir kadın olarak zorunluluklarınız, öğretileriniz, yaşam tarzınız sizi nasıl siz yaptı?
38. Dinin sizin üzerinizdeki etkileri nedir? (kadınlığınızın)
39. ‘Jewish Mama’ , ‘Yahudi Anne’ deyince aklınıza ne geliyor?
40. Sizin bu kavrama yakın mısınız, kendinizi tipik bir ‘Jewish Mama’ olarak tanımlar mısınız?
41. Size göre ideal Yahudi anne nasıl olmalı?
42. Size göre ideal Yahudi kadın nasıl olmalı?

43. Ailenizdeki kadınlardan İdeal Yahudi Kadını veya Annesine örnek verebilir misiniz? Bu kişilerden siz neler öğrendiniz, ve onlara neler kattınız?
44. Sizce evinizde çocuk yetiştirilirken en önem verilen şeyler nelerdi, nasıl değerler size katılsın diye uğraşıldı? Erkek ve kız çocukları için bir farklılık var mıydı? Örnek verebilir misiniz?
45. Annenizin size en çok söylediği cümlenin olduğundan bahsetmişsiniz. Sizce sizin çocuğunuza en çok söyleyeceğiniz cümle ne olur?
46. Siz kendinizi nasıl bir anne olarak hayal ediyorsunuz?
47. Çocuğunuza nasıl değerler katmayı düşünürsünüz, ailenizden edinip devam ettirmek istediğiniz ve sürdürmeyi düşünmediğiniz inanç, kavram, gelenek ve öğretiler nelerdir?
48. Annenizle ve anneannenizle ilişkinizi konuşmak size nasıl hissettirdi? Neler anımsattı?
49. Konuşma sırasında fark ettiğiniz ilişkiniz ile ilgili en önemli şey ne oldu?
50. Ekleme istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

**APPENDIX B: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION QUESTIONS /
DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ SORULARI**

Katılımcı no:

Adınız ve Soyadınız:

Doğum Tarihiniz / Yeriniz:

Cinsiyetiniz: ☐ Kadın ☐ Erkek

Oturduğunuz Semt:

Medeni Durumunuz: ☐ Evli ☐ Bekar

Çocuğunuz Var mı? ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

Var ise,

Yaşı ve Cinsiyeti:

Eğitim Durumunuz: ☐ Yok

☐ İlköğretim

☐ Lise

☐ Üniversite

☐ Yüksek Lisans / Doktora

Çalışma Durumunuz: ☐ Çalışıyorum ☐ Çalışmıyorum

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM / ONAM FORMU

Sayın Katılımcı;

Bu çalışma, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi olan Sindy Şulam Irgaz tarafından Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak Boratav'ın danışmanlığında, Türk, Yahudi Kadınların kuşaklar arası kadınlık ve annelik değerlerinin aktarım deneyimlerini anlamlandırmak amacıyla yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında yürütülmektedir.

Görüşmeye katılım gönüllüdür. Görüşme için ortalama iki saatinizi ayırmanız istenmektedir. Öncelikle yaşıınız, doğum yeriniz, medeni haliniz ve eğitim durumunuz gibi kısa soruları cevapladıktan sonra Türkiye’de Yahudi bir kadın olmak ve aile ilişkilerinizle ilgili bir görüşme yapılacaktır.

Görüşmelerin araştırmada kullanılabilir olması için aynı aileden üç kuşak kadının da araştırmacının gönüllü görüşmelerine katılması gerekmektedir. Ancak aynı ailenin anneanne, anne ve torun üçlemesi görüşmelere dahil olduklarında data kullanılabilir olacaktır.

Çalışmaya katılmanızda herhangi bir risk yoktur. Görüşmeler kayıta alınacaktır. Görüşme sırasında dilediğiniz zaman kaydın durdurulmasını isteyebilirsiniz. Görüşme başlamadan önce, görüşme sırasında veya sonrasında, istediğiniz takdirde zaman soru sorabilirsiniz.

Bu çalışmaya katıldığınız takdirde, kendiniz, çekirdek aileniz ve büyüdüğünüz ailenize dair bilgiler keşfetmeniz beklenmektedir. Araştırma sonuçlarının kuşaklar arası aktarım alanında hem teorik hem de pratik bilgilerimize katkı sağlamasını umuyoruz.

Paylaştığınız bilgiler gizli tutulacak, araştırma içinde sözlerinizden alıntı yapmak gerektiği yerlerde isminiz paylaşılmayacaktır. Sadece bütün görüşmelerden

ıkacak ortak sonular arařtırmanın sonunda bir araya getirilmek suretiyle diğerk arařtırmacılarla paylaşılabılır.

Eğerk bu arařtırmaya katılmak istiyorsanız ltfen ařağıda “Bu formu okudum ve arařtırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum” yazısının altındaki yeri imzalayın. Dilerseniz bu formun bir kopyasını saklayabilirsiniz.

Görüşme boyunca istediğınız anda görüşmeyi kesebilir, durdurduğunu kısımların arařtırmada kullanılmamasını talep edebilir veya arařtırmadan çekilebilirsiniz.

Zaman ayırdığınız ve arařtırmaya verdiğiniz değerkli katkılarınız için teşekkür ederiz.

alışma hakkında daha fazla bilgi almak için Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi Sindy Şulam Irgaz (Tel: 05367905643 ; e-posta: sindysulam@gmail.com) veya Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak Boratav (e-posta: hale.boratav@bilgi.edu.tr) ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

Bu bilgilendirilmiş olur belgesini okudum ve anladım. alışmaya katılmayı kabul ediyor ve bu onam belgesini kendi hr irademle imzalıyorum. Arařtırmacı saklamam için bu belgenin bir kopyasını bana teslim etmiştir.

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak Boratav

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BU FORMU OKUDUM VE ARAřTIRMAYI KABUL EDİYORUM

Katılımcının Adı-Soyadı: _____

İmzası: _____

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**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)

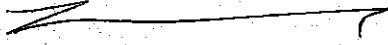
Başvuru Sahibi / Applicant: Sindy Şulam Irgaz

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: Intergenerational Transmission of Mothering and
Womanhood Within Turkish-Jewish Families

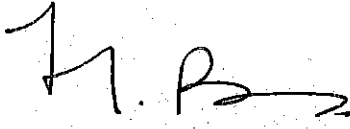
Proje No. / Project Number: 2018-20024-50

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

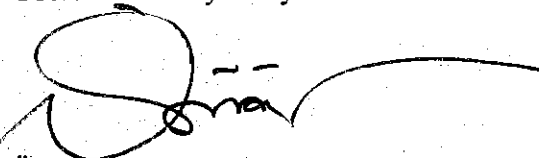

Kurul Başkanı / Committee Chair

Doç. Dr. İtir Erhart


Üye / Committee Member

Prof. Dr. Hale Bolak


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Prof. Dr. Koray Akay


Üye / Committee Member
Doç Dr. Ayhan Özgür Toy


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Prof. Dr. Aslı Tunç


Üye / Committee Member
Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı


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Prof. Dr. Ali Demirci