MOTHERING A CHILD THAT IS NOT “MINE”: THE PERCEPTIONS ABOUT MOTHERING AND BABYSITTING OF IMMIGRANT BABYSITTERS WHO HAD LEFT THEIR CHILDREN BEHIND

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"Benim" Olmayan Bir Çocuğa Annelik Yapmak: Geride Çocuğunu Bırakmış Göçmen Çocuk Bakıcılarının Annelik ve Bakıcılığa Dair Algıları

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Thesis Abstract

Mothering a Child that is not “Mine”: The Perceptions about Mothering and Babysitting of Immigrant Babysitters Who Had Left Their Children Behind

Nazlı Akay

Little is known about the psychological effects of leaving one’s own children and having to mother another child. In the present research we aimed to explore internal experiences and perceptions of the Turkmen and Uzbek migrant babysitters in Turkey, who had to leave their children in the homeland. Through this aim, one-to-one interviews were conducted with, and the Beck Depression Inventory and the Beck Anxiety Inventory were administered to seven babysitters. The results indicated that migrant babysitters went through an adjustment period, but even after that they continued to feel stress, sorrow and longing. In addition, they were experiencing dilemmas, worries, and sudden drifts of mind. We also found that the participants often transferred their intense emotions to the children they cared for, and experienced boundary problems. They coped through various strategies like material compensation and defenses like suppression and somatization. The findings are elaborated with a psychodynamic point of view.

Tez Özeti

"Benim" Olmayan Bir Çocuğa Annelik Yapmak: Geride Çocuğunu Bırakmış Göçmen Çocuk Bakıcılarının Annelik ve Bakıcılığa Dair Algıları

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Bir kişinin kendi çocuğunu geride bırakmak ve bir başka çocuğa annelik yapmak zorunda olmasının psikolojik etkileri hakkında oldukça az şey bilinmektedir. Bu çalışma Türkiye'deki, çocuğunu memleketinde bırakmak durumunda kalmış olan Türkmen ve Özbek göçmen çocuk bakıcılarının içsel deneyim ve algılarını araştırmayı hedeflemiştir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda yedi göçmen bakıcıyla birebir görüşmeler yapılmış ve bu bakıcılara Beck Depresyon Ölçeği ve Beck Anksiyete Ölçeği uygulanmıştır. Bulgular, göçmen bakıcıların bir alışma döneminden geçtiklerini, ama bu dönemden sonra bile stres, acı ve özlem hissettiklerini göstermiştir. Katılımcılar ek olarak ikilemler, endişeler ve ani düşünsel kopuşlar da deneyimlemektedirler. Ayrıca bakıcıların yaşadıkları güçlü duyguları baktıkları çocuklara kanalize ettikleri ve çeşitli sınır problemleri yaşadıkları bulunmuştur. Bakıcılar, bu durumla materyal telafi gibi stratejiler ve bastırma, somatizasyon gibi çeşitli savunmalar geliştirerek başa çıkmaktadırlar. Bulgular, psikodinamik bir bakış açısı ile derinleştirilmiştir.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

> "Patricia Tejada fled from El Salvador in 1988 because of the war, leaving her three children and husband behind. She worked as a baby-sitter and housekeeper for the next four years in Los Angeles to try to save enough money to bring her family to join her. She recalls spending many nights crying, wondering how her children were and whether they were safe. Throughout those years, she often became very attached to the children she cared for, only to find that she would be dismissed coldly and abruptly when her services were no longer necessary […]." (Chang, p. 57)

United States has been hosting lots of women like Patricia: According to a statistical report in 1995, 60% of American children had babysitters and 70% of those were immigrants (Macdonald, 1998). Although it's hard to find an equivalent report, Turkey lately receives immigrants like Patricia too. Entering a playground in especially the high-SES districts of Istanbul, one would see women and children that don't resemble each other at all. Women from countries like Moldova, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Indonesia, and Bulgaria are seen more and more in Turkish households, some even leaving their children behind to work as babysitters. However, stories like Patricia's mostly stay untold, because they are mostly "invisible"; working quietly in the background.

This invisibility projects to the scientific realm as well. In the "psychology world", children's mental and developmental health is considered to be very important. The areas of Developmental Psychology and Child Clinical Psychology could be argued to have built on it. Lots of theories and schools exist today, mentioning lots of protective and risk factors. But according to our experiences in the academia and the field so far, in almost all of these theories (if not all), the leading roles are given to the mother, and secondarily to the father and the siblings. Sometimes, teachers or the relatives who live with the child are thought of too. However, it is almost impossible to find the influence of paid caregivers to a child's mental health and process of growth, although children spend hours with their babysitters, mostly even more time than they spend with their families. This is why we think that if one studied children's physical and mental growth, babysitters had to have a very important place as a variable. Because the psychology literature falls short in understanding the babysitter factor, we decided to focus on this issue.

The new, "industrial" order not only allowed, but also led women to leave their homes and work. This revolution created women working in almost all sectors and positions. However, this caused a clash between women's new role and the previous one, namely, domestic work (Kaya, 2008). Women had to work, but also take care of the house order. Slowly, the domestic work became a job, so a woman could continue her presence in the "men's world" and do the spiritual housework, leaving menial

housework to an economically underprivileged woman (Macdonald, 1998). Thus appeared the babysitters, or "surrogate mothers", who did the work previously assigned to the mothers, but who actually were strangers (Kaya, 2008).

These "strangers" had their own families too, though. Within this array, what struck us was that many babysitters had to leave their own children in their homeland to take care of another child. Indeed, many families got fragmented to fulfill the need to earn money (Hondagneu-Sotelo & Avila, 1997; Yeoh & Huang, 2010). Babysitters are also women and mothers, just like their employers. Not only might this be a traumatic and depressing event, this might also affect the bond that the babysitter forms with the child that she has to take care of.

In spite of the lack of psychology literature, there are several articles on the migrant babysitters' past and present living conditions, written by sociologists/anthropologists (Macdonald, 1998; Keough, 2006), scholars from women's/feminist studies area (Weir, 2005; Akalın, 2007), economists (Bettio, Simonazzi, & Villa, 2006), through the lens of politics (Yeates, 2004); it is even possible to spot an article in a law journal (Romero, 2003).

In this study, we aimed to fill this missing psychological point of view on understanding the migrant babysitters' experiences before and after the migration. In this sense, migration's effect on the babysitters' psychological well-being and mothering capacities were the main foci.

In the following part, we would like to present a summary of findings related to our research aims. First, we would like to inform our readers about the current conditions of migrant babysitting. Second, we are going to discuss migration and its psychological effects. The third subsection aims to give introductory knowledge about the concept of mothering. In the fourth subsection, the second and the third subsections are going to be unified to discuss the effects of migration on mothering. The following two subsections are devoted to brief information about the participants' homelands.

1. 1. Current Condition of the Babysitters

Hochschild (in Lutz & Pallenga-Möllenbeck, 2012) thought that, as soon as the migrant care workers emerged, care work got into a global chain of inequality: The host country received care and fulfilled their need, but the homeland experienced a *drain*. According to Lutz et al. (2012), there were mixed views in the literature on the global mobility of care work: Some perceived it as positive, some negative, and some thought it was neither. The authors were among the ones who perceived it negatively, whereas the first person to come up with the chain concept, Hochschild (2003), wrote about both benefits and harms. Lutz and his colleagues also found the care drain in Ukraine was to be compensated by the fathers, grandmothers, and rarely other females who were around the babysitter prior to her immigration.

Madianou (2012) interviewed 105 Filipino immigrants in the United Kingdom, who worked as nurses or domestic workers. She listed the reasons for migration to be economic issues (need for sustenance or desire for a better life conditions), better life and learning conditions in the receiving country, the respect that providing for the relatives brought, and the relationship problems. She reported that the first reason was explicit, whereas the others were found rather between the lines. Raijman, Schammah-Gesser and Kemp (2003), reporting after their interviews with 44 Latinas in working Israel as babysitters, listed several other reasons: Being able to earn a lot quickly, desires for economic independence, financing the education of their children, need for helping the household out, and being able to afford a house in the homeland.

According to Madianou (2012), the Filipino babysitters contacted their children daily, having very long Skype or telephone conversations. Polish in Germany had the same chance, as well as Ukranians in Poland (Lutz et al., 2012). However, telephone costs and employers' irritation limited the aid of this form of contact, as well as both sides' efforts to conceal the hardships in their lives (Lutz et al., 2012).

Hiring immigrant women for childcare is widespread in many places of the world, as well as in the urban areas of Turkey. A quick literature review led us to conclude that most of these women worked in closely similar conditions: Hondagneu-Sotelo et al. (1997) interviewed 26 domestic

workers who have migrated from South America to the United States, 8 of whom had children abroad. First of all, these women did not have set work definitions or hours. They left their children with the grandmothers, godmothers, or babysitters, but later on many of them brought their children in, rather than go back. Some of the women in that study were worried about the effects of their absence on their children, especially related to discipline. The authors wrote that these women developed close relationships with the cared children since they were alone at home with them for long hours. Some of their participants distanced themselves from the cared children not to get hurt.

According to Macdonald (1998), the mothers expected for the babysitters to love the cared children as if they were the babysitter's own. Moreover, that love was supposed to be only in the way that the mother-employer would want. Put differently, the mothers expected the babysitters to form an unreal relationship with the children, as if they were the mother's surrogate. In addition, the mothers thought that the arrival of their babysitter marked the end of family time; in which they did not include the babysitters. The closeness between the babysitters and the cared children were bounded by the mothers. The babysitters reported discomfort with this situation and strong attachment with the cared child, yet they concealed their feelings in order to protect both themselves and the cared child from the pain of future separation.

Akalın (2007) focused on the characteristics of the babysitters in Turkey. But she did it through conducting interviews with 21 working mother-employers, in other words, the employers of babysitters, rather than choosing to interview babysitters. Two main work expectations were listed as childcare and daily chores in the house. Akalın wrote that the employers looked for certain personality characteristics with potential babysitters. The most salient one that Arat-Koç (1990; in Akalın, 2007) mentioned was submissiveness. In her work, Akalın reported that domestic work in Turkey, different than in some other places, was dependent on the worker's planning rather than the employer's. The first domestic workers were women from the Turkish rural areas, who immigrated with their families to the cities in hopes of finding jobs. Because they were not specialized in any occupation, they started doing what they did best in the village in order to support their families: domestic work. Nevertheless, Akalın stated that management of these women was harder than the later-arrived live-in migrant babysitters. Among the reasons for the migrants' winning over the locals were the lower level of flexibility that the Turkish women had, the chances to pay less to the migrant, migrants' higher agreeableness to the employer demands, and the work conditions. The babysitters were demanded housework in addition to childcare. However, to Akalın, this demand was not formed officially; the babysitters took over the house-care part gradually. These findings could be linked to Suğur, Suğur, and Gönç-Şavran's (2008) findings about the employers' unbounded demands from Turkish domestic workers.

Nevertheless, Akalın wrote that the families which employed live-in babysitters kept employing their live-out Turkish cleaners, and the *heavy cleaning* was assigned to them. The chores of babysitters were perceived by the mothers as the work they would do if they were at home, so not really work.

Kaya (2008) interviewed 12 mother-employer Turkish women, like Akalın did. She found that control had key importance for her participants: They tried to mother through controlling their children's caregivers; even the littlest detail of their practice. The children's grandmothers, often checking on the caregiver, were their best helpers. The author also sensed that the mothers did not like the babysitters' "mother" roles. They thought the babysitters' longing would prevent them from forming a relationship with the cared children the way that the employers wanted. An additional way for the mothers to mother was spending quality time with their children. According to Kaya, mothers complained when the babysitter did all the things related to the child, because this made the mothers think that the babysitters are the mothers of their children.

Keough (2006) interviewed Moldovan Gagauz Turks, one of the migrant domestic worker groups in Turkey. Most of Keough's participants had had Russia as their first choices because they found domestic work degrading, but they ended up in Turkey. She found out that Moldovan babysitters were disgraced both in their homeland and in Turkey. In their

homeland, the migrant women were thought of as gold diggers, leaving their children and migrating to Turkey to find a Turkish husband. They were accused of dissolving their families and neglecting their children. In spite of the criticisms, these women considered themselves as good, sacrificing mothers compared to the ones who stayed in the homeland.

Peng and Wong (2013) interviewed 27 Filipina domestic workers residing in Hong Kong, with their children being in the Philippines. The authors distinguished between three types of mothering: One group of mothers did intensive mothering, which meant these mothers doing their best to control the homeland, being the biggest authority concerning the children's lives. Another group did collaborative mothering, and they perceived the guardians of their children as collaborators. Last but not least, one group did passive mothering due to the physical and emotional distance they had with the children. They were pretty much withdrawn from the affairs in the homeland.

Uttal (1996), after interviews with 31 mother-employers, made a classification too, but her classification was on the mothers' perceptions of having to leave their children to someone else's care (not necessarily babysitters). Mothers who had the custodial care understanding, just like the intensive mothers on Peng et al.'s (2013) classification, were overcontrolling. They defined themselves as the primary caregiver, and were quite afraid to lose that role. Women with the surrogate care

understanding, like the collaborative mothers in Peng et al. (2013), still made the main decisions but they acknowledged the fact that the other caregiver was doing the actual traditional mothering. Lastly, women who held the coordinated care understanding perceived them and the other caregiver as co-mothers who both helped the child.

Raijman et al. (2003) focused on two ways for the immigrant babysitters to overcome the negativities about their migration: One was socialization through religious involvement, and the other was redefining motherhood out of the traditional understanding. Changing the traditional understanding of mothering and motherhood was mentioned as a solution by Peng et al. (2013) as well. In addition, Uttal (1996) stated that the mother-employers who employed them also had to redefine mothering, because they did not fit the traditional mothering standards in the host country either.

1. 2. Migration and Its Psychological Effects

In addition to the descriptive sociology literature about migration and babysitting, it is possible to find some research about the effects of migration in general, and migration on mothering, which shares a common ground with babysitting: emotionally and physically intensive caretaking of children. It would not be false to infer that mothering and babysitting by immigrants could be closely related, also considering that babysitters are immigrant mothers and that they, too, have to mother a child after their

migration (even though it is different by practice than the mothering they did in their homeland, for which they followed different norms).

Migration is a strong experience that challenges a person's psychological well-being in many ways (Marlin, 1994; in Lijtmaer, 2001). Similarly, Akhtar (1999; in Walsh & Shulman, 2007) declared all migration experiences as traumatic. First of all, migration was argued to cause *immigration distress*, which was noted to be the most frequently seen psychological outcome (Chou, 2010; Yang, Wang, & Anderson, 2010). The distressed person tries to cope with loss, novelty, the new language and work conditions, being discriminated against in the host country, and the loss of familiarity (Yang et al., 2010; Aroian, Norris, & Tran, 1998, in Yang et al., 2010). Added to this list could be economic difficulties, and stress caused by adaptation efforts (Bhugra, 2004). According to Lijtmaer (2001), some of the feelings that migration evoked were "inadequacy, sorrow, […] disappointment, and […] a […] sense of loss" (p. 427). The feelings listed by Yax-Fraser (2008) were joy, wonder, sacrifice, sadness, loneliness, sorrow, and insecurity. Chung's (2010) participants spoke of anger. Guilt is another one of these feelings, either persecutory or depressive in nature (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1984).

Ward and Styles (2012) interviewed British women who had migrated to Australia, and formed families there. They found that guilt played an important role in those women's emotional world, being both

long-lasting and severe. The authors tied the women's guilt to failing the society's expectations from daughters to keep emotional bonds with their family and provide care for them after they grow up.

Grinberg et al. (1984) have listed four emotional phases that a person went through after migration, which could be quoted as:

> 1. The feelings that prevail are those of intense sorrow for all that has been abandoned or lost, fear of the unknown, and the very profound experiences of loneliness, privation, and helplessness. Paranoid, confusional, and depressive anxieties occupy the scene in turn.
>
> 2. This stage may be followed or replaced by a manic state in which the immigrant minimizes the transcendental significance of the change in his life or, on the contrary, magnifies the advantages of the change and overvalues everything in the new situation, disdaining what has been lost.
>
> 3. After a variable period of time, nostalgia appears, and sorrow for the lost world. The immigrant begins to recognize feelings previously dissociated or denied and becomes capable of "suffering" his pain ("growing pains") while, at the same time, he becomes more accessible to the slow and progressive incorporation of elements of the new culture. The interaction between his internal and external world becomes more fluid.

> 4. Recovery of the pleasure of thinking and desiring and of the capacity for making plans for the future, in which the past is regarded as such and not as a "lost paradise" where one constantly longs to return. In this period, it could be considered that mourning for the country of origin has been worked through to the maximum extent possible, facilitating integration of the previous culture into the new culture, without the need to renounce the old. All of this promotes an enrichment of the ego and the consolidation of a more evolved sense of identity (p. 37).

It must have caught the reader's attention that the change in the aforementioned emotional phases depended on the individual's perception of loss. Migration is indeed, all about loss. Almost everything, except for a suitcase-full of belongings is left behind. Culture, food, and language are only a few of the losses (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1999; in Walsh et al., 2007). To get used to the new conditions, mourning the loss of this everything must be complete (Grinberg & Grinberg, 1989; in Lijtmaer, 2001). Bowlby identified four phases of grief, related to loss through death (Berzoff, 2004): In the first, the person has emotional numbness; followed by missing and searching for the lost person, trying desperately to reach her/him. Third, disruptions start in the person's psychic organization and s/he starts losing hope. Finally, s/he reorganizes her/himself. Akhtar (1995) named the loss-and-regain process after migration "the third individuation", in reference to Mahler's "separation-individuation phase". For migrant mothers, mourning

the loss of their own children is an additional task at hand; adding the fact that because of their job, they are supposed to love a child when their ability to show their love to their own child is severely limited. Moreover, according to Volkan (1990), the migrational mourning is a persistent one; hence the task might be even harder than imagined.

According to Freud (1917; in Berzoff, 2004), mourning can be a period passed through healthily, as well as something that is experienced dysfunctionally. If the migrant's mourning stays incomplete, ego develops other ways to cope with the intense feelings and thoughts: Grinberg et al. (1984) wrote that some migrants might displace their intense feelings onto their bodies, hence somatization. Somatization, according to Meissner, is an immature defense where one's psyche converts the psychological symptoms into bodily manifestations (Vaillant, 1992). Likewise, Grinberg et al. (1984) mentioned of *hypocondriacal fears*. Hypocondriasis is another immature defense for Meissner, which might be a result of mourning and loneliness. It was conceptualized by him as the reproach for others becoming converted into self-reproach and somatic complaints (Vaillant, 1992). The exaggeration of somatic symptoms allowed the hypochondriac to deny responsibility and guilt. Denial was another possibility mentioned by Grinberg et al. (1984). For Meissner, denial was the failure to acknowledge reality; it could be experienced on psychotic, as well as neurotic and adaptive levels (Vaillant, 1992). The authors also wrote about repression as a possible defense to cope with the unbearable emotions, by using which, a

person pushes an idea, an impulse, or a memory into her/his unconscious (Mitchell & Black, 1995; Fonagy & Target, 2003). Finally, very intense feelings could be isolated from the self (Grinberg et al., 1984).

Berzoff (2004) had mentioned introjection, internalization and identification as other tools in the mourning process. To Kernberg, identification was more complex than introjection; developmentally the former followed the latter (Fonagy et al., 2003). For Klein, introjection was more helpful for the child (and in Berzoff's case, the mourner) compared to identification. Klein talked about introjection and denial as defenses to cope with the intense anxiety of object loss (Berzoff, 2004). She mentioned that the intense anxiety right after a loss made the person obligated to deny the loss to be able to bear it. Volkan (1990) had written in his article previously about these defenses being evident in immigrants, although he did not name them openly. He wrote about the mental connection an immigrant forms with the lost objects, through creating mental representations of them and clinging to those mental representations, seeking them wherever s/he goes. Following migration, regression was deemed as common, however, with time migrants start using more mature defenses (Walsh et al., 2007).To Bowlby (1963, in Berzoff, 2004), four different "pathological" reactions to grief were possible, all operating unconsciously: One of them was a very strong longing and desire to be close the lost object again, one was unreasonable and long-lasting anger towards the mourner's self or the lost object. Trying to care for someone else who has experienced a loss-he

named this an example of projective identification-, and denial were the others.

Akhtar (1995) argued that migration by itself might lead to splitting, and he suggested four dimensions along which the splitting occurred: Love/hate (generally, the homeland is perceived as the good side of the split and loved, whereas the host country is hated), near/far (the homeland could be perceived as too near or too far in the migrant's fantasy world), yesterday/tomorrow (overly clinging to memories or future aspirations), and yours/mine (the tendency to classify everything in the host country as "mine" or someone else's). In a healthy resolution of splits, the individual develops the understanding of ambivalence, optimal distance, today, and ours.

Walsh et al. (2007) wondered if the splits in the self after migration were defenses to be able to adjust to the new land, or if they became dysfunctional. They made semi-structured interviews with 68 Israeli immigrant young adults, and they analyzed the data in terms of Akhtar's four splitting tracks. They concluded that splits after the migration were ego's time-off to resettle, therefore, not harmful for the person's mental health in the long run if they were resolved at the right time.

The immigrant mother also runs the risk of psychological dysfunctions, if her emotions get too hard to cope with: Schizophrenia, depression, anxiety, and post-traumatic stress disorder are the most frequent

(Bhugra, 2004). Various authors found that migration increased the risk of depression and anxiety in women (Chou, 2010; Heckert, 2012; Yang et al., 2010). Staying away from one's own children was found to be an important factor that increased the risk for depression (Miranda, Siddique, Der-Martirosian, & Belin, 2005). Some other factors were thought to be novelty, the stress stemming from the efforts to deal with it, and the low sense of agency (Yang et al., 2010).

Heckert (2012) focused on the symptoms of depression and coping styles of immigrants through interviews with Latina immigrants in the US. She listed lack of appetite, lack of the desire to get better, somatic complaints, low energy, motivation, and loneliness as some manifestations of depression on these women. Psychological help was stigmatized among Latinas though; they covered up for each other instead, or they got religious help. Leisure activities were also reported to relieve these women.

What's more, depressed and anxious people were found to use certain defense mechanisms more often, regardless of gender: Depressive patients were found to use immature defenses more, with projection being the predominant defense; whereas patients with anxiety problems used more neurotic defenses, with somatization being the predominant defense (Spinhoven & Kooiman, 1997). Both anxiety and depression patients were reported to use the following defenses: Undoing, idealization, projection, acting out, autistic fantasy, splitting, and somatization. But in addition,

depressive patients also used passive aggression, devaluation, and rationalization. On the other hand, having anxiety or depression was negatively correlated with using humor and suppression, suggesting that anxious and depressed people used these two mature defenses very rarely.

The psychological effects of the whole migration process and the level of ease for adjustment are moderated by the reasons to migrate (voluntary or forced), the distance between the homeland and the host country, the migrant's age, gender (higher risk for women), social skills, personality, self-perception, self-integrity and social, psychological and/or biological weaknesses (Bhugra, 2004; Yang et al., 2010; Grinberg et al., 1984). Right after the migration, added to this list were life events, the process of mourning for the losses, the attitude of the host country towards the migrant, length of stay in the host country, and the existence of social support mechanisms (Bhugra, 2004; Yang et al., 2010). The discrepancies between the languages spoken, cultural structure and jobs attended in the homeland and the host country also created distress (Bhugra, 2004). Yang et al. (2010) listed several studies which linked competence in the host country's language to psychological well-being, like lower scores in depression measures.

Last but not least, acculturation is linked to a migrant's psychological well-being. Acculturation was defined as the changes in one group's cultural schemas after contact with a culturally different group in

continuous manner (Bhugra, 2004), or the process an individual goes through to become a part of the mainstream culture (Wade & Tavris, 2004). It might result in assimilation (loss in cultural differences), deculturation (losing contact with both of the cultures) or rejection (rejecting elements of the mainstream culture) (Bhugra, 2004). The immigrants were reported to prefer adopting and integrating elements of both own and host cultures (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Openness to the host culture and the degree of involvement with the homeland's culture are important determinants of a migrant's acculturation type (Bhugra, 2004).

The literature regarding the acculturation processes of sojourners has focused mainly on youngsters, especially students, but there were a few studies which had mothers as their focus. Yax-Fraser (2008) found that cross-cultural mothers had a give-and-take relationship with the new culture. Bornstein, Cote, Haynes, Suwalsky, and Bakeman (2012) compared Japanese mother-Japanese infant, Japanese mother-US born infant, and Anglo-American mother-Anglo-American infant dyads. Mothers in all of the groups were found to be attuned to their children. Furthermore, although they were born and raised in Japan, Japanese immigrant mothers interacted with their infants more like the American mothers did, rather than Japanese mothers. This result suggests that a migrant's acculturation process affects not only the migrant, but her mothering as well.

1. 3. Mothering

Mothering (or motherhood) is one of those concepts with no ready-made definition. There are no universally set rules for mothering; rather, mothering is locally defined (Mercer, 1981; in Logsdon, Wisner, & Pinto-Foltz, 2006). Still, some attempts had been made to define the outline of the mother role through theories already in the field: Logsdon et al. (2006) linked the components of mothering to an article describing infant-parent attachment; Barnard and Solchany (2002) explained motherhood on the base of the "holding environment" concept. However, the full cluster of attributions made to the mothering role could be found in Logsdon et al. (2006): To them, mothering involved ensuring the child's safety and health, being responsible for the child's healthy growth and development, interacting with and meeting the physiological needs of the child. For Uttal (1996), traditional domestic mothering meant being responsible for everything about the child until s/he grew up; only the economics of child rearing could be kept out of the mother's responsibilities list.

The psychological interaction between the mother and the child is an important part of mothering, as could be seen from the aforementioned definition attempts prioritizing attachment and holding. Tronick, Als, and Brazelton (1977; in Logsdon et al., 2006) perceived mother-infant interaction as a tool for both the infant and the mother to learn each other; so the infant learned about the social world, and the mother got more confident

in her understanding of the child. In addition, a stable relationship based on mother-child interaction helped a child develop sense of self and trust in others (Bornstein, Suwalsky, & Breakstone, 2012a). The parent-child relationship is deemed very crucial for a child to develop healthy peer relations, to self-regulate emotions and to be competent at school (Pianta, 1997).

Emotional availability is one of the concepts related to the interaction of mother and child. It means the sensing and responding ability of both mother and infant to the signals that come from the other party (Bornstein et al., 2012a). Bornstein and his colleagues (2012a) reported that early relationship with a sensitive "mother" fostered positive characteristics like "independence, social responsibility, self-confidence, self-esteem, and aggression" (p. 119), in addition to early school success.

As we mentioned before, psychological and developmental wellness of children had been put mostly on the shoulders of the mother (Logsdon et al., 2006) and women who gave birth were perceived as the main people responsible for mothering (Chodorow, 1999). Especially in the 90s, the good mother was the "supermother"; someone who had to work and be a perfect mother at the same time, without demanding the help of husbands or daycares (Uttal, 1996; Chodorow, 1999).

In psychoanalytic theories, mother almost always had the key role for a child's healthy psychic development as well. In Freud's thought, after

the resolution in the Oedipal phase, a girl identified with her mother. Through that identification, she also gained the necessary knowledge to take a mother role in the future and became the owner of the role of the nurturer, compared to a boy who identified with the father (Chodorow, 1999).

However, some feminist scholars disputed this definition of mothering as something inherent and universal, and reconstructed mothering as a cultural and historically made dynamic phenomenon (Chodorow, 1999; Peng et al., 2013). Ruddick (1994, in Kaya, 2008) separated mothering from birth-giving, therefore androgenized it. Even though van IJzendoorn, Sagi, and Lambermon (1992) reported that attachment relationship was thought to be formed with one person; it was found that before a child reached 6 years of age, the attachment relationship with both the mother and the father mattered. In addition, the authors found that a child could form multiple attachment relationships (including one with the babysitter), and the attachment quality of child and mother mostly did not match the quality of child-babysitter attachment. In the same line, Oppenheim, Sagi and Lamb (1988; in van IJzendoorn et al., 1992) found that the child-babysitter relationship affected the child's social development.

Barclay, Everitt, Rogan, Schmied, and Wyllie (1997) conducted focus groups to understand the process of becoming a mother. They found six dominant themes: Realizing (the change, learning, trying to believe and acknowledge), drained (tiredness of mind, repetitions, the demanding nature

of mothering), alone (being vulnerable, guilty, frightened, trapped), loss (of lifestyle, time, freedom, control, confidence), working it out (through learning, watching, trying, fighting) and unready (feelings of readiness and being prepared or not). The authors argued that having social support, previous experience with a baby and the interaction patterns of the mother-baby dyad are important mediators on the process of becoming a mother. The mother's and the child's ages, mother's identity, child's sex, and the quality of family life can be counted as some others (Rubin, 1984; in Mercer, 2004). According to Rubin, the process is complete when the mother is fully aware of her role and when she feels comfortable about her past and her future (Mercer, 2004). For Rubin (1984; in Mercer, 2004), maternal identity is altered over time, after conditional changes and with the birth of other children.

1. 4. Migration and Mothering

Migration, according to Rajan and Rappaport (2011), affected the "good enough mothering" capacities negatively via the traumatic effect it had on the parent. In other words, it lowered the capacity of the parent to be attuned to and to nurture the child, as well as her/his mentalization and mirroring capacities. Freud's work in 1917 (as cited in Berzoff, 2004) might give us clues about the mechanism behind this finding: He wrote that loss caused a relocation of psychic energy on what is lost, instead of the outside world. In other words, one got caught up in the thoughts and the memories

of the lost object so much that there was no energy left to focus on her/his actual life. Gashe (2011) wrote that maternal depression might lead to inattentive or intrusive behaviors to the child. Slade, Belsky, Aber and Phelps (1999) found a relation between mothers' attachment pattern, perception of their children and their mothering behaviors. For example, mothers who perceived their relationships with their children as more pleasurable were also autonomous mothers according to the attachment scale. Moreover, they were found to show more positive mothering behaviors in the parent-child observations. On the other hand, mothers who were classified as showing dismissive attachment were seen to express more anger in the interviews, and in turn, they were found to be less sensitive and less positive towards their children in the observations.

Further looking at the case from an attachment perspective, Belsky (1988) went over the literature for findings related to *nonmaternal child care environments* and the mother-child attachment bonds during infancy. He concluded that separation from mother for more than 20 hours a week seemed risky for a baby in its first year of life. Moreover, he argued that this was more likely to result in the child adopting an avoidant attachment pattern towards her/his mother.

Bowlby (1962, in Berzoff, 2004) had written that attachment with the primary caretaker of a child had a very important role to shape up that child's psyche. van IJzendoorn et al. (1992) conducted two studies (one in

Holland and one in Israel) to see the nature of the multiple attachment patterns of children. More than 160 families with infant-aged-children were behaviorally observed with their mothers, fathers and babysitters, and all of the parties were tested with several other instruments. The authors found a relationship between caregiver sensitivity and child having an anxious attachment pattern.

Gashe (2011) outlined several studies to reach the conclusion that mother's depression affected the infant-mother relationship negatively, which brought great physical, intellectual and psychological disadvantage to the child. Self-esteem decrease, cognitive deterioration, and the low energy were considered as some of the reasons behind this effect (Mercer, 1977; in Logsdon et al., 2006). Field (1988) added that maternal depression affected the infant through both biological and psychological interactions between the infant and the mother. Moreover, she concluded that depressed mothers used two main interaction strategies: Withdrawing or being intrusive, both of which affected the infant in a negative way. More information about the adverse effects could be obtained from Murray and Cooper's work (1997). There is another side to growing up with another agent as well: Belsky and Steinberg (1978) looked for effects of daycare over several domains across studies. They found that child being in daycare might lead to a decline in mother's involvement with the child, and this would wash out all the effects of daycare on the child's intellectual development.

With conditions being this grim, we wondered how the babysitter kept a bond with her own children and with the cared children. The literature mentioned above offers some hints. Madianou (2012) found that the Filipino immigrant mothers kept very close contact with their children through all types of information and communication technologies (ICT), with some women keeping their webcams on for hours to play with their babies and help their children's homework. Still, she reported that these women felt like they were not completely mothering unless they were physically present with their children. With the cared child, two possibilities were low responsiveness or intrusiveness (Field, 1988; Gashe, 2011).

In light of the findings, it could be thought that an immigrant woman who had left her child behind could be under risk for her psychological well-being, and this could affect her "mothering" towards the child she cares for, in a negative way.

The next two sections will provide basic information about the two countries in the Central Asia, which have the greatest migrant caretaker population in Turkey: Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

1. 5. Turkmenistan

1. 5. 1. Brief Information

Turkmenistan is one of the Central Asian nations who lived under Soviet rule from its formation in 1917 to its dissolution in 1991 (Dirilen,

2006). The Turkmen people are said to be related to Ottomans and Azerbaijanis (Manz, 1994; in Dirilen, 2006). Turkmenistan, founded after the collapse of the USSR, is ruled by an authoritarian regime which is argued to have blended the Soviet system with traditionalism (Luong, 2004; Horak, 2005). Turkmenistan is a country with a patriarchal cultural structure, where being a member of a clan and customs like bridewealth were considered important for more than half of the population (Hortaçsu, Baştuğ, & Muhammetberdiev, 2001).

Despite recent urbanization, approximately half of the population still lives in rural areas (Hortaçsu, Baştuğ, & Muhammetberdiev, 2001a; World Bank, 2013). Given that Turkmenistan's nomadic structure made it the least industrialized Soviet country in 1993, it is not unexpected (Twining, 1993; in Hortaçsu et al., 2001a). Turkmens, during the Soviet regime, were responsible for cotton and petroleum production, whereas they were dependent on Russia for the techniques and skills to process them (Hortaçsu et al., 2001).

The employment opportunities are very scarce. As of 2011, only 35.7 % of the youth population had a job and only 63.7 % of the population aged 15-64 joined the workforce (World Bank, 2013). According to data collected in years between 2000 and 2007, almost half of Turkmenistan's population lived on less than 2 dollars a day (United Nations Development Programme, 2009).

1. 5. 2. Childrearing in Turkmenistan

There seem to be hardly any academic papers related to present Central Asia in general, let alone childrearing (Dadabaev, 2004). For Kuehnast (2000), there were drastic changes in the Central Asian child health and education systems in general after the dissolution of the Soviet state. She argued that the Soviet government supported the institutions on education and health, but the collapse led to the loss of these opportunities. Moreover, the worsened economic conditions in these countries led to problems in even ensuring the basic needs of the children, like nutrition, housing and safety. Some children joined the workforce. The number of children in orphanages soared, as well as the prevalence of diseases, drug abuse and juvenile crimes.

In Turkmenistan, the child is perceived to be an important part of the family; couples start thinking about having children a very short while after marriage (Hortaçsu et al., 2001a). The birthrate per 1000 people was 21.4 and on average, a woman had 2.4 children in 2011 (World Bank, 2013). Almost one-third of the population happened to be under the age 14 in 2012 (World Bank, 2013). Men desired more children compared to women; Hortaçsu and her colleagues (2001a) explained it by the fact that continuing the family name was important to men. Turkmen families seemed to prefer sons over daughters; sons were thought as contributing more to the psychological, social and instrumental values (Hortaçsu et al., 2001a).

In 2000, approximately 98 % of the women were reported to receive prenatal care (World Bank, 2013). According to the United Nations Population Division, the infant mortality rate for Turkmenistan between the years 2005 and 2010 was 50.46 per 1000 live births, making Turkmenistan the 130th among 188 countries (United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, 2012). The mortality rate for children under five was also high, being 64 per 1000 live births (United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, 2012a). World Factbook 2013 estimate reveals a better rate: 39.48 per 1000 live births (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013).

In Turkmenistan, children's certain milestones (e.g. birth, first haircut) are perceived as very important and they are celebrated with ceremonies (Hortaçsu et al., 2001a). Naming the newborn is taken very seriously; because Turkmens believe that the name is crucial to define child's personality; negative life events like death in the family, and long illnesses also affect the naming process ("Türkmenistan'da Çocukla İlgili İnançlar," 2005). Death, the evil eye, and illnesses seemed to be the greatest fears of Turkmens related to their children.

According to a HaberTurk article dated June 19, 2012, conceiving and growing a child is highly recommended, and even praised by the state in Turkmenistan. However, male children are favored over female children. This is visible in the customs and traditions: For example, Turkmens were

reported to place a baby crib in the newlywed bride's room, and put a baby boy in the crib, for the bride to have boys in the future (Tatlılıoğlu, 2000). Another example from the same source is on what the pregnant woman's guests wish for the baby: The traditional wish for the baby is to rule the country in the future if it is a boy, or to make others feel better if it is a girl. Beauty, courage, submissiveness are some assets that the children are aspired to have, whereas there were customs to prevent the child from being ugly, silly, lazy, and prone to thievery (Tatlılıoğlu, 2000).

When it comes to education, it is possible to see that literacy rates were very high in 2010 (99.6%, in World Bank, 2013). This was explained by the fact that education was deemed very important and supported by the state during the Soviet era (Kuehnast, 2000). Children start school when they are 7 years old, primary education lasts for 3 years, and secondary education lasts for 7 years (World Bank, 2013). Turkmen children receive 9.9 years of education on average, when the expected education duration is 12.6 years (United Nations Development Programme, 2013). Sadly, the great corruption in the educational system and the *political indoctrination* is argued to make the education system vulnerable to the alterations of the political elite (Silova, Johnson, & Heyneman, 2007). Child labor is an aspect of Turkmen life as well, as several NGOs like United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and Humanium pointed out (Garreau, 2012; UNICEF, 2013).

1. 6. Uzbekistan

1. 6. 1. Brief Information

Uzbeks were also one of the Central Asian ethnic groups, just like Turkmens, who had been under the Soviet rule. They were known as *Perso-Islamic* (Bikzhanova, Zadykhina, & Sukhareva, 1974; in Dirilen, 2006). Uzbekistan, just like its neighbor Turkmenistan, was founded after the collapse of the USSR, and is ruled by an authoritarian regime trying to conceal its authoritarian practices under claims of modernity (Luong, 2004).

Uzbekistan is a rural country, with 63.71 % of its population living in the rural areas as of 2012 (World Bank, 2013). It is also widely traditional (Bhat, 2011a). Only a little part of the land is arable, but agriculture is an important part of Uzbek GDP (Bhat, 2011a). Between 2000 and 2007, 76.7 % of Uzbeks lived on less than 2 dollars a day (United Nations Development Programme, 2009).

According to Gleason (1997; in Dirilen-Gümüş & Sümer, 2013) all Central Asian nations, including Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan shared similar cultures, languages and histories. Dirilen-Gümüş et al. (2013) added that they are also pretty similar to the Turkish culture in Turkey. Uzbekistan was argued to get more Westernized and individualistic via the influence of media and education, which was thought to lead to the emphasis of the

individuals over the family, and lower rates of fertility (Hortaçsu et al., 2001a).

1. 6. 2. Childrearing in Uzbekistan

Families have the key role in the Uzbek society; sons and daughters are encouraged to get married as soon as possible (Dadabaev, 2004, Salikhova, 2005). Uzbek families consist of the mother, father and the unmarried children (Dadabaev, 2004). In both the rural and urban areas, grandparents are included too, to help with the childcare (Salikhova, 2005). The average number of children a woman had was 2.4 in 2011 (World Bank, 2013).

According to the United Nations Population Division, the infant mortality rate for Uzbekistan between the years 2005 and 2010 was 48.72 per 1000 live births, placing it at the 125th rank among 188 countries (United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, 2012). For under-fives, the mortality rate increases to 57 per 1000 live births (United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs, 2012a). World Factbook 2013 estimate draws a much better picture though: 20.51 per 1000 live births (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013). Childrearing, along with domestic chores, garden work and poultry care are under women's responsibility (Bhat, 2011a; Aubrey, 2012).

In Uzbekistan almost one-third of the population is under 14 years old, making its' population a young one (World Bank, 2013). Birth and circumcision are important events for the Uzbeks and both are celebrated (Salikhova, 2005). Due to the traditions, the older care for the younger, and the males care for females; this is the case even among siblings (Bhat, 2011a). This rule applies to intrafamilial authority as well: The hierarchy starts with the oldest male (mostly the father) on top and goes down generation-by-generation, with males having more prestige than females (Salikhova, 2005). In addition, boys and girls are reared with the guidance of traditional gender roles, thus boys have higher likelihood to continue education than girls (Bhat, 2011a). According to Aubrey (2012), traditions were widely applied in childrearing, and even out-of-date practices were still in use. Aubrey added that the traditional influence was increased even more when the father migrated and the grandparents came in as helpers. To Dadabaev (2004), traditions shaped the parents' expectations from their children: Sons were hoped to be respected man in their community and good fathers, whereas the expectations for the girls were to find a good partner and be a good mother. Salikhova (2005) added that sons were expected to take over the family business from the father. Respect for the parents is one of the values which were taught to Uzbek children (Salikhova, 2005). There are some customs in the extent that even a grown-up son or daughter is obliged to take care of their parents and listen to them.

As in Turkmenistan, education is promoted in Uzbekistan, although the government support for education has dropped by 50 % by 2005 (Yakhyaeva, 2013): More than 99 % of the population was literate in 2011 (World Bank, 2013). Primary education starts at age 7 and lasts for 4 years; and more than 99 % of the pupils continue into secondary education (World Bank, 2013). Uzbek children receive 10 years of education on average, when the expected education duration is 11.6 years (United Nations Development Programme, 2013). Uzbekistani educational system went through several reforms in late 1990s to break away from the Soviet system in use (Yakhyaeva, 2013). Still, only children from families with sufficient money and "good connections" can make it to a decent school: Yakhyaeva (2013) reported that 60 % of the families in Uzbekistan were unable to afford their children's education fees. Bribery, overcharging, and male-domination are other problems of the Uzbek education system (Yakhyaeva, 2013).

There is a more urgent issue with children than the education system though. In 2005, 5.1 % of the children between the ages of 7 and 14 were a part of the workforce, 99 % of these children both studied and worked at the same time, and 78 % of these children were unpaid family workers (World Bank, 2013). A news article from The Washington Times (2012) reported that children in Uzbekistan were employed in the cotton fields. According to the reporter, whose name was kept secret due to her/his fears of the Uzbek government, the children as young as 13 years could be spotted at the fields,

working in inadequate conditions. Teachers were also forced to work in the fields. Yakhyaeva (2013) also mentioned that issue, and Bhat (2011) wrote a thesis about it, mentioning that even younger children were forcefully employed in the process. He also noted the use of children as sex workers and salespersons in local bazaars.

1. 7. Aims and Expectations

In summary, this thesis was based on the notion that although more and more parents hired immigrant babysitters to be with their children on their crucial steps to development, very little was known about what the babysitter brought to that relationship from her own mothering experience and status. There was a chance to make an informed guess about the general atmosphere, since there have been some scholars in the fields of sociology, anthropology and feminist studies who have published work on the subject. But it seemed that the field was currently defining the issue with the psychological lens missing. Therefore, this thesis aims to understand through semi-structured interviews what it is like for babysitters to "mother" a child, when they have left their own child to earn a living.

One expectation was that a babysitter's relationship with the child they cared for would be affected by her experience of migration and leaving her child behind. Specifically, there would be a dilemma: Wanting to take care of her own children, being deprived of that chance, yet having to take care of somebody else's child(ren). We hypothesized that the babysitter's

unique migration story would create intense feelings (like sadness, longing, anger, guilt) and anxieties and that she would use defense mechanisms to cope with them. Her ways of coping, in turn, might distance her from the cared child, or on the contrary, might make her too involved with the cared child. To understand how all these factors operated, we conducted one-to-one semi-structured interviews and utilized two self-report instruments with Central Asian migrant babysitters in Turkey, with own children abroad.

Chapter 2: Method

2. 1. Participants

2. 1. 1. Participant Characteristics

Seven migrant babysitters, all women, participated in this study. Participants were from two neighboring countries in the Central Asia: Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. All the participants had at least one child below the age of 15 in their home country and were taking care of a child in Turkey. Analyses on the pilot interview data resulted in confirmation of the protocol as it originally was; therefore it was decided to include the data from the pilot interview in the analyses. All the data were collected in Istanbul.

The demographic characteristics of the participants are listed in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3 below:

Table 1
Ages of the Babysitters, Their Own Children, and the Cared Children

Age	Numeric Value	
	Before Migration	Current
Babysitter Age (Years):		
M	32.86	36.14
Range	22-49	27-50
Youngest Own Child Age (Years):		
M	*3.71*	*8.29*
Range	1-8	3-13

Cared Child Age (Years):		
M	-	3.70
Range	-	0-8

Table 2
Demographic Characteristics of the Babysitters

Demographic Characteristic	Numeric Value
Duration of Stay in Turkey (Years):	
M	3.64
Range	1-5
Last School Graduated:	
High School	4 (57.1%)
Gymnasium	1 (14.3%)
University	2 (28.6%)
Marital Status:	
Married	4 (57.1%)
Divorced	3 (42.9%)
Nationality:	
Turkmen	3 (42.9%)
Uzbek	2 (28.6%)
Uzbek living in Turkmenistan	2 (28.6%)
Number of Places Worked at (in Turkey):	
1	2 (28.6%)
2	1 (14.3%)
3	3 (42.9%)
7	1 (14.3%)

Table 3
Demographic Characteristics of Own Children and the Cared Children

	Frequency
Gender of Own Children	
Female	6 (35.29%)
Male	11 (64.70%)
Gender of the Cared Children	
Female	6 (60%)
Male	4 (40%)

Frequency of Contact with Own Children Per Week:	
1	3 (42.9%)
3	2 (28.6%)
5	2 (28.6%)

2. 1. 2. Participant Recruitment

Most of the immigrant workers in Turkey are illegally here, or they are here with a tourist visa and their work is not reported to the social security department. The passports of most of them are with their hosts. Therefore they are constantly in danger of being reported to the police, getting deported, or on the contrary, being trapped in a house by the host. That makes trust a big issue for most of them. Therefore, convenience sampling seemed to fit this study the best. Participants were found through asking people who had someone in this situation working for them, kindergartens, and to immigrant babysitter employment agencies. In addition, a written announcement was sent to the participants of a study being conducted by a Bilgi scholar from the Department of English Language Teacher Education. We tried to reach the caregivers first rather than the hosts, to gain their trust. Snowballing was used as well: Any connections that did not get included in the study because they did not fit the inclusion criteria were asked verbally for anyone that they knew. Moreover, a question asking the participants for anyone they knew was added to the protocol.

Authors of a source about the chosen method of analysis (Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, IPA) recommended that researchers look for a small number of participants (Smith & Osborn, 2007). The authors noted that three was a fair participant number for a fresh starter to IPA, and five was reasonable for students doing IPA. Therefore, we decided that six participants would be suitable for interviews. To make sure that the format and the interview questions were suitable, an additional pilot interview was carried with one participant before the actual data collection began. As noted above, since no changes were judged to be required, this interview was included in the analyses.

Inclusion criteria were as follows: (1) since almost all of the babysitter population consists of women, the participants had to be women; (2) they had to be of Turkmen and Uzbek nationality (since the mother tongues of Turkmen and Uzbek women is closer to the Turkish spoken in Turkey, their Turkish tends to be relatively better than those of other nationalities); (3) they had to have at least one child under the age of 15 left behind in their homeland; (4) the child they were caring for had to be under the age of 15; (5) they had to speak Turkish well enough to be interviewed; (6) they had to be working in Istanbul; (7) they had to have been in the same job for at least one month prior to the interview.

2. 2. Measures

2. 2. 1. Individual Interview

The most suitable method for data collection was thought to be qualitative in nature, because there was no research or formal measure in the literature to apply and be able to base methodology in. In addition to the lack of measures, there was a lack of baseline data, so it was impossible to develop a measuring tool either. Therefore, a qualitative method, using semi-structured interviews, seemed most appropriate to be able to explore, understand and evaluate the experiences of the babysitters. Most of the studies in the literature had leaned on qualitative methods too, specifically semi-structured one-to-one interviews, to collect data (some examples are Macdonald, 1998; Chung, 2010).

Among the interviewing methods, semi-structured interview was chosen for individual interviews, because the semi-structured format allows one to both explore and keep a structure of the dialogue at the same time (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006; Smith et al., 2007).

The interviews were done by the author, who is a psychologist under psychotherapy training. The average interview duration was 101 minutes. Interview questions may be found in Appendix B.

Topics of the interview were divided into five broad categories. The first category was consisted of the demographic information, like age,

marital status, information about own children and spouse, work history, information about the decision to come, the duration of stay etc. The second category of questions concerned the babysitter's current life and work conditions, such as information about a routine work day and an off-day, the employer's expectations etc. The third category included questions about the babysitter's perceptions of her distance from her own family and her working conditions. These questions were designed to understand the babysitter's emotions, thoughts, their intensity, and how she coped with them; and, to see if the babysitter was making a connection between her separation with her children and her babysitting job. The fourth category was for learning the strengths and the resources of the participant. Because the interview was about a sensitive issue, we had expected it to evoke some negative feelings in the babysitters. Therefore, this category of questions was designed to help the participant leave the interview with a more positive feeling, of being strong and supported. Last but not least, the fifth category was for debriefing; with questions about the babysitter's mood at the end of the interview, or about whether she had experienced any difficulties. The questions were very broad, so the participant could feel comfortable and express herself freely.

The priority was to interfere as little as possible with a participant's own account, so the interviews mostly followed participants' pace and direction. Although a question list was made and was kept on the

interviewer's lap, it was visited as rarely as possible to create a more friendly and safe atmosphere in the room.

2. 2. 2. Beck Depression Inventory (BDI)

BDI is a self-report measure that was developed by Beck, Ward, Mendelson, Mock, and Erbaugh in 1961 to detect depression through symptoms and their intensity, on people 13 years or older (Segal, Coolidge, Cahill, O'Riley, 2008). BDI is made of 21 questions of multiple choice Likert-based statements with increasing negativity. The range of possible number codes for each question is 0-3. For each question, the participant picks the statement that fits her/him the best, thinking of the past one week. An example question is,

0 I am not particularly discouraged about the future.

1 I feel discouraged about the future.

2 I feel I have nothing to look forward to.

3 I feel the future is hopeless and that things cannot improve.

The scores are added up to get a final score, with a possible range of 0-63. A person's total score is used as an indicator of the presence and severity of depression: A person with a score below 10 is not considered as in depression. Scores between 10 and 17 are grouped into the category of mild depression, Scores that fall in 18-29 score range are said to indicate

moderate to severe depression, whereas scores above 30 are taken as the indicator of severe depression (Savaşır & Şahin, 1997; in Yılmaz Karabulutlu, Okanlı, & Karaca Sivrikaya, 2011). Cooperation and Working Together (CAWT), a Nothern Ireland and Republic of Ireland based cooperation agency, has made a more sensitive classification for depressive severity: Scores between 11 and 16 were considered as a mild mood disturbance, scores between 17 and 20 fell under the category of borderline clinical depression, whereas scores between 21 and 30 were named moderate depression, 31 and 40 named severe depression, and last but not least, scores over 40 were meant to signify the presence of extreme depression. In the present research, we chose to use the latter system.

Beck, Steer, & Carbin (1988) conducted a literature review in 1988, collecting all studies which had looked for the psychometric properties of BDI since the day it was developed. As a result of the review, Cronbach's alpha was reported to be .86 for patients, and .81 for non-patients. Concurrent validity scores ranged between .72-.73 for psychiatric patients, and between .60-.74 for non-patients. BDI was updated once in 1996 (Segal et al., 2008). The updated version assesses depression through the testee rating her/himself in the past two weeks instead of one; in addition, there are some content changes.

The Turkish version of BDI was standardized by two different scholars: By Tegin in 1980 and by Hisli once in 1988, and once more in

1989 (Yılmaz Karabulutlu et al., 2011). Hisli's version had a Cronbach's alpha of .74 and a split half reliability score of r=.80 (Ulusoy, Şahin, & Erkmen, 1988). Hisli also had looked for concurrent validity by comparing her version with the Depression index of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), and found .63 and .50 for different subsamples (Ulusoy et al., 1988). Turkish standardization of the second version of BDI (BDI-II) was done by Kapçı, Uslu, Türkçapar, and Karaoğlan in 2008. In our study, only because of accessibility problems, the first version of BDI was used. For a copy of BDI, please see Appendix C.

In our research, BDI data were only used for scanning purposes; in other words, to see the frequency and intensity of depression symptoms in the sample. The participants who had scores above the threshold point were to be considered as having clinically significant depression. The symptom frequencies and the percentage of above-threshold cases are reported in the results section, no further statistical analyses were to be performed on the inventory scores.

2. 2. 3. Beck Anxiety Inventory (BAI)

BAI is a 21-item self-report inventory developed to assess the presence and intensity of anxiety symptoms (Beck, Epstein, Brown, & Steer, 1988). The initial goal of Beck and his colleagues was to develop a measure which could measure anxiety as differentiated from depression. It was created by drawing 86 items from three anxiety inventories in use at

that time: Anxiety Checklist, PDR Checklist, and Situational Anxiety Checklist. The end result, BAI, is made of a table that lists 21 common anxiety symptoms. The participant rates each symptom in order to the level of severity s/he experiences it for the past one week. The options are “it did not bother me at all”, “it bothered me a little”, “it bothered me a lot but I could stand it”, and “I almost could not stand it”. An example item is “Numbness or tingling”. Unlike BDI, in which all choices have a scoring number, in BAI, the administrator does the scoring. When the severity increases, the score increases as well: “It did not bother me at all” option gets the score 0, whereas “I almost could not stand it” gets 3 (Grant, n. d.). In the end, all scores are added up to get a total score, range of which is 0-63, like BDI.

Scores between 0 and 7 are considered as indicators of minimal level of anxiety, whereas scores between 8 and 15 signify mild anxiety level, scores of 16-25 are considered moderate, and scores above 26 are considered as signs of severe anxiety (Beck & Steer, 1993; in Brenner, n. d.).

Reliability and validity results of BAI seemed satisfying. Beck et al. (1988) tested BAI on three samples, 1086 outpatients in total. They found a Chronbach’s alpha of .92. The test-retest reliability was found as $r(81) = .75$. Moreover, BAI was found to have moderate correlation with Hamilton Anxiety Rating Scale. Fydrich et al. (1992) looked for the psychometric

properties of BAI with 111 outpatient participants in total. The Cronbach alpha they found was .94 and the authors reported high convergent and discriminant validity. Steer, Beck, and Clark (1993), on 470 outpatients, found Cronbach's alpha value as .92, and the correlation with the anxiety subscale of SCL-90-R as r=.81.

The Turkish version of BAI was created by Ulusoy et al. (1988) and was tested on 177 outpatients from Bakırköy Mental Hospital. The sample was divided into four subsamples for measuring discriminant validity: Depressive patients, patients with anxiety disorders, a mixed group of both, and a group who had an unrelated diagnosis. BAI was found to be able to differentiate the anxiety group from the other three. Cronbach'a alpha was found to be .93, and the item-total correlations had a range of .45-.72.

In the current study, the data obtained from BAI were used to scan the anxiety level of participants. A copy of BAI form is shown in Appendix D.

2. 3. Procedure

The initial contact with most participants was made by telephone. For some participants, the study was broadly explained to their employers as well. The general concept of the study was explained and the overview of questions was presented to the participants in the beginning both in the initial conversation, and by way of the informed consent form. The

participants were informed that they could leave the study any time they wanted, that they didn't have to answer questions which they didn't want to, and their personal information was going to be kept confidential. The interviewer went through the consent form and the inventories with the participants even though they had read it to make sure that they had fully examined and understood the informed consent form before signing it.

The interviews were conducted in places where the confidentiality and the participants' own comfort could be ensured. Participants' houses, the interviewer's house and participants' workplaces (when the employers were not present) were the places of interviews. Arranging meetings had been one of the hardest parts of the data collection process, due to two factors: One, the participants had busy and unplanned lives to make definite arrangements, and two, most of the actors in the snowballing process were not very dependable although they were keen on helping, since most of the calls were not returned, some meetings were postponed, and cancelled.

The data were collected through two steps: The first step was conducting deep one-to-one interviews. As mentioned previously, the main aim of these interviews was to reach some common themes. The second step was asking participants to fill in BDI and BAI. Thus, the participants had a one-to-one interview and filled in BDI and BAI right after the interview. All of the interviews were conducted by the author (NA) and supervised by the advisor of the thesis (ZÇ). The interviewer was a psychologist and a

psychotherapist under training in Istanbul Bilgi University, who had finished all her courses and her supervision hours successfully. The supervisor was an assistant professor in Istanbul Bilgi University Psychology Department and an experienced clinician.

2. 4. Data Analysis

Among all the qualitative methods, IPA seemed to fit this research the best. The main reasons were the closeness of IPA to quantitative methods compared to other qualitative methods, and its closeness to a therapeutic dialogue, which were both things that we were more competent in. Furthermore, the way of asking questions and the way of exploring the phenomena in IPA (as far as we have seen in Smith et al., 2007) felt to be at the appropriate depth and control level for this thesis. In addition, IPA was argued to be a method that respected the wholeness of human participants (Smith et al., 2007). This was another plus side in working with a sensitive population like immigrant caregivers. Working with IPA helped us reform our hearing of them not only as immigrants or caregivers but as people who need to be treated fairly. We expected our sample to be more relaxed with this method, since the data collection was not going to be in a formal, clear-cut question-answer format which demanded exact answers; or they were not going to have the anxiety of being observed by a scientific figure. We think that the everyday-like, flexible and flowing chat format would help them feel at ease and think that they were going to be heard and understood.

IPA was used for the interviews almost in the same fashion that Earle, Davies, Greenfield, Ross, & Eiser (2005) used for their study: The voice recordings were converted into transcriptions, by listening to each recording twice. Transcriptions were read and reread several times, adding comments about the participant's feelings, thoughts, the process, and the reader's perceptions. Themes were derived from transcriptions [for the individual interviews, the chosen method from Smith et al. (2007) was reaching themes from the first interview first, and moving onto the others through comparisons with that theme list], superordinate themes were derived from them, and a diary was in use to note the researcher's experiences, especially personal reflections and observations. Convergences with and divergences from the main theme list were noted as well, the way Smith et al. (2007) had suggested.

2. 5. Ethical Considerations

Ethical approval was granted for this study by Istanbul Bilgi University Ethics Committee, in May 9, 2013.

Since the population under study was living under difficult conditions in Turkey, discretion was very important. We approached this issue very carefully. Participants, from the beginning of the initial contact, were informed that there were going to be certain measures to ensure confidentiality, and that nothing about their personal information was going to be shared with other people. This was mostly enough for most

participants. If participants still seemed a bit unsure, the data collection and data keeping process was explained to them. The participants received ethical information via the informed consent form as well. The form was first given to them to read, and the interviewer went through it once more with the participant. Moreover, a copy of the consent form was given to the participants, stating that they can use the phone numbers and e-mail addresses on the form to reach us for anything.

To protect secrecy, participants' names were used only in the informed consent form. On each participant's consent form, a participant number was written. From that point on, each participant was mentioned with her code instead her name in the documents. The consent forms were kept in a separate folder. The voice recordings were made with only one recorder, which was kept in the interviewer's room except for the recording periods. Each recording was transferred to the interviewer's computer immediately and got deleted from the recorder. The computer was only for personal use and the files were protected with a password. To back up, a copy of data were put into one USB stick, but they were protected with a password and again, the USB stick was in only the researcher's use. Information about the participants was only shared with the thesis committee, but revealing information was hidden or changed. If the participants decided to leave the study, to protect anonymity, their data were to be deleted.

Participants were forewarned prior to data collection that the process might evoke some hard-to-bear emotions, that they were free to refuse to answer any question and that they were free to leave the study at any time with no consequences. In case a participant reported verbally or behaviorally that she was affected negatively, or if a participant was observed having intense psychological problems, arrangements were made to refer that participant to an institution where she could get psychological support. The fourth and fifth parts of the interview schedule, resources and debriefing, were also placed at the end of the interview to ensure that the interview schedule had the balance of negative and positive states, so that participating in this research would not bring the participant down, and thus, do harm.

Chapter 3: Results

3. 1. Data Analysis

For BDI and BAI, two calculations were made using IBM SPSS Statistics 21.0: First, the total scores for each participant was obtained to see the level of severity for participants and if any participant scored over the threshold. Second, response frequencies were calculated for each question across all participants, to see which symptoms were more common to our participants.

For the interviews, all the recordings were transcribed and read one by one for a few times to elicit themes. If a new theme was found in one of the later reads, all the previously-read transcriptions were went through again to see if the new-found theme applied to them too. All the themes were grouped into clusters according to the subject. Lastly, superordinate themes were created from the general look into the themes.

3. 2. BDI

The total BDI scores for all participants ranged between 2 and 18, indicating no depression for 4 participants, mild mood disturbance for 2 participants, and borderline clinical depression for 1 participant, if one adopted CAWT's classification system, previously mentioned in Method. Two questions, one about deserving punishment and another about seeing

oneself as unsuccessful got 0 points from all participants. According to an analysis of frequencies for each answer, the highest rated problem for the participants seemed to be low quality of sleep: Two participants rated that question with 2, and three participants with 3.

3. 3. BAI

The total BAI scores ranged between 0 and 34. One participant had the minimum anxiety level, whereas three participants were in the mild, two participants scored in the moderate, and one participant scored in the severe anxiety ranges. The most severe symptoms were dizziness, with one participant scoring 1, and three participants scoring 3; and wobbliness, with three participants scoring 2 and three participants scoring 3. Heart pounding or racing, and nervousness seemed to be distinctive as well, in spite of being mostly scored on moderate levels.

3. 4. Analysis of the One-to-One Interviews

3. 4. 1. Characteristics of the Interviews

As mentioned before, the interviews were done by one of the authors, who is a psychologist under psychotherapy training. The average interview duration was 101 minutes. The interviews were made in the places that suited the interviewees best, and that was sufficient to ensure confidentiality; like the participants' homes, the homes that they worked, or

the interviewer's home. The participants mostly seemed willing to tell their own story. Surprisingly, they did not need any questions to open up besides the first question, asking about them and their family. All of the participants were all-present and sincere. Some of them cried during the interviews, at those points, they were contained.

Most participants had little pauses or repetitions of the same sentences during the interview. This could be perceived as a result of the language barrier.

Overall, all of the participants enjoyed taking part in the interview. In the debriefing, they reported that they felt much better and lighter after the interview. None of them mentioned feeling disturbed in any part during the interviews.

3. 4. 2. A list of Common Themes

A list of common themes and the number codes of the participants who spoke of each theme could be seen in Tables 4-13 below:

Table 4
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
Life Before Migration

Theme	Participant Number
Conflicts with the spouse and/or his family	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
Anger towards the spouse	# 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
The father role of the mother	# 1, 2, 3, 4

Economic difficulties in the homeland	# 1, 2, 3, 4
Irresponsibility of the spouse	# 2, 3, 4, 6
Back in the day vs. the time that I want for my children to live	*# 1, 2, 4, 6*
Inability to save money	# 2, 3, 4
Others' attempts at persuasion against migration	# 1, 2, 4
Objection of children to a reunion with the father	# 1, 2, 3
My family is not like his family	# 3, 4
Heavy housework in the homeland	# 3, 4
Domestic violence	# 3, 7
Migration decision hidden from the spouse	# 4, 7

Table 5
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
Adjustment Period

Theme	Participant Number
Internalization	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Language difficulties	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Minimum 6 months of adaptation period	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Rumors/negative feedback in the homeland	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Continuous crying before adaptation	# 1, 3, 4, 5, 6
Thoughts about children's nutrition	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
The dilemma b/w going back/longing and having to work	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 6
Tactile, visual, auditory flashbacks	# 1, 2, 3, 5
Loss of appetite	# 2, 3, 6, 7

Table 6
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
Relations with Own Children

Theme	Participant Number
Mother's organization of the homeland	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Telephone calls	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Wishes for compensation to children	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Tiring thoughts/planning	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7

The dilemma b/w going back/longing and having to work	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
Thinking about children's nutrition	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
Children trying to be strong	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
Material compensation efforts	# 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
If-onlys	# 1, 2, 4, 6, 7
Grandmother taking care of the child	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
The father role of the mother	# 1, 2, 3, 4
Children trying to cheer the mother up	# 1, 2, 3, 6
What if they forgot/ don't love me	# 1, 2, 4, 6
Children as lacking motherly love	# 1, 3, 5, 6
Irresponsibility of the spouse	# 2, 3, 4, 6
Conditioning own happiness with the happiness of the people left	# 3, 4, 5
Thoughts about bringing own child to Turkey	# 2, 5, 6
"Do not worry about us"	# 1, 2, 3
Increase in longing/if-onlys in special days	# 1, 2, 5
Being pride of own children	# 1, 2, 5
Children's censoring when they talk with the mother	# 2, 5, 6
Self-censorship of the mother	# 2, 5, 4
Sensitivity to own child's health	# 2, 5, 6
Intense emotions stemming from child calling the mother	# 1, 3, 6
Children's appreciation of the mother	# 1, 3, 5
My mother cares better than me but can't replace me	# 1, 2, 6
Keeping a bond with the child through photo(s)	# 5, 6
Seeing the child in her dream(s)	# 5, 6
Getting deeply affected by the phone calls	# 2, 1
Being unable to get angry at the child because of the distance	# 2, 5
Own child's false perception of someone else as the mother	# 4, 5
Fears of being accused by children	# 1, 5
Thought of having missed the child's growth	# 4, 6
Father caring for children	# 5, 7

Table 7
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
Relationship with the Cared Children

Theme	Participant Number
Behaving to the cared child just the same way with own child	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Mind drifts while with the cared child	# 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7
Intense love for the cared child	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 6. 7
The feeling of cared child as a substitute for own children	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
Reasoning of the own-cared child bond	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
"The child loves me"	# 2, 4, 5, 6, 7
Cared child giving care to the babysitter	# 1, 2, 3, 6, 7
Cared child as a source of joy	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 7
Having a bad feeling when the child cries (like heart racing)	# 1, 2, 3, 6
The work-easing role of the cared child	# 1, 2, 3, 4
Finding similarities between the cared child and own child	# 1, 2, 3, 5
Sleeping with the cared child	# 1, 2, 3, 6
Babysitting as good for psychological well-being	# 1, 2, 3, 6
The overlap between own & cared children's genders make caring better	# 2, 3, 4, 5
Imagining own child in the place of the cared one	# 1, 2, 3
Having a special bond with one of the cared children (like a mother-child relationship)	# 1, 2, 3
The cared child triggering thoughts and feelings about own child	# 1, 2, 6
Sensitivity to cared child's health	# 1, 2, 3
Inability to focus on work during "bad" episodes	# 1, 5, 6
As if I am caring for my own child (as if s/he is with me)	# 2, 3, 6
Speaking of the cared child as if s/he's the babysitter's own child	# 1, 3, 5
Cared child's presence "stalling" the babysitter's mind	# 1, 2, 3

Crying when the child cries	# 1, 3
Problems in establishing authority	# 1, 6
Sparing more time for the cared child when the babysitter feels cheerful	# 1, 4
Hugs from the cared child as a medium for feeling better	# 2, 4

Table 8
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
Feelings and Thoughts

Theme	Participant Number
Longing	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Tiring thoughts/planning	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Sorrow	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Mind drifts while with the cared child	# 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7
The dilemma b/w going back/longing and having to work	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
Crying secretly	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
Thinking about children's nutrition	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
It's hard	# 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
Having "bad" episodes	# 1, 2, 4, 5, 6
Guilt (implicit)	# 1, 2, 4, 5, 6
Anger towards the spouse	# 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
If-onlys	# 1, 2, 4, 6, 7
Having a bad feeling when the child cries (like heart racing)	# 1, 2, 3, 6
Sacrifice	# 2, 3, 4, 7
What if they forgot me/won't like me?	# 1, 2, 4, 6
Doubts	# 1, 3, 5, 6
Stress	# 2, 4, 5, 6
Uneasiness	# 1, 2, 5, 7
Increase in longing/if-onlys in special days	# 1, 2, 5
Sadness about the children's current situation	# 1, 2, 4
Inability to focus on work during "bad" episodes	# 1, 5, 6
Loneliness	# 1, 3, 7
Fears of/getting scammed	# 2, 3, 4
Acnes, loss of hair	# 1, 4
Crying when the child cries	# 1, 3
Anger and nervousness	# 2, 4

Hiding crying/trauma because of fear	# 3, 4
Longing for own mother	# 1, 3
Tactile, visual, auditory flashbacks	# 1, 3
Headache	# 1, 6
Shoulder pain	# 1, 6

Table 9
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
Coping

Theme	Participant Number
Mother's organization of the homeland	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Wishes for compensation to children	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Day off: Leisure	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Internalization	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Behaving to the cared child just the same way with own child	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Day off: meeting with relatives	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Thankfulness to God	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Caregiving employers	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
The healing power of opening up to someone	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7
The feeling of cared child as a substitute for own children	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
Material compensation efforts	# 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
Suddenly changing the subject	# 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Babysitting preferred over other jobs	# 1, 3, 5, 6, 7
Comparisons with the possible conditions if the babysitter stayed	# 1, 2, 3, 4
Finding similarities between the cared child and own child	# 1, 2, 3, 5
Thoughts of being obliged	# 1, 2, 3, 6
Cared child as a source of joy	# 1, 2, 3, 5
Somatization (current)	# 1, 4, 5, 6
Cared child giving care to the babysitter	# 1, 2, 3, 6
Self-soothing when the feelings get too intense	# 1, 2, 5, 6
Sudden transitions from negative to positive things in the narratives	# 1, 2, 3, 5
Trying to avoid pain through thanksgiving	# 2, 3, 5, 6
Babysitting as good for psychological well-being	# 1, 2, 3, 6

I feel good when I cry	# 1, 2, 3, 7
Dreaming of own child in the place of the cared child	# 1, 2, 3
Destiny	# 1, 3, 5
Cared child's presence "stalling" the babysitter's mind	# 1, 2, 3
Speaking of the cared child as if s/he's the babysitter's own child	# 1, 3, 5
As if I am caring for my own child (as if s/he is with me)	# 2, 3, 6
Everything will be shattered If I go back	# 2, 5
Showing love to the kids on the streets	# 1, 2
Talking to oneself	# 2, 7

Table 10
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
About the Current Conditions

Theme	Participant Number
Expectations- Happiness of the child	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Rumors/negative feedback in the homeland	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Expectations-Tidying the house and housework	# 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Like a member of the family which is worked for	# 1, 2, 3, 5, 6
Leaving well with previous employers	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
Babysitting preferred over other jobs	# 1, 3, 5, 6, 7
Fatigue	# 2, 4, 5, 6, 7
Desire for the life conditions in Turkey	# 2, 3, 4, 6
Importance on earning "helal" money	# 1, 3, 5, 6
Friendliness of Turkish people	# 1, 3, 5
Turkey as a teacher of life and manners	# 1, 3, 5
Inability to focus on work during "bad" episodes	# 1, 5, 6
Fears of/getting scammed	# 2, 3, 4
As my own house	# 1, 5, 6
Everything will be shattered If I go back	# 2, 5
Spouse setting up a new life for himself	# 2, 3
Longing for own mother	# 1, 3
Wish to be understood	# 4, 6
Hard work conditions	# 4, 6
Empathy with the employers	# 5, 6

Table 11
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
About Herself

Theme	Participant Number
Submissive → autonomous women	# 2, 3, 4, 6, 7
Good mother	# 1, 5, 6, 7
Self-sufficient	# 1, 3, 5, 6
Better than others	# 2, 5, 6, 7
Decisive	# 1, 4, 5, 7
Conditioning own happiness with the happiness of the people left	# 3, 4, 5
I couldn't live my own life	# 1, 3
Pride	# 5, 7
Brave	# 5, 7
Deserving money	# 5, 6

Table 12
Emergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them
Ideals

Theme	Participant Number
Desire to provide a better life for children	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Education of child(ren)	# 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Plans of going back	# 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7
Buying a house	# 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
The fantasy of being served/helped by children in the future	# 2, 4, 5, 6
Desire for the children to stand on their own feet	# 2, 5, 6
Bringing up a child serviceable to his/her country	# 1, 2, 3
Desire for children to have everything that others have	# 4, 6, 7
Taking good things in here to the homeland	# 4, 5

Table 13
Divergent Themes and the Number Codes of Participants Who Mentioned Them

Theme	Participant Number
Not wanting to go back	# 3
Jealousy of other mothers and children	# 4
My child has 3 mothers	# 5
Reverie (even accidents)	# 4
(Not like my child) like my grandchild	# 5
Staying behind on "mother time"	# 3
Longing brings anger	# 2
Avoiding to see own child	# 2
Care of own children by multiple agents	# 4
Guilt and responsibility feelings towards the mother and the father	# 4
Sudden transitions from negative to positive things during the interview	# 4
Older sister caring for the child	# 5
The employers are like my family, but not my family	# 5
The house is like my home, but it is not my home	# 1
Pain	# 1

3. 4. 3. Interpretation of the Themes

3. 4. 3. 1. Life in the Homeland

The life back in the homeland (Turkmenistan or Uzbekistan) seemed hard for the participants. Most of the participants lived in village-houses, with some of the wider family members being close by. The participants had been carrying out the domestic responsibilities. The main problems in the mainland were economic hardships and problems with their husbands and/or his family.

Most of the participants had economic hardships in their homeland. Unemployment was one of them:

> *At the time I decided, I needed plenty of money, I needed plenty of money. No jobs, the homeland is already small. No jobs for my husband. Bribery everywhere, I have no money for bribe. I am a Russian language teacher myself. I have a diploma. But in that too, no jobs for me at this time. Whenever I give 1000 dollars-1500 dollars I don't hide this. They would find me a job*. (#7)

Uzbek participants who lived in Uzbekistan seemed in better conditions than the participants who lived in Turkmenistan though. Participants from Uzbekistan seemed to have been able to earn their living, though still in jobs unrelated to their occupations:

> *Because, let me tell you this way, when I-we were there, I mean we weren't desperate, living like that I mean. There too like here, we had everything I mean, we had our home, our system, we had stuff. We are not that hungry and stuff. For example we, could have lived by on our own, but we couldn't buy a house. Or we have to work a lot to buy a house, like 30-50-not 50, but 25-30 years.* (#6)

> *We have our own houses. Houses made of adobe… Our beautiful houses. We have a garden. Grapes, everything… Our beautiful vineyard, flowers. […] We have a turkey. We have chickens; to that it has very understandable help for our children.* (#7)

However, the participants from Turkmenistan reported they were short of money in such ways that they could not get the basic sustenance:

> *My money is not sufficient for anything, my wage. His family's big. I mean if I live with my husband, really they [my children] would have a life like him. I mean they would grow up in the streets, they would steal for money.* (#3)

> *I would go, my mom was helping I mean, when my father wasn't there into my bag (participant laughs), she would put vegetables and stuff, take this you can cook and eat at home. No father there, if my father saw it he would be angry I mean. Why doesn't your husband work, bring, why you would take [these], stuff like that he would say. I-before he came my mom used to prepare my bag (participant laughs) and place [it]. Thanks to her. [It would be] on the side, I was taking it when I was leaving for home, when she was baking bread, I don't know, two, three breads take it-you can eat them at home and stuff like that…* (#4)

This difference seemed to shape the participants' motivations to migrate. Participants living in Turkmenistan migrated mostly to be able to provide a decent life to their children, but the participants living in Uzbekistan strictly underlined that they were in Turkey to achieve a better standard of living. No matter where the participants were from, there were two main aims: One was to fund the children's education, because they had to pay money to be able to send the children to a good school, and some of that money was bribe. The other was to buy a house.

An additional migration reason, present with almost half of the participants, was to be able to provide means for their children to have the same quality of life as the other children in the homeland:

> *Why did I want to? May my children not have anything missing compared to others. They nicely, may they wear any piece they want to, may they have the car they want. May there be furniture in his house. May my children have better televisions than others. I wanted that.* (#7)

As reported above, the participants were either married or divorced. Most of the participants were not satisfied with their marriages. As they reported, the system they lived in was not egalitarian. They mostly complained of men not working, the alcohol and drug abuse by their men, their irresponsible behaviors, and they found their men wasteful:

> *Could I make myself clear I mean, no accounts kept on the money I sent, I don't know like we send [money] since he is getting the house ready, they are nowhere, like I don't know I send for my son's surgery, he, from the surgery… Uh-the boy passes his fifth year of age he did not have the surgery…* (#2)

> *He doesn't work. I mean, he doesn't take care of the kids, I mean um… he doesn't do that… He is not interested.* (#4)

> *Look, he found a job, he's working. I mean, it's almost 1 year. I ask-I was talking with him then- I ask, do you save money? No. Do you save? No. No money.* (#4)

There were even incidents of domestic abuse:

> *When he was beating me, this uh… my husband would beat me in front of my kids. He would beg so much, dad don't do it, don't, he*

would do he would hold his hands, he would hug his father, he would throw me like a ball… (#3)

*If the teachers [asked] me why my eye was bruised, if I said my husband did this, they were laughing. No Z***, you are such a brave woman, your husband would not bruise you this much, they were saying. But still [those] things, I passed through them all with jokes.* (#7)

But as it seemed, the participants perceived the marriage difficulties as a societal problem rather than something that happened to them only:

[…] with us 70% of men are addicted to alcohol. […]That's why… Why would our women come [here], mothers come leaving their children? They, uh… are addicted to alcohol. That's why… My husband is like them too. (#3)

Now in our homeland only women work. Men, very rarely. Rare. Women work, aye, women earns, brings money, he eats, drinks, sleeps; and our man still have authority. So it's not like in here. Our men even if they don't do [anything], they get themselves listened to. Are you going to do this, yes you are. (#4)

Some participants regretted getting married, or marrying at such a young age:

With the family, we had an arranged marriage. […] that way you don't understand what kind of person he is when we meet. In two chats… That's how we got married. And now I'm suffering. (#6)

I married too young, and very… it's hard to be… I had to leave and stay here, and that-that is my fault, could I make myself clear? (#2)

In addition to problems with the husbands, some participants also reported problems with the husbands' families:

My mother-in-law, father-in-law, everyone were against us. They didn't let us live. I wanted to live, I couldn't find a way. (#1)

When my husband was away, uh… my father-in-law was fighting with me. He was quarreling, because of his son. He would stop when [my husband] came in. I couldn't say anything for not to start a fight. I was always putting up with it. (#4)

The decision to migrate was made in various ways. Most of the participants decided on their own, whereas some asked for their loved ones' opinions, some decided mutually, and yet some others followed their relatives' or friends' steps:

I asked my father too, I said I am going to go, I talked with them first. We have a tradition like that; you have to respect, sit with the elderly and ask for their opinions. (#4)

I had decided that I was going to Russia again. However, my closest friend here, a very close friend, an older sister, because she's also older, she made me for a second, come, I am alone in Turkey, we can at least see each other in Saturdays and Sundays… Come, I have a family, wait, let me ask them, uh… she said. (#5)

It seemed from our participants' narratives that their husbands were less willing than the participants to come and work in Turkey, or to be able to stay and save money:

> *It was 8 months since I came, and 6 months since he came. After 6 months he said I am going to go home, I'm going to go to the homeland; I am going to take you with me too.* (#2)

> *He could barely stand for 6 months with my sister's pressure. […] I was also calling from the homeland, don't come, don't come… […] I was shouting out in there. […] He calls: He, I have a stomachache. He, my leg hurts. He, I don't know where hurts. I'm going to come. […]Always… He's like that in the homeland too. Like this and that, 6 months passed he came quickly. Without saying anything to anyone.* (#4)

Some participants hid their migration decisions from their husbands as well:

> *Then in the day on the ticket he said, here (participant laughs) I said it one day before my leaving, here, I'm leaving this day. […] Why should I talk to him, if I do, he's going to say don't go. If I don't go, nothing changes. My children are growing up, I don't have a house, things can't keep on like this.* (#4)

Money for the tickets was found from various people, mostly relatives and neighbors:

> *Then, like anybody didn't do anything, only my sister-in-law, my brother's wife supported me very much. She also gave me some*

money when I was coming. She bought me a few clothes I was going to wear. Thanks to her, she helped me out. (#2)

Then she said okay, uh… the money for the ticket too, thanks to her mom found from somewhere, as a… loan, ya I got interest, like that there's already no money in our homeland. (#4)

Some of the participants found support with their decision to come here, but mostly they had to cope with opposition as well:

Yes, my father and my mother always supported me. They said, don't you worry, your kids are under my responsibility. (#1)

My mom, my mom didn't support [me]. Because the-the younger son was too little. Uh, my husband did not trust me at all. He said, you'd go, you can't make it through. (#2)

Partly, the opposition came from people in the homeland, who were outside the family. The participants were, as it seemed, being accused of prostitution and irresponsibility for their children:

Now they told me before, be responsible for your children, come… they told me. (#1)

I mean, they devalue my name, I mean, this is gone, to prostitute, to I don't know what. I mean they don't see what you see, but they talk without seeing from there. (#4)

But that opposition was not really cared about:

Uh I don't know they talk, talk, they don't matter. I left everything there now. I never paid attention to what anybody said I mean… I

didn't look at the floor and do that. I didn't say you are saying this, you are saying that, either. (#4)

Yes it happens. But I don't care a lot. Because I know myself. I mean when you know yourself to me somebody else's word, somebody's something not I mean I don't even care, I can say. You have to know yourself first. (#6)

3. 4. 3. 2. The Adjustment Period

All participants have gone through an adjustment period, in which they felt much worse than now. This period, although varied for each participant, did not seem to last less than six months. The participants named lots of complaints related to that period. Over time, these either vanished or lost intensity.

In spite of their perception of the Turkish culture and language as very similar to theirs, the participants had problems with the language:

I came, the next morning I went to work. I didn't have Turkish at all. I definitely didn't know a word of Turkish and because of me that child was speaking with a corrupt Turkish. […] But I learned Turkish in approximately 3.5, 4 months. Maybe in 5 months. Or in 6 months. I learned only then. (#2)

One day passed, one night the wife came, in the evening. She speaks in Turkish. A, this one doesn't know Turkish. She said hello, hello. How are you, are you fine? I don't say anything. A, this one isn't saying anything. She doesn't know Turkish. Then she said, no, I

don't want this one. I had to leave them too. I was back in the streets. (#7)

All participants reported that when they first came, they cried a lot, sometimes secretly:

[…] when I first came, I cried for 3 months, I, was crying every day. On my pillows, like this, till morning. (participant makes gasping and crying sounds) Like he-he I was crying with sounds like this. Uh… and friends would say in Saturdays, this, uh… The woman who worked for 6 years in Russia was listening to me. She said this one is going back. However, everybody went back I've stayed still. (#5)

For up to 6 months I cried a lot. When I got separate from my son… He was 1.5 years old, never left with anyone else, done that. Like, everytime the phone rings I answer. I cry, can't talk, I hang up. I go again, call again (participant laughs). (#6)

Some of the additional difficulties included lack of appetite, lack of sleep, flashbacks, etc.:

I'd always have their smell on my nose. Always [I'd question] if I should return, always to return… I'd spend a day, I'd say tomorrow I'm going back. I'm going back. But when my sufferings came to my mind, no, I can work, I can make my kids live happy, I came here with those dreams. I adjusted to Turkey in more than a year. (#1)

But when I came, when I first came I was getting very sad. Every evening I'd wish if I were with them and feed them myself, now he's gone to school, oh no what did he wear now was it clean, torn, proper… (#2)

I had a very hard first year. I was crying a lot. Even water was not going past my throat. (#3)

My mind was dispersed. When I first… first came my mind was pretty dispersed. I was hearing sounds. As if they're waiting for me around the corner somewhere. My mom's voice would come to my ears. Uh… As if she's somewhere around here, like I should finish my work and go see my mom, I had moments like that. I had them in my first two years. Then they ended, I don't have them nowadays. […] Uh, as if, there was a child around me, I didn't recognize. (#3)

[When looking after the cared child] she [my own daughter] would come in front of my eyes. And I didn't look after her, in here, I look after for money. Like that, I'd get emotional. But that ended later. (#5)

What do you have for a feeling… Problem…No sleep; you sleep, after your mind gets tired you sleep but in your mind your children… You talk once a week on the phone. Then, I had time to phone once in two weeks. Hearing the kids' voices, uh… that much of things were happening. Boss is not at home. I call home, the home number. I hear the youngest's voice. Hello, hello… I hang up. He, my son's fine, everything's fine. That was all. If I talk it's going to cost money. I don't want to have problems with the boss. If I miss him, I was calling. I was talking for a minute. I hear my son's voice. Nobody is left at home. His father is working too, I guess. He shuts him at home and leaves. The boy's at home in age 6. Hello, hello… Hello, says the boy. I don't say hello, hello my son. If I say my son, it's hard for him. If he hears my voice he wants to talk. (#7)

One of the participants was different than the others in the sense that she could visit her son, once a year for approximately a month. The migration and return process was more visible on her, since she was exposed to it once every year. When the visit date started getting closer, she reported having no sleep and no appetite. She reported from the 8th or 9th month on, she started to feel the urge to go to the homeland, and she got preoccupied with it. The dilemma between coming/staying here to work and living in the homeland with the child was also more visible on her, especially in the times when she had to relocate. She said she had two families, and leaving both of them was painful, like the happiness of seeing both of them:

> *With that… it's a bit hard to start work [again]. I mean… I say I came here again. Then, two days later [I get used to], [suddenly the participant starts talking about what she experiences when she is leaving for her homeland] with N*** and now with E***, I cry when I'm leaving, since this morning I've been crying secretly because I'm leaving.*
>
> *-How? Ha, I got it, you get sad when you're leaving the kids in here too.*
>
> *Yes, I get sad.* (#6)
>
> *I mean, it is as if I have a family here too, I am like feeling like I am leaving them too. I mean, my eyes tear up when I am sitting, since this morning.* (#6)

3. 4. 3. 3. Life in Turkey

Most of the participants were working in their second or third houses. Two participants were working in their first houses, but given that they were in Turkey for a shorter time than the ones working in their third houses, it seems that in general, a babysitter worked in a house for approximately one and a half years. Even though it was not really talked about, it seemed that babysitters found new jobs through their own networks and private employment agencies. Both of these methods cost them a great deal of money, because of high commission rates like 200 Dollars for a 600-Dollar-job.

The primary work expectation, except for one participant, was the caring of child(ren). Housework was secondary. The amount of responsibility over housework differed from participant to participant. Some were not obligated to do any work other than tidying-up, whereas some had all the housework on their shoulders: The current conditions were not complained about very often. Working in good conditions looked to be mediating the babysitter's well-being:

> *Then… I came my bosses were very good people, above all. Because they were so good I adjusted more comfortably, I adjusted easier to Turkey, I should tell you that.* (#2)

Uh… not very often… do I get bored. Why? Uh the place I work being very good, I inside, understanding, reciprocally, that's why I am very content. (#7)

Having to deserve the payment was a theme which recurred with several participants. They mostly used the concept of "helal" in Islam, meaning the money which was deserved, rather than earned through sinful means. To validate their argument, some participants compared their work with the other migrants and found theirs better:

I always worked, earned my bread in a helal way. (#1)

If a mother doesn't take care of her child, if she doesn't get well-dressed, if she is dirty, if her nails get too long, her hair unwashed… I take it as a misdemeanor of mine. Not nice. The money given to me must be helal. (#7)

Some participants liked Turks and being in Turkey in general. Most of the participants saw Turkey positively; one participant even did not want to go back:

I learned a lot in Turkey, by coming here. I [learned] what I didn't see there, I didn't experience there, I didn't learn there, by coming here my stuff got more… how… my world view. I mean, my everything changed. I started seeing world in a totally different way. More meaningful, more… more things I learned coming here. I am very happy on that aspect. I say I'm glad I came. (#1)

> *Very respectful to both their women and men, I mean, appreciating you, appreciating people, really the Turkish people are totally different. Very warm-hearted.* (#3)

> *You came here, heaven! When I see the friendliness of the people here, I don't want to leave anymore.* (#3)

But, it looked like the Central Asians in Istanbul had been going through some labeling due to the group which worked in brothels:

> *What else,… in the street, I mean by the street, you know I said sometimes they don't see you in a positive way, I mean because you are a foreigner.* (#6)

The way that a workday was spent depended on if the child(ren) were going to school or not. The ones with children attending a school woke them up, prepared them, sent them, and did the housework when the child was at school. When the child came back, they had some play time, and some time to spend in the park until the parents came:

> *You wake up for example, in the morning and get the breakfast ready. I mean to send them to work. Uh, I prepared breakfast for the mother and the father.I sent them to work, to that. Then you prepare the child. You take the chils down [to the street]. The child goes to school as well. Uh, in the meanwhile you start work. First the laundry, then I should tidy up the house. Tidy up the breakfast, yeah… then you tidy up the house, if you tidied up the house then washing the laundry is finished. You hang them up. Like, you are going to vacuum-clean-I don't know what-like the dust, you sweep them. Then ironing starts. If your cleaning is finished you start*

*ironing. I do my ironing. Tidy them up then dinner, you cook the supper and put them. Then they are going to come. You already get busy with work like this until 4, at four the child is coming. When the child came I was setting the table, for example, ya not to have that happened. Not to have to deal with the table. Like you put the salad, I make the salad. I keep it in the fridge. When they come it gets ready quickly. Plates, everything ready to place. Like that… Then the child arrives. After 4 till her parents come you take care of the child. The child comes. We play with her first. Before that I ask, how was your day? What did you do, can you tell me? […] We do crafts, we watch TV. […] I mean yes, after that… come on my little N***, dinner is over. Then I tell her let's brush our teeth, we brush our teeth. Every day she takes a bath.* (#6)

With the children not attending school, the sequence included more time to take care of the child:

Did I wake up in the morning, the child wakes up at 6. I slowly enter her room. Her mother is sleeping. The child too from her cart, I come slowly. She hugs me. I [undecoded, 26:56] come to the kitchen. I prepare our everything before the child. […] We sit down and have breakfast. […] Then I take her out to fresh air. Nobody else but we are in the park. Everbody's still sleeping (smiles). Then she walks by herself from her cart. […] Then we come back home at around 9-9:30. Then we get up. I start my cleaning. The child's mother wakes up. She takes care of her for a while, that's it. If there's no supper, [cooking] supper. (#7)

The most pleasurable times of a day were mostly when the babysitter and the child were playing. These moments provided love and care for the babysitters as well as children:

> *But you become a child with a child, you cry when she cries, you smile when she smiles, you play with them… It refreshes me, I become more joyful.* (#1)

In fact, the child's presence made a workday easier and more pleasurable for some participants:

> *For example my workday, goes faster when the kids are home. Because being busy with them, playing with them, joking around with them, I don't know, keeps me busy, my day passes quicker.* (#1)

> *The things I like the best I mean, he hugs me, he is always on my lap, he hugs, uh… creates games with me for example. Uh… pets… my hair, my hair… […] he strokes. Like, I don't know, my earrings, when I have earrings abla [in Turkey, babysitters are called "abla", which means "older sister"], give me I want to wear them, he says.* (#3)

The hardest moments of a workday could be generalized as the times when a cared child pushes boundaries (for example, when the child does not tidy up, or does not eat veggies), when a child is not in the mood (for example when s/he is sick or irritable) and when the employers are not happy.

The participants had 24 hours off per week. Those hours were spent for leisure, sleep and socialization. In other words, the off-day was almost the only time for resting the body and soul. Only one participant talked about having to do housework additionally, because her husband was also here. Except for one, all participants had an apartment flat to stay in the off-day. They shared it with people in the same conditions.

3. 4. 3. 4. Relationship with the Employers

The participants (except for two) felt deep love for their employers, they felt contained by them. They could talk to their female employers and get consolation in return. In a way, the employers gave these women a channel to openly express themselves, and they also did pep-talks:

> *When I get ill they take care of me, I mean when something happens to me, ah… I mean… they treat me well; I mean they don't push me away, like their own sister. I mean, what do you have, what do you need, can I share a problem, they do. One thing, if something happens to me I tell them, such happened… I mean they do their best to help. Economically, I mean…* (#1)

> *Now, m… sometimes… uh… I want like this: I have a home, I have a husband, I have a nice life. I still feel sad. Um… I do stuff I mean. I get emotional, I cry. I tell this to my landlady. She says ah, it's okay. She says this life of yours is better.* (#3)

As it seemed, the closeness with the employers was liked and desired at the same time for both parties.

This did not mean there were no complaints of course. Some babysitters mentioned that they were longing for empathy and understanding from their employers. We do not think that it is coincidental that these babysitters were the ones with the most workload:

> *Like her mother wakes her up. She sends the child directly to the kitchen. She goes, shuts the door of her room. She sits in her room with her husband. You B*** you do whatever with two kids.* (#4)

> *Yes, for example my boss, the boss in the house, if she puts herself in my position, how much work can she do? Even if she does a little it takes very long. I mean, saying do this do this do this do this, in 5 minutes, comes out of our mouth.* (#6)

3. 4. 3. 5. Current Relationship with the Homeland

The main contact tool seemed to be the phone, via the phone cards called "Asia Card". However, other contact methods were used as well. Two participants reported using WhatsApp, whereas two participants talked about having Skype conversations when possible, although not as often. Three of the babysitters had contact with their children once a week, two had contact three times and the remaining two had contact five times.

It might seem like the babysitters have left their children, but in practice, this certainly was not the case. They were always on the watch, even at the expense of boring their own mothers with their questions: Does s/he eat well? Did s/he sleep well?

> *Because, my younger one was 11 months old, I was thinking of his everything. Hii… he wet himself now, ay he soiled, ay he got hungry, ay like this, that… Is he under heat, sun, is he cold in cold weather… You think of everything, in every moment.* (#2)

> *I mean I… question a lot on the phone too, when I first call immediately uh… I say my son's name A*** is his name, in our language, how is he, where, what's he doing, is he sleeping, if he's not, quickly give the phone to him. […] Like, um… is he eating something, is he doing something, I mean… uh… everything is always a different situation for him, on the phone, for example (participant laughs) how many eggs does he eat a day, is he drinking his milk, is he [tidying] his bed by himself, brushing his teeth, which games does he play, I ask everything from my mom.* (#6)

To be able to get questions to their answers, they have left their mothers/husbands behind. In the same way that these babysitters were surrogates of the working mothers, they were also working mothers who employed their own mothers/husbands as surrogates. The grandmother/father was the main caregiver for these babysitters. But it was carefully underlined that they were not the mothers. Rather than being a mother, the grandmothers/husbands were there as the arms of the mother, stretched out to the homeland. They did as their daughters/wives say:

> *Because the older one is attending school, every week when I call, we talk about every day in which [course], if he got 5 or 4. Then, if one is going bad uh… I tell his grandma look it's going bad, such and such happened, do this and do that, I say.* (#2)

> *I call, I call home once a week. I look if everything's all right. How are you, are you good? Tell me, is everything sufficient? I send you money. Feed the kid with vitamins. Fruits are ripe. Peach, buy everything. The boy loves fruits very much. Don't get jealous of your money, I tell my husband. Kid should eat. Okay. Then, uh, I calm down.* (#7)

The fundamental thing the participants seemed to try making sure of was: Is my child okay? Is s/he fine without me to provide care? Because they had such a fear that their child would not be cared the best way, or as good as they would do if they were there, even though they trusted their surrogates:

> *Now, of course it won't be like I do, but they take good care of her.* (#1)

> *[…] because I took care of him alone until he was 1.5 years old it feels in my dream like others can't take care of my child,… I guess that's where motherhood comes out of. Ya no matter how much I have stuff, ya however happy my child however stuff he becomes, in a mother's heart, uh… like a, uh… with me for example trust… trust thing, is low I mean, he's always in my mind, uh what is he doing I wonder.* (#6)

But no matter how controlling the babysitters were, they were still away from their children's reach. Sometimes, this created hard consequences. In some narratives, fears of being forgotten or fears that she won't be loved the same found mention:

I am this separate, separate from my kids. I can't give them motherly love. Now after when I go back are they going to be able to love me, are they going to be warm towards me, I always have this question in my mind. (#1)

I mean, uh… because he was there all the time, he hasn't seen me since he was 1,5 years old. I went there following the first year, a year later. He was 2,5 years old I was so afraid, because the 1,5-year-old child does not know himself, he doesn't know that. […] I was afraid in the sense that maybe he forgot me. […] If he forgot me, what am I going to say? It could be [like] [she] is not my mom. (#6)

This participant's mother had sensed this happening and took sufficient measures for prevention. It seems like it worked:

But, my mom said, he was always carrying, your picture in his pocket, we couldn't take it from his hands (participant laughs). […] Mom says that we both did not take your picture, and your mom is very well, but he did not give the picture away, we talked about both of you, a lot. (#6)

Sometimes the fears got real and the children perceived the surrogates as their real mothers, instead of being attached to the migrated mother. This created intense negative feelings:

[…] you know my sister took care of him, now he calls my sister mom… There, he loves her more than he loves me. […] To me, can you send me this, are you going to send me that? That's it. He doesn't talk of anything else. Two minutes, or one minute-two

minutes he doesn't keep patient and talk. Because he didn't talk with me a lot, I mean he didn't see me… Does he know me or not, I didn't know that either. But with my sister, I can't tell you how he talks, mom when are you coming back I missed you so much I love you so much (participant laughs). He talks like that. But he doesn't talk to me like that. This is one bad aspect. (#4)

Because when I first came from Russia, she would say is this woman a Russian aunt, whose aunt is she? Ee… If I said I am your mother, she would say my mom has gone to school. This one was calling her sisters mother. […] That, very, at that time it was very hard to hear these, it was hard. (#5)

The phone calls, even more importantly than keeping control of the children's growth, were the times to contact children. Both parties got affected deeply by the calls:

I want to cry, to open up to someone… to share my problems; I mean sometimes I want to sob until I am done. Because … when I talk to my daughter she says mom, come, all the time. (#1)

In every time I talk I can't revive myself for a day. If only I were with them. (#2)

I mean they say come, we missed you, sometimes (participant smiles) in some nights, I mean in there, in the rooms they were crying, then… they would come back to the living room. (#4)

This way, the phone calls consolidated the dilemma between staying and leaving. But the phone calls were sometimes relieving too:

> *He always says, mom… I am fine, look with your help I can go to school. Thanks to you I had gone into important schools. Work and then come, when he says these I can stand, I get much happier*. (#1)

As could be seen above, there were several types of messages relayed from the children to the mothers: One was the pride of and thankfulness to the mother, another was asking for the mother to come back. These two were more common to the older children, because they could both perceive what their mother had done for them, and because some of them started working, they thought it was not necessary for their mother to stay abroad anymore. The youngest children also wanted their mothers by their side; they only did because they simply missed them. The children with ages in between tried to stay strong, in order to make their mothers feel better.

The participants were also really proud of their children. In almost all the interviews, the sequence was stopped at some point, for the participants to talk about their children's achievements. The timings of this suggested that their children's achievements and happiness acted as reinforcement for the babysitters.

Sometimes, both sides hid things from each other to keep the other party happy. On the family side, mostly the children's illnesses were hidden; whereas the babysitters mostly hid the negative things happened to them.

3. 4. 3. 6. Relationship with the Cared Children

The participants were very close to the cared children, according to their narratives. When referring to the cared children, they always used the statement "caring for x like my own child". In addition, some seemed to interpret this closeness with the loss of their own children:

> *I mean, in the place I work now too, my children, I don't know, seeing them, their smiles, I bring them up like I am bringing up my own children. That's it. Sharing the love I couldn't give them [own children], with them [cared children], them, when I hug them… my mothering emotions get more like… I love them too. I mean giving them love like they are my own kids…* (#1)

> *I loved him a lot too, like because I left my own-my own children, I loved him like he was my son.* (#2)

The statements related to linking their own children with the cared child could be placed in a wide spectrum. On one end of this spectrum, there were very conscious connections made by the participants, which were mostly related to the daily routines of caring a child:

> *Are you a babysitter, you take care [of the child]. Like your own child you have to take care of her. That's it. This is my child. One has to put it that way. This child is not yours. That is the mother. No, this is my child.* (#7)

On the other end were statements which demonstrated deeper, psychological blurring of boundaries between the babysitters' own children and the cared child:

> *And I talk to him, for example I talk with my child who is in Russia, he talks very happily in the homeland, C*** [cared child] is on my lap. As if he is my child. I get so cheerful, I get so happy. I love him so much. As if he is my own child. Like that.* (#3)

> *Then… I feel so much for the baby, you love like this. I sing to him in my own language (participant's eyes get teary). […] Then they say, they were saying there's something with you [regarding the participant's success in calming the baby down]. Then I say no, what can be? Uh, I got one child. I raised him all by myself. […] I left him when he was 1.5 years old, we left him too young but we had to. But we got into this for his future. I came here after leaving him. I cried a lot for 6 months.* (#6)

In the last narrative above, the participant started talking about the baby she was caring for. When she was talking about singing to the baby in her mother-tongue, suddenly her eyes got teary. She kept talking with those teary eyes and switched the subject in free flow to her own child and how she left her.

In between, it was possible to see narratives which seemed to have both conscious and unconscious elements:

> *[…] because I miss my own child, I quickly uh… make myself like I say uuh, I see I see like my own child never like-more like. Ay I say I*

never felt like this was a different child. I always felt from my own thing, like from the inside. That way I made up for my longing with them [cared children]. Looking after them for things that I miss on my own child, as if I am taking care of my own child. (#6)

Even in such a case, the babysitters had unexpected drifts into the memories and thoughts about their own child(ren):

When I was looking at him then, of course I felt like I had gone towards my sons. In an instant my mind would leave and come back like that… (#2)

For example, uh… sometimes I have times that I feel sad when I am playing. I wish I could play with my child like this too. Moreover, his play times, times that he could be played with are passing, I mean slowly slowly, I mean. […] if only I could uh… feed my child like that, I mean, buy stuff like these, I mean, uh… It happens a lot, things like that happen, I mean. It comes [to me] in an instant. (#6)

Many participants narrated about oversensitivity to the conditions of the cared child's sickness or distress:

I mean if they cry, or if they get sick my mood is down that way… […] I feel as if my own child was sick. I get saddest for that. For example, my child could have been sick too. I feel things like that. (#1)

3. 4. 3. 7. Feelings and Thoughts

The two most frequent feelings were sadness and longing. One of the thoughts that were attached to sadness was not being able to witness their own children's development:

> *[…] I couldn't see how my child grew up. I mean, okay I see, but, from 1.5 years… to 4 years, and if I see him rarely in this 2.5 years, what did he do in these 2.5 years? What… I mean, for example, his first time riding a bicycle, like we couldn't see his firsts, like those. For example we bought him a bicycle from here. We sent money and they bought it. Like, how did he drive it? How did he succeed in his first time? Then, for example seeing his childhood, I feel sad for not being able to see what he did for 2.5 years, like by thinking out.* (#6)

Being apart with their children also made the participants feel sad:

> *I don't know, they talk, on one hand I feel sad, I mean… it was more than 4 years, they didn't see [me] I mean.* (#4)

> *If I say this tears are going to come out of my eyes. My youngest was 6 years old. He doesn't understand anything. I can't look back, I'm leaving. I get sad. I get sad, the child doesn't understand anything. That was hard. I am leaving, my eyes are filled with tears.* (#7)

Contact with the homeland, mentioned above, evoked sadness as well. Sometimes the sadness was evoked to a memory or a hearing from the homeland too:

> *They didn't tell her, your mother has gone abroad, she can't come. She cried a lot. When those days, those moments come to my mind, sometimes I feel sad, very sad.* (#1)

> *And for the past 1.5- 2 months, I get very sad for, […] the things I had with my husband come to my mind. [This participant came to Turkey with her husband, her husband wanted to go back but she stayed. After a while, she heard that her husband remarried.]* (#2)

> *My husband calls me, he curses. […] You are prostituting there, are there Turks that hadn't f…ked you yet, and stuff like that, he says such things that I was crying a lot, I was feeling very sad. I couldn't sleep.* (#3)

Some participants were sad because of their failed wishes:

> *But there always is a sadness inside me (participant's eyes get teary). Why didn't I have a beautiful family? I didn't live my youth beautifully. That's it. I always feel sad.* (#7)

In some cases, the dilemma between going back and staying created sadness:

> *I am sometimes stuck in between, I feel very-very sad, I am so much in pain. As I said, I am suffering.* (#1)

Last but not least, for some participants, sadness was mixed with guilt:

> *Because we see here, they don't, I am sad for that too.* (#4)

> *But I feel sad. I eat this much, I live beautifully. What is my child doing?* (#7)

Some other reasons for sadness were the gossips around, the sadness of the cared child, and problems with the employers. The sadness was so intense that one participant stopped asking for her sons' pictures to avoid the sadness that she felt when she looked at their pictures:

> *[…] I don't want his picture anymore, I do that on purpose because I say it's better to not see it than seeing his picture and feeling sad […].* (#2)

The longing could be felt any moment. Caring for a child could be a cure for the longing as well as a trigger:

> *For example when I give [the cared children] fruits, are they [own children] eating from this fruit as well, I wonder.* (#1)

> *That way I made up for my longing with them [cared children]. Looking after them for things that I miss on my own child, as if I am taking care of my own child.* (#6)

The participants narrated missing their children even more on the holidays and birthdays:

> *But sometimes, like the important days, like my birthday, I don't know one of my children's birthday, or my mother's birthday, or a holiday, wedding. Then I get very emotional. I wish I were there with them, I wish I were there now…* (#1)

The babysitters felt like crying frequently. Sometimes they could do it, sometimes they could not:

> *I cry a lot, I overcry. Sometimes at nights I can't sleep, I cry a lot. Everything I've been through, everything… passes through my mind. I can't take it. By crying I calm myself down. I cry a lot. I don't know, all my sufferings I lock them inside me. Things said, everything… Then, I get over it by crying.* (#1)

> *But I feel the need to cry. I say I'm going to be better when I cry; I can't cry. I used to cry a lot in the old times, now I can't.* (#2)

> *I already cry, why? I may cry [if] I miss my children. You know I'm here, I wish I had [a] child with me, ay I wish I had my husband, we were laughing, we were walking, or good things, like we were joking, these could all happen.* (#7)

It looked like some of the participants had certain "bad episodes" in which they cried, felt terrible and could not focus on work. In general, these bad episodes did not happen less frequently than once a month:

> *I am very uh… emotional. I cry a lot sometimes, too much. Then I get sick very fast. I internalize everything. I get very sick. […] I don't know, on my face… stuff comes out, pimples, I start losing hair.* (#1)

> *Right now I think sometimes my mind is broken down and back to normal. Because, sometimes I complain a lot. I overcomplain. I don't want a job, I don't want to work, I am overwhelmed I am going to go, I have to go, I don't know what. (#2)*

There were two feelings that the interviewer could recognize on participants, but they were not named: Guilt and anger. Guilt was one of the

strongest feelings during the interviews. Interestingly, it was expressed between the lines:

> *I couldn't give this daughter of mine [motherly love]. I feel bad because of that. If I think of that, if she says to me one day you didn't take care of me, if one day she says something, I… can't do it, but I think she won't say that.* (#5)

Only with one participant, the interviewer tried to name it, but the participant did not seem quite eager to:

> *-So, do you feel a bit bad for your children, like guilt?*
>
> *I-I don't know what, I didn't see [them] for 4 years, I don't know what… I mean for 4 years I didn't se-at least I say I should win their hearts… I don't know, stuff like that, I don't know now.* (#4)

Anger or nervousness was the other emotional component that found mention less than would be expected. Anger for the husband and his family seemed to be accepted forms of anger. But except for three participants, it was hard to find expressions of anger and protest. One of these participants named nervousness as an outcome of her longing, but the other two were protesting the conditions they worked:

> *[…] and on the days I talked to my children I am angry at everyone. That-that day I hate everyone. I don't love anyone that day (participant laughs).* (#2)

> *For example, sometimes I have moments when I get very angry. For example, I say: Ay, these come and go claiming that they work, everything comes to them ready.* (#6)

We wondered if the participants really did not have much anger in them or if it was repressed. In light of this question, we checked the BAI scores for "nervousness": Three participants rated it 1, two rated it 2, and one participant rated it 3. This could be interpreted as the participants feeling nervous, mostly in bearable levels. In the same fashion, BDI scores for guilt had the same quality: Three participants rated that question as 1, whereas one participant rated it as 2. Here, we would like to suggest that guilt and anger were the feelings which were experienced more on an implicit level, thus the interview was more successful on catching them rather than BDI and BAI's explicit statements.

Other negative feelings were loneliness, stress, doubtfulness and discomfort. Happiness was given as a positive feeling, connected to the thoughts of their ability to provide a satisfactory life to the children, those children's happiness, and being in a friendly environment.

The participants' minds were full of the issues in the homeland and issues concerning the work. Most reported that they had "tired minds":

> *If I'm not in the mood, I mean, I don't want to care so much. Because I get really tired. My mind, I mean, is tired.* (#4)

> *Because I'm tired. I don't want to work anymore. I'm very tired. My mind is tired I mean. And, um… here, the thing in here… inside the house that… I'm going to do this like that, this what, I'll do like that, my mind uh… In my mind are things in here, and things in the homeland as well. […] I mean, the mind is confused I mean. You do things with the ones in here, you establish your order… you sit down for five minutes, things in the homeland get stuck in your mind. (#4)*

> *They are in the homeland like this, I am here. When I am working in here, you always think. For example, myself. I should talk for myself, I don't know others-for example, my mind is always with them. That's why, because there's too much information… I get tired, I get tired over thinking.* (#5)

Some of the tiring thoughts were actually worries. Some of the worries, as mentioned above, were about the participants' future relationships with their children. In addition to the worries concerning the children's well-being, which were also mentioned above, the financial status and future plans occupied the babysitter's mind all the time, as well as memories of the past:

> *So, I think of buying a house as soon as possible. I mean I am thinking, in there where can I find money, for that I mean, I can add to my own money, that way I thought to buy a house […] Would it be okay if I did this like that, if I did this like that? I mean those things keep turning and tumbling in my head.* (#4)

> *Why did not beautifully, [with] my husband I didn't travel around a bit? I didn't walk in parks? Why didn't he appreaciate me? […] This sadness is accusing me all the time. Sadness is inside me, like a snake. It makes me like this, like a snake.* (#7)

The participants also had regrets and if-onlys running through their minds on any subject:

> *Noo, I'm not at rest. I wish I'd look after [them]. I wish I cooked and fed them myself. That… that… I get very uneasy.* (#1)

> *Of course it happens I mean when I play with children here, ah I wish I were playing with my own children, I didn't play stuff like these with my children… goes through my mind.* (#4)

> *I have a lot of days I say if only. I mean, a lot. […] Ha, you go out with the kids, for example let's assume we took them to the park. Uh… Sometimes it drifts away a bit I mean, it comes to my mind, I wish I could take my child to the park, I wish I'd… feed him like this, I mean, buy things, I mean, uh… It happens a lot, things like that happen, I mean… It comes in an instant I mean.* (#6)

As could be seen in the last example, these thoughts, worries and feelings led to sudden drifts on the babysitter's mind. They happened to an extent that sometimes the participants had a hard time focusing on their work, or seeing the cared children as independent from their own:

> *There too, something, I don't know what, they asked for money and this happened. I had gotten angry, I was talking on the phone with them, the [cared] children went there, uh… in the neighboring apartment complex, they have playgrounds, right, they went there. And I was talking with my sister on this money subject, the kids said, I'm going to such and such, I'll be back. How could I know that they were going to go to the swimming pool? […] you go, the child is under the water (participant makes an exclamation sound)* (#4)

*I say K*** [male name], my child's name to D*** [cared child, female]. It happens that much, I don't know. Is it psychological, or is it because I miss my child? Then I say, ah, what happened to me, he's already a boy.* (#7)

3. 4. 3. 8. Coping Ways and Defenses

Whenever their emotions got really intense during the interviews, they tried several ways to get rid of the wacky feelings and worries. Self-soothing was one of the widely used tools for betterment when emotions got intense. The participants did it mostly through thinking and coming up with counterarguments for their desires, in other words, justifying their stay, as if they were convincing themselves over and over again. This pattern was frequently seen in the narratives:

Now I am ruining their lives too. I have thoughts like that. Then, I tell myself what can I do, I have to work, […]. (#2)

And sometimes as a thing to myself… like, how should I say, I make it a worry for myself, I say at least I am working for him. At least I can satisfy his needs in the future. (#6)

Another self-soothing tool seemed to be expressing gratitude. When they were talking about negativity, many of the participants stopped the flow of speech to be thankful to God or several people around them:

Because I get loaded against the whole world. Why, why me, why everyone… I'm making up, somebody has a good life like that and I have a bad life? Like that, I think. Then I say, not bad at all, I say I

am grateful for this too, I say I should be thankful. May Allah not see what I have as too much, I say. I say these kinds of things and get better. (#2)

*I don't want to say too bad, like how bad, I cry a lot. I mean, when I'm coming… other things come into my mind all of a sudden. Like, I am leaving him behind, I'm leaving again, *sigh* how. I mean, I also had thoughts like I wish my life was different so I wouldn't have to leave. Absolutely, uh… when I'm in the car, or when I'm coming by plane, why did I do such a thing? Again, I tell myself thanks a lot, thank God I have a healthy body, at least I use my uh… things myself and I don't need anybody. I always express gratitude for this I mean.* (#6)

Earning "helal" money was one of the similar soothing arguments. To some extent, these babysitters also tried to convince themselves that they did not abandon their children, instead, that they were still actively mothering:

But I never… I was never happy about marriage. I mean, I couldn't live together, satisfied. Like that. But thank God I could mother my two children (the participant's eyes get teary, she gets inaudible, smiles shyly) (#1)

Then I say at least I go back and forth, at least it's not like I don't do anything, I do, I mean… you might be doing nothing too, for example, ba-uh… because I am staying here and [because] I can make his everything possible, I don't know, his eating, I don't know his dressing, like uh… his doing things. (#6)

A much simpler way to relieve the tension happened to be changing the subject or changing the emotional valence of the conversation, in other words, repression:

> *Okay mom, okay mom, he held one of my hands like this, now that I'm leaving, I won't cry at all mommy don't worry, I won't cry, but I saw his eyes were filled with tears, then I couldn't look (participant's eyes get teary). I couldn't look. (All of a sudden) Now they are very happy. I see their faces. As he wishes, he can go anywhere, he can travel all around Russia, my older son.* (#3)

> *I say K*** [male name], my child's name to D*** [cared child, female]. It happens that much, I don't know. Is it psychological, or is it because I miss my child? Then I say, ah, what happened to me, he's already a boy. K***, K***. I loved my son so much. He goes to school. He wouldn't go without giving me a kiss every morning.* (#7)

Crying caught attention as a tool for expressing emotions which were kept inside during work. The babysitters told that they felt better when they cried:

> *I was crying at night in the room. I mean I spilled it out a lot. When I cried it felt better.* (#3)

> *Like, I cry silently, my eyes fill up with tears. I do that. But it makes me feel very good. Crying is a good thing. It's good for your eyes too they say, the microbes in the eye get out (participant laughs).* (#7)

Soothing was mostly done by the babysitters themselves. This could be because of being in a foreign land in non-trustable conditions. Although

most of the soothing was self-inflicted, some other soothing agents were used as well: Other babysitters, befriended in parks or neighborhoods were some of these resources. But the sense we got was that still, the babysitter-to-babysitter conversation did not go too deep:

> *You know the women from the homeland, we get together at the park. But there are things to be shared, things not to be shared.* (#7)

Another important source, surprisingly, was the female employer:

> *My lady. I cried a lot. Mm… I didn't show her my tears but she knew. Uh… She was giving very good things… I mean… examples. Don't cry, you're going to live for yourself, uh… you're not going to look back now, like that we would have very nice conversations. And that would make me feel much better. Really it would feel better. Thanks to her. May God see her.* (#3)

In a few instances, babysitters' own children helped soothe their mother down:

> *Then I phone him, he talks very happily. The more he talks happily, I mean I… um… don't get that… my psychology gets better.* (#3)
>
> *Um, his crying, his doing this to me I mean I can't leave him [if he cries].*
>
> *-His staying strong makes [you] better.*
>
> *I mean, him uh… telling me, don't cry, look we are going to come, I am going to get on a plane and I am going to come, or I am going to buy a plane and come, sometimes he tells things like that*

(participant laughs), I am going to buy a plane and come, come to Turkey. (#6)

Last but not least, the cared children could also be thought as sources of soothing:

[…] if the child I'm caring now looks at my face and sees me crying, immediately comes to me and hugs me. There, I am complete. […] I feel better. When he hugs me, I feel much better. (#1)

The participants seemed to displace all the concerns they had for their own children onto the children they were caring for, so that they even sometimes lost the boundaries between their own children and the children they cared for. Thus we had narratives saying that the crying of the cared child was emotionally unbearable for the babysitter. In fact, caring for a child seemed to be a way of coping in itself:

Of course, also when I look after those children [cared children] you feel like you've paid effort for [your] own child too. (#1)

Childcare job feels very good to me. Uh… and uh… supports for my psychological problems a lot, I mean. (#2)

Caring for a child, in our opinion, gave these women a socially acceptable substitute for their children, so they could show love and affection to a child and feel better without having any negative consequences. Maybe a babysitter had mind drifts and intense feelings, but we think that this brought her even closer with the cared child to get rid of

those feelings and thoughts. Therefore, it could also be said that the babysitters denied the fact that the children they were caring were not theirs. Still, sometimes it was possible to catch little awakenings:

> *But there is such a thought in me, still they are not my family, I say my family's there; that's hard, that's hard…* (#5)

> *But, there's more, I mean, should I say on my neck, or my shoulders, more… I am, not like a housewife here, I am like a worker…* (#6)

As written above, the participants had feelings of guilt and longing. All participants wanted to make it up to their children. One of the coping ways was providing material things as a way of compensation for being away:

> *Ah I should do what he wants because I don't see them, so they won't think their mother is bad. So they understand how much their mother loves them.* (#2)

Compensation was planned for two time periods: One was for the present. The babysitters spared money for things that could buy and send any moment. The "orders" were taken on the phone, sometimes the child(ren)'s guardians or the children asked for things, but still mostly the babysitter had her own plan to buy things because she monitored the homeland constantly:

> *And they tell me do you work in a toy shop, they ask every time I call. If I say yes they ask for things, in the end I work in a shop*

(laughs). That's why, because they think so they ask for things. I, too, do it as much as I can of course […]. (#2)

I write a list. Things I do for him. For example, I'll start there with things that I need to buy for him. For example when I'm here, I [write] for him… what does he need? (#6)

Among the sent were clothes, snacks, stationery and toys. The babysitters also held onto objects which reminded them of their children:

When my off day comes, as you see, I put my picture frame, I watch them. Like this is my bed, I look like this, I sleep like this with them. (#5)

But, I always miss [him], I have his pictures with me, uh, so I carry his pictures and stuff in this purse of mine all the time… now… (participant takes two pictures out of her purse) (#6)

The second time period that a material compensation was planned was the time of reunion. These plans were mostly based on spending time together in somewhere special:

Still I… have one thing, I mean at least I desire, I wish, I mean my job-I earn this money and go, I wish together with them-again, I tell everyone, everyone knows already-um… for a month, I won't go anywhere with them, for a month I'm going to sit with them day and night, I always have a dream like this. (#2)

I mean to my own children really… With my own child like with the ones in here, I mean… didn't do things, didn't care for chil-my own children.

-Hm-hm. How does this feel?

How does it feel, I sit and think, from now on, I say, when I go back to the homeland I'll take my kids there [to an amusement park, previously mentioned] […] I want to take them whatever that's wherever. I mean, for those I'll put extra money in my pockets, […]. (#4)

But the future plans could be related to the new house as well:

If I buy [the house]… I mean… I think making the kids' rooms pretty, because I've been away for a long time, I am planning to win their hearts, I mean… (#4)

Additionally, the participants' overcontrolling attitude for their children could be perceived as a defense, which seemed to be a manifestation of denial. At some additional points, the babysitters manifested this denial of being away from their children. For example, one of the participants kept bringing the subject to her own children when the subject was what she was doing at present, as if she was currently living with them.

All participants said that they kept their feelings and opinions to themselves, especially in tense situations. As a result, somatization was a widely seen defense, both in the interviews and in the BDI and BAI scores. Some participants projected the unbearable feelings, worries and thoughts onto their bodies:

> *I am very uh… emotional. I cry a lot sometimes, too much. Then I get sick very fast. I internalize everything. I get very sick. […] I don't know, on my face… stuff comes out, pimples, I start losing hair.* (#1)

The most frequently mentioned somatic complaint was headache. It was followed by pain on shoulders, pimples, and hair loss. It makes sense to us that with such full minds and with a lot to carry "on the shoulders", the somatic complaints would show up on the head and shoulders.

3. 4. 3. 9. Self-perception

Apart from the guilt and the regrets they had, the babysitters' views on themselves were mostly positive. The strongest pattern which showed itself was these women's transformation from being passive and submissive to being active, free and strong:

> *When I came here my self-confidence… increased, pretty much, a lot of self-confidence I have now. Eh, I was eating husband's money there, I didn't make a sound (participant laughs), I mean now in here, I earn my own money myself. I stand up to him sometimes too.* (#6)

> *It changed a lot. Uh already uh… tiredness, uh… hardship, change the woman. I understood that. I understood a lot. I understood my self-worth. How good a woman I am… how pretty a woman I am in others' perceptions. I understood this in İstanbul. This is a first time I am out in a foreign land, but I don't know. […] There are people who know of my worth. In fact, I am not such a weak woman myself. I am such a strong woman.* (#7)

Sometimes, these changes were not perceived as positive as the participants do by the children though:

> *And thank God I should say, I was lucky to have changed that I learned a lot of things in these nice families. I didn't know that I have changed. My daughter went and told [them]. My second daughter said no, I need my old mother.* (#5)

The participants perceived themselves as good mothers:

> *Eh I do the best I can of course, I mean, not that I don't. At least I think in my own way, I do. I think I am taking care of them. Okay, I'm not with them, but being with them is a different thing, looking from a distance is different.* (#2)

> *I thought for myself that I did not be a bad mother, because educating my children, bringing my children to such a point-I am proud of myself […].* (#5)

In line with this view, some of the participants had the thought of having sacrificed their lives and conditioning their happiness with the happiness of their children:

> *The more he talks happily, I mean I… um… don't get that… my psychology gets better.* (#3)

> *The more they get happy, better my things go, like that.* (#5)

To strengthen their point, some participants made comparisons with "bad" examples, like their husbands, neighbors, employers, or other babysitters.

Decisiveness or ambition could be another asset that the participants defined themselves with:

No turning back. This is a principle for me. I can't do, I will do. (#7)

3. 4. 4. Superordinate Themes

From the analysis of the themes, superordinate themes were created, based on the grouping of similar themes:

3. 4. 4. 1. Dilemmas, Sacrifices that a Choice Brings, and the Consequences

Between the lines of the narratives, one could see the life-altering choices that our participants had to make: To start with, migration in itself was a choice for the participants. Some lived with this choice on hold for years:

Now, I uh… thought of coming here before I had my second marriage. I saw that my son already… He had neither a father, nor a mother. I didn't leave him, fleeing, [I thought] who would give him love… I didn't come here to work.

-You didn't want to leave him alone.

> *I didn't want to leave him alone. But life still my…this, wrote it in my destiny to come here. I came here [even] leaving two children.* (#1)

> *I was thinking about it when first [she] left; one of my sisters was here. She left, she came first before everyone. When she was here, already… I had a child then. I mean I was thinking of coming then. I said I have a child, I mean my mom can take care of her or they do, I [can] go and work until she grows up, I have a house and such, I was thinking. But I never had the chance, I mean, the conditions were not ready for me to come. Then, I had children. Now I have three children. […] Da, she was 6 months old. I thought of coming already when she left but everyone said your child is too little, let her grow up a little, maybe then you can go. Like that, I stayed, that [her husband] went; I was thinking I could come after the child grew up a little…* (#4)

The end result was choosing to migrate, in the expense of not seeing their children for a long time, as they grow up. When they finally came to Turkey, they went through lots of psychological difficulties. Some, still, blamed themselves for their migration:

> *I mean I wish I were there too, I wish [things were] like that, I say I made a very big mistake. I married too young, and very… It's hard to be that, I had the obligation to come here separately and stay, and that too-that too is my fault, am I clear? I make myself guilty in everything too. I mean, that… maybe I shouldn't/couldn't have two children. Why did I have two? Now I am ruining their lives too.* (#2)

> *Absolutely, uh… when I'm in the car, or when I'm coming by plane, why did I do such a thing?* (#6)

The participants created another dilemma then, of returning and staying. It looked like they always kept early returning as an option. This option kept their minds busy, especially when they were feeling down:

> *Now you come with questions like these, really I want to pack up and go, sometimes. Because of that, it's hard. What can I tell you? When I'm with K*** [cared child], I always think about them [own children], them. I think and think, these all got me confused. It gets hard, it gets hard. Pff, what? If I cry, cry… I don't have tears left. If I say I'll go, I say I still need some money. If I keep saying these, I won't be superior in any of the lives. God gives what he wants to. Saying thank God… Returning is for that now. Like that… 4 years is not too few.* (#5)

3. 4. 4. 2. Blurred Roles and Boundaries

The employment of a migrant babysitter with own children seemed to blur a lot of boundaries and cause role confusions both in here and in the homeland. Some of the confused roles were, mother, caregiver, employer, employee, cared child, own child; whereas some of the boundary enmeshments occurred in mother-child, grandmother-child, babysitter-child, mother-babysitter relationships.

As mentioned above, the babysitters are also mothers, who have left their children to be able to work. In our study, their surrogates were the

children's grandmothers except for two cases. The grandmothers or other relatives became the mothers of those children. In a few cases, the children seemed to have a closer bond with a relative than with the babysitter. In spite of being away, the babysitters kept full control of their children's lives. They almost obsessively asked about the happenings in their children's lives and made decisions, gave "orders", and even were included in the surrogates' parenting styles, as if they were still there.

Another interesting point in the narratives was that although they were the employees, the babysitters felt "at home" at work:

> *Yes, a bit hard, my job is hard. I mean, uh… Both tiring, but once more… I did not complain, I mean, they know that too, I told them too for example. Because I am comfortable, because I feel at my own home uh… work-for example I can too, go, get a child and take care for 1000 dollars.* (#6)

Some participants noted that because they felt like they were managing their own homes, they had ease in organizing the housework and they provided extra care for the management of the house. One of the participants felt uneasy when her work was criticized:

> *And I said I spend so much effort to clean your house, to make your house something and I work so much as if it's my own house, when you come and tell me this over my work, I feel broken, I said.* (#6)

That participant even said in that conversation that she wanted to quit work because of the criticism.

All of the participants said that they felt like they were a member of the family rather than someone employed there. The narratives to go with this claim were the family members being open, polite and friendly and them being able to talk to their bosses about everything. In fact, the employers, mostly the female employers were included in the babysitters' lives like friends:

> *[…] three siblings, brothers, grandma also comes, like that, very, he says all the time, she's like my own sister, we know. The brothers also say, we talk like this, not like a boss thing, more… like friends… We joke, we laugh. For example maybe he doesn't do those in a work place, for example bosses are, they act colder, but um, if I go somewhere else I can't work I guess.* (#6)

> *We are not like boss-worker. We are like friends. Like, we share things, sit down and talk. We sit and talk.* (#6)

The babysitters also had the availability to state their opinions or make decisions. In some cases, the babysitters were so close with the family that leaving work was traumatic for both the family and the babysitter. Some participants still kept contact with their ex-employers. Some participants even said they felt they were lucky to know their employers. The babysitters liked close connections as well. When the familial closeness was lacked in a job, the babysitters did not like it:

> *16th of June was my birthday. The girl sang in the morning, she did a thing, I mean bra… gave me a bracelet, she took it back, we played something like that I mean. They [the employers] were sleeping then. I was doing that not to wake them up, to keep the girl busy, so, she doesn't go and wake them up, so they can sleep a bit. But they then, did this, I said the sister's birthday, the subject came up somehow. Ah, is it your birthday? Congratulations. The word that came from the mother, that's all… Nothing else-this was really a thing. It made me feel disappointed.* (#4)

The babysitter sometimes confused the cared child with her own. This confusion happened in a wide spectrum between perceiving the cared child as a trigger for her emotions and worries about her own child, and actively imagining the cared child as her own child, as mentioned above. One thing that caught attention was that gender and age of the children mattered to the participants. Some participants seemed to be more attentive to children whose genders were the same with their own children's:

> *Yes, because mine are also boys, I love girls too, still I think maybe it's my chance they are boys. It felt much better. Much more better.* (#3)

Though not as visible, being in similar ages also drew some participants closer to the children, and not only the cared children but all:

> *A little hard of course, when I see a child the same age as my own I want to hug them, love them.* (#1)

We think that the increase in the age and gender overlap between the left and the cared children increased the blurring of boundaries.

3. 4. 4. 3. Caring and Being Cared

One of the blurs in boundaries that deserved separate mention was of caring and being cared. In the ideal world, one could claim that babysitters were to care for the employers' children, mothers were to care for their own children. However, the current situation added new dimensions to these ideals: The grandparents cared for the babysitters' children, the babysitters' children cared for their mothers, the cared children also cared for the babysitters. Moreover, the babysitters and the employers provided care for each other reciprocally. It is not false to claim that under these conditions, the babysitters needed and received care as well, from multiple agents.

3. 4. 4. 4. Long-Distance Mothering

Mothering from another country was hard for the participants. In addition to the limitations of using ICT to mother their children, they found themselves deeply feeling and thinking for their children. The babysitters seemed to mainly feel sadness, longing, guilt, happiness, gratitude and anger to some extent. Cognitively, they had lots of regrets. Not being able to spend time with their children was the most frequently mentioned one of them. In addition, they had an excessive amount of worries, mostly about their children and the conditions they lived in. An important point here is that these feelings and thoughts were intrusive, in the way that they

occupied the participants' mind almost all the time. One participant said that the moment she sat down for five minutes, thoughts about her homeland rushed into her head. It seemed like anything could trigger these emotions, thoughts and worries as well: Several participants noted whenever they gave some food to the cared child, they had been questioning if their children were eating the same. Sometimes a hug was enough remind the babysitter of her children.

3. 5. Additional Comments

The participants with multiple children seemed to refer to their younger children more, or sometimes they voiced specific concerns to the younger ones. One participant, having two sons older than 18 and one younger, referred to her youngest for most of the interview, as if the others were not of much concern. Some participants even said things about the older ones being of less concern now:

> *Now I this… really don't think of three of them, my son is earning now too. I think of my youngest daughter.* (#5)

> *In my back, my eyes were left behind [a Turkish idiom, meaning that the participant was not relaxed about what she has left in the homeland]. What happened to my child? I was a bit calmer about the older ones. They understand their own things but this one, in his 6th year, doesn't understand anything.* (#7)

Chapter 4: Discussion

In this study we aimed to understand the experiences of migrant mothers who worked as babysitters in Turkey. We conducted one-to-one semi-structured interviews with seven babysitters from Turkmenistan or Uzbekistan, currently working in Turkey. In addition, we utilized the BDI and the BAI. In the following sections the findings will be discussed.

4. 1. Perceptions of Life Conditions, Self and Others

The care chain (international mobilization of the care network) described by Hochschild between Central Asia and Turkey was traceable in the narratives of our participants. The participants spoke of both benefits (being able to provide for children, hope, strength) and difficulties (longing, sadness, anxiety, dilemmas) of this process, but they seemed to have been affected more negatively rather than positively. The interviewer also felt more deeply touched by the participants' expressions of difficulties. Like in Lutz et al. (2012) and Hondagneu-Sotelo et al. (1997), our participants tried to fill the care drain with their own relatives.

Our participants had four migration reasons: Buying a house, providing finances for their children, hopes for living a better life after the return, and being able to pay for the children's education. All of these reasons were also mentioned in Madianou's (2012) and Raijman et al.'s (2003) studies as well.

It could be argued as a result of the interviews that the babysitters did not have many chances to get introduced to Istanbul. The workdays were mostly spent at home, with the child or busy doing housework. They got out only when they took the child to a park or if the family went somewhere. Because mostly working middle-to-high SES families lived in the babysitters' working districts, a babysitter had no choices for socialization; except for the times they took the cared children to the parks, where they saw other babysitters. In their off-days, they went to their homes, which, were again in districts where immigrants lived. Moreover, because of the security issues, most babysitters befriended their fellow countrywomen/men. Wu (2011) saw the same pattern with the Chinese immigrants in New Zealand. He put language barriers and cultural differences forward as possible reasons for this grouping. However, his participants had experienced a huge cultural difference; according to their narratives, our participants did not. This helped them adjust to Turkey easier, some participants even started befriending Turks.

Our participants narrated that they had to face criticism, sometimes as intense as blaming, about their decisions to leave their children behind and work in Turkey. A look into the literature shows that they are not the only blamed migrant group in Turkey (Keough, 2006), let alone the world (Hondagneu-Sotelo et al., 1997). Our participants, like Keough's (2006), chose to go deaf to all the gossips or negative talks from the homeland. The

interesting thing was that the people in the homeland thought of these babysitters as bad mothers because they migrated, whereas the babysitters thought they were good mothers because they migrated. They made the impression of being proud, sacrificing mothers who were here only for their children.

Suğur et al. (2008) suggested that working in an out-of-home environment fostered self-confidence for domestic workers. Our findings about the babysitters' self-perceptions supported their suggestion.

4. 2. Relationship with the Employers

One of the participants' narrative supported Akalın's (2007) claims that the babysitter's main job was not only babysitting the child, but also unofficially taking care of the house. In other words, the babysitters eventually found themselves in a "surrogate" mother position, or a part-mother if we would like to adopt a more psychodynamic language. According to this participant, her job required all of the domestic involvements of a woman in a family life:

> *Everything that she wants I mean you are both a mother and a wife I tell this to everyone. You also do the wife's job. I don't know the ironing of her husband ['s clothes], like his supper, his everything. Actually these are also a housewife's chores. You also take care of the child and mother her. Like, you do the cleaning. The housewife chores.* (#6)

However, they were more independent at work than just being a surrogate as Macdonald (1998) had suggested, these women had their own say in things. Sometimes they gave advice to their employers for example. Another difference with the literature was that not all of our participants were implicitly asked for housework as Akalın (2007) suggested. Rather, some were explicitly made responsible for the housework, and they did not object to it.

Suğur et al. (2008) conducted a field work study with 300 Turkish domestic workers, 100 of which were babysitters, in Eskişehir, Turkey. The domestic workers which they took as participants were housekeepers, maintenance persons, and babysitters. In the article, they concluded that the job requirements of Turkish domestic workers were unclear. The situation was similar for the migrant babysitters (Hondagneu-Sotelo et al., 1997). Our findings supported this literature: Some participants used vague and employer-dependent job descriptions like tidying-up, or making the child happy, etc. They did not seem to have set work hours, just like their Hispanic counterparts (Hondagneu-Sotelo et al., 1997), for instance they could stay late if they had not finished ironing, as one participant narrated.

Suğur et al. (2008) related this boundary blur with the employers' perceptions of the domestic workers as someone in the family. All of our participants too, mentioned that they were perceived as a member of the family, and that they perceived their employers and the cared children as

their family. In fact, mothers and babysitters were as close as "friends" or "sisters", both sides shared a lot with the other. This was opposite to Bora's (2005; in Kaya, 2008) and Kaya's (2008) claim that mothers formed a professional relationship with the babysitters compared to other domestic workers, because they gave more importance to their children's development. This might be explained by the fact that we were looking for a specific caregiver group -migrant, live-in, and with own children- compared to Kaya, who studied Turkish and live-out *childminders*. The Turkish mothers might be more professionally involved with Turkish and/or live-out babysitters. This was one of the reasons which led employers to go for a foreign babysitter anyways: So that she can be a part of the family and not see her caregiving as a "job" to get done superficially and finished quickly (Akalın, 2007). Bora's and Kaya's claim was also contradicted by Suğur et al.'s (2008) findings about Turkish domestic workers.

It looked like the "just like a member of my family" perspective shaped the babysitters' enjoyment from work in a positive way, and greatly affected their decisions to stay with a certain family or not. Because they treated the family, children, and home as their own, they expected the same closeness in return, which they mostly received. Our impression was that because the participants were away from their families and because they lived in the same house with their employers, both parties redesigned the understanding of a family to fit the babysitter in. This way, the babysitter

found a way to overcome the negative feelings related to her distance from her family and her feelings of insecurity. The employers also must have benefited from the new arrangement: It probably made them feel more comfortable to think of their babysitter as a family member rather than an alien in the house. Moreover, they might be feeling more satisfied with the babysitter's role, since as a family member she can do unbounded and unlimited surrogating.

Indeed, according to both Akalın (2007) and Suğur et al. (2008), the "just like a member of my family" perspective served the employers in various ways. We think Akalın (2007) phrased one reason very well: Being a family member is not a job, therefore it is not something that a person can take some time off. She wrote that the parents' expectation from a live-in babysitter was for her to be an inhabitant of the house rather than a worker, so she would be responsible of the orderliness of the house without somebody telling her to do things, and she would feel willingness to do the housework. Moreover, to Akalın, this structure allowed the mothers to keep their authority without actually having to check the babysitter, and the work still got done. In other words, this arrangement provided mothers with full control of the house, as if she had been doing magic: She did not have to say much, yet everything was in place the way she wanted it. The employers also got the "chance" to ask for things which were out of the original agreement, and discipline the worker, since the relationship had become

informal and *paternalized* (Suğur et al., 2008). In sum, this agreement turned the babysitters into the perfect workers: Working with no time or task limits, an easily exploitable system.

4. 3. Adjustment/Mourning

The mourning process, as expected, found mention in all cases. Some characteristics were crying all the time, having dilemmas, regrets and escapes into fantasy. Same with the literature, our participants experienced at some point immigration distress, loss, novelty, problems with the new language, economic difficulties, sorrow, sacrifice, and loneliness. It was hard to get a detailed description of the participants' adjustment experiences, because most (if not all) seemed to change the subject or start talking about positive things after a little while, when they started to answer the related question.

In all of the cases, the symptom intensity decreased over time. They all mentioned that they were "much worse then", that they didn't experience things that way or that severe "anymore". The adjustment period lasted differentially for all women, but it did not take less than 6 months for the babysitter to start feeling better. The babysitters' experience did not much overlap with our literature, borrowed from texts about mourning after death. One reason is, the losses of babysitters cannot be thought of as permanent, as in death; because they still keep contact with the homeland. Another

reason is, the babysitters lost their culture, language and time to be spent with children; still, they found a way to keep their links with all of these, so the experience was much lighter in intensity compared to a death experience. Still, we think that the first months of the participants could be linked to the first phase on Grinberg et al.'s (1984) emotional processes for the mourning; in which the mourner felt intense sorrow, fear, loneliness, helplessness, and anxiety. The second stage, in which manic defenses were told to be active, did not find mention in any of our participants' narratives. However, we could see that our participants had been capable of touching their pain to some extent, so they could be argued to have come into the third stage, with also achieving some from the fourth stage.

Most of our participants were still emotionally fragile; some mentioned periods in which they stayed awake during the night in their rooms and cried. Their contacts with homeland sometimes acted as a trigger to these periods, reminding the loss more clearly. We also saw that those mental representations were precious for our participants: One participant felt really sad because she could not remember her youngest son's face anymore. Probably as a defense, they tried to stick to the objects they could reach: One participant narrated going to the local restaurant that serves Central Asian cuisine whenever she can. Most of the participants liked to spend their off day with their fellow countrywomen, which was in line with Grinberg et al.'s (1984) prediction.

Likewise, the babysitters were using their memories, feelings and the everyday behaviors of babysitting a child as means to create an illusion that their children were “here”, with them. A possible reason for this is the need for the babysitter to quickly adjust to the new life and start earning money to be able to go back as soon as possible. Most of the interviewees started working in their first homes the day after they arrived in Turkey. Therefore, some of the feelings of loss were experienced undercover (e.g. at nights, in her private times) and some were just pushed into the unconscious via defenses like denial.

4. 4. Mothering: With Own Children

We had previously mentioned the communication tools and contact frequencies of migrant babysitters with their children across different studies. Our participants had lower frequencies of contact compared to the other babysitters around the world. According to the literature, most of the women were using phone cards, cellphones and Skype. With our participants, we realized the tools were slightly different: The usage of Skype was less than what would be expected, and that was reasoned by the poor accessibility to the internet in the homeland, since most of their relatives lived in villages. Still, some participants had hopes that they would make the arrangements soon and use Skype as well. The rising star among our participants was a newcomer to the world of instant messaging: WhatsApp. One participant even bought a smartphone to be able to use it.

She reported that she would talk to them once a week before WhatsApp; now she was able to share all her moments and get to experience her children's day more. She recounted how she and her children exchanged photos through the application during the day.

For Kay (2007; in Madianou, 2012), even sending money to the homeland might be perceived a token of care and affection. Madianou (2012) herself concluded through her study of Filipino immigrant caregivers in the United Kingdom that the babysitters kept their mothering on after migration through various ICTs. We had previously mentioned that the ICTs (mostly phones and phone cards in our research) turned out to be the perfect way of establishing authority and control for our participants too, over the happenings in the homeland and over their children. What's more, they provided love and care for the children and calmed their worries down. They also helped forget the perception of being far away, and drew the parties together (Longhurst, 2013). This was similar to Kaya's (2008) finding about working mother-employers: They also were trying to mother through constant control of the home, yet a mother-employer did not need ICTs, since she was already geographically close to her children. We think it is interesting to see that, even though the mother-employer and the migrant babysitter seem very different than each other, both women go through similar processes regarding their relationship with their children.

Winnicott named the "transitional" objects or space as tools of infants to be able to overcome mother's absences and soothe themselves (Berzoff, 2004, Mitchell et al., 1995). Berzoff (2004) argued that this could be one of the mechanisms in adults' loss and mourning processes. In our study, a few participants talked about what could be interpreted as a transitional object relationship. One participant had a big frame in which she had the pictures of her children and her husband. The moment we entered her house for the interview, she opened her wardrobe, took it out and put it on the table, in the middle of the room. She said that she took it out immediately whenever she arrived home, only to be put back at the time her off day was over and it was time to go. She added that she took it by her bed at night and fell asleep looking at "her children". The other participant also talked of pictures of her sons as transitional objects. An interesting difference was that she avoided contact with those pictures, stating she did not want to look at them anymore:

> *But I used to ask for pictures constantly. But I don't want pictures anymore either. Umm, because I will be sad if I continue seeing [their] pictures. Because I think so, I don't want [them].* (#2)

This could be interpreted as the participant being even too sensitive for a transitional object. She could be argued to be using avoidance as a coping tool. Another possibility is that the transitional objects pathologized her even more, as Volkan had suggested in his work, so the participant gave up in order to get better. Peng et al. (2013) made a similar comment, although

not as psychoanalytically termed as ours: They thought that usage of ICTs made all the parties involved very aware of the miles between them, and put more pressure on the transnational mothers.

Things that the babysitters send to their children could also be explained with the transitional object understanding: The babysitters could not be "there", but the clothing they sent could be. We perceive these objects as tools for the mother to "be there" and show their children that they are not lost or gone forever; instead, that they are thinking about their children all the time. In that way, clothing "hugs" their bodies, snacks "feed" them, party arrangements put a motherly touch to a special day, toys could be gifts to compensate missing play time, so when the child is playing with the toy, the mother is "there" to "play" with the child too. One narrative seems to confirm this understanding:

> *It is a present to the child which came from the mother. That is very valuable to the child. I say [want] my child to calm down. May he not miss me. May he not miss me. This is very important to me. I already am not with the child all the time as a mother.* (#7)

Another interesting fact to discuss could be the presence of the participants' mothers, and the role assigned to them. We mentioned previously that the grandmothers were there as surrogates, or the mothers' arms, stretched out to the homeland. In other words, they could be argued to act as part-objects, representing the mother for the child. They could be

thought as transitional objects too, mending the loss of the mother for the child. In a sense, the mother is there, because the care and comfort is provided to the child. But at the same time, the actual mother is away. This interpretation could also be made for the employer-child-babysitter trio.

Last but not least, most of our participants seemed to fall in the category of intensive mothering in Peng et al.'s (2013) classification. According to Uttal's (1996) classification system, our participants had the custodial care understanding. A few of our participants had the surrogate care understanding.

4. 5. Mothering: With the Cared Children

All of the participants felt that they had a close, loving relationship with the cared children. Sometimes it was even possible to infer that some babysitter-child duos had closer relationships than the mother-child duos. Some babysitters told that the child they were caring for looked out for them instead of their parents; in fact, some even did not want their own parents in their play time. Macdonald (2010) wrote of similar cases as well. However, neither in the articles nor in our study the children-babysitter attachment seemed to, or was reported to be disturbed. In fact, the babysitters' reports that the children chose them over others might mean that the children had acknowledged the babysitters as one of their primary attachment figures. This is affirmative to van Ijzendoorn et al.'s (1992) finding about children

having different attachment patterns to their mothers and babysitters. Therefore, the quality of care might be more important than the actual presence of the mother (Macdonald, 2010). Given that the secure attachment with another adult than the parents was found to be an adaptive compensation for the child's emotional development (Main & Weston, 1981), having a close relationship with the babysitter might be beneficial for the child.

There is another point that we would like to make on this issue: So far, we have come across mothers' and babysitters' narratives in various studies about the child being closer to the babysitter. However, the main focus in those studies had been the employer's mothering. We would like to add another dimension here, by pointing out that our participants, as mothers themselves, carried the same worries and problems about their own children avoiding them or not loving them anymore. They were not very different than their employers on this aspect, and some of our participants were very aware of it:

> *They too, see their children for two hours, they are absent. I always tell them: I said we have no differences.* (#5)

Our participants' minds, as mentioned before, were always busy with the happenings in the homeland, especially about their children. Their minds, along with the phone conversations, appeared as a medium to keep a connection with the homeland. The participants appeared in every step of

the children's lives, as organizers, as supporters, as financial helpers and as decision makers. In addition, all of the participants had to think of other arrangements that they had planned to do with the earned money, like buying land or buying a house, planning their children's education and buying furniture. This mindwork in itself tired the babysitter down. That, in turn, affected their mothering for the cared children negatively, just like Rajan et al. (2011) and Gashe (2011) suggested:

> *If I'm not in the mood, I mean, I don't want to care so much. Because I get really tired. My mind, I mean, is tired.* (#4)

Macdonald (2010) had suggested that the babysitters were doing intensive mothering, but in the way they had constructed it in their minds. In other words, their constructs and values might cause a clash with the mother-employers' about the way a child is to be cared for. To see if there was such a clash, we had asked our participants about any cultural differences. However, the participants either did not find any cultural differences between their childrearing and the mother's, or the differences the participants mentioned seemed more related to economic differences rather than cultural ones.

4. 6. Blurred Boundaries

One of our participants' experiences was blurring of the boundaries and roles, one of which appeared in their relationships with the cared

children. We found that our participants reproduced their mother-child relationships with the children they cared for. In addition, many of our participants narrated about how the child helped them with their "psychology", how the child gave them joy, or how they received care. These narrations would make sense to Chodorow (1999), who had quoted

> That women turn to children to complete a relational triangle, or to recreate a mother-child unity, means that mothering is invested with a mother's often conflictual, ambivalent, yet powerful need for her own mother. (p.212)

In fact, two of those participants mentioned at some points that they longed for their mothers. It seemed understandable that these women had been going through really hard experiences, and they would need people to contain them. The participants' pleasure in being interviewed about their experiences is one of the strongest manifestations of this. In their isolated world, away from homeland, with no trust for fellow babysitters and with keeping quiet for fear of being fired, the most trustable person in some of the participants' lives must be the children they cared for.

As stated previously, Freud (1917, in Berzoff, 2004) claimed that mourning absorbed most of the psychic energy so the person would get detached from the outer world, being preoccupied with the loss. With almost all the psychic energy allocated on the lost objects (in our case primarily on

children and secondarily on parents and homeland), there would be no place for the employers' child(ren), if we had to think on the terms of Freud's theory. Therefore, one could expect that immigrant babysitters might be detached from the children they cared for, thinking of their own children constantly. This was partly confirmed in our study. The participants, when they were caring for their employers' children, reported experiencing brief periods of dissociative states where their minds wandered off to think about their children back home; but at the same time they also seemed to transfer many of their feelings for their own child to the child they were caring for, and assume her/him as their own child. The blurring of the boundaries sometimes seemed to function as an escape into fantasy for the caregiver where they described "imagining that they were actually with their own child at that moment". The similarities between the two children in terms of age and gender made this situation likelier.

We would like to distinguish the dissociative states from distancing from the cared child though. None of our participants narrated being distant or purposefully staying away from the children they cared. Quite the opposite, the babysitters seemed to prefer being around the cared child. Therefore, our findings did not replicate the suggestions and/or narratives from Hondagneu-Sotelo et al. (1997) and Macdonald (1998). Still, since we relied on subjective reports, there is always a risk that the narratives fell short of reflecting the total experience of the babysitters. Therefore, it might

not be appropriate to definitely conclude that our participants did not distance themselves from the cared children at all.

4. 7. Feelings and Thoughts

One of the superordinate themes that we saw on our participants was the dilemma of the participants to stay or go. As a mother, they wanted to go back, but as a worker (and also as a mother) they had to stay. A similar understanding of this dilemma existed in Madianou's (2012) work with a different conceptualization, namely, *accentuated ambivalence* between a working woman's different roles. Furthermore, she reckoned the extra difficulty having to work in a different country brought to the feeling of ambivalence. Raijman et al. (2003) added two other dilemmas for Latinas in Israel: Working in undervalued jobs versus having no jobs at all, and chances to overcome economic problems versus being an alien in the migrated country. We could argue that to some extent, both could be mentioned for our participants as well, however they were not very salient in the interviews, suggesting little importance on the participants' minds.

The energy spent on thinking and feeling about their children and their future was so much that a lot of the participants talked about being tired, or having a confused mind. We think that this might be because the babysitter had two lives to plan: First, they were still the main organizer of their and their children's lives. Through the phone, they took the initiative to

make decisions about their children's schools, how much they should study, which house could be bought, what they could do with the sent money, etc. [Two points are worth considering here: One, most of the participants had no spouse to financially and physically support them in the homeland, so they acted not only as the mother, but the father as well. Two, the participants used their mothers (in one case, her eldest daughter and in one case, her husband) as their surrogates, just like they were used by their employers here, as documented by Macdonald (2010). The babysitter made the decisions, and asked the mother (daughter/husband) to execute them]. Second, the babysitter still had to do heavy surrogate mothering in Turkey. She had a house to plan the internal affairs of. She was the one who planned the chores, did the housework, established the order in the house, took care of children, and did all of these "gladly", as expected from her. Therefore, a migrant babysitter in Turkey is a mother, a father, and another mother.

Surprisingly, the participants did not report anger-related feelings, except for anger towards their spouses in several cases, anger for the employers two cases (one implicit, one explicit), and anger as a symptom in one case. This was contrary to what Bowlby (Berzoff, 2004) and Chung (2010) had suggested, and Suğur et al. (2008) found with Turkish domestic workers. It was possible to think that this might be because of the interview process, but we do not think that this is the case; because the participants were asked about their emotions during the interview even when they

mentioned some previously. Anger was felt like to be a part of the process, though: The interviewer had various difficulties in reaching the participants, arranging meetings and collecting the data; which evoked disappointment, low trust, and anger, and after a while she realized that she had been repressing them to be able to keep going with the process. We think that given the presence of anger in the literature, and given the interviewer's experience, a suggestion could be made about anger being a hidden part of the participants' migration experience.

One of the narratives suggested that the main object of anger might be the babysitter herself:

> *I mean that-that-that makes me very sad. There are regrets all the time, in this thing. I mean I wish I were there too, I wish it was like this, I say I made a big mistake. I got married too early, and very… It's hard to be that, I had to come alone and stay, and that-that too, is my fault, was I making myself clear? I end up making myself guilty in everything too. I mean… maybe I shouldn't have had two kids. Why did I have two? Now I'm ruining their lives too. This and that, [I] have that sort of thoughts*. (#2)

But the other babysitters did not openly blame themselves. Instead, they implied having guilty feelings. Uttal's (1996) participants, similarly, did not talk about guilt. She thought this could be because her participants were following the same track with their own mothers in their working and mothering practices. Segura (1994; in Uttal, 1996) had found that guilt was

related to choosing a different path than one's own mother. This premise works when it is applied to our participants too. There was a big difference between how our participants grew up and how they were raising their children: To start with, they were far far away.

In spite of the control they had over the homeland, our participants were having worries about their mothering quality and sufficiency just like Madianou's (2012) participants, although they sometimes seemed very confident and proud about it. They wanted to, and actively tried to compensate for their lack of presence in their children's world; still, they felt guilt which they rarely explicitly talked about. It could be said that our participants tried to deny their belief that they were not mothering, and to do that, they tried to keep their full presence in the homeland and talk with pride to mask the actual guilt.

One of the cognitions related to guilt, as mentioned in the Results section, was the regret of not being there to mother and bring their children up. Macdonald (2010) called this notion *blanket accountability*. It signified the mothers' thought that even though their children received good care, something was going to be missing in their development and wellness. Some of our participants had the thought that although they trusted the main guardian in the homeland, they never were sure if their children were cared right. Again, some participants talked around the theme of their children being deprived of a mother's love and care. Our participants tried to

overcome blanket accountability through trying to compensate for their absence by feeding, clothing, talking to, and arranging the lives of their children through phone calls, text messages and mail deliveries.

Grinberg et al. (1984) distinguished between two types of guilt following migration:

> In "persecutory guilt" the main elements are: resentment, despair, fear, and self-reproach. Its extreme manifestation is melancholia and pathological mourning. In depressive guilt the dominant elements are: sorrow, concern for the object, nostalgia, and feelings of responsibility with reparative tendencies ordinarily seen in normal mourning (pp. 26-27).

In our participants' accounts, the dominant elements for depressive guilt were more visible, although there were rare mentions of elements belonging to persecutory guilt in a few cases. This seems to be in line with Ward et al.'s (2012) findings; they could not trace any persecutory guilt in their participants' narratives. Mostly, guilt was felt for leaving the children (the "family") behind. In Ward et al. (2012) too, the most frequently told narratives of guilt were related to leaving parents behind. A parallel line could be drawn here, since in both our results and theirs, the loved ones far away are missed and guilt is related to leaving them behind.

Guilt was seen in one case to stem out of the thought that she was living in better conditions than her parents and her children, especially in terms of entertainment opportunities. This guilt situation was foreseen in Akhtar's work (1999, in Ward et al., 2012). It is called *survivor's guilt*, and it is the feeling of guilt one gets when s/he is the survivor among the ones which could not (Baumeister, Stillwell, & Heatherton, 1994).

4. 8. Defenses/Coping Mechanisms

Our participants already had people in the homeland devaluing their transnational mothering. Some participants' narratives in being able to discipline their own children spoke to us about these babysitters' possible past concerns that their absence would result in "problem children", and with these concerns they initially seemed to devalue their mothering practices. Their guilt added on top of it; they tried to overcome it by keeping intensive mothering via the phone, and living in accordance with the homeland's values and standards. A similar pattern was seen in Hondagneu-Sotelo et al. (1997).

With some of the cases, a split between Turkey and their homeland was visible, as described in Walsh et al. (2007). Turkey was idealized in most of the splits, whereas the homeland was devalued. Almost all of the participants thought people in Turkey lived in better conditions in general, and splitters also thought that people in Turkey were nicer and more

trustable. To them, their homeland characterized poorness, hopelessness, hard conditions, and the place where that they cannot construct a future for their children. One participant idealized Turkey so much that she wanted to stay in Turkey for the rest of her life. However, there also were several participants who seemed to have found the balance. They said they wanted to take the good things they saw here to their homeland, therefore being able to merge what's good in here and there instead of making clean-cut good or bad definitions among the two countries. One of these two ladies described it as

> *[…] not like in there, like in here-okay, not completely like in here either, rather, just the half [of both] I mean.* (#4)

Especially this quote led us to agree with Yax-Fraser's (2008) statement that the cross-cultural mothers had a give-and-take relationship with the host country's culture, and Phinney et al.'s (2001) statement that the immigrants preferred to integrate elements from both their own culture and the host culture. We think that the closeness of the Turkish culture with the Turkic culture might be a factor increasing the openness of the participants, and easing the acculturation process in general.

There was a different split barely visible: A split between the real mother (employer) and the surrogate one (babysitter). Another likely bridge that could be formed between the babysitters and their employers is on their glorification of their relationship with the children and devaluing of the

relationship with the secondary caregiver. Kaya (2008) had found that the mother-employers tried to protect the special bond with their child; they did not want the babysitters to outperform them. Likewise, in our research, the theme about the guardians not being able to care for the babysitters' children as well as they could was seen across several interviews. We, too, sensed an idealization of their mothering by the babysitters. The same pattern was observed in other studies as well (for example, Peng et al., 2003). Nonetheless, the things get more complicated with a deeper look: Our participants also seemed to have been glorifying their relationships with the cared children, and some even devalued the cared child's relationship with her/his own mother. The devaluations mostly found mention in the form of criticisms on the way that the mother-employers do their mothering.

To Klein, one of the two defenses which helped reduce the anxiety of object loss was denial; it operated in the way that one denied her/his love and need for the lost object (Berzoff, 2004). In a case example within that chapter, a man found a girlfriend as soon as her wife was hospitalized for cancer; denying his need for his wife and her organizer role in his life. It seems familiar; our participants might have denied their love and need for their own children while working. Were our participants also in denial by seeking childcare jobs especially? They might be. They were also replacing their children with others, so to some extent, they were avoiding experiencing the grief of being away from their children, trying to fill the

gap. Given that denial was one of Bowlby's (1963, in Berzoff, 2004) pathological responses to loss, this finding would fit in the literature too. But we do not think that our participants were fully in denial: They were not totally denying the love and longing they had for their own children, their minds did not let them to.

Childcare, beyond being an obligatory task, served important functions for the babysitters anyways. Stern and Bruschweiler-Stern (1998) had written that every mother had expectations about their own mothering and of their baby's role in their lives. Some mothers saw their babies as a medium for replacing something or someone, some others might see their babies as their *antidepressant*, that is, their source of liveliness and joy. Yet some others restaged their regrets about the past on their children. The presence of the cared children helped our participants too, in certain ways: First, the cared child filled the emptiness that was inside the migrant babysitter, through loving her and being loved by her. Second, the cared child actually directly made the babysitter feel better, by creating fun times and caring for the babysitter. In other words, it was through the medium of the child that the babysitter felt revitalized. Revitalization of the mother by the child was also apparent in Chung's (2010) work with transnational mothers in Korea. The interesting difference is, the women in Chung's study felt revitalized by their own children, our participants formed the same bond with children who were initially not theirs. This suggests that the migrant

babysitters really perceived the cared children as they were their own. The other two attributes that Chung's participants made to their children (*children as the meaning of life* and *children as a subject of hope*), however, were made by our participants for their own children but not for the cared children. Therefore, the qualities of the relationship a migrant woman would have with her child was split between the cared child and the own child.

Another denial was of being in another country. Although the participants were away from their children and they had literally handed the responsibility of caring their child(ren) to the relatives (mostly the grandmother), it seemed like they never fully accepted this fact. Through phone calls, they intervened in their best efforts into the child-rearing process. Moreover, most participants reported that their minds were mostly with their homeland, planning, worrying and so on. We think this could be a reaction to being away: The babysitter might be denying the distance that exists between herself and her home.

Our finding about somatization being one of the defense mechanisms that the babysitters used can be tied with Grinberg et al.'s (1984) similar expectation. They had also assigned meaning to certain somatic symptoms, for example digestive symptoms might relay the message from the psyche that it is struggling to digest the new conditions. It was possible to form similar analogies with our participants' somatic symptoms too. For example, one participant defined her headaches and her shoulder pain as follows:

> *There is headache. My brain aches. I know I [feel] as if I have a very heavy weight on my back, like that I am crushed by it.* (#1)

To us, her definitions are not surprising, given that these participants reported getting tired from the excessive thinking, planning, and worrying about both the homeland and in Turkey.

Our participants also were seen to be changing the subjects, or suddenly starting to talk about positive things after talking a bit about the negativities during the interviews. Whether these could be interpreted as repression or suppression is a question. These two defenses, although very similar in name and in structure, have a key difference. Repression is the first defense mechanism brought into life by Freud as a tool of self-control (Fonagy et al., 2003; Mitchell et al., 1995). He thought that either unacceptable impulses or triggering memories were repressed to be able to continue the social life. According to Vaillant (1992), repression went deep, with which one would remember neither the forgetting nor the forgotten. Yet he added that the affect attached to the repressed material was not lost, and it found manifestation through exaggerated acts. In the same source, Meissner distinguished between two types of repression: In primary repression, the material had never reached the conscious; but in secondary repression, material that has previously reached conscious awareness got repressed. On the other hand, suppression was seen by both Meissner and Vaillant as a conscious or partially conscious attempt to postpone

processing the ego-threatening material. In other words, suppression was more a conscious attempt, whereas repression was an unconscious forgetting. Grinberg et al. (1984) had written about repression as a defense mechanism that migrants used. In our study though, we could see both repression and suppression attempts, with the weight being on suppression. According to our view, the participants seemed very aware of their experiences and feelings. Although the talk about them was stopped after some point by their egos, the material was still not lost, and in fact, kept haunting them as they reported. The material which was repressed seemed to be the experiences which evoked anger.

We could talk of another defense mechanism that was not reported in the previous literature, but that we spotted on our participants: Sublimation. This defense was discovered by Freud to signify the socially accepted gratification of a desire (Fonagy et al., 2003). For Meissner, the fundamental difference of sublimation was that the feelings were not repressed or battled; they were rechannelized and gratified. That must be why both Meissner and Vaillant placed it on their axis of mature defenses. In our study, most of our participants chose the babysitting job on purpose and they reported that it made them feel better. The babysitting job helped them rechannelize their intense feelings onto child care, with which they earned money. Two participants said that by taking care of children their longing for own children diminished.

4. 9. Risks and Resilience

The migrant babysitters seemed to have multiple sources of stress. Most of them had problems since they were in the homeland, like intramarital problems, alcohol and drug abuse, economic difficulties and the prejudice against migrant women in their homeland. On top of that came the effects of migration, being away from the loved ones (especially own children), being in a foreign land, the work expectations, and still having to organize the family back in the homeland. However, these women also had certain factors that increased their resilience: Good employer-employee relationships, keeping ties with the homeland, being able to raise money and satisfy the children's needs, increased self-confidence and hope for the future are among some.

4. 10. BDI and BAI Results

Although this was mainly a qualitative study, we used the BDI and the BAI as standardized measures. They were used to provide an objective measure of the level of depressive and anxiety symptoms reported by the participants and to see which symptoms as listed by these two measures were more frequent among our participants.

According to the BDI results, none of the participants were found to be clinically depressed, except for one participant who scored in the borderline range. However, according to the BAI results, two participants

were found to be moderately anxious and one participant scored in the severe anxiety range, although very close to the low cut-off point. Dizziness, wobbliness, and heart racing, three most severely rated symptoms suggest that the participants may have a tendency towards somatization. This is supported by the interview data: Most of the psychological difficulties seemed to have been experienced as somatic problems such as back pain and headaches. Somatization, as mentioned before, is a defense in which the bodily distress is based on a psychological cause, and it is stated to be the internationally most common way people expressed their distress (Kirmayer, & Young, 1998). Despite the widely-accepted belief that somatization was more common among Asians and Africans, the authors taught that the symptoms changed from culture to culture and the differences in prevalence were exaggerated. Unfortunately, there were not any studies which caught our attention about the somatization symptoms being common among Central Asian women; however, Crighton, Elliott, Meer, Small, and Upshur (2003) found that 48 % of their Karakalpakistani participants (people from an autonomous republic in Uzbekistan) were using somatization as a medium of expressing their emotional distress about the shrinking of the Aral Sea. Moreoever, Green (2004) argued that Bukharan (a province of Uzbekistan) immigrants from the USSR to United States were somaticizing because of the nonverbal quality of their culture, and that the Bukharan women somaticized even more than men.

In general, we could conclude that most of the participants did experience depressive mood and symptoms such as crying and worrying at times. This was reported to be particularly significant during the first six months of their migration to Turkey. Nevertheless, most of the participants did not develop disturbing psychological problems, which could be linked to the previous subsection: Despite the losses and hardships, the participants seemed to have been resilient and they kept working in Turkey.

Some discrepancies between the participants' BDI answers and interview narratives were visible. For example, although one participant told the interviewer that she could not work as well as before,

> *I can't work like before. Because I'm tired. I don't want to work anymore.*

she chose the option "*I can work about as well as before.*" on a BDI question, which was marked by the point 0. In other words, some issues mentioned in the interview were not fully reflected by the BDI scores. This discrepancy made us question BDI's validity for measuring depressive symptoms of our participants.

We thought this could be due to several reasons: One reason is the language of the BDI. It might have been too elaborate for the babysitters to be able to differentiate between the options. Moreover, the written language might be harder to understand for non-natives of a language, because it is

much less practiced. To overcome this, the interviewer was present at the form filling process, reading the questions out loud for most of the participants, and providing explanations when necessary. It might not have been sufficient though, because even the language that the explanation was made was Turkish, the language that they were not competent in.

In the current study, we used BDI instead of BDI-II due to the problems accessing the second edition. The second version, although not very different on psychometric characteristics, measured symptoms for the past two weeks instead of one. Moreover, the statements had been revised in order to make them clearer. In this sense, the second version might have been easier for the babysitters to understand.

Another reason might be the fact that the interview is an organic measurement tool, in which everything goes in the participant's desired pace and direction. Instruments like BDI and BAI, on the contrary, are more rigid. This might have made the participants reveal more in the interviews compared to the inventories.

4. 11. Conclusion

Overall, there were many parallels between our findings and the existing literature on migrant mothering (also known as transnational mothering). In other words, Turkmen and Uzbek women in Turkey had similar experiences with the other women around the world; for example

having busy minds (Heckert, 2012), having children as revitalizers, meaning of life, and subject of hope, having language problems, support of the babysitter's parents, pride in providing for own children, self-development as a result of migration (Chung, 2010), sacrificing for own child (Keough, 2006). Our novel findings were on the migrant babysitters' defense mechanisms and other coping tools with the intense feelings, thoughts and worries they had been having. We found that as expected, migration and leaving children behind led to intense feelings and dilemmas, as well as depressive symptoms and mostly psychosomatic difficulties of anxiety. As expected, these feelings led to some defenses and coping mechanisms. Our other expectation that this status of the babysitter would affect her relationship with the cared children was also supported by our data. These findings were compared with the existing literature on migration and mothering, loss and mourning process. We found that at times, the migrant mother-babysitters' minds being preoccupied with the homeland, regrets and dilemmas made it difficult to be mentally present with cared children; however, they solved this problem through coming up with various coping mechanisms, like un/consciously assuming the cared child was their own child. As a result, the babysitters transferred their feelings towards their own children to the cared children; thusly the cared child-babysitter bond got even stronger, at least for the babysitter. So, our participants ended up mothering both their own children and the cared children intensively. This caused another difficulty, of feeling very busy and tired. They tried to

overcome this mostly through meeting with loved ones, talking to others about her distress, or travelling around the town alone.

The boundary blur just mentioned (between the own and cared children) was not the only one though. Other boundaries, such as between being a mother and being a babysitter and between the employer and the employee were also blurred. These blurs led to a different relationship between the babysitter, the female employer and the cared children. In a way, who got the "care" could not be defined clearly: The babysitter's traditionally defined job is to care for the child when the mother is away; but it seems that in addition to that, the babysitter also cared for the mother (through helping her with all the domestic work and through listening and advising), the mother cared for the babysitter (through listening and advising), and the child cared for the babysitter (through loving, hugging, etc.).

The babysitters' mothering role had gone through a great transformation after their migration. Migration in itself had seemed like a threat to their competency in mothering. They blamed themselves; the society in the homeland blamed them too. By coming to Turkey and staying here, most had to stand up to their husbands as well; as a result, having migrated ended the marriages of some of our participants. But through their intensive mothering of both their children and the children here, they reconstructed their confidence in mothering, although they still felt guilty

from time to time. They also felt more self-confident and autonomous, and happy that they could finally provide for their children.

A question that comes up at this point is if this situation is pathological. This is a question that remains unresolved. On one hand, these babysitters seemed to be enjoying the time they have been spending with the children of their employers, as they reported, it made them feel better rather than worse. On the other hand, the situation has formed an unusual babysitter-child relationship in which both parties emotionally fed each other, differently than the stronger adult caring for the little child. The babysitter is fragile too; she needs the child as much as the child needs her. This confusion of boundaries also provides a fertile ground for many projections to be directed towards the child by the caregiver. In addition, babysitters still keep some of their symptoms in lower intensities. Data from the BDI and the BAI seem to support this premise. The possible pathological results of this relationship are worth exploring through a study focusing more on child variables. We think that in addition to trying to find an answer to the question of pathology, it would be useful to focus on the question of what could be done for the betterment of the babysitters' and the families' lives.

4. 12. Limitations

Although we have collected and evaluated very valuable information on the psychological processes of immigration, mothering and babysitting, we had certain limitations and problems.

Most of the papers cited in this proposal were derived from the "mothering" literature. In other words, mother-child relationships were used to make inferences about babysitter-child relationships. However, there is a probability that the impact of a babysitter on a child might not be comparable to a mother's (van IJzendoorn et al., 1992). Another weakness comes from having babysitter self-reports as the only data source. This might prevent us from viewing the issue in a more objective and holistic way. For example, biases in the data like social desirability effect are hard to detect when self-reports are chosen only as the data source. This could have been overcome by collecting observational data, but the conditions under which this research was conducted did not allow us to decide on such a method.

Because of the hard-to-find population, we did not put strict restrictions on our sample selection. There were very few criteria: Having migrated, having at least one child younger than the age of 15 in the homeland, currently working in İstanbul, caring for child(ren) the age of at least one of which being 15. We did not control variables like age, number

of own children, number of cared children, level of education, personality traits, the job requirements etc. This creates a possibility that we were running on third variables. For instance, according to Bhugra (2004), the migrant's age had an impact on the effect of migration experience: Younger migrants were more flexible for adjustment. In our sample, we could not trace such a trend; however, it is probable that this was because of having a small and imbalanced sample.

One of the most important limitations of this study is the possibility of having had selection bias, which is written to undermine both internal and external validities of a research (Berk, 1983). Participation for this study was voluntary. We had lots of rejections before we collected all our participants. The main reasons of rejection were fear, mistrust, and the worry of things getting so intense that the babysitter would feel bad. The first two of these reasons seem to be stemming from the fact that most of the babysitters work illegally in Turkey. Some have residence permits, due to a recent law that allows them to, but even a good deal of them doesn't have working permits. Because of the deport rules, this is the only chance they have for being in Turkey to earn money for their children's future. Thus, some of them did not want to risk it, even though all the participants were reached through trustable connections. This makes us able to suggest that the participants who rejected might have different personality characteristics

than the participants. There occurs a risk that this difference might project to their migration experiences as well.

Another difference between the rejecters and the participants could be the rejecters being more emotionally fragile. During the participant search, some babysitters had rejected us because they thought the subjects of the interview would make them feel overwhelmingly bad that they could not take it. It is a possibility that our participants might have been those who were using more mature defenses, who were more resilient, or who have been over the hardest periods of their adjustment. Another possibility is that the participants might have come across better conditions than the rejecters, allowing them to be in a better state, thusly creating a non-representative group of the population. If so, we might have interviewed the most well-adjusted participants from the population. The fact that most of the participants had been in Turkey for 5-6 years might be supportive of this question. On the other hand, some of the participants stressed that they really needed someone to talk, so it could well be just the opposite: The participants might have agreed to take part in the study because they needed urgent help. However, this less likely, given that our participants' generally below-threshold BDI and BAI scores.

We have previously argued that the participants seemed to have splits in regard to their country and Turkey, mostly on the favor of Turkey. However, it must not be forgotten that the participants currently live in

Turkey, and their delicate situation might have created some trusting issues with Turks. The fact that the interviewer was also a Turk and the language of interview was Turkish might have caused the participants to give idealized narratives about Turks and Turkey, a bit more than usual.

Last but not least, there are issues related to the reliability of the participants' accounts. Although all the participants were very keen on opening up to a psychologist, and although they seemed to be genuine and sincere, the fact that we relied on the participants' subjective data carries a warning for being careful in making interpretations. As exemplified in the previous paragraph, our participants might have presented themselves or parts of their experiences in a more favorable fashion. Or, they might have concealed some details of their experiences with the same motivation. This attempt is called social desirability bias and it might be based on deceiving self or others (Nederhof, 1985). For instance, despite the great overlap of our data with similar studies, we had certain divergences, like the expression of anger, which might be alternatively explained by the possibility that showing anger is not found appropriate among our participants. Replications with more objective data collection methods might shed light on the desirability factor in the future.

4. 13. Future Directions

Since there was no literature-based knowledge on the migration and mothering jobs, one of the aims of this research was raising questions. We think that our data was rich enough for us to fulfill this aim.

It also seemed like two factors were moderating the babysitter's tendency to form a bond between her own children and the children she was caring for. One of these, age, was visible in one of the interviews; whereas the other one's, gender's, effects could be spotted on three of the interviews. Babysitters in those interviews said that they were closer to the cared child whose age and gender characteristics matched their own children's. A future research could be based on this finding, trying to understand the role of own child-cared child demographic similarities on the babysitter-cared child bondage.

According to Grinberg et al. (1984) and Bhugra (2004) the way that a person experienced immigration was not independent from her/his self-integrity, self-perception, social skills and psychological vulnerabilities. Moreover, Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters and Wall (1978; in Berzoff, 2004) indicated that the way loss was perceived depended on the "internal working models" of the person, namely, her/his understanding of relationships through her/his attachment history. Although we sensed the same, we could not work on this possibility, due to convenience problems. The babysitters'

personalities and psychic organizations shared a similar fate. These could be important paths to take for those who would like to follow research on immigrant babysitters.

A direction that interested researchers can take is making comparisons to see which similarities and differences the migrant mother-babysitters' experiences had with similar groups. For instance, we think it would be interesting to compare live-in babysitters with live-out babysitters, Turkish babysitters with non-Turkish ones, non-Turkish babysitters with each other, migrant babysitters with migrant cleaners and migrant caregivers for the elderly, etc. In addition, Grinberg et al. (1984) wrote that if the immigrant had a chance to return one day, s/he would not feel that trapped in the host country. Future researchers moving from this premise might compare the sojourners with immigrants with no return, like refugees. These differences might help us understand how and why do the perceptions of domestic workers differ. An exemplary study on this path could be Doyle and Timonen's (2009), in which they compared the experiences of migrant caregivers from different ethnic backgrounds, all of whom were residing in Ireland. Another interesting example was in Macdonald's book (2010), in which she compared employers' narratives with their babysitters'.

To our participants, they were actively mothering. According to their reports, some children were aware of their mother's efforts for this goal, some were not. Some wanted their mothers back, whereas some seemed to

talk in understanding and gave their mothers consolation. Still, we think that lots of information is missing on the way children construct their mothers' absence and feel for their mother. There is written to be a study on this case by Romero (1997; in Hondagneu-Sotelo et al., 1997). The same applies to the surrogates in the homeland. Bastia (2009) and Karlsson & Ruuth (2012) had focused on this issue.

In the present study, one of the things we looked was which defenses the migrant babysitters with children behind used to cope. For more structured information, in future research, a statistically validated instrument for measuring defenses could be added to the measures. Defense Style Questionnaire, developed and tested by Andrews, Singh and Bond (1993) seems to be one of the best candidates. On the other hand, the researchers taking this path should not forget that written self-report measures might not work on a sensitive and language-incompetent group like migrants. In this case, certain rearrangements might be needed.

The babysitters liked the experience of being interviewed overall. They were even thankful for such an "opportunity" to express themselves. At the end of each data collection, our participants stated that they now felt more relaxed; one participant said she was going to sleep better that night. This helps us conclude that community-based individual or group processes could be designed in order to increase this underprivileged group's

psychological well-being. Leon and Dziegielewski's (1999) and Kologlugil's (2008) group processes could set examples.

4. 14. Personal Reflections

When I first started out this project, I did not know much about Central Asia, and when I thought of babysitters, all that came to my mind was a coquettish rich woman walking on the road with a quiet "modern slave" in the back, carrying a spoiled boy. What I read in the literature, and the real stories I heard drew me closer with the migrant babysitters. The fifth participant said and I agree: The women who come here leaving their children are very brave and strong.

Of course, my personal stance on the gender inequality was pretty effective on my opinions on what I perceived during the preparation of this thesis. Most of the time, I found myself angry and helpless for witnessing "those" men doing nothing and "these" women leaving everything behind, including their men, to find hope for a new and better future for their children. Seeing the great inequality was painful. Sometimes I found my eyes water with them, sometimes my eyes were tearing up even before theirs did.

In most of the interviews, I felt like crying a few times. I remember how I respected these women's choices to leave their children at a premature age to come and work in a totally different country. None of them

knew the language, Istanbul was too big and shiny for most of them, and their own culture was a strictly male-dominant one. They all had people talking behind their backs; most of them had angry and irresponsible husbands. Yet, coming here was a liberating experience for them. I felt proud when I heard that now they were stronger and freer.

I listened. I wanted to become the channel for them to release what they kept inside for a long time. That's why I almost never interrupted them, even when they misunderstood my question. I waited for them to say what they desired to. This is how, I guess, I became more than just a researcher to them. I felt like I became the translator of their pain. I don't know how many thanks I received although I did nothing except for asking my questions and reflective listening to their answers, despite the fact that I was to thank them for helping my research.

I had a question in the protocol asking if these women have any relatives or friends they can share things with. Mostly, the answer was yes. So they had others. It was not the first time they told these stories. What was different with me? Then I thought: Talking to me was talking to someone from a population that they could not express themselves well; a place where they are not in to be listened to or be heard. Yet I was there to listen. They had been listened to by other Turks too, but they were mostly their bosses; so they constantly had to keep it short and self-censored. So, this time it was different. Besides, I think it was the therapeutic containment that

worked-I didn't give advice, I didn't scowl; on the contrary, I assured them that whatever they said was going to be kept secret and was not going to have any negative feedback on them. As we mentioned previously, a holding environment was something that our participants already needed. If I had to make an analogy with my function in the interviews, I'd felt similar to a box with a lock which is only for their use, into which they can scream and lock again.

It made me feel wonderful to hear the participants thank at the end of every interview. I did not have the same feelings when I was to find participants, though. I have been misinformed or abandoned for a lot of times. It happened for so many times that I had lost faith in people at some point. I did not trust anybody. I kept calling them, because most of the contacts did not call me although they had said they were going to. Most of these people were migrants, but there were also Turks who put me into this position. In some of the situations, I was bailed out even when we had arranged a specific time and date. However, for a long time, I repressed my anger and disappointment not to muddy the waters in my psyche, since I had to stay emotionally in one-piece for the thesis-writing process. I never did psychotherapy with the participants, but if I did, this could be something that I could interpret as a transference-countertransference dynamic in the process. From a psychodynamic point of view then, it would be valid to argue that the babysitters' experiences were just like that. They maybe came

to a non-trustable foreign land in which they were abandoned, angry and disappointed, and they just repressed it.

As a last word, I would like to readdress our observation that he babysitters were not very different than their employers in the sense that both left their children to be able to raise money. Their economic independence, it seems, cost their children for both of them. Both felt guilty, both tried to compensate through still trying to mother their child. I feel sad looking at this similarity, because as it seems, mostly (if not always) the employers' voices were heard in the working and mothering literature, not the babysitters'. Some academicians started focusing on the babysitters only recently. I hope that the number of these people will increase and the psychology literature would concentrate more on the experiences of the babysitters and their role in child-rearing.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

English/Turkish

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Dear Participant,

I would like to invite you to my thesis research about the immigrant babysitters' perceptions on mothering and babysitting. The purpose of this study is to understand the perceptions and experiences of immigrant women who had to leave their children behind, about their relationships to their own children, to the child they care for, about the immigration, and about mothering and babysitting.

By joining this research, you are going to accept having an interview lasting approximately for one and a half hours. In this interview, the talk is going to be about the past and current situation in your homeland, the conditions that your child lives in and that you live in, your current work conditions, your relationships to your child and to the child you currently care. Moreover, you are going to be asked to fill in two inventories.

None of the personal information that you give are going to be shared with people other than the thesis committee under any condition. From the point you sign this form on, you are going to be assigned a participant number; on any document there is going to be your participant number instead of information like your name and address. The results of the research are going to be evaluated as a group. Your personal information is not going to be used in any publication or presentation out of this research.

Participation is based on volunteering. The issues to be talked about might evoke difficult feelings. You have the right to not answer any questions that you might feel that is going to be tough to answer, or to leave the study any time you would like to. There are not going be any negative consequences. In case you leave the study, all information and documents about you are going to be deleted.

This research is being conducted as İstanbul Bilgi University Clinical Psychology graduate student Nazlı Akay's graduate thesis, under the supervision of İstanbul Bilgi University Psychology Department academician Ass. Prof. Zeynep Çatay. Regarding any questions, you could reach Nazlı Akay (551 707 45 85 or nazliakay@hotmail.com.tr) or Zeynep Çatay (212 311 76 16 or zeynep.catay@bilgi.edu.tr).

Signing below means you have read, understood and decided to participate in this study at your own will.

Name

Signature

Date

BİLGİ VE ONAY FORMU

Sayın Katılımcı,

Göçmen bakıcıların anneliği ve bakıcılığı algılayışlarını araştırdığım yüksek lisans tezime katılımınızı rica ediyorum. Bu araştırmanın amacı, göç etmiş ve çocuğunu anavatanında bırakmak zorunda kalmış olan, burada çocuk bakıcılığı yapan kadınların kendi çocuğuyla ilişkisini, baktığı çocukla ilişkisini, yaşadığı göçü, annelik ve bakıcılık konusundaki yaşantılarını onların gözünden öğrenmektir.

Bu araştırmaya katılmanız durumunda, sizinle yaklaşık bir buçuk saat sürebilecek bir görüşme yapılacaktır. Bu görüşmede memleketinizdeki geçmiş ve şimdiki durum, sizin ve çocuğunuzun içinde bulunduğunuz durumlar, şu andaki çalışma şartlarınız üzerine konuşulacaktır. Ayrıca sizden iki kısa anket formu doldurmanız istenecektir.

Bu araştırma kapsamında verdiğiniz kişisel bilgiler, tez komitesi dışında kimse ile hiçbir koşul altında paylaşılmayacaktır. Bu formu imzaladığınız andan itibaren, açık isminiz, adresiniz gibi önemli bilgiler yerine araştırmaya ait belgelerde sadece size verilmiş olan katılımcı numarası olacaktır. Araştırmanın sonuçları toplu halde değerlendirilecek ve sunulacaktır; bireysel değerlendirme ve sunum yapılmayacaktır. Kişisel bilgileriniz bu araştırmadan çıkan herhangi bir yayın ve sunumda kullanılmayacaktır.

Katılım gönüllülük esasına dayanmaktadır. Görüşme sırasında konuşulan konular, üzüntü, endişe gibi yoğun duygular uyandırabilir. Sizi zorladığını hissettiğiniz soruları cevaplamama ve bu çalışmayı istediğiniz zaman bırakma hakkına sahipsiniz. Bunun size olumsuz bir geri dönüşü olmayacaktır. Çalışmayı bırakmanız halinde, size dair bütün bilgiler ve belgeler silinecektir.

Bu araştırma, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Klinik Psikoloji Yüksek Lisans öğrencilerinden Nazlı Akay'ın yüksek lisans bitirme tezi kapsamında, İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Yrd. Doç. Dr. Zeynep Çatay danışmanlığında yapılmaktadır. Araştırma ile ilgili herhangi bir soru için Nazlı Akay'a (551 707 45 85 ya da nazliakay@hotmail.com.tr) veya Zeynep Çatay'a (212 311 76 16 ya da zeynep.catay@bilgi.edu.tr) ulaşabilirsiniz.

Aşağıdaki alanı imzalamanız durumunda yukarıdaki açıklamayı okuduğunuzu, anladığınızı ve kendi rızanız ile bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğinizi belirtmiş olursunuz.

İsim

İmza

Tarih

Appendix B

Interview Questions

English/Turkish

Questions

The number and order of the questions listed below are organized in a purposive manner, being grouped due to the information that is to be gathered. The order of the questions might be changed to follow the participant's lead, and some questions may not be asked if the answer has previously been obtained.

1. Could you tell me a little about you and your family?
2. What was your living situation before your current job (before and after you came to Turkey)?
3. Could you tell me about your children and your relationship to them?
4. What is the experience of being a mother like for you?
5. What are the living conditions of your children? (like with whom and how they live, your ways and frequency of communication with them)
6. Who is taking care for your children at home?
7. What is this like for you?
8. How is the experience of being away from your children for you?
9. How and with whom did you decide to come to Turkey to work? How did you come?
10. When you consider what you have experienced since you came here, how do you see your experience in Turkey?
11. How do you like caring for children as a job?
12. Are there things that seem culturally different in childcare in Turkey in comparison to your culture of origin?
13. Since you started caregiving what sort of changes about yourself, others and your relationships have you gone through?
14. How did these changes affect you?
15. Could you tell me about your current job? (like the number of days per week spent at work, who lives in the house, what is expected of you, info about a usual workday and a day off, your living conditions)
16. How is the experience of spending a day with the child you care for? What are the most pleasurable and most difficult times for you?
17. Are there times when it becomes difficult emotionally to care for a child?
18. Do you sometimes feel that your attention has drifted away from the child you care for?
19. What kind of feelings do you experience while caring for this child? What do you do when you feel them?
20. Do you think that being away from your family make it difficult to work as a baby sitter in any way?
21. Do you have any psychological complaints?
22. Do you have complaints like lack of energy, muscle pain and headaches?
23. Are there people or communities that you get support from?
24. What are your expectations and hopes about the future?
25. What makes you feel good?

26. How are you feeling now?
27. Were there any parts that made you feel uneasy?
28. Talking with a psychologist might make some people feel uncomfortable. Have you had a feeling like that?
29. Are there people you know that could join this study?
30. Do you have any recommendations about this study?

Sorular

Aşağıdaki sorular, toplanmak istenen bilgilere göre varsayımsal bir sayı ve sıra içinde düzenlenmiş temel sorulardır. Katılımcının anlatımına göre soruların sırası değişebilir, eğer cevabi bilgi alındı ise ilgili soru sorulmayabilir.

1. Kendinizi ve ailenizi biraz anlatır mısınız?
2. Şu anki işinizden önceki durumunuz nasıldı? (Türkiye'ye gelmeden önce ve geldikten sonra)
3. Çocuk(lar)ınızı biraz anlatabilir misiniz? İlişkiniz nasıldır?
4. Bir anne olmak size göre nasıl bir deneyim?
5. Çocuklarınızın şu an yaşadığı düzen nasıl? (kiminle ve hangi şartlarda yaşadıkları, onlarla iletişim yolunuz ve sıklığınız gibi)
6. Çocuklarınıza kim bakıyor?
7. Bu, sizin için nasıl bir deneyim?
8. Çocuklarınızdan uzakta olmak sizin için nasıl bir deneyim?
9. Türkiye'ye gelmeye nasıl ve kiminle karar verdiniz? Nasıl geldiniz?
10. Geldiğinizden beri yaşadıklarınız düşünüldüğünde, Türkiye'yi ve buradaki deneyiminizi nasıl buluyorsunuz?
11. Bakıcılık işi size nasıl geliyor?
12. Türkiye'de çocuk bakımı açısından size kültürel olarak farklı gelen şeyler var mı?
13. Bakıcılık işi yapmaya başladığınızdan beri kendinizde, çevrenizde ve ilişkilerinizde ne gibi değişimler yaşadınız?
14. Bu değişimler sizi nasıl etkiledi?
15. Şu anki işinizden biraz bahsedebilir misiniz? (haftada kaç gün geçirdiğiniz, evde kimlerin yaşadığı, sizden evde beklenenler, bir iş gününüzün ve izin gününüzün nasıl geçtiği, yaşam şartlarınız gibi)
16. Baktığınız çocukla bir günü geçirmek nasıl bir deneyim? En çok hoşlandığınız ve en zorlandığınız durumlar neler?
17. Bir çocuğa bakmanın size duygusal olarak ağır geldiği zamanlar oluyor mu?
18. Zaman zaman dikkatinizin baktığınız çocuktan uzaklaştığını, orada olamadığınızı hissettiğiniz oluyor mu?
19. Bu çocuğa bakarken hangi duyguları hissediyorsunuz? Bu duyguları hissettiğinizde ne yapıyorsunuz?
20. Kendi ailenizden uzak olmak sizce bakıcı olarak çalışmayı herhangi bir şekilde etkiliyor mu?
21. Psikolojik şikayetleriniz oluyor mu?
22. Enerjisizlik, kas ağrıları, baş ağrısı, ya da bunun gibi başka şikayetleriniz oluyor mu?
23. Destek gördüğünüz kişiler ya da topluluklar var mı?
24. Geleceğe dair umutlarınız ve beklentileriniz nelerdir?
25. Size ne iyi geliyor, kendinizi iyi hissettiriyor?

26. Bu görüşmenin sonunda nasıl hissediyorsunuz?
27. Rahatsız olduğunuz bir yer oldu mu?
28. Bir psikoloğun karşısında olmak bazı insanlara huzursuz hissettirebilir. Böyle bir deneyiminiz oldu mu?
29. Çalışmaya katılabilecek tanıdığınız var mı?
30. Çalışmaya dair tavsiyeleriniz var mı?

Appendix C

Beck Depression Inventory

English/Turkish

Beck's Depression Inventory

This depression inventory can be self-scored. The scoring scale is at the end of the questionnaire.

1	0	I do not feel sad.
	1	I feel sad.
	2	I am sad all the time and I can't snap out of it.
	3	I am so sad and unhappy that I can't stand it.
2	0	I am not particularly discouraged about the future.
	1	I feel discouraged about the future.
	2	I feel I have nothing to look forward to.
	3	I feel the future is hopeless and that things cannot improve.
3	0	I do not feel like a failure.
	1	I feel I have failed more than the average person.
	2	As I look back on my life, all I can see is a lot of failures.
	3	I feel I am a complete failure as a person.
4	0	I get as much satisfaction out of things as I used to.
	1	I don't enjoy things the way I used to.
	2	I don't get real satisfaction out of anything anymore.
	3	I am dissatisfied or bored with everything.
5	0	I don't feel particularly guilty.
	1	I feel guilty a good part of the time.
	2	I feel quite guilty most of the time.
	3	I feel guilty all of the time.
6	0	I don't feel I am being punished.
	1	I feel I may be punished.
	2	I expect to be punished.
	3	I feel I am being punished.
7	0	I don't feel disappointed in myself.
	1	I am disappointed in myself.
	2	I am disgusted with myself.
	3	I hate myself.
8	0	I don't feel I am any worse than anybody else.
	1	I am critical of myself for my weaknesses or mistakes.
	2	I blame myself all the time for my faults.
	3	I blame myself for everything bad that happens.
9	0	I don't have any thoughts of killing myself.
	1	I have thoughts of killing myself, but I would not carry them out.
	2	I would like to kill myself.
	3	I would kill myself if I had the chance.
10	0	I don't cry any more than usual.
	1	I cry more now than I used to.
	2	I cry all the time now.
	3	I used to be able to cry, but now I can't cry even though I want to.
11	0	I am no more irritated by things than I ever was.
	1	I am slightly more irritated now than usual.
	2	I am quite annoyed or irritated a good deal of the time.

	3	I feel irritated all the time.
12	0	I have not lost interest in other people.
	1	I am less interested in other people than I used to be.
	2	I have lost most of my interest in other people.
	3	I have lost all of my interest in other people.
13	0	I make decisions about as well as I ever could.
	1	I put off making decisions more than I used to.
	2	I have greater difficulty in making decisions more than I used to.
	3	I can't make decisions at all anymore.
14	0	I don't feel that I look any worse than I used to.
	1	I am worried that I am looking old or unattractive.
	2	I feel there are permanent changes in my appearance that make me look unattractive.
	3	I believe that I look ugly.
15	0	I can work about as well as before.
	1	It takes an extra effort to get started at doing something.
	2	I have to push myself very hard to do anything.
	3	I can't do any work at all.
16	0	I can sleep as well as usual.
	1	I don't sleep as well as I used to.
	2	I wake up 1-2 hours earlier than usual and find it hard to get back to sleep.
	3	I wake up several hours earlier than I used to and cannot get back to sleep.
17	0	I don't get more tired than usual.
	1	I get tired more easily than I used to.
	2	I get tired from doing almost anything.
	3	I am too tired to do anything.
18	0	My appetite is no worse than usual.
	1	My appetite is not as good as it used to be.
	2	My appetite is much worse now.
	3	I have no appetite at all anymore.
19	0	I haven't lost much weight, if any, lately.
	1	I have lost more than five pounds.
	2	I have lost more than ten pounds.
	3	I have lost more than fifteen pounds.
20	0	I am no more worried about my health than usual.
	1	I am worried about my physical problems such as aches and pains or upset stomach.
	2	I am very worried about physical problems and it’s hard to think of much else.
	3	I am so worried about my physical problems that I cannot think about anything else.
21	0	I have not noticed any recent change in my interest in sex.
	1	I am less interested in sex.
	2	I am much less interested in sex.
	3	I have lost interest in sex completely.

BECK DEPRESYON ÖLÇEĞİ (BDÖ)

Adı-Soyadı: ..... Tarih: .....

AÇIKLAMA:

Sayın cevaplayıcı, aşağıda gruplar halinde cümleler verilmektedir. Öncelikle her gruptaki cümleleri dikkatle okuyarak, BUGÜN DAHİL GEÇEN HAFTA içinde kendinizi nasıl hissettiğinizi en iyi anlatan cümleyi seçiniz. Eğer bir grupta durumunuzu, duygularınızı tarif eden birden fazla cümle varsa her birini daire içine alarak işaretleyiniz.

Soruları vereceğiniz samimi ve dürüst cevaplar araştırmanın bilimsel niteliği açısından son derece önemlidir. Bilimsel katkı ve yardımlarınız için sonsuz teşekkürler.

1- 0. Kendimi üzüntülü ve sıkıntılı hissetmiyorum.
1. Kendimi üzüntülü ve sıkıntılı hissediyorum.
2. Hep üzüntülü ve sıkıntılıyım. Bundan kurtulamıyorum.
3. O kadar üzüntülü ve sıkıntılıyım ki artık dayanamıyorum.

2- 0. Gelecek hakkında mutsuz ve karamsar değilim.
1. Gelecek hakkında karamsarım.
2. Gelecekten beklediğim hiçbir şey yok.
3. Geleceğim hakkında umutsuzum ve sanki hiçbir şey düzelmeyecekmiş gibi geliyor.

3- 0. Kendimi başarısız bir insan olarak görmüyorum.
1. Çevremdeki birçok kişiden daha çok başarısızlıklarım olmuş gibi hissediyorum.
2. Geçmişe baktığımda başarısızlıklarla dolu olduğunu görüyorum.
3. Kendimi tümüyle başarısız biri olarak görüyorum.

4- 0. Birçok şeyden eskisi kadar zevk alıyorum.
1. Eskiden olduğu gibi her şeyden hoşlanmıyorum.
2. Artık hiçbir şey bana tam anlamıyla zevk vermiyor.
3. Her şeyden sıkılıyorum.

5- 0. Kendimi herhangi bir şekilde suçlu hissetmiyorum.
1. Kendimi zaman zaman suçlu hissediyorum.
2. Çoğu zaman kendimi suçlu hissediyorum.
3. Kendimi her zaman suçlu hissediyorum.

6- 0. Bana cezalandırılmamışım gibi geliyor.
1. Cezalandırılabileceğimi hissediyorum.
2. Cezalandırılmayı bekliyorum.
3. Cezalandırıldığımı hissediyorum.

7- 0. Kendimden memnunum.
1. Kendi kendimden pek memnun değilim.
2. Kendime çok kızıyorum.
3. Kendimden nefret ediyorum.

8- 0. Başkalarından daha kötü olduğumu sanmıyorum.
1. Zayıf yanların veya hatalarım için kendi kendimi eleştiririm.
2. Hatalarımdan dolayı ve her zaman kendimi kabahatli bulurum.
3. Her aksilik karşısında kendimi hatalı bulurum.

9- 0. Kendimi öldürmek gibi düşüncelerim yok.
1. Zaman zaman kendimi öldürmeyi düşündüğüm olur. Fakat yapmıyorum.
2. Kendimi öldürmek isterdim.
3. Fırsatını bulsam kendimi öldürürdüm.

10- 0. Her zamankinden fazla içimden ağlamak gelmiyor.
1. Zaman zaman içimden ağlamak geliyor.
2. Çoğu zaman ağlıyorum.
3. Eskiden ağlayabilirdim şimdi istesem de ağlayamıyorum.

11- 0. Şimdi her zaman olduğumdan daha sinirli değilim.
1. Eskisine kıyasla daha kolay kızıyor ya da sinirleniyorum.
2. Şimdi hep sinirliyim.
3. Bir zamanlar beni sinirlendiren şeyler şimdi hiç sinirlendirmiyor.

12- 0. Başkaları ile görüşmek, konuşmak isteğimi kaybetmedim.
1. Başkaları ile eskiden daha az konuşmak, görüşmek istiyorum.
2. Başkaları ile konuşma ve görüşme isteğimi kaybetmedim.
3. Hiç kimseyle konuşmak görüşmek istemiyorum.

13- 0. Eskiden olduğu gibi kolay karar verebiliyorum.
1. Eskiden olduğu kadar kolay karar veremiyorum.
2. Karar verirken eskisine kıyasla çok güçlük çekiyorum.
3. Artık hiç karar veremiyorum.

14- 0. Aynada kendime baktığımda değişiklik görmüyorum.
1. Daha yaşlanmış ve çirkinleşmişim gibi geliyor.
2. Görünüşümün çok değiştiğini ve çirkinleştiğimi hissediyorum.
3. Kendimi çok çirkin buluyorum.

15- 0. Eskisi kadar iyi çalışabiliyorum.
1. Bir şeyler yapabilmek için gayret göstermem gerekiyor.
2. Herhangi bir şeyi yapabilmek için kendimi çok zorlamam gerekiyor.
3. Hiçbir şey yapamıyorum.

16- 0. Her zamanki gibi iyi uyuyabiliyorum.
1. Eskiden olduğu gibi iyi uyuyamıyorum.
2. Her zamankinden 1-2 saat daha erken uyanıyorum ve tekrar uyuyamıyorum.
3. Her zamankinden çok daha erken uyanıyor ve tekrar uyuyamıyorum.

17- 0. Her zamankinden daha çabuk yorulmuyorum.
1. Her zamankinden daha çabuk yoruluyorum.
2. Yaptığım her şey beni yoruyor.
3. Kendimi hemen hiçbir şey yapamayacak kadar yorgun hissediyorum.

18- 0. İştahım her zamanki gibi.
1. İştahım her zamanki kadar iyi değil.
2. İştahım çok azaldı.
3. Artık hiç iştahım yok.

19- 0. Son zamanlarda kilo vermedim.
1. İki kilodan fazla kilo verdim.
2. Dört kilodan fazla kilo verdim.
3. Altı kilodan fazla kilo vermeye çalışıyorum.

20- 0. Sağlığım beni fazla endişelendirmiyor.
1. Ağrı, sancı, mide bozukluğu veya kabızlık gibi rahatsızlıklar beni endişelendirmiyor.
2. Sağlığım beni endişelendirdiği için başka şeyleri düşünmek zorlaşıyor.
3. Sağlığım hakkında o kadar endişeliyim ki başka hiçbir şey düşünemiyorum.

21- 0. Son zamanlarda cinsel konulara olan ilgimde bir değişme fark etmedim.
1. Cinsel konularla eskisinden daha az ilgiliyim.
2. Cinsel konularla şimdi çok daha az ilgiliyim.
3. Cinsel konulara olan ilgimi tamamen kaybettim.

Appendix D

Beck Anxiety Inventory

English/Turkish

Beck Anxiety Inventory

Below is a list of common symptoms of anxiety. Please carefully read each item in the list. Indicate how much you have been bothered by that symptom during the past month, including today, by circling the number in the corresponding space in the column next to each symptom.

	Not At All	Mildly but it didn't bother me much.	Moderately – it wasn't pleasant at times	Severely – it bothered me a lot
Numbness or tingling	0	1	2	3
Feeling hot	0	1	2	3
Wobbliness in legs	0	1	2	3
Unable to relax	0	1	2	3
Fear of worst happening	0	1	2	3
Dizzy or lightheaded	0	1	2	3
Heart pounding/racing	0	1	2	3
Unsteady	0	1	2	3
Terrified or afraid	0	1	2	3
Nervous	0	1	2	3
Feeling of choking	0	1	2	3
Hands trembling	0	1	2	3
Shaky / unsteady	0	1	2	3
Fear of losing control	0	1	2	3
Difficulty in breathing	0	1	2	3
Fear of dying	0	1	2	3
Scared	0	1	2	3
Indigestion	0	1	2	3
Faint / lightheaded	0	1	2	3
Face flushed	0	1	2	3
Hot/cold sweats	0	1	2	3
Column Sum				

Beck Anksiyete Ölçeği

Hastanın Soyadı, Adı:.....
Tarih:.....

Aşağıda insanların kaygılı ya da endişeli oldukları zamanlarda yaşadıkları bazı belirtiler verilmiştir. Lütfen her maddeyi dikkatle okuyunuz. Daha sonra, her maddedeki belirtinin **BUGÜN DAHİL SON BİR (1) HAFTADIR** sizi ne kadar rahatsız ettiğini yandakine uygun yere (x) işareti koyarak belirleyiniz.

	Hiç	**Hafif düzeyde** **Beni pek etkilemedi.**	**Orta düzeyde** **Hoş değildi ama katlanabildim.**	**Ciddi düzeyde** **Dayanmakta çok zorlandım.**
1. Bedeninizin herhangi bir yerinde uyuşma veya karıncalanma				
2. Sıcak/ateş basmaları				
3. Bacaklarda halsizlik, titreme				
4. Gevşeyememe				
5. Çok kötü şeyler olacak korkusu				
6. Baş dönmesi veya sersemlik				
7. Kalp çarpıntısı				
8. Dengeyi kaybetme duygusu				
9. Dehşete kapılma				
10. Sinirlilik				

11. Boğuluyormuş gibi olma duygusu				
12. Ellerde titreme				
13. Titreklik				
14. Kontrolü kaybetme korkusu				
15. Nefes almada güçlük				
16. Ölüm korkusu				
17. Korkuya kapılma				
18. Midede hazımsızlık ya da rahatsızlık hissi				
19. Baygınlık				
20. Yüzün kızarması				
21. Terleme(sıcaklığa bağlı olmayan)				

Appendix E

Ethics Committee Approval

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: **Nazlı Akay**

Proje Başlığı / Project Title: **Mothering a Child that is not "mine", instead of "my" own: The perception about mothering and babysitting who had left their children behind**

Proje No. / Project number: **2013-20431-016**

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: **9 Mayıs 2013**

Kurul Başkanı/ Committee Chair
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Itır Erhart

Kurul Sekreteri / Committee Secretary
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Handan Can Otu

Mazeretli

Üye / Committee Member
Prof. Dr. Turgut Tarhanlı

Üye / Committee Member
Prof. Dr. Burhan Şenatalar

İzinli

Üye / Committee Member
Prof. Dr. Diane Sunar