

FROM BEING A SON TO BEING A FATHER:
AN INTERGENERATIONAL COMPARISON OF
FATHERHOOD IN TURKEY

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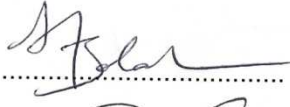


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From being a son to being a father:
An intergenerational comparison of fatherhood in Turkey

Çocuk olmaktan baba olmaya:
Türkiye'deki babalarda kuşaklararası bir karşılaştırma

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, a comprehensive elaboration of fatherhood practices and attitudes across two generations of men in Turkey is aimed to be presented. With this respect, in-depth interviews with fifteen men who are married and have at least one child were conducted. The perceived images of father-son relationships of these men in their families of origin constituted the first research objective. The second intention is to assess the features of father-child interaction of them in their recent families. The explorations of interviews were done according to Grounded Theory (Strauss and Corbin, 2008) which is an inductive, qualitative method for analysis. As a result of the analyses, two different ways of doing fatherhood as “traditional” and “new” fatherhood were defined and conceptualized, reflecting first and second generation fathers respectively. Intergenerational comparisons within life-span development of these men from being fathered to fathering were done according to the emerging dimensions of hierarchy, emotional sharing/caring, guidance/role modeling and expectations. Comparisons illustrated that while they mostly defined their own fathers in accordance with the distant-authoritarian- breadwinner model, their descriptions regarding their own fathering reflected more involved, emotionally close and liberal ways of doing fatherhood. Within this transformation process, fathers did not totally disregard the values of old generation; rather they blended the ideals and values of the past and present by compensating the negative aspects of previous generation in their recent father-child relationships but modeling the functional ones.

ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı, Türkiye’de iki kuşak babalar arasında kuşaklararası bir karşılaştırma yaparak babalık pratikleri ve tutumları konusunda kapsamlı bir inceleme sunmaktır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, her birinin en az bir çocuğu olan on beş evli erkek ile bireysel-derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu kişilerin kendi babaları ve onlarla kurmuş oldukları baba-oğul ilişkileri ile ilgili algılarının ortaya konulması bu çalışmanın amaçlarından birisidir. Ayrıca, şimdiki ailelerinde kendi babalıklarını nasıl oluşturdukları ve çocukları ile kurdukları ilişkilerin niteliği çalışmanın diğer amacını oluşturmaktadır. Bireysel görüşmelerin analizleri niteliksel bir tümevarım yönetimi olan Temellendirilmiş Kuram Yöntemi’ne (Strauss and Corbin, 2008) göre yapılmıştır. Analiz sonuçlarına göre, “geleneksel” ve “yeni” olmak üzere, sırasıyla birinci ve ikinci kuşağı temsil eden iki farklı babalık modeli ortaya konmuştur. Katılımcıların çocukluklarından kendi babalıklarına olan gelişimlerini ele alan kuşaklararası karşılaştırmalar görüşmelerin analizleri sonucu ortaya çıkan şu dört boyuta göre yapılmıştır; hiyerarşi, duygusal yakınlık/paylaşım, yönlendirme/ rol model olma ve beklentiler. Kişiler kendi babalarını daha çok uzak-otoriter-evin geçimini sağlayan babalık modeline göre betimlerken, çocukları ile ilişkileri içinde kendilerini çocuklarının hayatına hem fiziksel hem de duygusal olarak daha fazla dahil olan ve liberal babalar olarak tanımlamışlardır. Kuşaklararası bu değişim sürecinde, bir önceki jenerasyonun değer ve ideallerinin tümünden reddi yerine şimdi ve geçmiş arasında bir entegrasyon çabası olduğu görülmüştür. Katılımcılar bir yandan kendi babalarının eksik buldukları

tarafklarını ocukları ile daha pozitif iliřkiler yaratarak telafi etmeye alıřırken diđer yandan da gemiřin olumlu taraflarını model alıp devam ettirmektedirler.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

In this thesis, fatherhood will be examined from an intergenerational perspective. In this respect, the subject of analysis will be the men in Turkey who are married and have at least one child. Their reflections of their relationships with their fathers as well as their own children will be gathered via in-depth interviews. This enables a comparison between the perceived fatherhood images and behaviors in their families of origin and the present patterns of their own fathering. Then here the aim is to explore the life-history of each family in terms of changes in cultural norms and socio-economic conditions and men's life-span development from their childhood up to fatherhood.

1.2. Conceptualization of Family

The term family has various meanings for most people in the world. It means nurturance, affection and care, sharing and supportive environment, or on the negative side punishment, intolerance, distance, neglect and loneliness. Being a family implies being related with some people in positive or negative ways. Unquestionable importance of family for the lives of people regardless of negative or positive qualities of these experiences comes from the fact that one establishes his/her very first relationships within the family. In today's society, both biologically and socially, people generally begin their lives being dependent on their mothers and fathers as they are the first persons with whom people relate to emotionally and physically.

The modern nuclear family can be defined as a network of relationships between a mother, father and a child/ or children. Within this network of relationships, there are several functionally defined rules which arrange the modes of interaction between different family members on a continuum of interpersonal boundaries such as between mother-daughter, father-son or mother-father (Cowan, Cowan, & Kerig, 1993; Seward, 1992; Wood, 1985). Mothers and fathers have traditionally differentiated parenting patters such as mothers are seen as responsible for the greater part of child care and fathers are expected to earn money for them. Also, generational hierarchies were defined to organize the interaction between parents and children such that control and nurturance are one way interactions from parents to children.

Being a father or mother means that this is the role one has within the family and it becomes a great part of one's identity construction in the transition to parenthood (Cowan et al., 1993). Proper fulfillment of motherhood and fatherhood roles has been accepted as the most essential thing for healthy child development both in public and academic spheres (Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004; Marsiglio, 1995). Yet, there is an asymmetry in the importance of mothers and fathers in terms of child development. Traditionally, mothers are seen in the core of child development with their "innate" abilities for motherhood, whereas fathers are positioned in the periphery and their relationships with the children are viewed as less central and "innate" than the mother-child bond (Morman & Floyd, 2006; Vuori, 2009). While responsibilities of mothers remain in the private sphere for doing basic child care, fathers are positioned outside

to earn money and represent their families in the society. The basic expectation from fathers is to provide a reliable and safe environment for the healthy establishment of the mother-child bond (Freeman, 2008; Emanuel, 2002)

Before going on to the issue of fatherhood which is the focus of this thesis, I am going to present a brief examination of family structure from a socio-historical perspective.

1.2.1. History of Western Families

Modern family defined in the foregoing paragraphs has a long history. Today's marriages are generally established and arranged according to the fulfillment of the individual wishes and affection between partners. Also, parenthood is a very central part of men's and women's identities with the increasing centrality and emotional value of children (Ariés, 1975). Yet, as Leupnitz (1988) expressed about the historical origins of family, "Far from being universal, the closely bonded nuclear family of the contemporary period is not a historical constant, nor is the intense interest in children's needs a constant" (p.110). Duben and Behar (1991) argued that for most part of history, marriages have occurred to establish economical and social coalitions between families and larger kinship groups rather than being based on the emotional and wishful relationships between partners. Especially in agricultural societies, the central goal of marriage was seen as preserving and transmitting the properties of the family (Giddens, 2001; Ariés, 1975).

A family historian, Philippe Ariés (1975) pointed out that the essentiality of the family unit for the culture and society was stable

throughout the history but its functioning and structure have been evolving. According to him, in the families of 17th century and middle ages, the existence of affection between family members and expression of feelings were not seen as needed and crucial for the family formation and stability. Due to the fact that marriages were perceived as economic alliances, the emotional value of children and their individuality were not recognized by parents; instead, they were raised and cared for the sake of their economic and social contributions to the family (Giddens, 2001).

Ariés (1975) also stated that the establishment of the family included the organization of daily life activities which men could not do alone and that it functioned to enable the security of the kinship group in the situation of danger and to defend the family honor. In addition, family included a larger group of people who were relatives or neighbors. Within this extended structure, unlike today, mother or father did not necessarily play a major role in the education and socialization of their children or in providing them with an emotionally satisfying environment because larger kinship had a greater role in the fulfillment of these voids in the nucleus of family (Ariés, 1975). Similarly, Leupnitz (1988) stated that as there was no keen split between the private and public for the peasant family in the seventeenth century of Europe, children were seen as the property of the larger community instead of their parents. Their lives were not controlled or directed by their own parents' rules but they mostly behaved according to moral and religious rules of their community. For instance, children were sent to other households to be reared, and as expected, they were not

able to establish emotionally close relationships with their mothers or fathers.

1.2.2. General Characteristics of Turkish Families: Historical Perspective

The Turkish family structure has its roots in the cultural complexity of Ottoman Empire long before the foundations of the Turkish Republic. Although there is unfortunately very limited information and research about the Turkish households in the Ottoman period before the 19th century (Duben, 2002), the extended family organization was seen as the predominant family structure before the last century of Ottoman Empire (Ortaylı, 1985). In this extended family structure, there were large households in which three-generations of families - families of brothers at a larger extent, as a characteristic of patriarchal culture- lived together under the authority of the father as the oldest man in the household. These families resided in separate rooms or small houses which were connected together by a courtyard and all of the families functioned as a “socio-economic unit” based on joint production and consumption. Besides economic dependency, these families were also psychologically and socially dependent on each other rather than being independent. For instance, nurturing, educating and controlling the children were not the responsibility of only the mother and father but of all everyone in this close community unit similar to the child rearing in 17th century European countries (Ortaylı, 1985, 2001).

With the beginning of 19th century, a lot of historical and societal changes occurred in the Ottoman Empire. Duben (2002) argued that

despite these transformations in general, Turkish households, especially in rural areas, mostly remained resistant to change, even after the foundation of the Turkish Republic. Until the emergence of the rural change politics in the midst of 20th century, Turkey was described as an agricultural and traditional society (Duben, 2002; Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Similar to families in the Ottoman era, the extended family structure with patrilineal, patriarchal and patrilocal characteristics was accepted as the prevailing family type in especially rural areas in the republic of Turkey (Kandiyoti, 1997; Kıray, 1976; Timur, 1972). The young couple whose marriage was decided by the elders of the family had to reside either in the groom's father's house or in another house which was close to it. His geographical closeness increased the authority of the father and resulted in socio-economic and psychological dependency of this new couple on the larger kinship. In addition, the intra-relationship structure was far from being egalitarian because of the strict rules of authority between sexes and generations (Kıray, 1976; Sunar et al., 2005; Timur, 1972).

After 1950s, demographic and social characteristics of Turkey changed radically, and with these transformations, Turkey began to be described as a more modern, industrialized and democratic country when compared to its traditional and patriarchal past (Sunar et al., 2005). Timur's research in 1972 showed that extended families were only thirteen percent of the population and that more than half of the families were in the nuclear structure. This finding demonstrates the demographic transition from extended to nuclear families after 1950s. Yet, she also reported that in spite of this change in the structure of the households, approximately

seventieth percent of the men in nuclear families still wanted to live together with their sons even after their marriages. This was interpreted as that the extended family organization was still extensively accepted as normative and emerged as a desired ideal. Correspondingly, Sirman (2001) argued that even though Turkish family households transformed from extended to nuclear, the relationship patterns and functioning of families are still based on the traditional kinship values. The hierarchy between genders and generations and the central roles of the close relatives in the daily lives of people still continue to be prominent characteristics of the Turkish family (Fişek, 1991; Sirman, 2001; Sunar et al., 2005).

1.3. The Subject of Fatherhood

Fatherhood has remained a neglected issue for a long time both in the academic and cultural discourse in contrast with extensive attention on motherhood. In Europe and United States, the issue of fatherhood became popular in the 1970s, and there has been a growing interest because of the historical and social changes (Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; Marsiglio, 1995; Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000). There are lots of indicated reasons for this change of focus from mothers to fathers: social transformations such as entrance of women into the work arena which necessitated a sharing of child care responsibilities between fathers and mothers; effects of feminist theories on research in psychology and sociology which engendered more interrogation about gender ideologies in culture; emergence and development of the field of men's studies; increase in observational and qualitative research about father-child relationships; elaboration of inter-subjective aspects of development in terms of father-

child interaction as well as mother-child interaction with the influence of attachment theories, object-relations theories and family systems perspective (Craig, 2006; Diamond, 1998; Jurich, White, White, & Moody, 1992; Marsiglio, 1995; Roy, 2006; Silverstein, Auerbach, & Levant, 2002).

As one of the most prominent factors in this new attention to fathers, the long-lasting effects of the increase in women work labor resulted in putting the “innate” nature of motherhood under closer scrutiny by most academicians. Hence, as more mothers went outside their house, the roles of fathers in the lives of their children were begun to be questioned (Craig, 2006; Jurich et al., 1992). Recently, fathers came to be seen as more central figures in the development of children. They are expected to share child-care duties, to form more intimate and affectionate relationships with their children and to be both physically and emotionally available to them (Cabrera, Tamis-Lemonda, Bradley, Hoffert, & Lamb, 2000; Dermott, 2003; Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004; Silverstein et al., 2002).

Studies about fatherhood include diverse research topics, focusing on different aspects of fathering. Investigations of paternal styles in terms of quantity and quality of involvement, and the factors which determine paternal involvement are significant areas of interests (Cabrera et al., 2000; Dermott, 2003; Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004; Silverstein et al., 2002). A second branch of investigation examines the alterations in the cultural images of fatherhood identities and actual behaviors which result from socio-historical changes such as the increase in dual-earner families or

single-parent-households (Bozett & Hanson, 1991; Marsiglio, 1995; Mintz, 1998; Pleck, 2004). Also, the influence of fathers' involvement in the well-being of children is another significant area of fatherhood research (Marsiglio, 1995; Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004).

One more important research area in the topic of fatherhood is based on the intergenerational/ life-span perspective which is also the focus of this particular study. The family is the first place of experiential learning in which people observe how their parents behave, what their roles are and how they relate to each other and to them. Hence, people mostly try to figure out the ways for being a good father or mother by watching their families of origin. This process is described by Jurich et al. (1991) as the "internal culture of the family", implying internal relationship schemes in the process of development from being a child to being a parent. Also, according to this approach, gender identities and societal norms of parenthood are transferred internally from previous generation to the new one (Brannen & Nilson, 2006; Jurich et al., 1991; Schönflug, 2001). In this respect, one important thing to mention is that new generation should not be seen as a passive recipient of old traditions; they generally interpret and change these old patterns according to their culture and beliefs in the present (Campell & Gilmore, 2007; Doherty, Kounesky, & Erickson, 1998; Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004; Schönflug, 2001).

In the rest of this section, diverse theories and research areas in the topic of fatherhood are presented. Historical and conceptual perspectives are introduced respectively. First, the historical transformations in

fatherhood ideals and behaviors are discussed, and then the topic of fathering is examined in two major conceptual categories, defined as “traditional” and “new” fatherhood. Next, theories and research from the intergenerational approach will be presented. Lastly, Turkish fathering and child-rearing practices are presented.

1.3.1. Culture of Fatherhood from a Historical Perspective

Expectations about fatherhood do not remain constant through history and across cultures. The norms of fatherhood have been continuously changing with the corresponding changes in societal values and beliefs. There are detailed investigations about the socio- historical changes in fatherhood, especially in USA and Europe (e.g., LaRossa, 2007; Mintz, 1998; Pleck, 2004; Stearns, 1991). This research sheds light on the historical transformation of fatherhood from traditional to more modern patterns.

1.3.1.1. The Culture of Fatherhood in the Colonial Era

In colonial ages, there was no difference between home and work place, and so men, women and children shared the same environment and all members of the family made important contributions to the household economy. Hence, there was substantial interaction between fathers and their children (Mintz, 1998; Stearns, 1991). However, this did not mean that fathers were involved in child care duties and established emotionally close relationships with their children. The general tasks of care such as feeding, diapering or bathing the child appeared as the responsibility of mothers. In addition, although fathers were physically available in the

household, they showed great emotional aloofness as a sign of their authoritarianism (Stearns, 1991).

Fathers appeared to be patriarchal authorities and moral teachers (Mintz, 1998; Pleck, 2004). Children and wives were seen as properties of the father and they were expected to show obedience to male dominance. Patriarchal fathers dominantly controlled the lives of their children and they had critical roles in organizing the educational, occupational or marital decisions in their children's lives. Essential responsibilities of a father in those colonial ages were documented as religious guidance of children, disciplining and ordering of the members of the household and giving them proper education and training (Mintz, 1998; Pleck, 2004; Stearns, 1991)

However, it was also pointed out that the actual behaviors of fathers showed some disparities from these ideal patterns of patriarchal fatherhood. Mintz (1998) stated that according to some studies based on letters or diaries from those times, there was some level of emotional attachment, intimacy and involvement in child care duties.

1.3.1.2. The Culture of Fatherhood in Nineteenth Century

With the beginning of the industrial revolution, family characteristics and fatherhood images evolved into different patterns with the corresponding changes in socio-cultural and economical structures. One of the significant influences of the industrial revolution upon the family structure was the segregation between the place of work and family (LaRossa, 2007; Leupnitz, 1988). This eventually created a geographical distance between men and their families because most of them had to go

away to work for their families. Women's roles came to be more limited to the domestic sphere and fathers came to be increasingly more absent in the lives of their children (Leupnitz, 1988; Pleck, 2004; LaRossa, 2007).

Fathers were only held responsible for the economic provision of their families and mothers were expected to devote themselves to their children and husbands. Also, other paternal roles in the lives of children such as moral supervision or training diminished with the increasing physical distance of the fathers (Mintz, 1998).

One crucial consequence of these changes in social structure was seen in the transformations in the values of patriarchal authority (Mintz, 1998). With the increase in urbanization and new standards of work life, the value of having property as previously the most essential base for the powerful dominance of fathers decreased (Mintz, 1998).

Diminishing importance of the values of patriarchal control mechanisms was expectedly followed by the emergence of partial enhancement of autonomy for children (Mintz, 1998). Freedom of choice in children's occupational, educational and marital decisions began to be culturally emphasized. Regarding fatherhood behaviors, sensitivity to children's own choices increased. Also, the decline in the hierarchical dominance of fathers was augmented by the increase in family affection. It was generally suggested that men began to look for warm, affectionate and harmonious family lives for the compensation of harsh work environment (Leupnitz, 1988). Hence, the cultural norm for doing fatherhood turned out to be behaving in more emotional and flexible ways to enhance the desired harmony and warmth.

Yet, it should be remembered that for a father who is absent at home for most of the time, it can be very difficult to show his concern and affection to the children. Accordingly, fathers were absent from home not only physically but also emotionally. Hence, the harmonious home environment with close and loving fathers may reflect a romantic ideal. Also, although it was suggested that there was an increasing emphasis on independence of children and less coercive control, in the absence of fathers, their authority, defined as “the law of the father” (Leupnitz, 1988, p.145), was necessarily continued by mothers and this pattern of family life was called “patriarchal but father-absent” (p.111).

The new “breadwinning” ideology of fatherhood resulted in some different ways of maintaining patriarchal values. Firstly, holding economic power by being the sole earner of the family clearly made fathers hierarchically superior to their children and wives (LaRossa, 2007). Additionally, it was suggested that the more fathers began to be away from their family life, the more they tried to compensate this physical distance by using their authority and control, and as mentioned, this was done through the mothers (Parrenas, 2008; Leupnitz, 1988).

Another emphasized new role of fathers in childrearing was assigning gender differentiated roles especially to their sons. Ensuring that his boy will be a tough man in the future who will be able to maintain his family, necessitates the masculine modeling and teachings of the father (Pleck, 2004). In parallel, Mintz (1998) stated that this new paternal role in the 19th century created a new ideal for patriarchy; fathers who encouraged accomplishments of their children and felt proud of their significant role in

their achievements. Hence, fathers of the previous century who used their power to control the lives of their children and rewarded their obedience change to current fathers of the new age whose purposes were raising successful, self-sufficient children and encouraging their assertiveness as a masculine ideal rather than obedience.

Great Depression in the USA and World War II also increased the given importance of fathers in the psycho-sexual development of children. Besides the glorification of the fatherhood image as “protector, provider and disciplinarian” (Mintz, 1998, p. 20), the essentiality of fathers as proper sex role models for their children was increasingly highlighted (Stearns, 1991). Increase in fatherless homes after the war generated worries about the consequences of excessive protectiveness of mothers for especially boys. Hence, fathers’ guidance to teach sex-appropriate behaviors was emphasized. As well, fathers were discouraged from taking part in the child care duties because according to the arguments of social experts this could cause harmful confusions in children’s sex role identities (Pleck, 2004; LaRossa, 2007).

1.3.2. The Conceptualization of “Traditional” and “New” Styles of Fatherhood

1.3.2.1. Traditional Fatherhood

“... traditionally fathers were placed at the boundaries of family life...” (Seidler, 2003, p. 212).

The expression of “traditional fatherhood” has been generally used to describe non-involved paternal styles which contained minimal physical and emotional availability for children (Freeman, 2008; Seidler, 2003; Silverstein et al., 2002). Fathers traditionally position themselves at the

“boundaries of family life”, and this exteriority determines the features of their roles in childrearing. Protection and control have been the most surmounted dimensions in the ideology of fatherhood throughout the history. A father must protect the inside of his family from the outside and this protection needs to be in control of what is going on both sides. And enabling control over children necessitates being dominant, rigid and intolerant (Peretti and Statum, 1984). Even though behaving according to these dimensions enables them to be authoritarian and powerful figures both in the eyes of their family and society, it also requires the physical and emotional distance and restricts the involvement to the family life.

Family structure includes a set of rules which determines the interaction patters in the family, “patterns of how, when and to whom to relate” (Munichin, 1976; cited in Wood, 1985, p.51). Wood described two different concepts, defined as “subsystem boundary” and “interpersonal boundary”, to understand the nature of relationships patterns in the family. She referred the interpersonal boundary as “proximity” and subsystem boundary as “generational hierarchy”. Accordingly, she described different interrelated dimensions of “proximity” which were “emotional space”, “contact time”, “personal space”, “conversation space”, “information space” and “decision space”. The dimensions of generational hierarchy were proposed as “nurturance”, “control”, “alliances/coalitions” and “peers”.

In terms of father-child relationships, traditionally fathers were seen as very reluctant to share emotional or personal issues -emotional and conversational space-, mostly unavailable for their children physically -

contact time-, and they typically avoided physical contact with their children such as hugging or kissing -personal space- . On the other hand, they were mostly involved in guiding, educating and disciplining their children -control- and they had a powerful/ dominant role in terms of decision making mechanisms in the family which entitled them to choose for their children -decision space-. Regarding the “nurturance” dimension of Wood’s theory, traditional fatherhood shows a more complicated pattern. Although there is the lack of father involvement in the child care which was accepted as the role of mothers -low nurturance-, fathers generally took the responsibility of protection and financial well-being of their children -high nurturance- (Daly, 1995; Frosh, 1997; Goldberg, Tan, & Thorsen, 2009; Freeman, 2008; Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004; Morman & Floyd, 2006; Seidler, 2003; Silverstein et al. 2008).

Also, according to Wood, there are alliances in the subsystems of family; for instance mothers and fathers normatively establish alliances between themselves rather than being in alliance with children. In terms of traditional fatherhood, as mentioned before, in the absence of father, his authority is maintained through the mother because she always implies the “law of the father” (Leupnitz, 1988) so it can be thought that alliance between the mother and father is typically very strong. Yet, physical absence of fathers also could correspond to very strong ties between mothers and children and this “coalition” could result in the exclusion of fathers (Seidler, 2003). Thus, according to the concepts of “hierarchy” and “proximity”, it appeared that traditional fathers were very high on the hierarchy dimension but low on the proximity.

Psychoanalytic theory also can be helpful to conceptualize the underlying patriarchal norms associated with traditional fatherhood. For example, Target and Fonagy (2002) separated the roles of fathers in psychoanalytic theories into three. First is the father in the Oedipal stage who creates the castration anxiety and eventually enhances the masculine identification of the boy child and feminine identification of the girl child; the second is the father who enters the scene of mother-child dyad with the purpose of dis-identification of their symbiotic relationships (Marks, 2002); the last one is the father who creates the symbolic thinking by being “a third” in the psyche of the child. Furthermore, at the pre-oedipal level, enabling the protective and safe environment for the development of healthy mother-child unit in the first months of children’s lives is an assigned role for fathers (Emanuel, 2002).

Freeman (2008) asserted that “...psychoanalytic theory recreates the fundamental paradoxes of patriarchy by giving central place to the father as a symbolic figure of authority while eclipsing men’s relationships with their infants under the shadow of the omnipresent nurturing mother” (p. 115). According to her, main psychoanalytic theories always essentially appreciate the absence of the father rather than his presence as in cultural images of patriarchal fatherhood. Psychoanalytically, the father’s only possible presence in the family life should be in the symbolic level which means that he should only be present in the lives of his children within the distance of his power and authority. In other words, giving importance to the fathers’ representative/internal availability in the minds of children as powerful masculine figures makes the actual involvement of fathers to the

lives of their children difficult (Freeman, 2008). Additionally, even though children's needs to have direct contact with their fathers were partly recognized, the child's ability to establish a representation of a good father in his/her psyche was perceived as generally influenced by the mother's unconscious expectations from the father and her ability to cope with the existence of the father as a third person (Etchegoyen, 2002).

Historically, one of the most prominent aspects of fatherhood in the 19th century was sex role modeling. Similar to this cultural norm, classical psychoanalysis sees fathers in the center of children's internalizations of appropriate sex role identities. Whether or not he is the real or imaginary one, the Oedipal father with the phallus, becomes the feared figure as the source of feelings of castration terror (Mitchell & Rose, 1982).

Theoretically, the absence of castration anxiety is perceived as the cause of psychoses and homosexual identity. Hence, the child should identify with the phallic father by recognizing and respecting his power and authority (Etchegoyen, 2002). The identification with the paternal/ phallic authority is seen as essential for psychosexual development in which sex differences occur in a healthy way. The boy begins to internalize the masculine identity by seeing himself the same with the father and the girl begins to internalize the feminine identity by seeing the similarity between her and the mother after accepting her lack of phallus. Thus, the internalization of supreme fatherhood image in the psyche of the child as a paternal authority becomes the source of both feminine and masculine identification (Freeman, 2008).

All in all, psychoanalytic theories glorified the patriarchal norms of fatherhood by focusing the absence rather than presence of fathers. In his absence, mothers' presence and nurturance are dignified and fathers are excluded from the mother-child unit. Their roles are limited to enabling the protection of the unity between mother and child. Also, the powerful and authoritarian presence in the symbolic order was accepted as good-enough for healthy child development.

Lots of research also put forward that parenting behaviors and images are constituted according to gender role ideologies, implying heterosexual masculine identity (e.g., Castelain-Meunier, 2002; Cooper, 2000; Cowan et al., 1993; Seidler, 2003). According to Steil (2000) gendered norms in the culture influence the distribution of power and specialization of roles within the institute of the family. Traditionally, being a man mostly means being in power and control in the family and with this authority he has the right to subordinate women and children. In concordance with gendered division of labor in families, men are excluded from the daily lives of the household and they are mainly held responsible for the financial well-being of their families.

Frosh (1997) described masculinity ideals of Western traditions as separateness, having self and other control, being self-sufficient and thinking/behaving in rational and objective ways. Traditional fathering can be seen as a reflection of these normative characteristics of masculine identity in the family. While the inseparable bond between mother and child and mothers' emotional and nurturing work in the family are emphasized as fractions of cultural norms of feminine identity, fathers are

prominently defined with their instrumental roles which can be summarized as breadwinning, ensuring for his family a safe and protective environment, maintaining discipline and control by his rationality and distance, being a model for his children with his self-sufficiency and rationality and being a representative figure of his family in the society.

In line with these arguments, Dribe and Stanfors (2009) proposed that division of labor in the household is strongly determined by women's and men's tendencies for "doing gender" and the phrase of "doing gender" reflects women's and men's strong compliance to the traditional norms of femininity and masculinity. Thus, fathers "do gender" by earning money or having a career yet mothers "do gender" by taking responsibility of housework and child care duties. In their study of transition to parenthood, they found that women's and men's proclivities to "do gender" were strengthened when they became parents. Time allocation to work outside the house increased for men but decreased for women; in parallel, men's participation in house work decreased after being a father, and as expected, women's total time spent in housework increased after being a mother. As another example, in a study of fathers who worked in a different country from their family showed that these men tried to "do gender" by maintaining their identities as fathers which were at risk because of the geographical distance (Parrenas, 2008). For them, maintenance of fathering identity included holding strictly to the authority and discipline toward children and earning money for their children's well-being.

Cowan, Cowan and Kerig (1993) also illustrated men's and women's differentiated commitment to the identity of parenthood. While

women's motherhood identity increased from 10% to %34 (1/3) from the late pregnancy to the 6 months after birth, the increase in fatherhood identity from 5% to 21% (1/5) was interpreted as being less engaged in the identity of fatherhood when compared to women's engagement in the identity of motherhood. The limited place of fathers within the home and family and their normative exteriority seem to lessen their internal engagement in fatherhood.

Lastly, it should be mentioned that although the expression of "traditional" have some negative connotations such as coercive control or emotional/physical aloofness, it should not be thought as totally negative because the perceptions about parenting practices can differ among different contextual environment (Ayçiçeği-Dinn & Sunar, 2011). For instance, Rohner and Pettengil (1985) reported that in Korea, control dimension was not associated negatively with perceptions of parental warmth and closeness as in Western countries. Similarly, Bartkowski and Xu (2000) found that in the homes of protestant fathers, the authoritarian styles of the fathers and their role of mentoring were perceived as the love and concern of fathers. As another example, fathers' role in breadwinning and establishing control and authority over children were positively perceived as "caring" by Pakistanis (Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009).

Correspondingly, in a study by Lareau (2000), mothers described the significance of the "symbolic presence" of their husbands to set limits for children. Thus, Lareau proposed that when a father instructed his child to do homework, although he does not help to his child in doing homework, his role in setting rules should not be underestimated in terms

of the functionality in family life. Thus, from a structural/functionalist point of view as depicted by Dienhart (1988), fathers' instrumental roles in the family as provider, disciplinarian and role model were accepted as enough for a normal functioning family with the compensatory nurturing roles of mothers. Yet, this approach to normal family functioning seems to be insufficient when the historically and contextually changing nature of fatherhood images/behaviors is considered.

1.3.2.2. New Fatherhood

"...it seems easier to define what new fathering is not, rather than what it is" (Dermott, 2003, p.1).

Breadwinning ideology of fathering is not seen as sufficient to describe men's private and public lives anymore. As mentioned before, significant transformations in the labor market such as women's participation in the labor force and increase in unemployment rates result in fundamental changes in the identities of men as financial providers and protectors (Dermott, 2003). If a father does not construct his identity as a provider of his family, how and in what ways will he find his place in the family life? Answering this question is a new challenge both for academic and cultural fields and also for men in their fathering.

Cooper (2000) described a new form of masculinity which requires behaving in more egalitarian ways. This new ideal of manhood refers to democratic fathers who both equally share the household labor with their wives and also still maintain their financial responsibilities. It should be mentioned that new fatherhood patterns do not totally exclude the traditional practices. A relatively recent study which was conducted to reveal the images of "good fathering" showed that discipline, control and

providing are still perceived as essential parts of fathering but the mechanisms of control and discipline changed their forms from rigidity to flexibility (Morman & Floyd, 2006).

In terms of male parenting, involvement in the lives of children is the most defining aspect of new fatherhood. The expressions of “involved fathering” and “new fatherhood” are already used synonymously for each others. The involved fathering is described with the physical and psychological engagement of fathers in their children’s lives. Being physically available at home; participating in child care duties and sharing same amount of work with wives; maintaining communication with the children; being affectionate, loving and approachable; showing tolerant and understanding attitudes toward children; being an encouraging and guiding figure for both the psychological and cognitive development of children; supporting the autonomy, self-sufficiency and self-esteem rather than obedience and dependency are the various dimensions of new involved fathering (Cabrera et al., 2000; Cooper, 2000; Dermott, 2003; Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004; Marsiglio, 2009; Palkovitz, 2002; Shows & Gerstel, 2009; Shirani & Henwood, 2011).

Lamb and Tamis-Lemonda (2004) systemically divided the involved fathering attitudes into three dimensions; engagement, accessibility and responsibility. Engagement was defined as fathers’ physical presence for their children apart from the actual contact between them; direct interaction and contact with the children and sharing care giving responsibilities are the sub-dimensions of accessibility; and taking part in the organization of daily lives of their children such as taking them

from school, managing doctor appointments or participating at meetings in the schools of their children, are elements of responsibility. Most of the qualitative and quantitative studies have been based on these three dimensions as valid and reliable categories to define new fathering practices.

Yet, Dermott (2003) argued that the terms such as engagement or involvement can be problematic when the term “uninvolved” is used for indication of bad ways of doing fatherhood. According to him, despite the low levels of paternal engagement in child care in terms of time allocation, fathers’ roles in the development of children should not be ignored. In parallel, Lareau (2000) proposed that lack of involvement in children’s lives does not decrease their importance in the eyes of children. She expressed that “Fathers added color, fun, informality, and “accent” to family life. Mothers were likely to worry, chastise, and punish. Fathers were playful” (p. 422). Children in her study perceived their fathers as playmates, entertaining partners, teachers or role models. It was observed that fathers contributed to the lives of their children by being affectionate and humorous, by advising/ teaching them to learn certain social skills and also by encouraging their self-sufficiency, competitiveness and autonomy (Lareau, 2000; Cabrera et al., 2000). Hence, according to these researchers, focusing only on the unequal division of labor between mothers and fathers in terms of the involvement in child care may lead to overlooking other significant contributions of fathers to the lives of their children.

With respect to this, Cabrera and his colleagues (2000) also highlighted the significance of some qualitative elements in fathering besides the three time-based dimensions of Lamb and Tamis-Lemonda (2004). Showing warmth, being affectionately close, being sensitive to the needs of children and behaving like a friend were suggested as the qualitative aspects of fathers' involvement. They point out that these emotional characteristics of the interaction between father and child increase the positive effects of involvement for children regardless of the length of duration of engagement.

Palkovitz (2002) and Brandth and Kvande (1998) also described various qualitative dimensions of new fatherhood based on participants' narratives about their own fatherhood. In terms of these different dimensions, loving their children and showing their love to them were found to be most prominent themes in the narratives in both studies. The theme of "being there", including various dimensions such as physical availability, engagement, care giving or emotional commitment, was another outstanding aspect of the men's fatherhood (Palkovitz, 2002). Role modeling/ being a teacher for their children and providing were also found as prevailing themes.

The fathers in Palkovitz's (2002) also research cited the complexity of fatherhood because according to them a father should take on many roles together to be a good dad, as expressed by one of his participants "To be a good father ... You have to wear many hats" (p. 43). For instance, they found it difficult to show their authority and say "no" to their children because of the feelings of ambivalence between being a friend and an

authority figure. This showed that the integration of traditional values of fatherhood with the new paternal ideals and behaviors is not a straight forward process without difficulties and conflicts.

1.3.2.2.1. From the Culture of New Fatherhood to the Actual

Parenting of New Fathers

“I found myself frequently asking, do the data before me tell me what fathers did, or do they tell me what people think fathers did?” (LaRossa, 2007, p. 88)

To answer this question, LaRossa (1988, 2007) conceptualized a division between “the culture” and “the conduct” of fatherhood. According to him, the common fatherhood norms, values and beliefs in the culture do not necessarily correspond to the actual behaviors of fathers. He suggested that this void between actual behaviors and cultural images can be observed in today’s new fathering. In parallel, most of the recent empirical research reported this difference between the conduct and ideal images (e.g., Cooper, 2000; William, 2008; Lareau, 2000).

LaRossa (2007) noted that this difference is an example of the social psychological theory that people’s attitudes are not necessarily consistent with their behaviors. The point which he found interesting is that most men are not consciously aware of this inconsistency. In line with that, Lareau (2000) found in her study that the ideology of involved fathering confused fathers’ reflections about their own behaviors and disturbed the validity of these answers. She found that even though fathers reported elevated levels of activity with their children, they could not give the details of these activities and talked in general ways about the lives of their children when compared to the mothers’ elaborated reports. Thus, it

was concluded that fathers' responses were shaped by the cultural norms about fatherhood more than reflecting the actual practices.

It has been hypothesized that the culture and conduct of fatherhood influence each other in sequential ways (LaRossa, 2007). Hence, the effects of cultural norms can be seen in the subsequent moment in terms of actual fathering instead of occurring simultaneously. Corresponding to this hypothesis, although cultural values, society's norms and beliefs about fatherhood have changed a lot, actual fathering experiences transformed very little as evidenced by findings of various studies that showed that fathers' roles in child care were still peripheral and secondary when compared to mothers and restricted to providing and enabling discipline (Brandth et al., 1998; Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004; Silverstein et al., 2002; Williams, 2008). This does not mean that there is not any change in today's fathering, but that the change in actual fathering appears to have been slower than expected.

Haas and O'Brien (2010) summarized four interrelated structural constraints for men to be involved fathers. One of them is that although there is a very strong cultural emphasis on the importance of paternal engagement, because breadwinning is still perceived as the most important responsibility of fathers, role of care giving remained secondary. The second constraint is that identification with the provider role makes paternal participation in child rearing activities optional and voluntary. Also, the unbalance in the working conditions of men and women also reproduces the traditional division of labor in child rearing because women largely have less stable and satisfying jobs when compared to men. Thus,

after child birth, women's leave from the job is found to be more economically advantageous and preferable than men's. The last one is that work norms are not flexible enough to create egalitarian parenthood and this structurally disadvantaged condition does not help fathers to be engaged with their children (Haas & O'Brien, 2010).

Cooper (2000) conducted a fatherhood research with men from the upper class who had high-tech jobs. He proposed the concept of "transitional fatherhood" to reveal the grey area between definite conceptualization of new and traditional patterns. The transitional fathers in his study were found to be more democratically oriented in terms of the division of labor in the housework than traditional fathers, but they still remained as "helpers" to their wives in the child care. As Haas and O'Brien (2010) suggested, most of the fathers in the study expressed their wishes to be involved in child care and to be as active as mothers in the lives of their children yet it seems that work was more of a priority than their families and having a job, being successful and spending time as much as possible for their achievement at work were very crucial in terms of their masculine identity.

One other important finding in the research above was these fathers' efforts and rationalization to compensate for their physical/practical unavailability by emphasizing the qualitative parts of their fathering such as spending quality time with their children or maintaining one-to-one interaction (Cooper, 2000). This wish for compensation was explained with the feelings of guilt which supposedly

resulted from the gap between the ideals and facts as LaRossa (1988) suggested.

Pleck and Masciadrelli (2004) did a study with fathers in USA to find out the levels of paternal involvement based on the three dimensions of availability, engagement and responsibility. They found that employment statuses of mothers had very limited effect on the paternal accessibility and engagement in children's lives. The study revealed that both employed and unemployed mothers generally spent more time with their children than fathers did. Fathers were found to be accessible in their children's daily lives for 3.56 hours per day while the time for engagement /direct interaction decreased to 1.83 hours per day. As well, levels of paternal engagement and accessibility were only around one third of mothers' levels of interaction and availability. In terms of responsibility dimension, Jeffrey and Pleck (2003) showed that arranging and planning the daily activities of the children were left to mothers to a larger extent without any paternal participation.

These results reflect the accuracy of another definition of LaRossa (1988) which is "technically present but functionally absent fathers" in care giving. He pointed out that the distinction between accessibility and engagement was similar to the distinction between primary and secondary time. It can be said that fathers' participation in care giving duties is "secondary" which means that the involvement in child care is not a duty for them like it is for mothers. They are involved with their children only when they are present at home and this is mostly voluntary rather than being mandatory (Haas & O'Brien, 2010). Ranson (2001) similarly found

that the men in his study perceived their paternal involvement as having wish and intention for engagement instead of focusing on the actual time allocated to children. Hence, it can be concluded that the most obligatory thing in the paternal identity is still providing for the family.

Craig (2006) also found in his study that paternal caring behaviors were not only differentiated quantitatively from maternal ones but that there were also important qualitative differences. The involvement of fathers were largely limited to leisure time such as playing, being a companion for outside activities rather than taking part in the requisite child care duties (Brannen & Nilsen, 2006; Craig, 2006; Lamb et al., 2004; LaRossa, 1988; Pleck et al. 2004; Shows et al., 2009). LaRossa (1988) also stated that fathers' playing mostly necessitates secondary attention instead of primarily focusing on the children so that they can watch television while playing. Shows and Gerstel (2009) similarly found that although fathers were available physically for their children such as being there for the games, their attention was divided between their work and their children so that most of the time, paternal involvement remained secondary to work.

Marsiglio (1995) stated that the cultural images of new fatherhood belong to the ideals of middle-class rather than being consistent among different groups of people in wider community. In accordance with this, it was pointed out that neither the culture nor the conduct of fatherhood remain the same between different groups; fatherhood norms show lots of variations according to the dimensions of social class such as education, occupation or income levels (Bozett et al., 1991; LaRossa, 2007;

Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000). Erickson and Gecas (1991) reviewed the literature for the effect of social class on fatherhood and documented some variances in paternal styles which were caused by educational and occupational differences. According to their results, fathers' levels of education positively influence their egalitarian attitudes both in child rearing and household division of labor. It was stated that the attitudes of more educated fathers were more nurturing, affective and tolerant, whereas low class fathers whose education were less than middle class fathers exerted more authoritarian and less affectionate patterns toward their children. Yet, authors indicated that these differences remained as the variations in the attitudes rather than in actual behaviors. In other words, congruent with findings of Cooper's (2000) and Pleck and Masciadrelli's (2004) studies, modern ideas of middle class men toward fatherhood do not create significant changes in their fathering behaviors.

Shows and Gerstel (2009) similarly looked for the relationship between class and fatherhood in their study. With respect to this aim, they compared the paternal attitudes of working and middle-class men. They used two phrases for exposing the paternal differences between these groups; "public" and "private" fathering. Middle class fathers showed patterns of public fathering which is similar to LaRossa's (1988) description of "technically present but functionally absent fathers". Accordingly, most of these fathers were aware of the cultural norms of new fathering yet the responsibility of breadwinning in their mind conflicted with these norms because of the unbalance between work and family times; thus, they appeared to solve this conflict by increasing their

visibility in the eyes of children and wider community. On the other hand, working class fathers were found to be displaying “private” fathering which included more rigorous involvement patterns. Authors stated that these men had responsibilities in child care duties and showed internal and external investment in their family rather than in work as compared to middle-class men.

Cooper (2000) suggested that having job and being successful was the biggest part of the masculine identity of men from middle and upper class. Although being an involved father became an essential part of cultural ideals of being men, this ideal cannot be translated to the conduct yet. For the working class fathers, such dimensions as the income level or providing for their families’ financial needs were more important than the qualities of the job and being successful at work. It seems that for the working class fathers in Shows and Gerstel’s (2009) study, decreasing importance of the job label in their masculine identity allowed room for an increase in given importance to do involved fatherhood. This result is also parallel with the findings that increase in income is negatively associated with the engagement of father in childrearing (Erickson & Gecas, 1991).

On the other hand, in another study with middle class men, two different fatherhood patterns were found (Ranson, 2001). One cluster of men totally behaved in accordance with traditional fatherhood norms without any doubts or guilt related with their absence in child care. Yet others intended to be more egalitarian in their fatherhood and they felt strained between wishing to be more involved and being obliged to work long hours. This second group of men gave importance to their jobs not

because of the significance of having successful career but for providing for their family. Therefore, it seems that the various perceptions of men in terms of their work life and fathering can create diverse paternal styles regardless of social class. Similarly, Dienhart (1998) argued that overidentification with work can result in a lack of engagement and interest in child rearing activities for men.

Related with the preceding arguments, Bronte-Tinkew, Carrano, and Guzman (2006) found that fathers' perceptions about the importance of paternal involvement are essentially correlated with the actual fatherhood behaviors in five dimensions: care giving, nurturing, warmth, physical availability and promoting cognitive development. They showed that men who positively perceived their role as fathers became more engaged fathers in these five domains. In contrary, negative perceptions of fathering resulted in lacking involvement in these dimensions. Hence, they concluded that strong identification with the role of involved fatherhood is associated with increasing level of caring behaviors. Importantly, they also found that the level of identification with involved fathering showed a variation between different socio-economic groups; for example, economic disadvantage and low level of education were correlated with negative perceptions of fatherhood.

1.3.3. Intergenerational Studies

Considering the construction of fatherhood, men's relationships with their own fathers play a very significant role in how they build the meaning of being a father because these past relationships shape present motivations and behaviors of men (LaRossa, 1988). For sure, this is a

process of observation which occurs both in conscious and unconscious level and results in the identification of parental schemes (Jurich et al., 1991). Fraiberg (1974) described these internal schemes as “ghosts”, reflecting Freud’s explorations of both repetition of past relationships and chance for reparation of the past in the present.

Before presenting the explanations of theories and research about intergenerational continuities and discontinuities, it should be helpful to mention the concept of “father presence” (Krampe, 2009) as the preceding factor for transmission of fathering practices between generations. The expression of “father presence” is not used to define physical availability of fathers but it defines an internal psychological scheme of the father in the mind of the person, similar to the “ghosts” notion of Fraiberg (1974). Krampe stated that the “father presence,” whether it is positive or negative, is one of the most influential psychological mechanisms for shaping future paternal styles. If father presence is positive, it is accepted as a strengthening factor of modeling, yet, if it is negative, it creates dis-identification and anti-modeling in the next generation. In a similar vein, Daly (1995) asked his male participants from what and whom they were influenced in their own fatherhood practice. She noticed that although none of these men could answer this question in specific ways, they began to talk about their own fathers after a while, not as good role models, but as a reference point to express their differences from them. Bad or good, fathers of the past had their essential place in the men’s mind in forming their own fathering behaviors.

Deinhart (1998) defined three models of intergenerational transmission which were generally defined in the fatherhood literature. The first one was expressed as “antimodel” fathering which described the men’s very negative experiences with their own fathers such as physical/emotional abuse, distance and aloofness or very rigid discipline. The men in this first group mostly described themselves as fathers who try to act very differently in their fathering with the aims of not repeating the past experiences of their own and not making their children feel as they felt in the past. So, the negative “father presence” resulted in anti-modeling and strong differentiation from fathers as Krampe (2009) suggested.

The men who had fairly positive experiences with their fathers in the family of origin but perceived these as insufficient for their own fatherhood constituted the second group (Deinhart, 1998). Generally, these men’s families were mostly traditional households in which fathers were breadwinners who were responsible for financial well-being of their families and mothers were mainly responsible for housework and child rearing. Like the first group, this second group of men wanted to have a different relationship with their own children. They wanted to be more involved in child rearing, to be more emotionally connected to their children and to create a more egalitarian division of labor in the home. Yet, unlike the first group, they did not strongly emphasize the difference between their fathers and themselves. Their fathers were good in their mind with their instrumental role of breadwinning but not sufficiently good to be modeled in all aspects of their fathering.

As different from these two clusters of men, a third pattern was defined as an ideological orientation to fathering beyond the intergenerational modeling. Deinhart (1998) found that the past experiences with their fathers in the family of origin were secondarily important in their own fathering stories. Rather than reacting in specific ways to their past relationships with their fathers, they highlighted their strong ideological commitments to be egalitarian in child rearing.

Evaluating the second and third group together, it can be suggested that positive psychological presence of fathers does not always strengthen the role modeling. The changes in cultural values -emergence of “new fatherhood” standards with the corresponding socio-cultural changes- had crucial influences in shaping fatherhood, so although the internal representation of father in the family of origin is positive enough to be modeled, it remains insufficient if the new fatherhood norms is considered.

As an underlying psychological explanation of these different patterns of intergenerational continuity or discontinuity processes, at least in the Western world, people’s main developmental task for successful social and individual development has been seen as the “differentiation” from their family of origins (Jurich, White, White, & Moody, 1991). Accordingly, if people have affectionate and secure relationships with their parents, their process of differentiation is expected to occur without difficulty through the changing of dysfunctional aspects but the maintenance of others. Hence, the patterns of fathers in the second and third group in Deinhart’s study can be explained as that men who were raised in more secure and supportive parenting environments are more

prone to change because they can integrate the old patterns of their family with the new necessities of parenting.

However, if the parent-child relationships are uncaring, abusive or too enmeshed without proper boundaries, the exact repetition of these dysfunctional parenting styles in the family of origin is one way of transmission between generations (Jurich et al., 1991). To explain this condition, it was suggested that rigid and authoritarian parenting or too enmeshed relationships between members of the family mostly resulted in obedience and dependence rather than assertiveness and autonomy. So, the lack of independence as a result of enmeshed or disengaged family relationships prevents the differentiation from parents which in turn results in repetition of the past.

In the psychoanalytic literature, it has been proposed that positive father-son relationship is not a requisite condition for the identification with father (Mussen & Distler, 1959). According to Diamond (1998), the paternal 'imagos' and internalization of fathers always represent a composition of "facts, fantasy and familial and cultural folklore, and influences the son from infancy through senescence" (p.252). As a result of this process, besides the adaptive modes of identification such as modeling functional patterns, defensive identification with the aggressor also occurs (Mussen et al., 1959; Diamond, 1998). Defensive identification was explained as when children perceive their parents as threatening/aggressive, they identify with them to reduce their anxieties and fears (Mussen et al., 1959). Mussen and his colleagues also defined the 'role theory hypothesis' which proposes that children generally identify with

powerful figures in their lives and these figures can be perceived as sources of both rewards and punishments. Evidence regarding the intergenerational repetition of violence has confirmed this model of defensive identification (Jurich et al., 1991; Putallaz, Costanzo, Grimes, & Sherman, 1998).

However, there are many studies which found that another way of intergenerational transmission of fathering patterns is also possible between generations and this is defined as “compensation” of the past experiences in the present (Beaton, Doherty, & Reuter, 2003; Floyd & Morman, 2000; Krampe, 2009; Mussen & Distler, 1959; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). According to this hypothesis, if people are exposed to negative parenting experiences, they try to compensate for these negative patterns by creating more positive relationships within their own families. For instance, first group of men in Dienhart’s study who tried to cut off the transmission lines or Krampe’s negative father presence formulation which resulted in dis-identification are in line with the compensation hypothesis. Similarly, Brandh and Kvande (1998) stated that most of their participants in the study talked about the inadequacy of their fathers as role models and emphasized their differences rather than similarities. In contrast with their own fathers’ distant position, they described the closeness and involvement as the most crucial element in their own fatherhood.

Correspondingly, Snarey (1993) observed both intergenerational modeling and compensation in his study with fathers from four generations. According to his results, past generations’ adoptive and strong sides were modeled by the current generations; yet, limited or

dysfunctional aspects of fathers in the older generations were reworked. For instance, a man in his study took his father as a guide and role model in the breadwinning attitudes yet never used physical punishment toward his children as different from his father, and tried to be more involved with them in spite of his father's unavailability. Similarly, many other studies reported that men differed from their fathers by trying to show more engagement, yet they were similar to them in terms of their emphasis on the importance of breadwinning role (Brannen & Nilson, 2006; Brandh & Kvande, 1998; Daly, 1995; Silverstein et al., 2002; Williams, 2008)

The compensation hypothesis and defensive identification can initially appear as contradictory frames of thought. Yet, the theories of modeling, compensation and defensive identification should be thought on a continuum in terms of intergenerational transmission of fathering as that modeling is on the positive end, compensation follows it in the middle range and defensive identification is on the negative end. For instance, compensation may only be possible in basically normal functioning families, yet e conditions of excessive violence, rejection or neglect may result in psychological disability for resilience which in turn may show itself in defensive repetition of old dysfunctional patterns.

Snarey (1993) emphasized the importance of life-span development of the "successful fathering" in which basic functioning of the family allowed the possibility of change. Roy (2006) also found that while the men who characterized their fathers as 'stable' even with a minimal influence, could construct stories of involvement, the fathering patterns of the men who had absent and irresponsible fathers in their families of origin

were distant and rejecting. So, it can be concluded that at least the basic physical availability of fathers at home regardless of the level of engagement is necessary for developing positive paternal behavior.

Floyd and Morman (2000) tested the hypotheses of modeling and compensation in their study in terms of affective communication in the father-son relationships. The results of the study confirmed the compensatory hypothesis when there were uninvolved, uncaring or insensitive fathering experiences. These men tried to change these negative patterns to more positive ones in their relationships with their own children rather than replicating the same negative patterns. On the other hand, it was found that when relationships of these men with their own fathers were positive and included more affective communication, they modeled these positive aspects of their fathers (Floyd et al., 2000). Another thing to note is that the compensation hypothesis was not found as prominent as the modeling hypothesis, which means that men were more easily and strongly modeled the positive behaviors of their fathers than they compensated the negative ones. This difficulty to compensate was associated with the absence of adequate role modeling of fathers in the family of origin (Floyd et al., 2000; LaRossa, 1988; Roy, 2006; Silverstein, 2002). Although the intention to be good dad was very strong, the lack of positive “father presence” in the mind of these people seemed to complicate the wish for change to become true.

Silverstein et al. (2002) conducted interviews with three groups of men from different subcultures and similarly demonstrated that the quality of father-son relationship in the family of origin was significant for the

reconstruction of fatherhood for all of these men. It was reported that feelings of emotional distance and isolation dominated men's relationships with their fathers and they sought to correct these unsatisfactory experiences with the construction of a 'new' fatherhood. This reconstruction included more emotional investment, closeness, affective expression and less authoritarian styles in their relationships with their children. Yet, according to authors, change from old traditional styles to the 'modern' fatherhood is not a straightforward process. These men reported that they had significant difficulties in building emotional connection with their children and in abandoning their fathers' disciplinarian styles.

As well, Brannen and Nilson (2006) conducted a research with fathers from three generations which aimed to find the directions of change in the fathering practices from first to third generations. They found that work and providing was the priority in their fatherhood for older and middle generation and they did not perceive the child care as their responsibility. According to the results, the fatherhood values of middle generation men completely reflected the breadwinning ideology of older generation, and so they modeled their fathers' parenting rather than trying to find new ways. In contrast, none of the men in the youngest generation was found to be sole breadwinners. It was reported that these men from the last generation tried to change their negative childhood experiences with their uninvolved fathers to the more positive ones with their children. All in all, they concluded that transition in the culture of fatherhood with corresponding societal changes - decrease in

breadwinning ideology of fatherhood and emergence of dual earner families for the last generation- positively mediated the discontinuity of old parenting practices and created the need for compensation in the newer generation.

Additionally, Campell and Gilmore (2007) showed the effects of socio-demographic characteristics on the transmission of parenting. Accordingly, the parents whose education levels were higher than others also reported that they applied more permissive methods in child rearing than their parents. If the education is thought as a factor which positively associated with the more egalitarian division in child care and behaving in more democratic ways to the children (Erickson & Gecas, 1991), it can be said that socio-cultural changes from traditional to new fathering methods restrict the intergenerational transmission of fathering and facilitate the discontinuity as congruent with the findings of Brannen et al. (2006).

In another study with two generations of Pakistani fathers, it was found that the quality of the past relationships was influential on whether current fathers modeled their fathers or tried to differentiate from them (Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009). It was reported that discontinuities were more prevalent than continuities in the overall. While most of the fathers in the old generation were defined as being provider and source of authority and guiding, most of fathers in the current generation added an essential new element into their fatherhood, that is, being primarily involved in child care. Also, on the contrary to the patterns of discipline which were described as more rigid and harsh with the practices of physical punishment in the older generation, current fathers reported that

they quit these methods and tried to be more close and nurturing toward their children. However, they noted that the wish for greater accessibility and involvement in children's lives could not be achieved by most of the fathers because of the restrictions of long working hours.

To summarize, in the majority of these studies, fathers of the past generations were described with their negative relational characteristics such as being distant, irritable, uninvolved or punitive. Although the instrumental role of providing and their stability were much appreciated, it seems that current fathers did not perceive this distant-breadwinner model of fatherhood as enough for themselves (Brandth & Kvande, 1998; Brannen & Nelson, 2006; Roy, 2006). With the pressuring necessities of new fatherhood, these men aimed to find integration between past and present. On the other hand, a lot of fathers in these studies reported that they experienced some difficulties in changing their fathering from more traditional models to the 'new' fatherhood due to both the lack of role modeling and structural disadvantages in their current lives (Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009; LaRossa, 1988).

1.3.4. Being a Father in the Family in Turkey

Traditional family in Turkey with rural/ patriarchal characteristics has been described with the model of "interdependence" in which all family members show strong dependency on each other psychologically, socially and economically, including strong generational hierarchy and sex role segregation as the rules for organizing the ways of interaction within the family (Fişek, 1991, 2002; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002; Kıray, 1976; Sunar & Fişek, 2005). The authority of the father as the head of the family and

expected obedience and loyalty of children and wife to him without allowance for conflict and opposition reflect the dominant positions of fathers in the Turkish households (Fişek, 1991, 2002; Kıray, 1976). The breadwinner-authoritarian fatherhood model with the mentioned distant emotionality is typical for traditional/rural Turkish families (Sunar et al., 2005).

Fişek (2002) used “hierarchy” and “proximity” dimensions (Wood, 1985) to describe interpersonal relationships within Turkish family. The strong nature of gender and generational hierarchies results in well-defined and rigid rules between parents/ children and women/ men. These rules in turn influence the proximity in relationships patterns within families. In spite of the existence of high levels of intimacy and closeness between members of the same boundary positions, hierarchical boundaries restrict the emotional and physical closeness between members of different generations. In parallel with these discussions, positive relational features such as comfortably interacting with the father, sharing personal or emotional issues with him or feeling and behaving affectionately close to him were not found as prevalent fatherhood images in traditional Turkish households (Kıray, 1976; Sancar, 2009; Sefer, 2006; Üstünel, 2010). Fathers are mostly there for providing and protecting, disciplining, being respected and being feared.

Correspondingly, rather than showing tolerant or permissive attitudes to children and encouraging independence and assertiveness, establishing high levels of control and discipline over the children have been recognized as common traditional child rearing practices in Turkey

(Aycicegi-Dinn & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Fişek, 1991; Sunar, 2002; Sunar et al., 2005; Sunar, 2009). However, due to the basic feature of higher emotional interdependency between family members, high parental control is not perceived as being negatively associated with emotional closeness (Fişek, 1991; Sunar et al., 2002). Children are strictly controlled with the aim of protection and restriction of independent behaviors, yet emotional detachment or lack of love is not necessarily seen to be associated with high levels of control (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005; Sunar et al., 2002).

Turkey has undergone large scale transformation especially in the second half of the last century. Expectedly, these transformations in the socio-demographical and economical characteristics of Turkey have crucial effects on the traditional structure of family. The increase of individualistic elements with the effects of modernization clearly has significant implications for the collectivistic nature of traditional Turkish families. Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) proposed a family change model based on the integration between prototypical western family structure of independence/separateness and total interdependence of traditional Turkish family. In this model of “psychological/ emotional interdependence”, although the economical dependency disappears, family members continue to remain psychologically and emotionally dependent on each other.

The implications of family change on the child rearing practices were especially examined in the value of children (VOC) studies (Aycicegi-Dinn & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). It was suggested that children have more economic-utilitarian values in rural and low-SES urban families because of the

material interdependence of the family unit. So, children are raised mostly with obedience and control oriented methods, and autonomy or individuation of these children is not desired because differentiation from family endangers the instrumental functioning of children. In the new family model of “psychological/emotional interdependence”, the decrease in the economic-utilitarian values of children is accompanied by the increase in their psychological value. Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca (2005) found in their partial replication of the original VOC study that children began to assume more psychological and emotional value rather than their instrumental/material value. Also, although the emotional interdependence is still essential in the family, autonomy is begun to be tolerated more and it becomes a desired quality in children. Hence, especially in urban-educated- high SES families, autonomy oriented child rearing styles have emerged as a common practice with the corresponding decrease in the utilitarian expectancies from children. In her study of three generations of urban middle class families, Sunar (2002) found an increasing tendency for parental support for child achievement and independence.

It can be expected that the emergence of autonomy in child rearing is positively associated with decreasing emphasis on control. Yet, Kağıtçıbaşı (2005) stated because of the high value of emotional and psychological interdependence, connectedness of children to the family is still preferred to the differentiation rather than independence, so control is still central in child rearing rather than permissiveness. In parallel, Fişek (1991) argued that even though closeness and contact between family members showed great variation depending on the socio-demographic

characteristics of families -more egalitarian households and affectionate/close interaction in educated/high SES parents-, strength of generational hierarchy, including control and nurturance from parents to children, continue to be a structurally given norm in Turkish family which does not show differences according to any contextual or demographic features. It also should be noted that parental control does not include harsh authoritarian methods such as physical punishment or coerciveness anymore; rather the emphasis is more on enabling order at home (Kağçıbaşı, 2005). Sunar (2002) similarly observed that authoritarian control methods were less prevalent in younger generations in Turkey when compared to older ones.

Additionally, people's perceptions of parental control and acceptance/ love seem to change with these transformations in child rearing practices. For instance, Sunar and Aycicegi-Dinn (2011) found that the negative correlation between the perception of parental acceptance and control is more prominent in the regions of economic advantage. Similarly, Sunar (2009) reported that the increase in mothers' self perceived control corresponds to a decrease in children's perceptions of acceptance in the urban high-SES families. These results can be interpreted as that parenting norms show changes within different contexts in Turkey and that increasing emphasis on individualistic cultural elements lead to these transformations in parenting norms and values.

As another example of contextual differences in the perceived images of fatherhood and motherhood in Turkey, Üstünel (2010) found in her research that while the young men from rural areas perceived their

fathers as distant-authoritarian figures as compared their mothers' closeness, the urban-origin young men's perceptions reflected an opposite pattern in which mothers were more perceived as figures of control yet fathers were described with their positive relational characteristics such as affection or involvement. These results demonstrated the influence of socio-demographic characteristics on the fathering and mothering behaviors. Although the control dimension of parenting does not disappear with the increase in maternal/ paternal education, its perceived sources are relocated from fathers to mothers.

The major aim of Sunar's (2002) three generational research with urban middle class families was to grasp the changing nature of both the emotional dynamics between parents and child and the control mechanisms of parents over children. One of her findings is that fathers from all three generations were perceived as more authoritarian-distant yet encouraging when compared to mothers' greater involvement and affection. There was an increase in terms of emotional expression, from older to younger generations. Fathers and mothers were perceived as more tolerant and encouraging in the expression of feelings in the newer generations, yet the lower level of conflict for all three generations indicated that inhibition of the expression of negative emotions remained as a norm in Turkish family structure.

Additionally, Sunar (2002) found some gender differences between daughters and sons in the perceptions of parenting. For instance, daughters in all three generations perceived their fathers as more affectionate than the sons did. Also, sons' perceptions of their fathers' anger were found to

be stronger than the daughters'. Sefer (2006) similarly found that sons perceived their fathers as more judgmental, annoyed and disciplinarian as compared to daughters. These results implied the problematic nature of father-son relationships. As an explanation, Williams (2008) noted that the emotional difficulties between fathers and sons may be related with 'gender role strain' because traditional masculine role is defined by limited emotionality or restricted emotional expression, as well as engagement with power, control and success. Thus, demands of masculine roles can be influential in father-son relationship more than on the father-daughter relationship because it is between two men (Williams, 2008).

Bolak (1999) similarly reported that fathers in working-class households in Turkey had conflicted relationships with their sons, mostly characterized by their aloofness and jealousy, reflecting the feelings of deprivation of these men in their families of origin. Kandiyoti (1997) interpreted this distant interaction between fathers and sons as the efforts of working class fathers to maintain their superior masculine position in the family.

Sancar (2009) conducted in-depth interviews with two hundred and sixty men to comprehensively understand both the private and public masculinity positions in Turkey. Providing for family was documented as the most prevailing aspect of fatherhood in Turkey. She also stated that the deterioration in the socio-economic statuses resulted in an increase of the given value to the breadwinning ideology because fatherhood was perceived as a social position which has essential values in terms of its representativeness and respectfulness in public. Hence, providing for the

family and properly representing it in the society are accepted as crucially determinative factors in the establishment of successful fatherhood.

Considering the qualities of father child relationships, Sancar (2009) largely described conflictual, distant, unhappy and unsatisfactory father-son relationships. Men in her study mostly expressed their fears and feelings of hurt as a result of their fathers' anger and punishments. The defining characteristics of father-son relationships were summarized as authoritarianism, limited communication, reluctance in the expression of positive feelings and love, lack of involvement, and being exposed to the violence of fathers. It also should be noted that most of these men expressed that their feeling of understanding and empathy toward their fathers increased when they became fathers themselves.

These men also told about some important discontinuities in their present families considering father-child relationships. They described their fatherhood as more involved, affectionate and egalitarian when compared to their own fathers. However, despite the increase in understanding and tolerant attitudes toward children, it was reported that they tried to uphold some relative distance with their children to protect the generational boundaries. This was expressed as trying to be understanding and close while maintaining the authority and distance at some level.

1.3.5. The Present Study: The Past and Present of Turkish Fatherhood

In the light of the findings and discussions of these researches, the present study aims to present a comprehensive picture of Turkish fatherhood construction in two generations of men in Turkey. A specific

developmental course is predicted within personal and family histories of the participants from their fathers to their children. Also, the contextual variables and impact of the various cultural norms are essential related objectives in this research of fatherhood. The first objective is to comprehend the perceived fatherhood behaviors and attitudes in the families of origin. The investigation of these men's own fathering experiences constitutes the second objective of this study. The emerging intergenerational continuities or discontinuities from being fathered to being a father are explored to follow the transformations around fatherhood within the life-span development of these men; do their fathers represent a positive or negative role model for them in their own fathering experiences and which characteristics of their fathers are perceived as negative or positive; do they try to correct negative aspects of their relationships with their own fathers by changing their own paternal patterns and identify with positive aspects of them; do they experience difficulties in their relationships with their children; if they report difficulties, which aspects of fathering are challenging for them and how are these struggles associated with the father-son relationship in the family of origin?

CHAPTER II: METHOD

2.1. Participants

The 15 participants included in this study were chosen among the 28 married men between the ages of 20 and 60 who participated in a more comprehensive masculinity project funded by TUBITAK. Sample composition of the men in the masculinity project represents a wide range of diversities in age, education level, socio-economic status and geographical region. In terms of this particular fatherhood study, the men were required to have at least one child to be included in the sample. A second criteria for inclusion, was the amount of information given about both father-son relationships in their families of origin and about their current relationships with their children. The demographic characteristics of the fifteen participants are presented in Table 1. Abbreviated names for participants were generated by using the initials of the city of residences and of the participants' names and surnames.

2.2. Materials and Procedure

As previously mentioned, this study is a part of a comprehensive research project about masculinity. Hence, the interviews included various questions about different aspects of social and developmental construction of masculinity in Turkey collected under four main headings: cultural norms and values about masculinity, self-identity development, being an adult male, and being an adult in society. The men's father-son relationships in their families of origin and their current interactions with

their children were the two dimensions that were the main foci of this study.

Fifteen in-depth, semi-structured, one-on-one interviews were conducted, lasting approximately 60 minutes. The interviews were carried out by an experienced male interviewer and conducted either in the houses of the participants or in other places where the participants felt comfortable. A question guide line was used for the interviewer to probe specific dimensions of four main research interests, formerly designated by the three main researchers of the masculinity project. Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants. Transcriptions of the interviews were used for the analysis.

This study aimed to investigate the personal meanings of being fathered and of being a father. The questions focused on the perceived experiences of being fathered as well as on the attitudes and behaviors around their own fathering. Firstly, the qualities of father-son interactions in the families of origin were investigated by collecting biographical information from childhood years. Then, the characteristics of the current father-child relationships were explored (Related interview questions are presented in Turkish and English in Appendix A and B).

Table 1. The Demographic Characteristics of the Present Sample

Name	Age	Education/ Occupation	SES	Child Sex/Age	Wife Occupation Status	Place of Living	Estimated SES of the family of origin
ANT BK	28	Primary School/ Hairdresser	CD	D (<5)	Working	Southwestern City	CD
AD EC	35	University / Primary School Teacher	AB	D (8)	Working	Southeastern City	CD
AD MSC	40	University (not finished)/ Business Owner	CD	D (<5)	Not working	Southeastern City	CD
ANT IA	28	University /Receptionist	AB	D (1.5)	Not working	South Western City	CD
ANT ME	39	University/ Director in a company	AB	S(4)	Not working	Southwestern City	AB
ANT SK	43	University / Graphic Designer, Business Owner	AB	S (9)	Not working	Southwestern City	CD
DI MK	35	University (not finished) / Programmer, working independently	CD	S (9), S (2), D(newly born)	Not working	Southeastern city	CD
ED YS	35	University/ Tradesmen	AB	D (2.5)	Not working	Northwestern city	CD
IST CA	52	University/ Retired, old business owner, still working independently	AB	D (17), S (22)	Not working	Western metropolitan	AB
IST HT	51	University /Working in information technologies	AB	D (18), S(28)	Not working	Western metropolitan	AB
IST YB	57	University / Government officer	AB	S (23)	Working	Western metropolitan	AB
IST ZB	53	High School/ Business owner	AB	D (30), D (btw 20- 30), D (btw 20-30), D (btw 20-30), S (20)	Not working	Western metropolitan	CD
KON YI	29	High School / Salesman	CD	D (7), D (5), S (2)	Not working	Center Anatolian	CD
TR EG	36(?)	University/ Business Owner	AB	S (5)	Working	Northeastern City	CD
TR HK	30	University/ Business Owner	AB	S (2)	Not working	Northeastern City	CD

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- 1 D and S point to the gender of children. D is used for daughters and S for sons.
 - 2 The numbers in parenthesis show the ages of children.
 - 3 AB and CD indicate SES of participants. AB is used for high and middle class, CD for low and working class.

2.3. Data Analysis

The analyses of 15 participants' interviews were done according to the inductive qualitative method which required working close to the raw data and avoiding rigid adherence to the preconceived ideas about the subject with the aim of capturing the naturally emerging themes and meanings in the participants' conversations (Charmaz, 2006; Thomas, 2003). Specifically, the steps of grounded theory based on systematical and inductive analysis of the data were followed in the analysis of 15 in-depth interviews using the qualitative analysis software program Atlas-ti. As a qualitative research method, grounded theory proposed by Corbin and Strauss (2008) mainly aims to construct a unique theoretical frame at the end of the analyses, grounded on the reports and meaning making mechanisms of participants and researchers. Regarding the present study, grounded theory functioned to understand individual meanings, ideas, feelings and experiences of both being fathered and being a father and helped to identify particular patterns of transformations from the first generation to the second. After the exploration of the most prominent themes in all men's stories, similar emerging categories across individuals were collected together to reach a more general categorization about the specific dimensions of fatherhood in Turkey across two generations. The analysis was carried out by two researchers to ensure interrater reliability.

In grounded theory, coding is the basic phase in the analysis of the gathered data to "select, separate and sort" (Charmaz, 2006, p.43), with the aim of reaching a theoretical categorization of the emerging themes at the end. Charmaz (2006) stated that coding includes at least two divergent and

respective stages; initial and focused coding. Initial coding named as “open coding” by Corbin and Strauss (2008) requires strict adherence to what the data says rather than adopting preexistent categories. Initial coding begins with sorting the data into meaningful fragments which can be done word-by-word, line-by-line or incident-to-incident (Charmaz, 2006). It has been suggested that the codes should be simple and clear-cut, and coded as actions rather than as particular topics. Both incident-to-incident and line-by line coding were applied in this study as the first phase of analysis to capture the emerging concepts related with fatherhood. As recommended, action words such as “being afraid of”, “being pleased” or “guiding” were used as codes to define the fatherhood experiences of the participants.

Focused coding as proposed by Charmaz (2006) followed the initial coding phase. In this step, initial data segment and codes were merged to proceed to a more conceptual level. According to Charmaz, this process should be based on the intensity and impact levels of incidents and on the similarities and differences emerging from the data. At the end of this phase, more general conceptual categories such as “physical distance” or “setting the limits” began to emerge based on the existing data.

Corbin and Strauss (2008) described the phase of “axial coding” as another step in the analysis with the aim of reassembling the data according to the elaboration of concepts in terms of their specific properties and dimensions. As defined by Charmaz (2006), the main purpose of axial coding is to determine the levels of categories and relating these categories with their subcategories. For instance, the category of

“physical distance” emerged as a main theme in the focused coding phase but when doing the axial coding this became a dimension of the general category of “emotional sharing/caring”.

Theoretical coding constitutes the last level of analysis in grounded theory, and aims to establish and elaborate the network of relationships between broad conceptual categories generated during the phases of focused and axial coding. In other words, through theoretical coding, findings of the study are made more comprehensive and coherent (Charmaz, 2006). For example, for this particular study, the concept of “traditional fatherhood” became an umbrella-term ensuring a comprehensive integration and elaboration of the four main categories of first generation fatherhood; hierarchy, emotional sharing/caring, guidance/role modeling and expectations.

The work of memo-writing was an essential element of all phases of coding. Memos can be about specific codes, categories, some segment of the data or a participant, or about the emerging thoughts about the data as a whole. Memos are not considered as formal draft of papers to present to others, but they are written in an informal and personal language with the purpose of exploring the data profoundly (Charmaz, 2006; Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Memo-writing became a very crucial part of my analysis. I began my analysis by writing memos and these memos included my thoughts and feelings about the data or questions to it which provided a great sensitization to the emerging themes and concepts and helped me identify the experiences of participants in detailed and deep ways. Then,

reexamining these written memos in the further steps of analysis greatly contributed to the development and elaboration of theoretical categories.

CHAPTER III: RESULTS

In this section, the results will be mostly presented descriptively with the aim of reflecting participants' own meaning making mechanisms. First, the conceptual categories of "traditional" and "new" fatherhood will be used to define the experiences of first and second generations respectively. Each category will be explored in terms of their different dimensions. Intergenerational transmission processes from first to second generation are presented within the section of "new fatherhood". These descriptive findings will be explained with their theoretical bases in the discussion section.

In the results section, transcribed quotations were preferred to be used in native language of participants instead of their English translations (see Appendix C for English translations). The reason for this preference is based on the idea of that reading these quotations in Turkish can be more convenient to comprehend the various meanings in the participants' narratives because presenting the translations could have caused to miss important details and nuances in the their speech.

3.1. First Generation Fatherhood: Traditional Fatherhood

The concept of traditional fatherhood was discussed in the introduction section in a detailed way which was generally described as non-involved and authoritarian fathering with the main roles of breadwinning, protecting and disciplining. The participants' narrations about their fathers were found as mostly congruent with this conceptually described category. Various dimensions of first generation fatherhood are

explored descriptively based on participants' expressions. These dimensions have been identified as the following: Hierarchy, emotional sharing/caring, guidance/role modeling and expectations.

3.1.1. Hierarchy

One of the most salient parts of the participants' narrations about their fathers was the hierarchical distance in their relationships. Participants' depictions of limited communication, behavioral restrictions, disciplinary patterns and emotional rigidity were found to be resulting from the generational boundaries between fathers and sons. These boundaries were mostly explained as culturally determined, and as exerting pressure on both fathers and children. Twelve out of fifteen participants described this kind of a relationship. Three participants' stories differed in terms of this dimension of father-son relationships. They described their fathers as relatively more flexible and they seemed to have established closer relationships with their fathers when compared to the other twelve participants.

3.1.1.1. Behavioral and Communicative Limitations

Restrictions in both children's and fathers' behaviors, and limited communication between them were two of the most observable outcomes of rigid hierarchical boundaries. Beside the fact that these patterns were results of hierarchical distance in relationships, they involved significant rules to maintain the hierarchical dominance of fathers, and were explained in terms of cultural requirements about doing fatherhood and being a man.

Four of the participants described these kinds of strict family manners which caused restrictions in their behaviors especially when they were with their fathers. Not smoking and drinking around the father were very common examples of these behavioral boundaries and appeared to be symbols of hierarchy between generations.

As can be seen from this quotation below, fear of the father served to maintain these boundaries; behaving outside the family rules was impossible because of verbal (shouting) or physical punishment. Also, the importance of behaving in culturally well-mannered ways was stated as another essential reason for these kinds of rules:

Eskiden bu bir terbiye çerçevesindeydi. Ne bileyim, babamın yanında sigara içmek gibi. Sigara da içtim ben zamanında top oynarken sigara da içiyordum ama babamın yanında mümkün mü? Gürlediği zaman yağmasa da gürlü derlerdi ya öyle bir şey yoktu yani gürlüydü. (Ist HT)

This second quote below illustrates the internalization of these culturally determined values as an unquestioned part of the relationship:

Mesela askere gidene kadar ben babamın karşısında alkol almadım hiçbir zaman. Sigara içiyorum, sigarayı hiçbir zaman karşısında içmedim. Biz böyle gördük bu, bu şekilde idi. (Ed YS)

These symbols of hierarchy in the father-son relationship functioned as reminders of unequal partnership in terms of levels of manhood.

Participant Ed YS began to question the meaning of his father's behavior when the previously stated rules disappeared:

Askere gittim geldim, hiç unutmuyorum benimle yaşıt olan ailedeki kişilerle teyzemin oğlu, dayımın oğlu oturduk babam hiç unutmuyorum "getirin bakalım rakıyı" demişti. Ben şaşırđım. Bu benim babam mı? Neden böyle? O zaman şey diye düşünmüştüm, askerliğini yapmayan adam yarım adam. (EdYS)

It seems that the boundaries were malleable depending on the sons' life stages. In this example, doing military service was associated with being a real man (ending childhood, transition to adulthood) and a more equal partner in the father-son relationship, making it possible for him to drink alcohol with his father.

The same participant also mentioned another change in the hierarchical rules and his feelings of ambivalence in the adjustment process:

(...) sigara içmem lazım içemiyorum. Şöyle bir şey yaptım, arabanın camını açtım, sigarayı dışarıda tuttum. İçiyordum, üflüyordum, babam da yanımda oturuyordu. Öyle içmiştim. O zaman kendimi çok garip hissettim. Sanki bir suç işliyormuşsunuz gibi geldi yıllarca içmemişsiniz. Ondan sonra belli bir süre içmedim, yani yanında içmemeye devam ettim. Sanki böyle bazı kuralları kırmışsınız, yıkılmışsınız. Sanki ona saygısızlık ediyormuşsunuz gibi geliyordu. (Ed YS)

Here, we see that although his father permitted him to smoke in the car (during a long trip), he could not easily alter his behaviors as he felt that smoking around his father was a disrespectful act which made him feel guilty. The powerful internalization of hierarchical boundaries is clear in this quote.

There were also other paternal laws which defined what children could or could not do when they were with their fathers:

Ayak ayak üstüne atamazdık. Misafir geldiği zaman, misafirin yanında gözüyle baktığı zaman “iyi geceler” deyip uzaklaşırdık. (Ist HT)

Çünkü bizim zamanımızda biz babamızın yanında bacak bacak üstüne atmayı bırak yanında oturamıyorduk. Yaklaşamıyorduk. (Ist ZB)

It seems that at some level, even physical closeness was not accepted; for example, these men were not allowed to sit freely around

their fathers, and had to be careful to behave decently. Similar to the absence of questioning rules against smoking or drinking, none of the participants cited any negative reactions to these kinds of obstructions or behavioral limitations.

In the following example, the participant implied that these restrictions were not only the rules set by individual fathers but that they were part of cultural learning. The hierarchical dynamics of father-son relationship were presented as similar to the dynamics of a master-apprentice relationship. This participant also described such dynamics as having to do with cultural expectations about relationships with elders in general, such as grand fathers:

İşte o zamanlarda çıraklık mesela (...), çıraksın ustan geldi mi ayakta dikiliyorsun, ustanın yanında bir şey diyemiyorsun, yiyemiyorsun, içemiyorsun (...), örflerim benim biraz daha farklıydı yani. (...) Biz öyle yetiştik, biz ustamızı gördük mü ayakta dolanırdık, babamızı gördük mü öyleydi. Dedemizi, şeyimizi gördüğümüz zaman öyleydi. (KonYI)

Limited communication was another aspect of the hierarchy dimension. Six participants talked about communication barriers between their fathers and themselves. The issue of asking for money from the father was the most typical example of limited communication:

Her neyse şu bir gerçektir ben daha babamdan beş kuruş para almış, para istemişte bir insan değildim. Bizim bankamız anneydi, anneyi silkeliyorduk, “anne para” çıkartır. (Ant ME)

(...) okul döneminizde, askerlik döneminizde, yaşantınızda, cebinizde para olmuyor, babanızdan anne vasıtasıyla istetiyorsunuz. (Tr EG)

Interestingly, in contrast to most of the other participants, the participant in the first quote described a close relationship with his father and said that they could talk freely about everything. Yet, it seems that

asking for money from the father was a taboo even for this person.

Although the fathers were main breadwinners for their families, the hierarchy did not allow the children to communicate directly with them about their needs. At least for this matter, there was an indirect line of communication between fathers and children, mediated by mothers.

Like smoking or drinking, not demanding money or expressing other wishes was a very strict rule also for the following participant as a symbol of the hierarchical father-son relationship. He explained rules of hierarchy from a more general perspective and in terms of a continuity of cultural norms where neither he nor his father could behave out of these kinds of rules:

(...) biz babamıza, baba biz sinemaya gideceğiz diyemezdik yani, diyemezdim ben çünkü görmedik babamız da görmedi öyle bir şeyler. Ben babama, baba bana para ver ben sinemaya gideyim diyemezdim yani veya patrona diyemezdik ki öyle bir şey. (Kon YI)

The following quotation gives a clear picture of the general communication patterns in this participant's family:

(...) öyle bir imkânımız yoktu. Yani, şu anki aileler gibi, “dur, sorunumuz olsa birileriyle konuşalım” diye bir şeyimiz de yoktu. Bize lüks gelirdi yani o. Yani, “dur babamızla konuşalım”, babamızla zaten konuşamazdık yani öyle bir şey. (Di MK)

His response to the question of who in their family he talked to when he had a problem in his life was that talking to someone was a “luxury” in his family. Although he said that there was no possibility of talking with someone in his family, he did not explain the reason for this. The absence of exploration and thinking about these kinds of rules can be explained in terms of an internalization of cultural values/conditions. This participant described his experience of not being able to share his problems with his

father as a matter of fact, and similar to most other participants, he seemingly did not think about why these restrictions occurred.

The following example shows how indirect communication became a way for children to handle conflicts with their fathers without showing them direct opposition:

Babam gideceksin, yazılacaksın dedi. Ben gitmek istemiyorum. O zaman amcamın oğulları vardı, o okuldan mezundu. Onlara gidip biraz işlemişim, babama gidin söyleyin beni yazdırmasın, şöyle deyin böyle deyin. Bu okul sakat, disiplin yok, kaçıyorlar, her şey var. Babam beni takmadı, gitti yazdırdı. Ben dedim gitmeyeceğim. (...) Nasıl olduysa birilerini yine ikna ettim. Yine babama gönderdim. Dedim söyleyin artık şu adama ben gitmeyeceğim. (Ed YS)

Instead of arguing face to face with his father, the participant used his relatives as a bridge to tell his father that he did not want to go to the school chosen for him by his father. Closing direct communication lines and being a distant figure apparently served to maintain the dominance of fathers by averting non-obedient behaviors of children. Experiencing conflicts with his father would only be possible for this participant by communicating it through indirect ways.

As mentioned before, in terms of restrictions in both behaviors and communicative patterns, the absence of criticism, questioning or feelings of disappointment in the expressions of participants is noteworthy; apparently these culturally given limitations were taken as unquestionable rules by the participants. Hence, most of them described these kinds of patterns as matter of fact and did not need to explain or argue why these limitations occurred in their relationships with their fathers.

3.1.1.2. Disciplinary Patterns and Punishments

For first generation fathers, authority was also maintained by rigid discipline, intolerance and punishments. Strict discipline and punishment seemed to be a way of establishing control over children's behaviors, teaching them life lessons, keeping them under control, and protecting them getting into danger or making mistakes.

Examples of physical punishment were given in the interviews of eight participants. It is important to note that there was no open inclination of criticism about these, and that with the exception of one participant (Ist CA), nobody mentioned any negative effect of these punishments on their lives. Hence, it can be said that just like behavioral and communicative restrictions, physical punishment was thought of as a normative aspect of traditional fathering.

A very punitive behavior of the father was expressed as a funny childhood memory by this participant:

Bir gün herhalde, babam eve geliyor, söylüyorlar, babam da beni ağaca bağladı. (...) Dut ağacına falan bağladı beni. Ben de o bağlarken kendimi biraz böyle şey yaptım (gülüyor). Şişirdim falan. Sonra o gidince, ipin arasından kendimi kaçırdım, kaçırdığımı hatırlıyorum yani. (Di MK)

Naughtiness was not tolerated by fathers and punishments became an unavoidable and expected consequence for children. Choosing to tell it like a cartoon scene shows how the participant reacted to these acts of his father; rather than being a thing to regret, it was something to joke about. Clearly, perceiving it in this way reduced its negative effects on the children.

Beating the children appeared to be a method to control undesirable childish misbehaviors and disobedience:

Babam beni dövdü, babam bana bisiklet almıştı, (...) bana “bu mahallede dolaş” dedi (...) “Ana caddeye çıkma” demişti ama ben de çıktım (...). O da beni aramış, sinir olmuş, korkmuş, korktuğu için bayağı bir dövmüştü beni. Haklıydı orada beni dövmekle gerçi yine dövmeyip uyarabilirdi ama söylemişti baştan. Burada dolaş uzaklaşma demişti tabii korkuyor insan çocuğundan, kötü olmasını istemez, kötü bir yere gitmesini istemez (Ant BK)

This participant empathically explained why his father gave him a beating. Although he expressed that his father could have reacted to him not by beating but by warning, he justified the behavior of his father by acknowledging his father’s fear caused by his naughty behavior. The father’s behavior was explored not in terms of his cruelty or bad intention, but in terms of his wish to protect his child from getting into danger.

Being beaten by the father for his own sake and normalization of the father’s punishment can be observed in the thought process of this next participant as well:

(...) çok feci dayak da yediğimi hatırlıyorum. Hani, şimdi bize basit gibi gözükken hatalar ama o an için düşündüğünüzde, mesela, hatırlıyorum, şimdiki en üst, en büyük para nedir? 200 YTL. O dönemin en büyük parasını bana verdi ve dedi ki, “git şuradan şunu al”. (...) Ben o parayı kaybettiğimi hatırlıyorum. Hayatımda daha sonra para kaybetmedim (gülüyor). Yani öyle bir şey, iyi dayak yedim. (...) Paranın değerinden dolayı mı dayak yedim? Zannetmiyorum. Bir hayat dersi. Testiyi kırmamak gerekiyor belki. (Ad EC)

This participant tried to make meaning of his father’s punitive behavior and said that it was about taking a lesson from his mistakes. He both found a meaning for his experience and appreciated his father by laughingly saying that “I did not lose money in my life after that”. It

appeared that physical punishment was not experienced as a traumatic event, or that at least, its normalization minimized its harmful effect.

The same process of rationalization can also be seen in the following two quotations. These participants explained why fathers should instill fear in their children:

Baba sana niçin korkuyu verir? İyi bir adam ol, iyi bir örnek ol diye sana korku panik yaratacak. Yaramazlık yapmayacaksın şunu yap bunu et (...) yeri geldiği zaman döver, yeri geldiği zaman sever (İst ZB)

Being a feared figure in the family was thought of as an appropriate role for fathers in the development of their children. Fear was perceived as a necessity as much as love or affection to raise good children because it was perceived as a method for teaching manners.

Furthermore, arguing with the father and being rebellious resulted in getting a beating. As cited above, punishment was a method used by fathers to assert their dominance over their children. Hierarchical dominance of fathers did not allow children to say something negative to their father's face, and they were expected to be submissive. In the following example, showing aggression and behaving in a reactionary way were not tolerated by his father and resulted in a beating:

Ben babamdan bir kere çok büyük bir tokat yedim (...) Mutlaka bir yaramazlık yaptım yine. Olay herhalde babama intikal etti. Şunu hatırlıyorum ama, itiraz ettim babama yani, hiç alışık olmadığı bir şeydi. "Vur" mu dedim, "vurursan vur" mu dedim, falan yani, orada bir, o dönemde mesela şeyi söylemiştir, "sen asisin" demişti, "ağabeyine göre, o bana karşı gelmiyor" falan. (Tr EG)

Although punishment was experienced negatively in childhood, there was an attempt to understand it and to empathize with the father in

adulthood. One of the participants expressed that he began to normalize his father's repressive behaviors after a certain age:

(...) bir güzel döverdi bizleri de ama severdi, biliyoruz yani. Tabii şimdi daha, buradan bakınca yaşama, belki bu yaşlarda böyle diyoruz ama o dönem mümkün değil ama "babam bizi döverdi", işte, ne bileyim, "baskıcı" ama şimdi tabii belli bir yaştan sonra baktığımızda, geriye dönüp bakınca, baba mecbur, bakacak yani, bakması gerekiyor, uğraşacak.(Ad EC)

It can be inferred that being penalized by the father was seen as fitting with the father's caring role. Although he did not explain how he related these two things, in the mind of this participant, punishments were linked with the burden of the responsibility of caring.

In the quotation below, just after talking about why his father could not express his love, the participant began to talk about some childhood memories about his father's punishments. He empathically explained how cultural expectations affected his father's reluctance to express his love towards his children in the presence of his elders. Although it was not clearly articulated, an implication to a link between these cultural pressures and his father's punitive behaviors can be recognized from the flow of the talk:

(...)Yani, böyle ayıp karşılamıyordu, annesinin yanında, yok işte, büyüklerinin yanında. Böyle bastırılınca bize pek fazla sevgisini göstermiyordu. Ben biraz şeydim, bazen yaramazlık falan yapıyordum. Bizim bir tane şey vardı, küçük böyle bir kümes gibi bir yer vardı, üstü kapalı. Bazen beni cezalandırmak için oraya atardı ama bilirdim yani öyle şey değil. (Di MK)

On the contrary to the majority, normalization of physical punishment is absent in the subsequent quotation; in fact, the participant even criticized his father by saying that he could not see any reason for these punitive attitudes:

Ben sađlam dayak yiyerek bydm. Kendime gre nedensiz dayak yiyerek bydm. (...) nk ben onu deęerlendirebildięim noktada babamda yle bym baka bir Őey bilmiyordu, ęrenmeye de zahmet etmemi ben dayaęı yedim diyorum. (...) Babam dverdi ama severdi de. Sonuta kendi skntularından kaynaklanan bir Őeylerdi. (Ist CA)

He obviously did not try to justify his father, yet criticism was followed by empathic understanding of his father's own reasons for these kinds of behaviors. The same participant was also the only person who reflected on whether experiencing physical punishment may have had some negative effects on his life:

(...) Belki dayak yemedem byseydim benim iin daha iyi olabilirdi. Bu konuda herhangi bir psikolojik tedaviye girme ihtiyaı hissetmedim. Girseydim daha iyi olur muydu olmaz mıydı, genel yaŐamımda daha farklı Őeyler olur muydu olmaz mıydı onu bilmiyorum. (Ist CA)

In the interview, this participant linked his shyness in social life with his father's efforts to dominate him with physical punishment, and questioned whether it would have been good for himself to receive psychological consulting for this reason. For this man from Istanbul, the absence of rationalization for physical punishment and viewing it as pointless seemingly increased its traumatic effects. It is possible that rationalization and perceiving it as a normal disciplinary method served for most other men to be psychologically protective.

3.1.2. Emotional Sharing/Caring

Emotional aloofness and physical unavailability were frequently mentioned issues in the participants' stories about their fathers. Most of the fathers in the previous generation rarely expressed their love for children and they were portrayed as emotionally rigid, distant, inhibitive figures

who appeared to be physically unavailable to their children in general because of work.

Considering the emotional sharing/caring dimension of the father-son relationship separately from the aspect of hierarchy is not easy, as it appears that hierarchical distance of the first generation fathers co-existed with being emotionally rigid and distant figures. Yet, for the sake of clarity and adherence to the descriptions of the participants, these two aspects were discussed in two separate parts in the result section.

3.1.2.1. Emotional Distance

According to the reports of the participants, emotional distance can be described as the unwillingness of first generation fathers to express positive feelings and thoughts about their children. Fathers' affective detachment was mentioned by eight of the fifteen participants.

In the mind of one participant, there was a split between authority and closeness:

Dediđiniz zamanlar bizim ilkokul hayatımızdı, annenin Őfkati oluyor, korku da olacak tabii ki. Babandan korkmadım diyen yalan syler. (Ist ZB)

Emotionally distant patters of fathers were normalized and generalized by this participant. As mentioned before, regarding the dimension of hierarchy, fear barrier between fathers and their children was thought of as inevitable and rational. Hence, being a feared and an authoritarian figure necessitated emotional remoteness. Also, it could be posed that fear and love were thought of as mutually exclusive aspects of parenthood in the mind of this participant.

Another person described unspoken but inferred love between himself and his family. He did not differentiate his father from his mother in terms of expression of feelings. Same contextual rules put pressure both on his mother and father:

(...) eski dönemlerde, kucağıma alayım seveyim, “oğlum” falan olmuyordu. Bir de kırsalda yaşıyorsunuz ama şuna inanıyorum ki böyle yaşadığımız için anne ile oğul arasında veya baba ve oğul arasında müthiş bir sevgi oluşuyor. Bunu gösteremiyorsunuz ama onu içinizde o da hissediyor, siz de hissediyorsunuz. (Tr EG)

He explained the pattern of not showing positive feelings in contextual terms, and more specifically, in relation to the experience of growing up in a rural area. He seemed to imply a cultural prohibition against showing affection. For this participant, lack of overt expression of love by the parents was not associated with personal aloofness or lovelessness, but was related to cultural expectations. He did not experience the distance between him and his family as a lack and also did not feel any disappointment because he sensed their love and intimate feelings for him.

Similarly, another participant empathically explained that his father suppressed his feelings because of cultural values which imposed limits on his expression of love:

Çok fakir dönemde, babam mesela, ben hatırlamıyorum oyuncak falan aldığını, yani bize bir şey aldığını. Adamın da yoktu, o şey de yoktu işin açıkçası, biraz aile kültüründen gelen bir şey vardı, sevgisini de gösteremiyordu o anlamda. Yani, böyle ayıp karşılanıyordu, annesinin yanında, yok işte, büyüklerinin yanında. Böyle bastırılınca bize pek fazla sevgisini göstermiyordu. (Di MK)

While poverty caused the feeling of material deprivation, cultural expectations caused the emotional aloofness of the father. It was interesting to follow that speaking about material deprivation reminded

this participant of the emotional remoteness of his father. Furthermore, although the question of whether the father showed his love was asked to most of the participants, this participant came to this point on his own accord without the question. This shows the importance of this issue in his life story.

Another person also associated his father's lack of emotional caring with contextual factors such as his life conditions and responsibilities. Because they lived in an extended family, his father was not only responsible for his own children but for all of his nephews. According to this participant, his father was overwhelmed by this amount of responsibility, and as a result, he was not able to show any affection to his own children:

Bir de bir nevi hani, aile dışında, amcalarımın iki tanesi yurtdışında çalışıyordu, (...) bir şekilde, ne bileyim, kardeşlerinin eşlerine, çocuklarına bakmakla yükümlü demeyelim ama sorunlarını çözme, ilgilenme, dolayısıyla babam hani, çok da sevgisini gösteremezdi bizlere. (Ad EC)

As mentioned for the hierarchical aspects of the father-son relationship, normalization of the father's uncaring or detached mode attributed to cultural or contextual factors, served to eliminate or at least decrease negative emotional reactions; this was because when participants knew that this was related not to their fathers' characteristics but was associated with external realities of life, they were able to be more empathic toward their fathers.

The disadvantage of living in a crowded family and his father's differential show of love towards the five children were expressed by another participant:

5 kiři olduđumuz için, 5 kardeş olduđumuz için hepsine aynı sevgiyi veremedi. Biraz zaten řu an en çok babam hala büyüđün üstünde yani, en büyüđümüzün, ağabeyimin üstünde. Onunla biraz daha fazla yoğunlařtı, sıkıntısını, derdini, herhalde biz de biraz küçük olduđumuz için bazı řeyleri söyleyemiyoruz, konuşamıyoruz. (...) Aslında ben öyle bir řey istemiyorum yani olması gereken bir řey varsa ben de aynı anda bileyim. Bir sıkıntınız olursa bana diyebilirsiniz. (Ant IA)

At the same time that this participant felt neglected by his father, he also complained that his father kept him out of family problems. His father's favoritism towards the oldest brother and his unwillingness to share family problems with him as a younger son went hand in hand for this participant and made him feel frustrated.

Neglect by the father and the similar communicative distance was also expressed in the quote below. Although the participant acknowledged that it takes a certain predisposition to show active interest to the lives of one's children, this participant still thinks that his father should have been able to do certain things such as asking how they were and how they were doing in school:

(...) belki o zamanlar teknoloji yoktu. Babamın da öyle bir řansı yoktu. Arayıp "ne yapıyorsunuz çocuklar?" deme gibi ama bir de insanın yapısal olarak buna yatkın olup olmaması vardır. Ne olursa olsun her halükarda arayıp sorabilirsin veya okuluyla ilgilenebilirsin. "Nasıl gidiyor okulun? Dur ben bir geleyim, hocalarınla görüşeyim" diyebilirsin. Onları biz baba tarafından görmedik. (Ist HT)

In the following quotation, the same participant explains how his father got upset when they did not do well in school, but that he did not show an active interest in them as a father. He explained his father's disinterested behavior with reference to the fact that his mother was always available and willing to do what was needed, including going to talk with their teachers:

(...) onun aldığı şeylerden istifade ettim ama babam bize fazla yaklaşmazdı. Mesela okulda kalmışız geçmişiz kızardı bağırdı çağırırdı ama kalkıp da bir gün gelip öğretmenlerle konuşmadı. Hep annem peşimizden koşardı. (...) Bizi de çok fazla şey yapmadı. Üzerimize düşmedi. Annem nasılsa daha çok evde diye babamın bize fazla baba olarak bize oturup çok fazla konuşmamıştır, maddi olarak desteği oldu. (Ist HT)

Similar to the splitting of roles between mothers and fathers regarding love and fear (described by Ist ZB, first quote in this section), establishing authority on children by discouraging them while giving material support seemed to be assigned roles for the fathers. On the other hand, involvement in the lives of children, helping them solve problems, listening and talking with them intimately were apparently assigned roles for the mothers.

In spite of his father's neglectful stance, the same participant came up with an explanation for his father's way of showing love. Protection and control became an indication of concern and care from the father:

(...) biz gençlik zamanlarımızda okuldan arkadaşlarımızla birlikte olup geç geldiğimiz zamanlar uyumaz bizi beklerdi. Ta ki biz içeri girip kapıyı kilitleyene kadar uyumazdı. O da herhalde bir sevgiden, meraktan kaynaklanıyordu. (Ist YB)

In the following quotation, an association was made between not showing affection and being a man. Mother was loved because of her sincerity and love. On the other hand, father's unloving attitudes were perceived as wrong and criticized. Besides, an intergenerational maintenance of this detached father-son relationship was mentioned as a personal factor:

Anamı severim, içten davranır, babam sever ama sevdiğini göstermez, erkek. İşte orada babam yanlış yaptı, babam babasız büyüdü ben bu yaşına geldim hala daha babasızmış gibi davranıyor. Yani baba şefkati göstermedi almadığı için göstermedi. (Ad MSC)

Similar to the participant just before, this man criticized his father's emotional detachment. Not getting his fathers' love seemingly became a disappointing experience for him. Even though he knew that his father loved him, this implied love did not seem to be sufficient. He thought it was unfair that because he had grown up without a father himself, his father is still not able to show him fatherly affection. From the subsequent quote, it can be seen more visibly how he yearned for his father's care and how he was upset by his father's behaviors:

Affedersin hocam şimdi herkesin anne babası çocuğunu sınava getiriyor tamam ben artık çocukluktan çıkmışım ama hep özlem var. Bir gün isterim ki babam saçımı okşasın isterim. (Ağlıyor) (Ad MSC)

It seemed that his father made him feel what it was like to miss having a father. It is striking that as an adult, this participant still craves for his father's emotional closeness. It was apparently understood that closeness to his son was not possible for this father both for personal and contextual reasons. One of the reasons for this was his father's ambivalence regarding sharing resources:

(...) Gösterdiği göstermek istediğinde hep maddi olarak görüldüğü için zaten hep tek başına büyümüş, para kazanmış ondan bir parça kopuyor gibi yaşamadı. Yani sevgi verecek ama para gidecek diye iki zıtta kaldı. (Ad MSC)

According to his meaning making process, his father associated affectionate behavior with sharing material resources, which he felt ambivalent about. Behaved affectionately to his son meant giving up money which was hard for him, having had to be self-supportive all his life. Thus, it seemed that he remained torn between showing affection and not wanting to share.

The common point in the stories of last three participants (Ant IA, Ist HT, Ad MSC) is that their attributions for the father's distance and detachment were not cultural, but were individual dispositions of the fathers. When we consider how these three men reacted to the lack of affection from their fathers, it seems that knowing that fathers could have been involved more in their children's lives if they had wanted to do so increases expectations and in turn higher expectations resulted in stronger feelings of disappointment.

Another participant expressed the absence of expressing love and appreciation and alternative ways of showing positive feelings to the child:

Babamın hiçbir zaman bana "aferin ođlum" dediđini ben duymadım, 35 yařındayım. (...) Milli takıma seđilmeye gittiđimizde hiçbir zaman babamın bana "aferin ođlum" demedi. Tam tersi gitmeyeceksin dedi. Okula geldiđi zaman, hocalar bak bu çocuk okusun bařarılıdır, zekidir falan dendiđi zaman benim babam bana hiçbir zaman "aferin ođlum" demedi (...) Beni sevdiđine inanıyorum. Bunu evreden duyuyorum. Arkadařlarımla konuřtuđumda methediyor, vüyor ama bunu bana karřı yuzüme karřı kesinlikle hiçbir zaman söylemedi bu güne kadar. Babamın bir arkadařı geldiđinde "bak baban sana bu deđer veriyor" falan filan. (Ed YS)

This man believed that his father loved him but this was communicated indirectly to him by other sources and not directly by the father. It can be proposed that this father inhibited himself from making direct contact with his child. Showing positive feelings and encouraging the child for his successes was possible only in indirect ways. It should be noticed that the participant did not try to explain and did not feel any need to question why his father behaved like that, as he probably normalized and accepted this attitude of his father. Despite the lack of questioning, the

feelings of deprivation and sadness as a result of his fathers' affective remoteness toward him were notable in his tone.

Moreover, as stated by the same participant, there was no sympathy for the child even when he hurt himself physically. In the next quote, he gives an example of how his father thought he deliberately broke his hand to avoid going to work, whereas he had actually been in a fight and wanted to hide the fact:

(...) genciz, kavga ettim elimi kırdım, sabah da tarlaya benim gitmem gerekiyordu. (...) sabah geldiğimde elimi saklamıştım babamdan. (...) Babamın ilk tepkisi “kafanı niye kırmadın elini kırdın” demişti. Onu işe gitmemek için yaptığımı zannediyordu ama aslında kesinlikle öyle bir şey değildi. (Ed YS)

Success was not encouraged, faults or weaknesses were reacted to with anger and intolerance instead of with empathy and reparation, and as a result, the participant tried to hide his broken arm from his father. Consequently, this negativism in this father's thinking and talking seemed to make impossible to establish close relationships with his children.

3.1.2.2. Physical Unavailability

Physical absence of their fathers due to occupational reasons was articulated by six participants. Engagement in child care or being a part of their daily lives became impossible for their fathers because of the physical distance. Responsibility of breadwinning and meeting the needs of family appeared to be the most essential part of paternal role for traditional fatherhood.

There were very few days in which Ant SK and his father could spend time together:

(...) abartmıyorum oturup da bir hesap yapmaya kalksak babamla birlikte geçirdiğimiz günlerin hesabını çıkarmak mümkün. (Ant SK)

He highlighted that he did not exaggerate the rareness of the days on which he and his father were together and then explained why his father had a very minor role in his daily life:

(...) devlet dairesine geçince resmi iş Çorum'un içinde değildi, Çorum'a çok yakın ama her zaman gelinemeyecek kadar uzak bir mesafedeydi. Hafta sonları geliyordu sadece, Cumartesi, Pazar geliyordu dolayısıyla babamla çok fazla samimi bir ilişkim olmamıştır. Annem sürekli yanımızda olduğu için daha çok annemle büyüdük, o yüzden annemi daha yakın bulduğumu söyleyebilirim. (Ant SK)

His father had a job which was not close to his home; so he could be with his family only at weekends. The participant defined an emotionally distant relationship due to physical unavailability and mentioned that he felt more close to his mother than his father because his mother was always with them. Obviously, being physically unavailable as a father was an important handicap in terms of establishing close emotional contact with the child.

Another participant answered the question of whether he felt closer to his mother by making a comparison between his father and mother in terms of physical closeness:

-Annenize daha yakın olduğunuzu söyleyebilir misiniz?
-Evet öyle söylemek zorundayız. Çünkü fiziksel olarak da ortamsal olarak da öyle. Babam müfettiş. İlkokula başlayıncaya kadar birlikte gezinilmiş olduğu kadar ama biz kışın İstanbul'dayız babam turnede oluyordu. Ama yazları biz onun yanına gidiyoruz ama genelde o hep bir başına. Bizde anne ve çocukları gibi bir şey kalıyor geride. (Ist CA)

It can be concluded from these last two quotes, that emotional closeness between father and child was affected negatively by the father's physical absence. Consequently, the relational ties between mother and

child were unavoidably stronger as compared with the father-child relationships.

The following participant stated a similar pattern of physical distance of his father. His father worked in the city and the remaining part of the family lived in a village, thus he could be at home for only one day a week. As a result, he could not feel close to a person who was not around them:

Turhal, evet. Oradaki şeker fabrikasında çalışıyordu ve haftada bir gün geliyordu (...) Mesela o ilk dört-beş yıl ya da 6 yıl, hatta daha uzun oluyor yani, belki 7-8 yıl, ilkokul 9-10, oraya kadar biz babamızla çok haşır neşir olamamışız çünkü haftada bir görmüşüz falan. (Tr EG)

Another participant also explained that his father was a stranger for him throughout his childhood because he rarely saw him at home:

Babam sürekli kamyon şoförüydü sigara fabrikasında, yola gidip geldiği için pek bizimle ilgilenemiyordu. Ben bir sabah kalkardım ben yani yaklaşık 10-11 yaşında “bu benim babam” demeye başladım çünkü sürekli yoldaydı. Haftada bir gün, o da gece geliyordu, sabah kalkıp gene işe kamyonu yükleyip gene çıkarlardı. (Ant IA)

It seems that this feeling of emotional/physical detachment was compensated by his appreciation for his father’s responsible attitudes toward his children. According to him, his father tried to do his best for them, he worked hard for his family, to avoid his son from feeling deprived:

(...) tamam imkanlar veya imkansızlıklar olmuş olabilir ama babam değerli bir insan (...) her baba gibi düşündüğünü tahmin ediyorum (...) Bir oğlunun rencide olmasını, ezik kalmasını istemez, her zaman onun için mücadele eder, çocukluktan beri bellidir bu. Belki bazı şeyleri yapamaz ama çoğu şeyleri yapmaya çalışır. (Ant IA)

Similarly, another participant also empathically emphasized that his father’s role of breadwinning was not easy, that he had to keep more than

one job at a time, and spent long hours at work to support the family.

Hence, he expressed that he could not spend time with his father much

because his father was absent from home most of the time:

Akşamları inşaatlara kireç çukuru kazmaya giderdi, taş ocaklarına giderdi. Yani tek bir yerde çalışmayla hayat çok zordu. Aileyi geçindirmek amacıyla. Belki beş altı saatini veya on saatini evde geçiyordur yani, onun haricinde sürekli çalışıyordu. Ondan sonra devlet dairesine girdi. Devlet dairesinde şoför olduğu için uzun süreli yollara giderdi. Biz çok şey değildik yani babayla, çok bir zamanımız geçmedi. (Kon YI)

In the section of emotional distance, a division of roles between fathers and mothers was described. While mothers were mainly caring figures in the eyes of their children, fathers were responsible for supporting their family financially and being in an authoritarian position to maintain disciplinary boundaries. Parallel with the foregoing statements, two participants talked about their mothers' roles in their lives:

Annemin burada esas olarak döngüyü kurma, çocukları büyüme, ne bileyim, altını bağlamadan falan (...) (Ad EC)

Yani her şeyinizi anneniz yapıyor, okul döneminizde, askerlik döneminizde, yaşantınızda, cebinizde para olmuyor, babanızdan anne vasıtasıyla istetiyorsunuz. Çayınızı yapıyor, sabah kalkıyorsunuz, kahvaltınız yapıyor, akşam geliyorsunuz yemeğinizi, pantolonunuz yıkıyor, çamaşırınız ütüleniyor, her şey. (Tr EG)

These participants described their mothers as “*sine qua non*” of their lives. While fathers were away from home, caring responsibility needed to be continued by mothers. The mother was essential in the eyes of these men. Hence, for these six participants, at least for when they were children, the fathers were outsiders as compared to the mothers.

It is also important to remember that not taking responsibility in the care giving was not limited to the fathers of these six men, but that none of the participants' fathers had undertaken this responsibility. Some fathers

spent more time with their children and children felt closer to them than they did to their mothers (Ant ME, Tr HK), yet similar to others, these fathers also did not participate in child care duties.

3.1.2.3. Emotional Closeness between Fathers and Sons

Different from the other twelve participants, three men talked about more intimate relationships with their fathers. This intimacy was exemplified in three dimensions: emotional, physical, communicative.

It was interesting to see how one participant comparatively described his father's attitudes. According to him, there was a difference between doing fatherhood and doing friendship/or brotherhood:

Atamdır, benim babam babalık yapmadı bana hiçbir zaman bana ağabeylik, arkadaşlık yaptı. (...) ben babamla çok iyi anlaşıyordum. (Ant ME)

If being one's friend or brother necessitates much more equality in the relationship when compared to being a father who in the position of authority, it seems that decrease in hierarchy between father and son is associated with increase in closeness. This man talked about getting along very well with his father.

In the next quote, he told about his father's understanding and openness in their communication:

(...) "baba ben şu kadar para aldım" derdim, "tamam" derdi. Neden aldın, niye aldın, ne yaptın demedi. (...) ben her şeyi çok rahatlıkla yaptım, paylaşırdım, konuşurdum. Bir hata yaptıysam onu konuşurum, acaba ne olur bunu saklasam, yaptığım bir hatayı babamdan saklasam gece uyuyamazdım. Gece kapısını çalar çıkartır mutlaka anlatırdım. (Ant ME)

Being like a friend with the father brought more flexibility in communication and tolerance for the children's behaviors. There were no secrets between him and his father and he did not hesitate to share his

mistakes with his father. As said, the willingness to communicate can be explained by his father's supportive and friendly attitudes. All in all, showing tolerance and acceptance to the child appeared to help establish a closer relationship.

Similar experiences were told by another participant who explained why he got along better with his father as compared to his mother. While his mother was functioning as the control mechanism at home, the softness and closeness of his father made him a much more important figure:

Mükemmeldi yani. Babadan ziyade arkadaşlık. Normal arkadaş. Açık açık her şeyi konuşabiliyordum babamla, rahat bir şekilde. Yani anne bazı şeylere tepki verirdi ama babam hiç tepki vermezdi. Babamdan tokat yemiş insan değilim, annemden dayak yemiş bir insanım örneğin. (...) Gönlümüzü yapardı, gönlümü yapardı, gitmek istediğim yere götürürdü. İstediğim harçlığı verirdi bana. (...) Daha çok babamla iyi anlaşıyorduk. Niye çünkü her dediğimizi yaptığı için babam. (Tr HK)

Contrary to the majority of the participants, he shared that his father fulfilled all of his wishes and did not react negatively to any of his behaviors. There was seemingly an unconditional care and support by the father. According to the participant, his father behaved to him this way because he was the smallest child, and that he was an authoritarian father in his relationship with his other children:

Babam otoriter bir insan aynı zamanda. Benim her dediğimi yapardı (...) ama diğerlerine karşı otoriterdi. (Tr HK)

In addition, spending time together and doing some outside activities with the father was mentioned by only three participants of this study. They had gone fishing together. He appreciated his father's concern, care and sacrifice for him:

Balık tutmaya giderdik (...) Hasta olmasına rağmen, mesela tüberkuloz hastasıydı (...) O hasta halinle bile benim gönlüm olsun

diye, o yaşlı insan benimle balık tutmaya gelirdi. Balık tutacağı mühim değil, benim gönlüm olsun. (Tr HK)

Driving around the car:

Benim arabalara karşı aşırı derecede zaafım var, ilgim var. Beraber araba yıkardık, arabayla dolaşırdık. Bana araba kullanmasını öğreten babamdır. (Ant ME)

Going to the park together:

Beraber yemeğe götürürdü bizi, ailecek yemeğe giderdik. Parka falan götürürdü, gezmeye götürürdü, yani giderdik ama disiplinli birisiydi. (Ant BK)

3.1.3. Guidance/ Role Modeling

Six participants acknowledged the role of their fathers in their developmental process from childhood to manhood. Generally, fathers provided guidance for their children with their own life styles and beliefs.

One participant expressed his father's contribution to the development of his own moral system:

(...) babamdan aldığım eğitim şuydu, “adam olun” yani, “adam olun, dürüst olun, kimsenin malına, mülküne, şununa, bununa bakmayın. İşinizi yapın ve dürüstçe yapın”. Ben pratikte de babamda bunu gördüm, iş hayatında da bunu gördüm. (Tr EG)

Bizzat şahit olduğum şeyler de var. Eve gelirlerdi mesela. Bırakın buradan küspe alırken para ödemeyi, “beni sıraya yaz. Yüzde 10’unu sana vereyim” diyen insanlar vardı ve babam onları kovardı yani evden ve biz bunların canlı şahidi olduk. Bu bizim için çok önemliydi ve en büyük rol modeli babam oldu, dürüstlük konusunda. (Tr EG)

The importance of having principles in life and being an honest man were communicated by his father through his advices and actions. His father became the most important role-model for his children with his behavior patterns. Observing how his father behaved in certain situations seems to have guided this participant to find the right ways in his own life.

Being a model for the child necessitates behaving in proper and consistent ways in terms of one's beliefs and actions. The importance of honesty was also stressed in the quote below by another participant. Also it appears that his father reflects an idealized figure for this participant with his well-mannered, honest and consistent attitudes:

Babam dürüstlüğe çok önem veren bir insandı. Herkes öyle gözüdür ama pratikte de uygulamak çok önemli. (...) Bizim önümüzdeki model olarak baktığımızda onun bunu iyi olarak uyguladığını görüyorduk. Herhangi bilinçli bir yanlışlık şu şu dürüstlüğe aykırı olacak bir davranış içinde babamı hiç bir zaman görmedik. (Ist YB)

Interviewer asked for a comparison between the participants' mother and father in terms of directing his life as a boy and he described in a detailed way why his father guided his development more than his mother:

-Peki böyle erkek olarak yetişirken, yani bir erkek çocuk, size daha çok anneniz mi yol gösterdi, babanız mı yol gösterdi?
-Tabii ki aslına ikisi de gösterdi ama baba daha çok gösterdi. Neden baba daha çok gösterdi? Çünkü baba hep dışarıdaydı. Anne evin içerisinde, belki farklı bir aile yapısı olsaydı anne-baba çalışan, anne de çalışıyor, baba da çalışıyor falan, o zaman biraz değişik olabilirdi ama anne evde, evin içiyle ilgileniyor. Baba dışarıda, iş hayatında, çalışıyor, işte, ne bileyim, müdürlerle -şeker fabrikasında çalışıyordu- müdürlerle muhatap oluyor, işte oraya gelen oraya çiftçilerle muhatap oluyor falan. Daha sosyal olmuş babam. Dolayısıyla daha çok babam, o anlamda yol gösterdi. (Tr EG)

The division of roles between fathers and mothers was an important issue. For this participant, his father was like a bridge who established a link with the outside world as the only parent who had an involvement in the social world outside the home. His reflection about how things might have been in another family context, for instance how the situation would have been different if both his mother and father had held a job gives essential clues to his meaning making about this issue; he perceived his

father's role in his socialization as being connected to the structural role division within the family.

Also, the participants adopted the gender roles modeled for them by their own parents:

Babamızın temel hedefi evi geçindirmektir. Biz de o hedef doğrultusunda gittik. Okuduk, tahsilimizde geri kalmadık. Onu da yaptık yapabildiğimiz yere kadar ama dediğim gibi ön planda aile geçindirmek. (Kon YI)

Benim hanımdan istediğim çocuklarıma bakması, akşam evime geldiğim zaman güler yüzle karşılaması, yemeğimi hazırlaması, bu. Yani biz annem babama hep bunları yaptı, babam hep çalıştı geldi, annem evimizi geçindirdi. Biz babamızdan böyle gördük. Biz de erken yaşta başladık çalışmaya, o doğrultu da gittik. (Kon YI)

Breadwinning was thought of as an essential element in doing fatherhood as he observed in his family of origin. Having a job and being able to support his family financially was an unquestioned value which was learned from the father. In parallel, his expectations from his wife were formed by observing the relationship between his father and mother.

Disciplinary patterns of the previous generation were modeled by some of the current fathers:

-2,5 yaşında bir kızım var, onlar biraz daha yaşlandığından dolayı şimdi sizinle konuşurken fark ediyorum, galiba biz de ailemizin bir aynası oluyoruz.

-Nasıl? Çok ilginç bu.

- Şimdi sizinle konuşurken fark ettim ben de kızımı çok disiplinli yetiştiriyorum. (Ed YS)

When talking with the interviewer, the participant realized the similarity between his own way of parenting and his father's, that he was "mirroring" his family, for example, in the way he disciplines his daughter. It seems that the internalization of fatherhood behaviors was not a

conscious process or that at least he had not thought before of how he was influenced by the father in terms of his own fathering style.

In the next two quotations, a similar continuity between the first and the second generation was mentioned concerning fathering practices:

Babam bana ne yaptıysa ben onu oğluma uygulayacağım. Neden mi uygulayacağım, benim babam bana hiç kötü bir şey öğretmedi. (Ant ME)

Çocuğa ben çok yüz veririm mesela, gönül yaparım. Babam zamanında, anlattım ya size, zamanında hani bana çok şey yaptı, hani hiç bir şeyimiz. Şimdi ben de oğluma aynı şeyi yapmak istiyorum. (Tr HK)

Both of these participants talked about idealized, emotionally and physically close relationships with their fathers, in contrast to the majority of participants; hence, it makes sense that they took their fathers' behaviors as models for their own fathering behaviors.

Another participant also mentioned the different ways in which his father provided him with guidance:

Babam o dönemin şartlarından baktığımızda oldukça açık fikirliydi. Bizleri fikir beyanda baskı altına almazdı. Araştırmamıza bir şeyler soruşturmamıza o zaman bilinçli miydi bilmiyorum ama soruştururduk, birisi bir şey dedi hemen inanmak değil de çeşitli kaynaklardan araştırma yönünde çok kitap okumamızı isterdi, bize kitapta sağlardı, bulurdu. (Ist YB)

Babam köy enstitüsünün son mezunlarından biridir. Eğitimleri gereği birçok şeyi öğrenerek gelmişler. Bu bakımdan bize bunu hissettirdi yani birçok şeyi kendimiz yapmamız konusunda bizi yetiştirirken. Bizde bilinçli veya bilinçsiz ondan almaya çalıştık. Mesela çatının üstünü yaparken bile o çatıyı nasıl yapacağını bilir, marangozluk dahi bilir. (Ist YB)

In both quotes above, this participant portrayed his father as an educated, open-minded and skilled person and talked about how his father's knowledge and expertise had important effects on him; for example, his father taught them how to do things. Positive internal images

of the father seemed to facilitate the intergenerational transmission of values/behaviors and impacted the development of children in a constructive way.

Raising a socially competent and self-sufficient child was also essential for the father described in the next quote. After a car accident, this participant's father encouraged him to work out this problem on his own:

Bana araba kullanmasını öğreten babamdır. Hatta bir gün kaza yaptım, telefon açtım “baba kaza yaptım ben” dedim, “sende bir şey var mı” dedi, “yok baba” dedim, “peki neye vurdun, vurduğun herhangi bir şey, zarar var mı” dedi, “yok baba çöp bidonuna vurdum” dedim. “Çöp bidonuna mı vurdun” (...) “ben sana karışmıyorum sen akli başında bir insansın yapman gerekeni yap” dedi. (Ant ME)

These two men (fathers of Ist YB, Ant ME) seemed to encourage their children for behaving and thinking independently and being self-sufficient. Also, this father's tolerance in the face of his son's mistake is noteworthy to mention when compared to the intolerant attitudes of most of the first generation fathers. Without getting angry, he supported his son in solving this problem independently.

Similarly, another participant talked about his father's positive impact on his self-confidence. Although the connection he established between learning to hunt and being social and how he exactly directed him were not explained, it can be said that he sees his father's efforts and generosity as having facilitated his social integration at young age:

Mesela bana avcılığı öğretti. Ortaokul birden, ikiden itibaren ben avcılığa bile başlamıştım yani. Bana tüfek aldı o yaşta. Hiç bir masraftan da kaçınmadı. Küçük yaşta beni bir şeye soktu, toplum içerisine soktu diyebilirim yani. (Tr HK)

The next participant explained clearly how and in what ways his father oriented him in the transition from childhood to adulthood:

- Cinsellik yanınız, bunları babayla çok rahat paylaşabiliyorsunuz o sizin gibi bir erkek, hemcinsiniz, her şeyi öğreten o.
- Siz yeni yetişirken hiç babanızla cinsellik üzerine konuştunuz mu?
- Tabii canım çok şeyi konuştuk her şeyi babamızdan öğrendik, her şeyi babamızdan öğrendik derken konuşarak veya getirirdi al şunu oku, incele, bir bak derdi. (Ant ME)

The sameness of their gender was expressed as a significant aspect of the father-son relationship because his father became a teacher and a model for him as a man. Although direct communication with fathers was very rare for most of the participants especially regarding the issue of sexuality, this participant said that he could easily speak with his father about sexuality as well. It can be posited that his father had much more flexibility and established a relationship with his son in a much more friendly manner when compared to other participants. It seems that as the visibility and accessibility of the father increases in the children's eyes, children are able to use the knowledge and guidance of their fathers more easily in the process of development.

3.1.4. Expectations

Six participants talked about their fathers' expectations from them, in relation to education and occupation. They were expected to continue their education as long as possible. Proper schooling seemed to be one of the most important prospects families had for their children because it was thought that this would enable them to have better job opportunities:

- (...) bizde hep şu vardı, "okumanız lazım". "Mutlaka okumanız lazım çünkü öbür türlü bir şey olamazsınız, bir şey yapamazsınız". (Tr EG)

-Babanızın ya da annenizin sizin geleceğinize ilişkin projeleri var mıydı veya sizden beklentileri var mıydı hem kardeşinizden hem sizden?

-O zamanki hissettiğimiz okullarımızı daha iyi okumamızıdı. (...) bizimkilerin ayrı bir projesi yoktu, üniversiteyi kazandığımız zaman onlar mutlu olacaktı. Zaten üniversiteye girince de bayağı hoşnut oldular, çok sevindiler. Hissediyordum rahatladıklarını, kardeşimle ikimizde girmiştik. (İst YB)

Yet, fathers' expectations from the participants sometimes conflicted with the participants' own wishes and caused feelings of disappointment in them. For example, one participant's father did not allow his child to participate in any social activities out of school. The demands of the father counteracted the aspirations of the child to play soccer and to play the saz, and caused him to feel resentful:

O anlamda bir profil kendince çizmiş, onu gerçekleştirmiş. Onun yanında bizim, benim açımdan eksik geçen yönler tabii ki var. Ben işte, sporu çok seviyordum. Çok iyi top oynadığımı düşünüyordum ve futbola yönelmek istiyordum ve müsaade etmedi babam, "hayır, okuyacaksınız". Bağlama çalmak istiyordum, müsaade etmedi. (...) bana ilkökul veya ortaokul döneminde bağlama konusunda izin verilseydi, ben belki çok farklı bir konumda ya da iş yapıyor olabilirdim yani. (Tr EG)

In the next quote, the same participant questioned why his father may have not allowed him to develop hobbies. He attempted to make sense of his father's behavior and was thinking that after the loss of an elder brother, the family may become somewhat overprotective, and more invested in the children's education:

Aile bizim üzerimize biraz daha düştü, hani üç taneydi, ikiye düştü, çocuk sayısı. Biraz daha ilgilenmeye veya biraz daha korumacı olmaya başladılar. Belki de oradan kaynaklanıyor aslında bütün sorunlar. İşte spor yapmama izin vermemesi, başka bir şeye izin vermemesi, "bu ikisini en azından", hani "bir yere getirelim" diye, belki de ondan kaynaklanıyor olabilir, onu sormak lazım aslında babamıza. (Tr EG)

Nevertheless, looking backward from today, the participants expressed his appreciation for his father's way of raising them according to his own aspirations although these were perceived as restrictions in the past:

(...) o gençlik döneminde isyan ederiz aileye falan ama ben bugün, bundan iki yıl önce babamın yüzüne de ben bunu itiraf ettim, teşekkür ettim ki, "iyi ki kafadaki profille bizi yetiştirmişsin". Ben o anlamda, şu an baktığımda doğru olduğunu düşünüyorum. (Tr EG)

Another participant talked about the reverse situation of Tr EG, who wanted to study further whereas his father did not have this expectation for him:

Ta ki, hayatımı etkileyen nokta, insanın belli bir şeyi vardır, biz esnaf çocuğuyuz, esnaf olacaksınız okumayacaksınız. (...) Babam ilkokul mezunu olduğu için küçümsemiyorum. Bu konularda da uzak. Hiç bir zamanda beni okutmayı düşünmediği için bu konularda bir bilgisi yok. (...) "Boş ver ya, ne yapacaksın okuyup ta, gelir dükkânın başına geçersin" demişti. (Ed YS)

This participant's father had wanted him to continue his small business; he voiced his criticism of the father, but without wanting to appear to be putting him down for not being educated. He chose to talk about his father as lacking sufficient knowledge about educational matters. He ended up graduating from a university and became a teacher in spite of all of his father's objections; yet, a few years after his graduation, he quit his job and took up his father's business. Although he did not explain why he chose to fulfill his father's demands, this transformation gives clues about how a father's wishes can overhaul one's own dreams.

Sometimes, expectations of fathers can be very low as in the following example:

(...) babam dedi ki (...) "gel yaz tatilinde benim yanımda çalış, bak bir sıvacı olursun, demirci olursun, kalıpcı olursun". (...) Neyse biz

sınava giriyoruz, bir yandan babanın yanında çalışıyoruz, amelelik yapıyoruz, babanın hayali “nasıl olsa bu üniversiteyi kazanamayacak, duvarcı mı sıvacı mı olur bir de ben bunu evlendiririm nasıl olsa evde var, gelir benim altımda durur ben buna göz kulak olurum böyle gider”. (Ad MSC)

Although this participant wanted and tried to enter a university, his father did not have any such hopes for him. What was important for the father was that he would teach his son some job skills, and the son would become a skilled worker, get married and stick around. The essential part of this story is that low expectation of his father became a source of motivation for this participant, as he tried to prove himself to his father by surprising him with his achievement:

“Ben inşaata gider gibi gidiyordum kütüphaneye dersimi çalışıyordum, öğlen yemeği arası veriyordum bir tek akşamda dershaneye gidiyordum gece 9.00,10.00 gibi de eve gidiyordum. Babam “oğlan nerede sabah çıkıyor gece yarısı eve geliyor” diyor, babamı mahcup edeceğim ya “geziyorum baba” diyorum. Babam kazanamaz diyor bende kazandım belgesini gösteriyorum, o anı görmek istiyorum ya ben başladım tempoyu yavaş yavaş artırmaya”. (Ad MSC)

The same pattern can be observed in this participant’s relationship with his father:

-Daha gençken size ilişkin planları var mıydı?
-Ben babamı hayal kırıklığına uğrattım fikrinde değilim. Onun beklediğinin üstünde bir performans gösterdiğimi söyleyebilirim. Bunu bugüne kadar bilinçli olarak düşünmedim. Bir soruya cevap olarak söylüyorum. Babam benim liseyi bitireceğimi bile pek fazla düşünmezdi, belki öyle görünmek motivasyon sağlamak içindi ama babamın açık net söylediği bir şey vardı. (...) Babamın aklındaydı müfettişlikle ben biraz yabancı dilimi geliştirsem de yurtdışında bir memuriyet alsam (...) gibi kendi hayalini uzunca süre kurup da yapamaması ama daha yeni yetme bir adamın yapması beklentisinin ötesindeki bir davranıştır diye düşünebilirsiniz. (Ist CA).

It should be noticed how he answered the question of about the expectations of his father from him. He seemed to explain himself defensively by saying that he did not think that he let his father down; on

the contrary, he thought he proved himself to his father by doing things which his father dreamt about for himself but was not able to do. Hence, he told his story of how he surprised his father being successful beyond his expectations.

It was important to meet the expectations of the father for this man too, as it was perceived as a responsibility to his father. He tried to do his best for showing to his father that he was a capable young man and by working hard at school to not let him down:

“peki oğlum ben sana güveniyorum”. Dedi ya iş bitiyordu biliyor musunuz benim üzerime sorumluluk yüklüyordu, eyvah söz verdim bunu başarmak zorundayım diyordum. Dört bile almış olsam gidiyordum yalvarıyordum öğretmene, söz verdim sen bunu bana beş olarak ver söz bir dahaki dönemde senden bunu altı alacağım”. (Ant ME)

Hiding needs from family can similarly be thought of as trying to avoid showing one’s vulnerability and letting down the family. One man talked about lending money to his family at times of need even when he was having financial problems:

Mesela çok sıkıntı yaşadığım dönemler olmuştur ekonomik olarak ama asla anneme ya da babama hissettirmemişimdir. Babamın bir işi olmuştur, atıyorum “bir 100 milyon gönderir misin?” demiştir, ben o kadar sıkıntıda olduğum bir dönemde bile borç alıp babama göndermişimdir ki “aman o hisse kapılmasınlar, o duyguyu yaşamasınlar”. (Tr EG)

If making money and capacity to meet financial requirements of the family was very central for most of the first generation participants in terms of their self-esteem, hiding financial problems and even trying to help the father despite his own difficulties can be related to the need to prove to his father that he was able to become a successful man as his father desired. The important point was to shape one’s behaviors according

to the internalization of the fathers' obvious or implied expectations about self-sufficiency.

3.2. Second Generation Fatherhood: New fatherhood

The experiences of participants with their own children were described with respect to the category of "new fatherhood" as defined in the introduction section. The same dimensions of the first generation fatherhood are also used to explore the features of new fatherhood which were hierarchy, emotional caring/sharing, guidance/role modeling and expectations. Also, an intergenerational comparison is presented for each dimension by trying to find answers to the question how fatherhood changes from the first generation to the second.

3.2.1. Hierarchy

Both continuities and changes between generations were observed in terms of the hierarchy dimension of fatherhood. It seems that maintaining authority and discipline upon the children is still essential for most of the current fathers even though their fatherhood includes less rigid authoritarian styles and flexible disciplinary measures.

With respect to traditional fathers of the first generation, inflexibility and rigidity in discipline to maintain position of hierarchical dominance seemed to cause relational distance from children. This emotional aloofness between father and child appeared to lessen in the second generation as a result of decline in the strict controlling position of current fathers. This does not mean that these fathers do not need to establish control on their children but they mostly use different methods for establishing order.

3.2.1.1. Changing Discipline

Frame of fear was crucial for disciplining children for the first generation fathers. It appears that most of the current fathers searched for new methods to control their children's behaviors. However, while some fathers seemed to adjust themselves to these new patterns more easily, for others, lots of questioning and doubts emerged as a result of this adjustment process. This process resulted in feelings of insufficiency, disappointment and questioning for these fathers because they seemed to have some difficulties in filling the space of uncertainty between the experiences of the past and the ideals of the present.

Only two of the participants gave examples of physical punishment yet these did not appear as continual patterns of their fathering, but rather as peculiar events. They used physical punishment on the child to give him a good lesson and to prevent undesirable behaviors:

Biz oğlumla 3 yaşındayken bir kavga ettik onun dışında yok. Şöyle söyleyeyim o yaşlardayken yola fırlıyordu alışkanlık yapmıştı yola fırlıyordu o zaman bir kere kulağını iyice çektim acıttım canı yandı bir daha böyle yola çıkmayacaksın dedim ondan sonra hiç çıkmadı. (Ist YB)

The fathers maintained a hierarchically superior position towards children as a crucial part of doing fatherhood, not always with punishment but by being a serious and feared figure in the eyes of their children:

Tabii tabii oğlanla da oynarız, kızla da boğuşuruz. (...) Onlarla tabii oynuyoruz, yıkışıyoruz, dövüşüyoruz, bağırışıyoruz, yani her şey var. Onda da şu var, onları dövmedim ama o korkuyu da ben çocuklarıma verdim. (...) şaka da var ama ciddi olduğum zamanda ciddiyet de var evin içinde. (Kon YI)

Formality between father and children was obviously needed for doing fatherhood because it functioned to set the limits of closeness

between father and children and also to assure the desired order in the household. Always being soft toward the children conflicts with the requirements of being a respected authority figure as the head of the family, as stated by the same participant:

(...) aile reisliđi, evine geldi mi saygısını sevgisini görecek, ciddi duracak, karşısından saygı ve sevgiyi görecek. (Kon YI)

Even though Kon YI said that he does not physically punish his children to control their behaviors, he continued with the statements below which seemed to contradict his previous reports:

Televizyonda görüyorlar deđişik deđişik şeyler, konuşmalardır, yatması kalkması onları gördüğüm zaman. Dediğim gibi çok fazla dövüyorum ben de ama tabii yeri geldiği zaman da onu da yapıyorum yani. (...) bakarak, söyleyerek, bağırarak, hal tavrıyla onlara hissettiriyorum ben bunu. (...) Yani tokat da atıyoruz tabii. Yani dövme zamanı da geldi mi dövüyorum ama o en son ki şey artık, dayak eşeğe yakışır, insana yakışmaz yani. (Kon YI)

Similar to Ist YB, he said that he has to use physical punishment when verbal warnings are not useful and the inappropriate behaviors of the children cannot be tolerated anymore. It appears that contradiction emerged at this point; on the one hand, he seemed to accept it as a necessary method to raise children, yet on the other hand, he also said that beating the child is not a proper child rearing behavior.

This appears to be a part of the conflict between the ideas and behaviors of the participant. Even though he sometimes needs to practice these traditional disciplinary methods, he is aware that he cannot raise his children in ways similar to how his father raised him:

Biz televizyon görmedik, televizyon bilmezdik. Şimdi internet var, televizyon var, her şey var. (...) Tabii yani yetişen toplum zaten daha bilinçli daha farklı yetişiyor zaten. Onları eski şekilde yetiştirmek, yapamayız yani. Yaparsak da cahillik etmiş oluruz. (...) Yani her şeyde sıkılmak olmaz tabii, sıkarsan da iyi olmaz tabii. (...) dediğim

gibi şimdiki neslin yetiştirme tarzı çok farklı yani. Tabii göz ardı edeceğimiz şeyler de olacak yani mutlaka. (Kon YI)

He noted that cultural values regarding child rearing have been transforming along with the technological developments of the time and thinks that as a result, he should try to adjust his fatherhood patterns to these new demands. When some behaviors or conversations of his children which were generally learned from television or internet conflicted with the long-established manners of his family, he seemingly feels as forced to permit some of these new patterns. In other words, he thinks that the oppressive styles of the previous generation should be loosened to meet the necessities of the present culture and in turn he tries to be more permissive regarding some behaviors of his children.

Similar conflicting thoughts were described by another participant. Yet, different from Kon YI, he seemed to be certain that he will not adapt his belief system to the changes in culture:

Şimdi toplum daha da çok farklı farklı yerlere gitti. Bu böyle gidiyor, teknoloji de gelişiyor. Yarın öbür gün diyorlar ki (...) kızınız eve erkek arkadaşını getirecek. Böyle bir şeye müsaade etmem. (...) Baskı altına almak da istemiyorum. Etek giydiği zaman “bak kızım eteğin kısa, aman ayıptır” onları sadece şu anda ufak olduğu için üstünkörü geçiştiriyorum. (...) Bu şekilde, kesinlikle baskıcı bir tavır olarak değil. Ama onları o şekilde de, bazı şeylerde de dışarı çıkmayacağını zannediyorum. Belki kendi içimde de çatışıyorum ama. (Ed YS)

He noticed how his thoughts conflicted with each other: on the one hand, he wished to be a flexible father and did not want to force some rules on his child, but on the other hand, he talked about setting limits for his daughter and hoped that his child will not go beyond some of these boundaries. It can be proposed that requirements of modernity and the

internalized values of the past create ambivalent attitudes with respect to doing fatherhood.

Another participant talked about his past experience of physical punishment and his promise to himself about not beating his children. He does not want to be a father like his own with respect to his coercive discipline methods and cause his children to feel disappointment as he experienced himself in the past, and so he, needs to differentiate his fathering. It should also be noted that he was one of the rare participants who criticized physical punishments of their fathers:

Ben sağlam dayak yiyerek büyüdüm. (...) Ama ben çocuklarıma tek fiske vurmam. Ahtım vardı, öyle yaptım. (Ist CA)

He also expressed similar contradictory feelings as Kon YI and Ed YS. In the following statements, he explained the source of his feelings of contradiction:

İyi mi oldu kötü mü oldu bilmiyorum. Hani babama diyorum ya başka bir şey bilmediği için öyle davrandı, aslında ben de başka bir şey bilmiyordum. Çocuğu eğitmek için, çocukları dövmedik ama dayanın yerine başka bir şeyde koymadık. Sonuçta çocukları biraz fazla demokratik bir ortamda bir şeyi sadece onu yapması gerektiği ve onu kabul etmesi üzerine kurmaya çalıştık. Tabii ders çalışmayı kabul ettiremediğini veya çorabını odasında değil de kirli sepetine atması fikrini (...) yanlış yapıyorsunuz falan diyorsunuz. Ama nerde yaptığımızı çıkaramıyorsunuz. Bu da benim kişisel olarak bilgi eksikliğimden yani çocuk yetiştirme konusundaki bilgi eksikliğimden kaynaklanıyor. Bunu mükemmel yetiştiren nasıl yetiştiriyor? Bunun net bir okulu var mı? Bir şekilde olmalı ama yok. (Ist CA)

It can be argued that while he tried to find a democratic and more flexible way to establish discipline and order at home, he realized that he may not be able to get his children to do what he wanted by behaving so permissive. He seemed to feel responsible for the loss of parental authority over children and he expressed that he cannot come up with a reason for

this failure to establish proper control over his children. At the end of his talk, he complained about the absence of a role model or a “school” to teach him new “perfect” fathering and implied a feeling of disappointment about this. He also described his ideal disciplinary system in the following way:

Şimdi baba otoritesinden ziyade bir otorite veya bir kurallar bütünü olmalı. Yani kimsenin hayır diyemeyeceği bir kurallar bütünü olmalı. (...) Yani baba otoritesi benim bir şeye hayır demem benim keyfimden hayır dememi getirmiyor. O andaki olanaksızlık, maddi, saat, istenen şeyi benim uygun bulmamam olabilir. (...) Ama o an için olmaz demişim falan ama ertesi gün o olmuş. Şimdi ya çocuk birisi olmaz dediyse bazen annesi de olmaz dediyse onu da getirip benim önüme koymamalı. Bunu da özümsemeli. (Ist CA)

He emphasized the necessity of having and maintaining consistent rules to establish control. According to him, authority does not need to exclusively paternal control but nevertheless the “no” of the father/or mother should be accepted and internalized as an unquestionable rule. The emphasis is on the importance of not allowing a laissez faire environment which the child can abuse to pit one parent against the other.

Ed YS who realized that he instinctively modeled the disciplinarian style of his father gave an example of how he carried out the discipline patterns of the previous generation within his present family:

Şimdi sizinle konuşurken fark ettim ben de kızımı çok disiplinli yetiştiriyorum. (...) ben mesela şöyle ufak bir anekdot anlatayım. (...) kızım sakız almak istedi. (...) “ama ben bunu çiğneyeceğim” dedi, akşamüzeriydi. Dedim, “kızım bunu çiğnemek yok (...) Akşam yemeğini yedikten sonra ne yapmak istiyorsan bunları yapabilirsin” “ama baba ben şimdi çiğnemek istiyorum” dedi. “Hayır (...)” dedim. (...) Bakkaldaki beyefendi de “yuh bu kadarda mı” dedi. “evet, bu kadar” dedim. (...) o çocuğa onu verdiği zaman akşam yemeğinde iştahını kırılıyorsunuz ve o çocuk istediği kadar yemek yemiyor. (...) karnı aç olarak uyuyor (...) karnı aç olduğu için erkenden uyanıyor. (...) Ne oluyor? Hayatınız keşmekeşe giriyor. (...) Ufak bir şeyden daha büyük şeyler çıkıyor, bilmiyorum doğru veya yanlıştır. Kimine

göre doğrudur, kimine göre yanlıştır. Bu benim mi acaba yoksa anne babamın sistemi mi? (Ed YS)

It appears that the ideal of the previous father (Ist CA) was achieved by this participant. The word “no” of the father is needed to be recognized as definite and unchangeable rule even for situations which are very trivial as in this case of chewing gum before dinner. It can be concluded from this quote that he strictly maintained his position of power over his child and explained his rigidity as a means of avoiding interrupting the regularity of his daughter’s daily routine. He also implied that if you broke the rules once, this could result in bigger problems as it shows to the child that the rules can change.

Additionally, although it appeared that he firmly tries to maintain disciplinarian stance, his reflections at the end of quote again showed his questioning of these attitudes. As he described his father as a very intolerant and domineering person, he asked himself whether his strictness was influenced by his parent’s system or not. Seemingly, he tried to apprehend his paternal behaviors and make sense of them as being modeled on his parents’ system of childrearing.

The next three participants talked very surely about the fact that oppressing or forbidding the children are not effective ways of controlling the behaviors of children and they explained that opening the gates of communication is the only way to raise decent and reliable children. One participant criticized his father’s sudden changes of temper and tried to apply another way to figure out the problems with his children by not getting angry. Speaking openly and trying to reach mutual understanding seemed to be his key objective:

Babamın davranışlarına karşı çıkabileceğim dediğim şey o (...) bir patlama şeyleri yaşardı. (...) Yani o tip bir şey ben hiç yapmıyorum tutarlı davranmaya çalışıyorum. (...) yani öyle bir doğru görmediğim bir şey varsa oğlumla açıkça konuşmam lazım. (...) karşılıklı birbirimizi ikna etmeye çalışacağız. (Ist YB)

He described his father as an open minded and non-oppressive person regarding his children's behaviors, yet it is understood that in spite of his open-mindedness there were times where he behaved in very angry and insensitive ways. Hence, he tries to reverse this inconsistency in his own fathering practice by always being open to hear his children's thoughts.

According to another participant, the right and easy thing to do is keeping an eye on the children without putting much pressure on them:

-Hem çocukları sıkmayacaksınız hem de iyi birer insan olarak yetişmelerini sağlayacaksınız, zor değil mi?
-Niye zor olsun ki? Çocuğu sıkarsan yapmak isterse onu zaten yapar. Akşama kadar bir kapıyı kilitle çık dışarı (...) Yapacak kişi pencereden çıkar yapar, sizi uyutur yinede gece saat 3'te 4'te de yapar.(...) Çocuğu sıkmayla bir şey olmaz. (...) Kendi haline bırakacaksın ama kendi haline bırakıp başıboş da bırakmayacaksın. Çocuğu takip edeceksin, ne yapıyor ne ediyor kötü yola mı gidiyor iyi yola mı gidiyor. (Ist ZB)

He seemed to think that exerting pressure was not an effective way to prevent undesirable behavior. He argued for trusting the children and letting them decide for their own. Yet, he noted that this does not mean that a father should leave his children completely alone; rather he should always follow up on what is going on in their children's lives.

Maintaining parental authority was still an important dimension of fatherhood as in the first generation but rather than behaving in punitive and coercive ways, communicating with and persuading children became preferable:

Çocuğa bağırmaıyla çağırmaıyla bir iş yaptıramazsın. Çocuk zaten göre göre, izah ede ede bu çocuk zaten kendine gelir. (...) Ama ikna ede ede göre göre, yaptıra yaptıra, izah ede ede o çocuk yola gelir. (Ist ZB)

Another participant talked about his supportive attitudes toward his child and explained that there are no definitive rules and obligations regarding his child's behaviors; but as Ist ZB, he emphasized the necessity of overseeing the children rather than leaving them without any boundaries. He wanted to know what went on in his child's life and requested that she talk to him about stuff with him and to not hide anything:

Sonuçta yanlışta yapsa biz her zaman arkasındayız. (...) Yoksa hiç bir zaman üstünde baskı kurmadık. (...) Çünkü aramızda kesin bir çizgi yoktur, "sakın onu yapma sakın şunu yapma". Bilir ki bazı şeylere kızacağım, kızmamın sebebi de niye yaptığı için değil niye haber vermediği için. (...) O da bir baskı yaratıyor onların üstünde ama o kadarı da olsun, tamamen sahipsiz kalmasınlar. Tamamen birileri denetliyor ya da denetliyor demeyelim de birilerine bir şey söylemek durumundayız (...). (Ist HT)

He also gave an example from a television show and expressed his need to know everything up front instead of being the last person to know. This also clearly shows that this father wanted to establish a direct interaction and communication with his children rather than using his wife as a mediator between him and the children:

"En Son Babalar Duyar" diye bir dizi var. Her şey olur biter anne her şeyi ayarlar (...) ama adamın o anda haberi olur. (...) Öyle olmasın diyorum. "Bana her zaman önceden haber verin" diyorum bir şey yapılacaksa, bir şey olacaksa bilgimiz olsun, doğrusu neyse onu yapalım. (Ist HT)

All three fathers were aware that children may make mistakes and that being very strict and restrictive increases faulty and undesirable behaviors rather than decreasing them. For this reason, showing tolerance

and facilitating the communication in the relationships help fathers know what their children do. Also, the supportive guidance of fathers became possible when needed. Enhancement of the interaction between fathers and children seemingly resulted in feelings of reciprocal trust in the relationship.

3.2.1.2. Changes in Behavioral and Communicative Limitations

Ist HT and Ist ZB compared their times of childhood/adolescence years with their own children's environment and gave examples of some restrictions which they were subjected to and that are changing now. According to them, the "curtain" of hierarchy between fathers and children has been lifted.

For example, allowing the child to drink with the father is not considered as disrespectful behavior anymore. One participant said although he was not able to sit around his own father freely, he expressed his wish to have a drink with his own son. Removal of the frame of rigid family manners facilitates relaxed behavior and communication around the father:

Çünkü bizim zamanımızda biz babamızın yanında bacak bacak üstüne atmayı bırak yanında oturamıyorduk. Yaklaşamıyorduk. Artık o zamanlar bitti. Gençlik başka, o devir bitti. "Oğlum gel buraya (...) Otur yanımda efendi efendi al kadeh tokuşturalım" dedik.". (Ist ZB)

The next participant symbolized the hierarchy between his father and himself with the word "curtain" and he thought that this does not exist in his current relationships with the children. So, his children are allowed to behave more freely within this permissive environment:

Ben hiç bir zaman arama perde koymuyorum. Eskiden bu bir terbiye çerçevesindeydi. (...) Misafir geldiği zaman, misafirin yanında gözüyle baktığı zaman "iyi geceler" deyip uzaklaşırdık. Tabii şimdi

çocuklar bu konuda daha serbestler. Misafirin yanına geliyorlar muhabbet ediyorlar, şakalaşıyorlar. Öyle bir limit yok. (Ist HT)

The same participant also explained the difference between his father and himself in terms of the verbal interaction in the father-son relationships:

-Muhtemelen siz kendi babanızla hiç konuşmadınız ama oğlunuzun kız arkadaşından size hiç söz ettiği oldu mu?
-Evet konuşmuyorlar. Ben babamın yanında ayak ayak üstüne bile atamadım. Evet oldu. (...) Bize çok geldi. Kız arkadaşıyla geldi. Biz gittik ailesiyle de tanıştık. (...) ama karşı cinsle ilişkileriyle olan bir sorusu bize olmadı. Neden diyeceğim? Onu da şöyle bağlıyorum, çocuklar o konuda rahatlar. Çekindiği bir şey olduğunu sanmıyorum. Gelir bana sorabilir. Ben öyle bir perde hiç bir zaman koymadım. (...) Zaten şimdiki çocuklar her türlü şeyi bilerek geliyorlar. Bizden çok fazla bir şey öğrenmelerine bile gerek kalmıyor. (...) Onun içinde mutlaka gelip bir şey sormak zorunda hissetmiyorlar ama ben babama soramazdım onu biliyorum ondan eminim ama benim oğlum bana sorabilir (Ist HT).

He explained that he never tried to restrain his son in such matters but provided him with a context to behave freely. Even though he never had such conversation with his son about these issues, he was sure that this was because his son did not feel the need for such a talk and not because his son didn't feel comfortable about talking with him. Seemingly, the limits in the communication and behaviors of first generation were removed from the father-child relationships within the changing family structure characterized by less rigid hierarchal boundaries.

On the other hand, some limits in communication continued to exist with his daughter for the same father above, Ist HT:

Benim kızıma mesela benden çok annesi her şeyi telkin eder. (...) Benimle paylaşacağı şeyler vardır ama kızım ağırlıklı kendi özel problemlerini annesine aktarır. Annesi eğer "babam da bir karar versin" veya "beraber karar verelim" dediği zaman bana söyleyebilir. Ondan sonra kızıyla görüşebiliriz. (...) Kendi problemleri olursa annesine aktarır ondan sonra bana yaklaşabiliyor. Bana gelmiyor değil, geliyor ama önce anne kanalıyla geliyor. Gönül ister ki

doğrudan gelip anlatsın ama o da bir kız olduğu için çekiniyor. (Ist HT)

Though the fathers try, it seems that this “curtain” could not be fully removed from the relationship. According to this participant, his daughter preferred to share her personal problems with her mother rather than with him; it seemed that gender difference created a communicational distance between this father and daughter, as he could only be involved at the times of decision making. He was disappointed that she did not come directly to him, but at the same time, he appeared to perceive this situation as unavoidable.

Additionally, the same participant made a second comparison between his son and daughter with respect to their ways of showing love to their father. As reflected in the quote, while he can show his love and care in more open and direct ways to his daughter, his son seems to avoid being within this kind of relationship and held himself in a relative distance from his father:

Oğlumla olan ilişkim çok fazla kızımınla olduğu gibi değildir. (...) benim oğlum içinden sever. Bazı insanlar öyledir. Çok sever ama mesela kızım koskoca kız olduğu halde alırım kucağıma oturturum, öperim okşarım. Oğlan öyle fiziksel olarak pek fazla göstermez ama eminim benim için canını verir yani o kadar sever. (Ist HT)

In terms of the factors which limit the communication in the father-child relationship, another father revealed that his efforts to establish and maintain certain rules for his children made him an insensitive, distant father in their eyes:

Ben bilmiyorum. Olmadı yani diyalogumuz kısmen vardır ama ben çocukların bana uygun gelmeyen şeylerine hayır derken mesela anneleri hayır deme eğiliminde çok fazla olmadığı için daha çok çocuklar zaman içinde anneye kaydılar. O tarafta hafif bir cephe var.

Bana karşı değil ama babaya nasıl kabul ettirilir cephesi var. O cephede plan oluşturuluyor ondan sonra bana söyleniyor. (Ist CA)

He described a slight coalition against him between his wife and children. He seemed to feel like the “bad cop of the family” who generally reminded everyone about the rules. Hence, he became the last person to talk and functions as a decision maker rather than being an intimate person to share with like the mother.

The same participant continued to describe his ambivalence between maintaining hierarchy and establishing relational closeness in the family. There appeared to be a differentiation of function between his wife and him. Mother became the figure who shows understanding, tolerance and permissive attitudes toward his children and the father was perceived as the insensitive and prohibitive figure although the participant did not agree with this negative image about him:

O benim daha anlayışlı daha şunlu bunlu olmam gerektiğini savunuyor. Ben anlayışsız bir adam olmadığımı ama elimdeki imkanlar nispetinde onların isteklerine olur ve olmaz demeye çalıştığımı, benim olmaz onun olur dediği noktaya da bizim her türlü kağıttan kalelerimiz çöktüğünü anlatmaya çalıştım. (...) Ben tabi ne anlarım çocuk yetiştirmekten psikoloji veya pedagoji biliminden. Azıcık ezik büzük bir baba vaziyetindeyim. (Ist CA)

Saying “no” and reminding the children that there are rules apparently created a distance between the father and children. Hence it seems that this father felt stranded between being a close father and being an authority because these were perceived as mutually exclusive aspects of the relationship. He came across as trying his best to step up to the plate in terms of maintaining some consistency of discipline vis a vis the children, while, at the same time, acknowledging that he did not understand anything about psychology or pedagogy.

3.2.1.3. Setting Limits for Children

Four fathers talked about how and why they attempted to limit some of their children's behaviors and wishes:

(...) her zaman, her dediğini yapmıyorum ama çok fazla sert de davranmıyorum. (...) Ben ne yüz veriyorum ne de şey yapıyorum. Arkadaş gibi olmaya çalışıyorum. (Di MK)

Apparently, he tried to keep a middle ground between being an authority and being a friend. On the one hand, he seemed to avoid restricting the child's behaviors, on the other hand he did not want to encourage all of his child's behaviors or wishes. He also expressed that his purpose in creating handicaps for his child and restraining him was related to the fact that he tried to teach his child that he cannot get everything he wants and to show him the difficulties of life:

(...) bazen istediklerini yerine getirebiliyorum ama yapmıyorum mesela. Şeye de alışsın yani, her şey dediği zaman olacak şeyine girmesin, kapılmasın. Biraz zor olduğunu anlasın bazı şeylerin. (Di MK)

Similar concerns were expressed by another father as well. He compared his situation in the past with his son's conditions and questioned whether it is the right thing or not to provide everything to his son without his efforts for these. He seemed to find a meaningful psychological function for the past experiences of deprivation as he learned to show effort to fulfill his desires. In turn, he wanted to see his son learn the importance of struggling to attain his wishes:

Ben çocukluğumda anlatmıştım ekonomik durumumuz çok yerinde değildi (...) İlk bisikletimi ilkokul son sınıftayken edinebildim Boran dünyaya gelmeden bisikleti vardı. Zaman zaman bunun yanlış olduğunu da düşünüyorum, çünkü ben bisikletin özlemini duyarak, uzun yıllar bekleyerek, nihayet elde ettim. Ömrüm boyunca da kıymetini bildim hala daha bisikletin üzerindeyim. (...) emek harcamadan, özleminin çekmeden bir şeyi elde edersen, hemencecik

havadan gelen bir şeyin çok da kıymeti olmadığını düşünüyorum. (...) daha temkinli yaklaşmışımdır Boran'ı bir şeyler sahibi yaparken. (Ant SK)

According to these two fathers, there should be something difficult in a child's life and limiting fulfillment is one of the essential roles of fathers. Children must learn to exert effort for their desires and deserve the things which they want rather than having these without any difficulty. At the end, this process makes goal attainment more precious. Likewise, another participant expressed his thoughts and questions about whether he should meet his daughter's demands or not. He revealed his feelings of ambivalence caused his daughter's requests:

Baba lego alabilir miyiz, dedi. Şimdi birinin benden bir şey istemesi benim hoşuma gidiyor. Ama tabii bunu kızım istediği için hemen almıyorum. (...) Acaba kızım bunu istedi, her istediğini yaparsam yarın öbür gün bu çocuk çığırından çıkar mı? Her istediğini yaptın yaptın işte başımıza kondu. Almazsam acaba birisinde gördüğü için mahrum olur mu? (Ed YS)

He struggled to find the most appropriate behavior because he worried that if he fulfills all her wishes all the time, he would lose control over her behaviors and this could spoil her. Yet, not meeting the wishes of the child also caused worries about whether she would feel deprived.

Exposing the child to some challenges and waiting from him to handle them alone:

(...) baba çocuğu alır, gezmeye götürür, genelde herhalde alışveriş merkezlerine götürüyorlar, bildiğim kadarıyla, en sağlıklı, en sağlam, trafik yok bilmem ne yok falan diye. Ben şimdi onu mesela normal, sokaktaki parka bırakıyorum, "oyna" diyorum orada. "Baba, gel yardım et. Kaydır". "Yok. Çık kendin kay". Çocuk orada kavga ediyor, tartışıyor. Sıraya giriyor, sırada kavga ediyorlar. Ben gidip de "ne yapıyorsunuz? Yeter" falan demiyorum. Çok ileri noktaya gelmeye başladığında tabii müdahale ediyorum, ayırıyorum. (Tr EG)

As reflected in this the quote, the father wanted to raise a self-sufficient girl who can cope with problems without depending on other persons; thus, he does not guide and support her in every problem she faces. One key issue in this quote is that he did not totally leave her alone, and that at some point, he needed to be involved to help her cope with the situation. Hence, he seemed to consider limits of his child's capacities at this age and he decided on what to do as based on this assessment. He continued to explain how he tries to help prepare his daughter to adapt to the social world which is not always as warm and loving as the atmosphere at home. This father thought that from an early age, children should start to learn about the realities of life:

Ben böyle çok çok sevgi dolu bir evde yaşanmasından da taraftar değilim. Çocuk da bir şeyleri, çok olumsuz olmamakla beraber, hani bir şeyler o küçük yaştan hissederek büyümesi lazım. Çocuğu siz komple her şey sevgi, her şey barış, her şey “dünya bak ne kadar güzel” falan dediğiniz zaman (...) o çocuk okula başladığı anda hayatı kayar onun yani. Orada ne çocuklarla karşılaşacak. Diyecek ki, “annem babam beni kandırmış. Hani her tarafta sevgi vardı? Çocuk geliyor, bana tokat atıyor. (Tr EG)

On the whole, if explanations of these four fathers were summarized, it seems that there were three essential purposes behind setting some limits on the children's lives: one is to show them that life is not so easy and they must struggle to gain what they want and deal with their problems by themselves; the second related aim is enhancing their adjustment to the social world, and the last is showing to their children and themselves that as fathers they are there to set protective boundaries for their children.

3.2.2. Emotional Sharing/Caring

Second generation fathers have more intimate ties with their children as compared their relationships with their own fathers. Twelve fathers

revealed that they tried to be more involved in their children's lives both physically and psychologically, to take more responsibility in care giving, and to establish emotionally and communicatively more open relationships with their children.

Creating free time for children and being physically available for them became an essential aspect of fathering. Although care work is still responsibility of mothers, fathers seem to be available much more in the daily lives of their children. In terms of their fatherhood discourses, it is worth to consider that they intend to be involved and do not want to be an outsider to the mother-child dyad they experienced in the past. To begin with, this father expressed his feelings about how it is crucial for him to be an important figure in the life of his daughter. Having a child, being involved in her life and being an essential figure in her development appeared to be very gratifying for this father:

Tabii, doğmadan da konuştum ben, şimdi annesinin karnında "babacım bak bugün böyle oldu, babacım bak bugün şu oldu" diye konuştum. O da annesinin karnında hareket ederdi (...) Dünyaya ilk geldiğinde babacım dedim açtı gözünü beni aradı vallahi. (...) doğmadan önce verdiğiniz bilgilerde onun azığı, kolaylaştır hayatı. Babacım dediğimde bu benim babammış der, belki göremez, silik görür ama görmeye yaklaşır, babacım buymuş benim der. Bilir onun babası olduğunu, bazıları böyle yapmadığı için çocuk kaç yaşına kadar bilmez onun babası olduğunu, evde bir fert olarak görür, baba olarak onu bilmez. Baba olarak bildiği için benim kızım şimdi her şey de babam babam diyor. (Ad MSC)

This man had talked about a very passive, unavailable and discouraging father image when describing his own father. But, he wanted to be known as a main relational figure in the mind of his daughter rather than as a distant person, as secondary to the mother. Even before the birth, when his wife was pregnant, he tried to interact with her by talking with

her. These fathers began to share the responsibility of daily child care with the mothers, as described by this participant:

(...) ben bakıyorum 2,5 yaşında, 2,5 seneden ve 9 ayda doğumu tutun yaklaşık olarak 3 yıl 4 aydan beri bu, bu şekilde gidiyor ve kendine zaman ayırmıyor. Haftada bir iki gün bütün her şeyi ben alıyorum gece, onu hem ruhen hem fiziken bir şekilde dinlendiriyorum ve bunu biliyorum, bunu bilerek yapıyorum. Onun da hakkı var. Çünkü o çocuğu tek o yapmadı tek ben yapmadım, o ikimizin çocuğu, o çocuğunda bana ihtiyacı var. (Ed YS)

He became a volunteer participant in child rearing both because he wanted to lighten this burden on his wife and because he was aware of his daughter's need for his care. Establishing empathy with the wife seemed to elicit the feeling of responsibility in child care. Corresponding to these thoughts and feelings, nurturance also became a natural and desired part of doing fatherhood for the following two participants. Diapering and bathing his daughter were enjoyable care giving activities for this father. Being engaged with and available for the child in the evenings was expressed as desired parts of fathering:

(...) hatta ben şimdi çocuğumla ilgileniyorum. (...) ablam söylüyor "İbrahim çocuğa bakıyor, hanımdan fazla." Tamam, hanım da haklı şimdi gündüzleri onda, akşamları ben ilgileniyorum, ilgilenmek de istiyorum. Yeri geliyor altını bile alıyorum hoşuma da gidiyor, benim çocuğum yani. Ben yıkarım her zaman, annesi beni bekler yani yıkamak için. Zaten beni görse hemen başlar "bıcı bıcı" der, biliyor. (Ant IA)

Softening of the rules of hierarchy facilitated the participation of men in childcare. This man expressed his feelings of ease about being involved in caring for his baby:

Ben çocuklara bakıyorum. (...) mesela ben babamın yanında veya birisinin yanında çocuğun altını da, altını çıkarıp değiştiriyorum. Öyle bir şeyim yok, takıntım yok. "Ya işte, babamın...", benim çocuğumdur yani, ne yapabilirim. Kimin çocuğu, yoldan mı, dışarıdan mı, sokaktan mı bulduk yani? (...) Kız altını şey yapmış, doldurmuş. Hemen açtım. (...) Ne eksilecek benden? Yoksa hiç

umurum deęil, benim babam bunu söylemiř, řeyim bunu söylemiř, bu onu söylemiř, hi takıntı yapmam. (Di MK)

With respect to this participant's expression, for the first generation, including the father of this participant, showing participation in child care was not accepted as a part of doing fatherhood because it was totally perceived as a feminine/maternal act; fathers avoided this aspect of child rearing. Yet, this man talked about how he did not feel any hesitation to be a part of child care.

Additionally, both of these two fathers considered the discrepancy between their fatherhood practices and the expectancies of the others in the environment. Being a part of care giving as a man was regarded as an unusual behavior by the relatives or as a taboo when elders were around. Nevertheless, these fathers expressed that they did not mind those kinds of thoughts and took the responsibility of care without difficulty. Additionally, it seemed that fatherhood was not only perceived from the frame of breadwinning and maintaining authority anymore, but included involvement in the nurturance of children. Also, having an active role in the child's development became a pleasurable thing on its own for these fathers.

As fathers want to have a more close relationship with their children, they try to regulate their routine according to their family. This man's effort to find a balance between his job and family is noteworthy. It appears that he tried to spend time with his child by doing a second shift at nights:

Ben oęunlukla řunu yapmaya gayret gsteriyorum saat 19.00, 20.00 gibi dkkanımdan ıkıp eve gidiyorum gece 24.00'e kadar eřimle ve cocuęumla vakit geiriyorum, yemeęimi yiyorum, televizyon

izliyoruz. Boran ile vakit geçiriyoruz, Boran benim oğlum. Daha sonra uyku saati gelip 24.00'de herkesi yatırdıktan sonra ben ikinci mesaiye gidiyorum. (Ant SK)

Another participant also talked about the routine of their daily life.

Although both he and his wife worked in the same school as teachers, he admitted that the main caretaker was still his wife:

Eşim olmadan çocuğuma çok rahat bakabilir durumdayım yani. Bakabilirim yani. (...) ama totale baktığımızda evet, anne kesinlikle daha çok şeyle ilgileniyor. (Ad EC)

Beni özlediğini hissediyorum mesela, bazen kızımın ama. Mesela bazen beni özlediğini hissediyorum çünkü mesela ben sabah çıkıyorum evden 6 buçukta, öğlen dersim bitiyor. Eşimin ve kızımın dersi 12'de başlıyor. Onları 5 buçuk-6'da bitiyor. (...) akşam 7-8-9, değişik saatlerde eve dönmüş oluyorum. Evet, özlenmiş olduğumu hissediyorum yani. Oradayken, yani birlikteyken, evet, zaman ayırıyorum yani ama yeterince mi, bilmiyorum. (Ad EC)

He revealed that he was capable of care giving on his own without the help of his wife. However, it seems that they arranged their daily routine with the intention of creating free time for the father even though it could be possible to make different arrangements. As a result, the mother always remained responsible for being with his daughter and taking care of her, while the father took responsibility of caring only when he could "be there" as he said. One additional point to note was his sensitivity to his daughter's feelings. This empathy with his daughter's feelings caused questioning and doubts about whether the time he allocated to her was sufficient.

While he was questioning the sufficiency of his availability, he underlined the importance of the "quality" of time which he spends interacting with her. The type of involvement he mentioned included

activities such as talking with her, walking around together, reading a book or showing an interest in her time at school:

Şimdi “ayırırıyorsun” mu, ayırırım ben ama şimdi o zaman dediğimiz mefhum da herkesçe farklı bir şeydir ya. Ben şimdi bana, ne bileyim, onunla deyin ki 15-20 dakika geçirdiğim kaliteli bir zaman, iyi bir zaman, hani birlikte televizyon izlemekten bahsetmiyorum, sohbet etmek, dışarıda gezmek, bir şey incelemek, okulu, kitabı dinlemek, sorularını sormak, dinlemek gibi zamanı ayırırım, evet. (Ad EC)

Similarly, spending joyful time together by doing outside activities or playing with her was an essential part of this father’s involvement:

(...) kızımınla az ama kaliteli zaman geçirmeye çalışıyorum. (...) Yazın biz çok geç işyerini kapatıyoruz saat 09.00 oluyor, kızım da 10.00-10.30’da yatmak zorunda kalıyor. Ben yemeğimi yiyip hemen kızımınla ilgilenirim. Mutlaka ve mutlaka onu ya alır dışarı çıkartırım, ya evin içinde onunla oynarım onun anlayabileceği saklambaç, ben at olurum o bana biner ve o arada kesinlikle televizyon açmam. Ona zaman ayırırım. O zaman ona yetiyor mu onu bilmiyorum işte. (Ed YS)

Both of these fathers especially emphasized that they did not watch television together with their children but that they tried to do some activities which made possible psychological and physical interaction. Both had very limited time in which they could be available to their children due to their work hours, yet they seemed to compensate this limitation by giving importance to quality time.

Spending quality time with children and taking on the responsibility of care were considered as essential by this participant too because he was aware that this facilitates and strengthens the development of his children:

(...) bu küçük oğluma da öyle. Şu anda iki yaşına girmemesine rağmen her şeyi konuşuyor, konuşabiliyor. (...) Mesela oturuyorum, onunla konuşuyorum. Küçük kitaplar var mesela bizde, hikâyeler. (...) Anlatıyorum. Ondan sonra, bakıyorum benim elimden alıyor. (...) Anlatırken, çocuk kayıt ediyor yani. Bu tepkimi kaydediyor, yani her şeyi. Bir de bakırıyorsun. Hiç umulmadık bir ortamda, tak tak

tak söylüyor. İnsanlar ona hayretle bakıyor. Onu, o çocuğa sen vermişsin yani. (Di MK)

This man indicated the positive relationship between his active participation in his child's life and the pace of his development. This father's pride, both with himself and his child was noticeable. Apparently, seeing that his availability and participation in child rearing influenced the developmental competency of the child positively motivated him for more engagement.

Likewise, allocating time to them as much as possible when they were young was perceived as requirement for the proper development of the child. According to the participant, children under six acquire very basic skills both physically and psychologically, and so, it it was a crucial responsibility for a father to be there with his child at that stage:

(...) o çocuğunda bana ihtiyacı var. Çünkü çocukların 2 ila 6 yaş arasında aldıkları eğitimler temel eğitimler. Ben onunla ne kadar zaman geçirirsem, şu anda geçirebileceğim en fazla zaman bu zaman, 6 yaşından sonra istediğiniz kadar zaman çok az geçirin fark etmiyor. (Ed YS)

As another father expressed, care was perceived as the main condition for healthy and successful child development and this perception appeared to increase the importance of paternal engagement:

İlgi yani, her şeyin başı ilgi. (...) şu an benim çocuğum 17 aylık, yani ben şu an ona şeker desem şeker demeye çalışıyor, kaşık desem kaşık demeye çalışıyor. Ben ona öğretiyorum bilgisayar aldım "a" diyorum, parmaklarıyla saymasını öğretiyorum, saytaç aldım, sayı saymasını öğretiyorum, 17 aylık çocuk 5'e kadar saymasını öğrendi, bunu 2,5-3 yaşında yarın bir gün benimle gazete okumaya başlayacak çünkü onu alıştırmaya çalışıyorum. Her şey özünden geliyor. (Ant IA)

Similar to the participant before, being proud of the abilities of his child and his indispensable role in this progress can be seen in this quote,

too. As well, his enthusiasm and effort to teach his child some basic skill was noteworthy and it is also possible to understand how his past had an influence in the construction of involved fatherhood:

Çok saz çalma meraklıyım, çalamadım. Evde iki tane sazım var hala çalamıyorum. (...) çünkü özümde yok, yani ailemde yok. Ailemde olsa belki onu öğretecek bir insan olsaydı yanımda olabilirdi yani, ama olmadı. İsterim yani benim çocuğumun da bir şeyler çalmasını, çünkü sosyal faaliyet çok güzel bir şey. (Ant IA)

Just after talking about how he tried to be a significant figure for his child's development, it came to his mind that there was nobody to help him do things which he wanted such as playing an instrument. Hence, it was possible to say that feeling the lack of something in his past resulted in behaving differently in the present relationship with his child. That is to say, he wished for his child to do the things which he could not do.

As Ant IA, six other participants also discussed the emotional and caring aspects of their own fatherhood by comparing themselves with their fathers. When he compared the working conditions of his own and his father, Ad EC stated that the unavailability of his father was caused by contextual factors and that he had more chance to establish a closer relationship with his own daughter:

(...) bugün mesela kendi kızım var. Kızım la hani, oyunlar oynamaya çalışıyoruz falan ama babam, mesela babam la oyun oynayamazdık, yani mümkün değildi. Zaman darlığı, hakikaten zaman azdı, çalışması gerekiyordu, onun daha çok çalışması gerekiyordu. (Ad EC)

It can be seen that this father has more opportunity and intention to be involved in his children's lives as compared to his own father because unlike him he does not have a job which necessitates travelling most of the

time. He expressed that he wanted to participate in school meetings and that he helped his children with their lessons:

Benim babam hiç veli toplantısına gitmemiştir, hep annem gelmiştir ama biz öyle yapmayalım diyoruz. Biz ailemizin başında olduğumuz için, böyle bir yolda da işimiz olmadığı için yine onda da bize bakıyor. Çocuk şimdi okula başladı. Çocuğun dersleriyle ilgileniyorsun. (Kon YI)

As reflected in the following quote, this participant revealed how he was a concerned father especially when compared with his father. He seems to be voluntarily involved in every aspect of his daughter's life:

Ne olursa olsun her halükarda arayıp sorabilirsin veya okuluyla ilgilenebilirsin. (...) Onları biz baba tarafından görmedik. Ama çocuklarım da öyle değil. Kızımın aile birliği toplantısı olduğunda eğer İstanbul'daysam, eşimin işi olursa ben giderim. Ben koştururum. Özel bir sorun varsa veya benim kızım bir firmada şu anda stajyerlik yapıyor, bir sorun olursa yine ben giderim. Bir isteği olursa dışarıda yapılacak, ben gider koşturur hallederim. (Ist HT)

Showing closeness to children, approaching them intimately and not making them feel alone were very crucial for this father in terms of the relationship with his children. It is apparent that he tried to do something different from his experiences in the family of origin. This can be understood as an effort to undo the negative experiences caused by distant and disinterested attitudes of his father:

Ben evin içinde de mümkün olduğu kadar babamın bana yapmadığı kadar oldukça fazla yavaşırım. Ve hiç bir zaman, eşimle tartıştığım zaman olmuştur, onları yalnız bırakma yoluna gitmemişimdir. Yani öyle bir düşünceye saplanmamışım. Çünkü aynı şeyi kendim yaşadım. Onlar şimdi büyüdüler. Biri 28'inde, biri 18'inde. Ama aklımda olan bütün bir aile olarak kalabilmek. (Ist HT)

In terms of the changing roles of the current fathers in their children's lives, this father also drew on an interesting expression to reveal his function:

Ben onun için joker gibiyimdir. Kâğıttaki jokerimdir yani her yerde beni kullanabilirler. Açıkçası ben de bundan çok memnunum. (Ist HT)

Being like a “joker” appeared to symbolize for this father a very crucial engagement to his children’s lives. It is expressed like a mission to be available for his children whenever they needed him and this role obviously was very pleasing for him as a father.

Resulting from the feelings of deprivation of his father’s love and care, this participant wished to wholly dedicate himself to his child with the purpose of not causing similar negative feelings in her which experienced in the past. Establishing an intimate contact with the child became an important part of being a father:

(...) zamanında yani babam 5 tane çocukla uğraşüyor, bizim şimdi bir tane yani (...) Şu an zaten ikincisini de düşünmüyorum tek olması benim için daha iyi, biraz daha ilgi gösteriyorsun çünkü zannediyorum benim yaşadıklarımın dolayısıyla, (...) 5 kardeş olduğumuz için hepsine aynı sevgiyi veremedi. (Ant IA)

Even though the following participant did not directly refer to his father, the similar reparation attempt by creating a more intimate relationship with the child seemed to be prevailing for this person, too:

Çocukluk yaşamadım yani o dönem çocukluk yaşamadım. Ne oldu özlem duymaya başladım bazı şeylere. Benim bir kızım var Allahım bağışlasın herkesinkini sonra bizimkini de. Onunla beraber yaşıyorum şimdi çocukluğumu onunla birlikte debeleniyoruz şimdi. (Ad MSC)

It is important to see how negative past experiences influenced relationships in the current family in a positive manner. All five fathers reported that they tried to increase their closeness to the children in contrast to physical and emotional distance between their own fathers and themselves.

This participant actually did not want to have another child when his son was only second years old because he was aware that his son would become jealous of this new baby; he felt sorry for both of his children:

(...) o Őeye acıyorum, benim ocuęum kktr. Onu biraz Őey yaparız, o kıskanır. Fazla bakamayız ona. Kę kalır, iki yaŐında henz nk. O yzden biraz zlyordum. Yapacak bir Őey yok. İkisini beraber bytrz yani. Sonuta annem 10 tane bytmŐ yani. Onun annesi de 7 kız, erkek yok. (...) Tabii bizim bu blgedeki erkek baskısı, yani “nasıl erkeęi yok?” falan. (...) 7’ye kadar ıkmıŐlar. (Di MK)

It seems that caring for the feelings of children begun to be perceived as important for the second generation fathers. This is clearly related with the changing meaning and value of having a child for the current fathers. It can be proposed that having a child became a psychologically valuable thing on its own.

Similarly, another father openly expressed that the inability to be adequately involved with his daughter was a reason for choosing to not have another child:

EŐim dedi ki, “bir kardeŐi olsun mu acaba?”, ben de dedim “olmasın”. Yani ben uęraŐamıyorum zaten. Hani bilerek ve isteyerek de olmadı ocuk zaten. (Ad EC)

Feeling insufficient for not being able to appropriately carry out the responsibility of caring points to the ideal fatherhood model in the mind of this person. Even though he did not make a direct comparison between his father and him, it is obvious that the meaning of having a child and doing fatherhood changed. Three fathers in this study (Ant IA, Di MK and Ad EC) did not want anymore to have many children and to leave the entire burden of caring to their wives; rather they intended to be active figures in their child’s growth.

Besides, a number of the fathers mentioned some constraints considering their involvement into their children's lives. This man described their daily routine. It seems that he had very limited opportunities to be with his child:

Ben geç geliyorum, eşim sabah 07:00'de onu işe bırakıyorum, çocuğu bakıcıya bırakıyorum. Eşim 16:00'da çıkıyor işten saat 16:30 gibi çocuğu bakıcıdan alıyor. Saat 16:30-17:00 gibi evde oluyor, ben 22:00-22:30 gibi işten çıkıyorum. (Ant BK)

Although both he and his wife worked, apparently his wife's working conditions were more advantageous in terms of maintaining household responsibilities. Similar to the situation of Ad EC and his wife, she was able to come home earlier so her obligations in housework and child care become more than her husbands'.

As many of first generation fathers, this participant's job did not seem to allow establishing a proper balance between working and family life:

Akşam sekizde dükkânı kapattığın zaman en az dokuzda eve varıyorsun zaten. Yemek yedin, nasılsın çocuğum demeye kalmadan zaten çocuk yarın okula gidecek, erken yatması gerekiyor. Çocuk zaten yatıyor. Pek fazla bir şey kalmıyor yani. (Kon YI)

Another father also talked about the unbalance between his job and his family and deduced that there was no chance to find a balance; work always came first:

“Hani ben işimi ayrı tutayım, aileme daha çok zaman ayırayım” dersiniz işte başarılı olma şansınız yok (...) işte sürekli seyahate çıkma, zaten çalıştığınız yerde seyahat halindesiniz ki yani (...) seyahatten dolayı, dışarıda kaldığınız akşamlardan dolayı yarısı zaten dışarıda geçiyor. O yüzden hani bugün olsaydı yine aynısını yapar mıydım? Yine yapardım başarılı olmak için. (Tr EG)

The structural disadvantages of his job, stated as travelling much, restricted his availability in home. Yet, he expressed that this devotion was

needed for being successful and the time which spent at work was not negotiable. Similarly, he also explained what having a job meant for a father:

Benim bir arkadaşım vardı. (...) işten çıkardılar. Şunu söyledi arkadaş bana, “hiçbir şeye üzülmedim. Ne işsiz kaldığıma ne ‘taksitlerim vardı, onları nasıl ödeyeceğim’” falan. Kızı demiş ki buna, “bizim arabamıza ne oldu?”. (...) “Bu” dedi, “beni çok şey yaptı, müthiş etkiledi” dedi (...) “Bizim arabamız niye gitti? Bir şey mi oldu? Biz kötüye mi gidiyoruz? Babama bir şey mi olacak?” falan böyle bir şey veya çocuk işte bir şey istediğinde alamayacak falan. O anlamda iş önemli. (Tr EG)

Being a sufficient father in the eyes of children by showing that they were able to fulfill their families’ financial needs and wishes was perceived as the most important role for a father and as can be understood from the example, causing any disruption within the established standards of the family resulted in feelings of inadequacy. This given example also explains why success at work cannot be sacrificed to be home more.

In parallel with these foregoing explanations, the fathers below also emphasized the importance of meeting the material needs of their children. Trying to do the best for the child, even sacrificing one own’ needs as a father to fulfill the wishes of the child and avoiding making them feel disappointed were perceived as the prerequisites for doing fatherhood.

Taking care of the needs of children and wife before doing something for himself became a primary goal:

Masraflar artıyor. Kendim geriye gittim artık. Şu anda ben beşinci sıradayım. Önce çocuklarım var, eşim var, ondan sonra sen varsın. Biz artık en sondayız. Onlardan kalırsa bize, o zaman belki yaparız. Öyle yani. (Kon YI)

Providing for the family, ensuring them a secure environment and not causing deprivation are essential elements for his fatherhood:

Evdeki, ben kendim aç kalsam da, evdeki çocuğumla eşim aç kalmamalı, kesinlikle kalmamalı. Çocuğumun, eşimin üzerinde muhakkak kıyafeti olabilmeli. Temiz giyinebilmeli. (Tr HK)

Meeting all the needs of children appropriately and not causing them to feel lacking was perceived as crucial by this to be a good father in the eyes of his children:

Kızım okuyor parayla okutturuyorum yıllık 40 bin liraya okutuyorum. (...) Hiç bir çocuğuma şu dediğine boyun büküp baba niye almadın dememiştir. Çocuklarımda ona göre tavırları bana karşı farklıdır. Onlarda hayat şartlarını anlıyorlar ne kadar ve kolay olduğunu. Çocuklarıma iyi bit intiba bıraktım. (Ist ZB)

Trying to give to his child the things which he had not had as a child and sacrificing his own wishes to meet the demands of his child were underlined in the narration of this participant too. He seems to rework the feelings of deprivation in his past by doing the best he could for his own child:

Ben aşağı yukarı 35 yıldır tasarım işiyle uğraşıyorum inanın benim şu anda notebook'um yok, Boran'ı o sınıfa kaydedebilmek için notebook alıp hibe ettik kayıt olabilsin diye. (...) Bu işten not çıkartmak gerekirse Boran doğduktan sonra sanki eşim ve ben kendimizi unutup, hayatımızı Boran'a adadık gibi bir pozisyon oldu. Kendimizden ödün veriyoruz, Boran'ın bizim yaşadığımız sıkıntıları yaşamaması için. (Ant SK)

As an another example of the given importance of providing, this participant expressed how he became more depressed and introverted in the face of a failure in his work life and how the inability to maintain the economic well-being of his family had negative effects on the relationship with his children. According to this father, his relational ties with the children loosened because that he could not properly meet their expectations:

Çocuklarım beni sever, ben çocuklarımı severim. Onlar sevdiğimi bilirler ama çok “hadi şuraya buraya gidiyoruz” değiliz. Evvelden

olurdu. Ne zaman olurdu? Ben şirketi kaybettikten sonra birazcık daha içine kapanık ve keyifsiz bir hale geldim. O zamana kadar arabamız vardı. Hafta sonu hafta içi doluşurduk, orası senin burası benim gideriz, sonra olmadı. Sonra bir şeyleri yapamaz hale geldim. Çünkü çocuklar yürümekten hoşlanmazlar, bilmem ne. Otobüse binip götüremezsin. Sonuçta birlikte yaptığımız şeyler yine bu şekilde ailenin sağlayabildiği imkanlar doğrultusunda yürüyormuş. (Ist CA)

All of these examples from seven participants showed that the responsibility of fathers to earn money for their family and meeting their needs, which traditionally precedes the responsibility for child care, was still perceived as a crucial part of fatherhood.

3.2.3. Guidance/ Role Modeling

Current fathers aimed to guide their children considering the issues of moral attitudes, education, profession and social competency. Thirteen participants gave specific examples of how they tried to direct their children. Eight of them were chosen to reflect general attitudes of these fathers.

This participant cited the significance of informing and leading children. According to him, children always took their fathers as role models for their own behaviors:

Onların sağlığı için rahatlığı için, onları bilgilendirelim, yönlendirelim. Ne yapacak ne edecek onları ona göre yönlendirsek bizden ne gördüyse biz bilgilerimizi aktarıyorsak onlarda ona göre hareket ederler. (Ist ZB)

(...) her şeyi benden gör ki” dedim “yarın bir gün ben babamdan gördüm böyle gördüm böyle yaptım dersin” dedim. (...) evlat her şeyi babadan göre göre yarın bir gün onun nasıl yapıldığını, nasıl edildiğini, nasıl saygı gördüğünü düşünür ve saygısını da ona göre yapar. (Ist ZB)

He highlighted his role as a positive role model for his son in terms of teaching him socially appropriate behaviors. Also, he seemingly hoped

that his son would begin to represent him in society by behaving in socially decent ways as a result of his guidance.

This father similarly told about how he will direct his child to behave in morally and socially proper ways:

(...) çocuğuma insan olmanın gereğini, dürüstlüğün ne olduğunu, nasıl davranılması gerektiğini anlatmanın yanında bizzat yanımda bazı yerlere ya da bir yerlere götürerek, bir yerlere taşıyarak ya da işte belki babamdan örnekler vererek. (Tr EG)

Besides giving advice to his son, this participant expressed that he wanted to give him chances to observe how he behaved in social settings. By this way, fathers could function as a bridge between their children and the social world. This participant had also cited his father's role in his life, and specifically in terms of showing him well-mannered behaviors in social life, and so he wished to transfer these teachings to his son.

Similarly, another father expressed that he wanted to raise his children by teaching them the moral standards of culture and religion:

Ya bizim yapacağımız, bizim çocuğumuzu yetiştirebilmek, iyi bir şekilde aile terbiyesini vermek, dinimizin temel direklerini öğretmek, hayatın şeylerini öğretmek. O zaten seçimi kendisi zaten mutlaka yapacaktır yani. (Kon YI)

This next participant mentioned how he influenced his son's taste in music. Getting his son to love the music he listened to was an achievement expressed by the father, and he seemed to be proud of it:

Boran lego yapmayı çok seviyor, lego oyunu en çok sevdiği oyun. (...) Farkında olmadan ben ona fonda istediğim tarzda müzikleri dinlemesini sağlıyorum. Farkında olmuyor, örneğin şu günlerde benim çok dinlediğim Emma Shaplin isminde bir sanatçı var. (...) Boran Emma Shaplin şarkısı söyleyerek lego yapıyor, istediğim buydu sanırım başarmışım. (Ant SK)

Also, he described his thoughts about the possible future occupational choices of his son and accentuated their resemblance with one another:

(...) o da dönüp dolaşıp sanatçı olacak ve o da bizim yaşadığımız sıkıntıları yaşayacak diye korkuyorum. (...) içinde sanat olan, para kazandıran bir sektör bulalım diye düşünüyorum. (...) Ne olabilir, işte tiyatrocunun olabilir. (...) Balet olabilir, müziğe karşı da müthiş yeteneği var. (...) Mekaniği seviyor belki makine mühendisliğine yönelebilir onda da tasarım var. (...) Boran'da benimle aynı yoldan geliyor hem yetenek anlamında hem de ben ona bir model teşkil ediyorum. Beni de takip ediyor, benim takip edebileceğim kimse yoktu, ama artık onun takip edebileceği birisi var. (Ant SK)

Firstly, it is noteworthy that it was essential for him to decide a proper employment area for his son. Yet, he did not try to determine these according to his own choices but wanted to take into account his son's abilities and character. At this point, he proudly expressed that he was able to be a model for him as a father by referring to the similarity between them. Besides, he made a generational comparison by mentioning the absence of his father's guidance. He seemed to find his way alone without the help and guidance of his father, so he did not want to let his son experience the same loneliness.

Besides, social competency appeared as a desired quality in children, and thus fathers supported their children in being more actively involved in extracurricular activities:

(...) aktif olmasını sağlıyorum. Mesela okula başladığı andan itibaren, şeye, ilkokula, sosyal faaliyetlerin içerisine girmesini sağlayacağım. Yani bu folklor olabilir, müzik olabilir, spor olabilir. "Git" diyeceğim, "hangisine girmek istiyorsan" veya hocasına diyeceğim, "deneyin, hangi konuda yeteneği var" falan diye. İnsanlarla kaynaştıkça zaten, o kendini hayata hazırlar. (Tr EG)

This participant had revealed that his father had been very overbearing. For instance he did not allow him to play an instrument with

the thought that this could affect his school negatively. His own thoughts and behaviors were noticeably different from his father's. He said that he would support and guide his son to be socially active and would help him to discover what he had talent for.

Correspondingly, another father also stated that he wanted to raise a socially competent child and tried to increase his child's self confidence:

(...) çocuk özgüvenini, şeyini yitirmesin. Toplum içerisinde de bazı şeyleri yapabiliyorsa yapsın. Demesin yani, utanma, sıkılma o şekilde, terbiyesizlik değil de, sıkılmasın yani. (...) Dedi, "yapayım mı baba?", dedim "yap". Annesi böyle şey yaptı falan. "Yo", dedim "yap. Bir şey olmaz yani" (...) Dedim, "bak. İstanbul'a seni götürürsem, şeye, BKM'ye götüreceğim. Gideriz orada belki şey yaparsın, bir şeyler yaparsın". Bu sefer diyor ki, "ne zaman gideceğiz?". Dedim, "seni götüreceğim". (Di MK)

When his child wanted to imitate a famous comedian, although his wife did not allow him to do so, he encouraged him because he seemed to think that these kinds of things helped his son to be assertive and enterprising. It is important to mention the difference between the role of this father and mother. While mother appeared to be more conservative and protective, the father's attitudes were more encouraging of self competency and self confidence. This was again about the role of fathers to facilitate the adaptive transitions of the children from the family environment to the social world.

Next three participants gave examples of how they induced their children to behave in specific ways which they believed were the right things to do. It showed how their advice positively affected their children's lives. This man gave advice in educational matters and encouraged his son to use his abilities to be successful. His pride is noticeable:

Çocuğumuz okuyor hala son sınıfta Kocaeli iktisatta. Ona da tek başına olmuyor organizasyon gücünü kullan dedim oda kafasına uygun olarak CHP bölge gençlik kolları var oraya girdi. Şimdi başkan yapmışlar 2-3 senedir çalışıyor bayağı bir yerlere geldi. (İst YB)

Another man helped his son solve his educational problems by giving him advice and supporting him to cope with them:

(...) danışmanlarıyla görüşmesi, onların beklentilerine uygun davranması gerekiyorsa babam çok üzgün, sıkıntılı bilmem ne bunu bile söyle dedim, anlayacaklardır. Benim bu bölümü bir şekilde bitirmem lazım veya atılmam lazım diye git konuş dedim. Dersler çakışabilir, şu olur bu olur ama bir şekilde seni sınava alırlar, engel sınavına alırlar senin için ayrı bir sınav açabilirler çok farklı şeyler yapabilirler dedim. Hakikaten oldu. (İst CA)

A third man guided his son regarding occupational decisions and helped him find a job:

“Oğlum sıkma kendi burası, senin evin her zaman açık” dedim. “Ne zaman istiyorsan, ben sıkıldım, de atla gel. (...) Gel sana iş buluruz meslek sahibisin yüksekokul mezunusun. ...”. Geldi burada işini de ayarladık. (İst HT)

It seems that these fathers tried to monitor the lives of their children and were supportive with their advice when it was needed. The directions of the fathers functioned to facilitate their children’s management of educational and occupational matters.

3.2.4. Expectations

Predominantly, most of the current fathers did not have very particular expectations from their children and their attitudes toward children’s choices seemed to be encouraging rather than being restrictive. One crucial thing to note that is that, because majority of these fathers had young children, the examples mostly included imaginary future scenarios.

Two participants below had very definite expectancies in the occupational area. This father wanted his child to be a doctor because of the fact that there was no doctor in his family:

Tabii ki istediklerim var. Ben kesinlikle doktor olmasını istiyorum çünkü doktor olmayan bir kesimden geldiğime inanıyorum, ailemizde de doğru dürüst yok doktor, yok denecek kadar daha yok zaten. Doktor olmasını isterim yani kesinlikle. (Ant IA)

On the other hand, it is apparent that this second father did not think from a utilitarian point of view, but took the gender appropriateness and convenience of working conditions into account. Additionally, unlike Ant IA, it did not seem that this would be a definite decision for his daughter but he cited that it depended on what she would choose to be:

Onun bankacı veya eczacı olmasını istiyorum, okutmak istiyorum (...) temiz, saatleri belli bankacı, öğretmen, eczacı gibi meslekler olmasını istiyorum. Ama zaman ne gösterir o neye karar verir, onu Allah bilir. (Ant BK)

Another father mentioned why he persistently wanted his children to get a job. It seems that he expected them to be responsible adults:

Sinan'ın işe girmesi Sibel'in stajını yapması konusunda da ısrarcı oldum. (...) Ben Sinan'ın yaşındayken Sheraton otelinde Türk lirasıyla aşağı yukarı herhalde 8-9 bin liraya yakın para kazanıyordum. (...) 800-900 lira kazansın hiç olmazsa ama desin ki ben çalışıyorum, sabah şu saatte kalkıyorum, akşam sabah kalkabilmek için şu saatte yatayım. (...) Bunların hepsi bir düzendir. (Ist CA)

It is noticeable that he determined his expectations by comparing himself to his son. Earning money and living in a steady daily routine were the things which he was able to accomplish in his past, and so he hoped his son to do the same. Additionally, he expressed his feelings of disappointment related to his son's failure at school. School success was a

priority in the mind of this participant and his son's refusal to carry out his expectations despite his support and advice, obviously let him down:

Sinan'da ciddi hayal kırıklığı yaşadığımı söyleyebilirim. Sinan kendi yapmak istediği bir takım şeyler olduğunu ve bunları yapamadığı içinde kendi içinde sıkıntılar yaşadığını söylüyor. Bende o anda içinde bulunduğu okulu bir an önce bitirip sonra kendisi neyi istiyorsa onu yapabileceği konusunda ona destek vermeye çalıştım. Ama müthiş bir ayak direme oldu. Okula gitmedi. 1.5 sene okula gitmedi. (Ist CA)

As indicated in the foregoing section, many of the current fathers exhibited more supportive and understanding attitudes toward their children. Eight of them seemed to encourage autonomous behaviors and adapted their own expectations according to their children's own desires. Refraining from intervening in the children's aspirations and encouraging them to choose their own ways were important elements of the new fatherhood:

Mesela dansöz olmak isterse desteklerim. Ne isterse ileride, onu destekleyeceğime eminim yani kişi olarak. Öyle özel, "vay, benim kızım çok iyi doktor olsun" falan derdimiz yok. (...) "şu olmalısın" gibi benim bir hiçbir telakkim olmadı kendisiyle. "Şöyle yap, böyle yap" değil (Ad EC)

This participant regarded his son's abilities and wishes as primary and expressed that he cared more for his son's happiness rather than his choice of occupation:

Ben de çocukluğumdan beri yaşadığım için çok iyi biliyorum ki bir insanın içinden sanatsal bir güç geliyor ise bu gücü ne baskı altına alarak ne çocuğu başka yöne yönlendirerek bu gücü durdurmak mümkün değil. İçeriden böyle bir enerji gelirken niye böyle bir şey yapmak isteyelim ayrıca, çünkü insan yapmak istediği işi yaparsa mutlu olabilir. Benim için çocuğumun ne iş yaptığı değil mutlu olup olmadığı önemli hayatta. (Ant SK)

Both of these fathers spoke very confidently about how they would always support their children in whatever they chose to do in their lives.

These thoughts and attitudes are obviously very fundamental to enhance the social and psychological development of children, and more specifically, their autonomy and self-sufficiency. Similarly, another participant expressed that he would never restrict his child's wishes. Again, the abilities and desires of the child were perceived to be more important than his own expectations:

-Peki, şeyi soracağım, “ben oğluma, babamın bana davrandığı gibi davranmayacağım, şu konularda” dediğiniz şey var mı?
-Birincisi, en önemlisi, çocuğun kendisini bir yeteneğe doğru yönlendirmesine engel olmayacağım. Bu herhangi bir yetenek olabilir. Der ki, belki şey örnek olacak da, “balet olmak istiyorum” (...) diyebilir, hiç önemli değil ya da çocuğun hangi yöne doğru yeteneği varsa, o yöne gitmek istiyorsa asla engellemem. Yani ilk kafamdaki şey o çünkü ben şunu düşünüyorum, bana ilkökul veya ortaokul döneminde bağlama konusunda izin verilseydi, ben belki çok farklı bir konumda ya da iş yapıyor olabilirdim yani. (Tr EG)

Having been frustrated and not having the opportunity to carry out his own desires in the past as a result of the restrictions of his father seems to have motivated this father to behave in more liberal and encouraging ways in his relationship with his own child. The father below discussed how the choices of parents and children can conflict with each other and what he would do in such a situation. His respect for his daughter's choice of marital partner is very noticeable. He allowed for the fact that as parents, they may not always know what was best for her:

(...) O da evlenecek. Bakarız durumuna göre çocuğun uygun birisi mi değil mi diye ona göre karar vereceğiz. Uygun olmadığı halde kendisi illaki istiyorsa kendisi evlenecek bunun da önüne geçemeyiz. Bizim kızımızdır, bir yanlış anlıyoruzdur, tanımıyoruzdur o daha iyi tanıyor. Belki bize göre yanlış ona göre doğrudur, ne bileyim olabilir yani. (Ant BK)

Another father with older children gave a detailed example of an event which had happened. He allowed his son to live alone in what he

considered a dangerous city despite his worries and fears. Although he knew that he could easily refuse his son's wish to live there, he did not choose this despite the risks and he let his son do as he wished:

(...) en delikanlı çağlarını Antalya da geçirdi. En çok korktuğum şey uyuşturucuya, kötü yola sapmak, sadece uyuşturucuyu kullanmak değil onun ticaretini yapan insanlar da var. Aman oğlum bulaşma, tamam peki de, ayrıl gel. Yapılacak şey budur. (...) Ama yaptırmıyordum ilerde bana "baba sen engel oldun, mani oldun. Ben orada eğer şu işi yapsaydım şu derecelere gelebilirdim" demesin diye böyle bir şeye engel olmak istemedim. (...)Orada da yalnız kaldı her şey yapılabilirdi. Her şeyi yapabiliyordu hep rapor etti bize bilgi verdi. (Ist HT)

One crucial thing to understand about this choice of the father is that he apparently did not want to make choices on his son's behalf. His son needed to take the responsibility for his own choices without intervention of the father and both of them needed to live with the consequences. Needless to say, it did not mean that the father should be absent in this process; this participant explained his role as guiding and supporting his children regardless of whether they did right or wrong. On the other hand, he also expressed that he would approach them in a more hesitant and protective way if his daughter was required to live in a different city:

Kızım olsaydı bırakır mıydım? Onu düşünürdüm. Kızımı oralarda tek başına bırakamazdım ta ki kızım öğrencilik hayatını üniversiteyi kazanır da bir yerde okumak gerekirse mecburen bırakırım. Bırakacağım zaten. (Ist HT)

Another father explained that he will not be an intrusive father. Establishing mutual trust in the relationship and being open to each other were crucial to him as well. Abstaining from intervening and allowing his child to discover the right way on her own clearly was a means of supporting the autonomy and self-sufficiency of the child:

Ama şunu yapmasını hep isteyeceğim; kızım ne yaparsan yap anlat, anlatmazsan olmaz, bunun yanlış olduğuna beraber karar verirse bir daha yapmazsın kızım. Bir tek bunu isteyeceğim özellikle yalan söylememesini isteyeceğim. Ona çoğu zaman yaptığı yanlışları belli etmeyeceğim ama içim içimi de yiyecek tabii doğru olduğunu bildiğim, doğruya gideceğini bildiğim içinde onu içime atacağım. (Ad MSC)

Similarly, other four participants described examples of showing respect for the choices of their children and tolerance for their mistakes. For instance, this father talked about his unconditional love and acceptance toward his child:

-Oğlunuz, farz edelim oğlunuz oldu. Oğlunuz eşcinsel olsa, mesela evlatlıktan reddederim?
- (...) Ben seviyorum. Ben çocuğu seviyorum, cinsiyetini sevmiyorum ki. Ben bunu sevmiyorum, ben çocuğu seviyorum. O da benim çocuğum. Erkek olursa eşcinsel olduğu zaman o benden değişmeyecek ki, o yine benim çocuğum. O sadece cinsiyetini değiştiriyor. (Ed YS)

This father revealed that he would support his child even if he turned out to be gay. On the other hand, it is very interesting to see that besides this unconditional acceptance of the hypothetical son, he expressed that he needed to set some limits for his daughter:

-Konuşmasıyla, yürüyüşüyle, ona pek fazla bir hayatta bir şey yapacağımı zannetmiyorum, ne yapmak istiyorsa eğitim olarak, karakter olarak tabii ki bizim de bazı çizgilerimiz vardır. Onların dışına o şekilde çıkamaz.
-Nedir o çizgiler?
-(...)kızınız eve erkek arkadaşını getirecek. Şu anki düşüncelerimle böyle bir şey olmaz. Böyle bir şeye müsaade etmem. (Ed YS)

He spoke about imaginary future conditions in both quotes, but there is a stricter red line for the daughter than the imaginary son. He asserted that his daughter should not exceed these limits and should stay loyal to the expectations of him. There is a limited space of freedom for her.

Another father also emphasized unconditional support and tolerance for possible mistakes of his daughter. Unlike the father before, he did not mention any red lines for her:

(...) Herhangi bir şey olabilir mi şöyle bir şey olursa kızımı evlatlıktan ret ederim diyebileceğim herhangi bir şey olabilir mi? Olmaz, çocuğum her zaman beni çocuğumdur, her şeye rağmen benim çocuğumdur, sahip çıkarım her türlü. İyiyken çocuğum da kötüyken çocuğum olmayacak mı yani (...) (Ant BK)

For this participant, having a child meant not only being proud of the good things in children's lives but also supporting them when they made mistakes. The next participant also gave a similar answer:

İleride onları ret ederim diye bir şey olmaz yani. Ret edemezsin. O senin sonuçta çocuğun. Eğer onların bir yanlışı varsa o da mutlaka bizden kaynaklanıyordur. Olabilir, yani sen her şeyi yaparsın, kapasitesi o kadar olabilir, yani huyu öyledir. Atamazsın yani, evladın sonuçta. Atılır mı, atılmaz. Öyle bir şey düşünmüyorum yani ben çocuğumu, şu hareketi yaparsa silerim diyemiyorum. (Kon YI)

He was aware of the limits of his interventions, and the fact that his child had a unique character and choices. Additionally, as somebody who raised his children, he seemed to be willing to own up to part of the responsibility for his child's potential misdeeds. As said in the beginning, expectations held for children were very limited and determined according to the choices of children. When the interviewer asked the question of whether he preferred his daughter to be more mannish or coy this participant expressed very clearly what he thought:

Benim istemem önemli değil. O nasıl bir insan olacak? (Ed YS)

Also, he described the character of his daughter and highlighted his limited control over her behaviors and choices:

(...) akşam bir misafirimiz vardı evimizde, 3 yaşında erkek, aşırı derecede sinirli, bizimkine trenle başına vurdu. Bizimki onu tuttu, "bırakın beni döveceğim" diyor. "Bırakın beni döveceğim, sana

söylüyorum beni sinir etme”. Benimki, 2,5 yaşında. (...) Kendi yaş çevresindeki bütün herkesi sindiriyor. (Ed YS)

Zaten bazı şeyler bizim dışımızda çıkıyor. Dediğim gibi biz yeni bir yere taşındık ben daha çevreyi tanıırken herkes benim kızımı tanıyor. Ben dışarıya çıkıyorum herkes kızımın ismini söylüyor, dedim çocuk mahallede amma popüler. Bir şekilde o insanları etkilemiş. (Ed YS)

He described a very dominant and sociable child and he seemed to be adjusting his own expectations to her unique characteristics rather than inhibiting her. He had talked about that how his father strictly expected submission to his rules and expectations. Hence, comparing two generations with each other gives a clear picture of the changes in doing fatherhood.

The two fathers below also mentioned that their expectancies and guidance will not be enough to shape their children’s choices and behaviors as there were things which were beyond their wishes for them:

(...) her şeyi öğreteceğiz ama ileride seçim tabii onların olacak yani. Sen ne kadar öğretirsen öğret, çocuk tabii içinde olmazsa onu da yapacak, bunu da yapacak. O zamanlar iyi diyorlardı, kötüyü de öğrendik. (Kon YI)

(...) ben hep şuna da inanırım, siz okul dönemine kadar o çocuğu ne kadar eğitirseniz eğitin, bu çocuk okul döneminde girdiği arkadaş grubuyla orantılı olarak büyüyecek. (...) O eve geldiğinde sizin, biz de öyleydik, hani eğitilmiş, güzel bir evlat muamelesi ya da öyle bir görüntü çizecek ama o, okul hayatında farklı yaşayabilecek yani. Tamamen, ben şuna inanıyorum ki, okul döneminden itibaren girilen arkadaş çevresi sizin hayatınıza yön verebiliyor. (Tr EG)

Both of them gave examples from their own past to describe the limited influence of fathers on children and cited peers as being a much more influential factor on children’s lives once they started school. In the following quotes, two participants expressed their thoughts about how as their children grow, the present dynamics of father-child relationship will change and how their importance in the minds of children will decrease:

(...)Baba olarak bildiđi için benim kızım şimdi her şey de babam babam diyor. Yarın öbür gün babam ne bilir diyecek, beni de beğenmeyecek, benim beğenmediđi taraflarım olacak o zaman başka bir şey diyecek. Bu sefer kafasındaki idol baba gidecek başka bir baba gelecek. (...) boynuz kulađı geçecek. (Ad MSC)

Yani deđiřiyor artık bir yerden sonra. 20 yıl sonra genç, şimdi 8 yaşında, seneye, 10 yıl sonra genç kız. Bizi zaten beğenmeyecek. Ne bileyim, kaçır mı, gider mi, okulu mu bırakır, dünya turuna mı çıkar, bilemiyoruz hakikaten. (Ad EC)

According to these fathers, it is obvious that they will not remain as omnipotent, idealized figures in their children's lives. As children become members of the social world, they begin to behave autonomously and this is perceived as an inevitable reality.

CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study aimed to examine the construction of fatherhood and the quality of father-child relationships among two generations of men in Turkey, with an eye to explore intergenerational continuities and changes. The findings essentially correspond with the results of a large body of quantitative and qualitative fatherhood research. Although there were few studies directly focusing on Turkish fatherhood, the widely-used themes of “traditional” and “new” fatherhood were mostly sufficient to define fathering characteristics of the current sample. In this study, these two main themes were used to explore the categorical differentiation of the first generation fatherhood from the second and to follow the changing fathering forms over time.

Majority of the participants defined their fathers characteristically as “traditional” considering the four dimensions of hierarchy, emotional sharing/caring, guidance/role modeling and expectations: high levels of authoritarian hierarchy between fathers and sons, emotionally and physically distant relationships, moral guidance/teaching and expectations of obedience and loyalty. These defining features are very concordant with the authoritarian-distant breadwinner model of fatherhood as generally illustrated in the literature (e.g., Deinhart, 1998; Freeman, 2008; Silverstein et al., 2002; Seidler, 2003).

In terms of these men’s definitions of their own fathering patterns, the same dimensions were used: decreased levels of hierarchy between fathers and children, more emotionally close and caring relationships,

more active guidance not only as moral teachings but in terms of trying to enhance social competency in children, decrease in the expectations of obedience but higher expectations for autonomy and achievements. Most studies have documented parallel descriptions considering the new more involved forms of fathering (e.g., Cooper, 2000; Dermott, 2003; Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; Morman and Floyd, 2006).

In line with grounded theory, results were presented based on participants' own explanations about the issue as much as possible. In this section, these defined dimensions are discussed according to theories about fatherhood. Generally, the categories are examined according to the observed similarities and differences within the data, and the various associations among these four main dimensions of both traditional and new fatherhood are discussed to come up with a more comprehensive picture. First and second generation fatherhood are discussed respectively in terms of the four dimensions of hierarchy, emotional sharing/caring, guidance/role modeling and expectations. Then, intergenerational continuities and discontinuities are examined according to the related theoretical literature.

4.1. First Generation Fatherhood: Traditional Fatherhood

4.1.1. Hierarchy and Emotional Sharing/Caring

Roland (1988, 2005) proposed the term “structural/formal hierarchy” to define the nature of generational and gender relationships in patriarchal families. He pointed out that in such families, the man of the house has an unquestionable superiority in his position upon his children and wife, and that as a result of this hierarchical superiority, there are

distinct rules of proper behaviors and attitudes toward the father. As proposed in literature, while the position of authority enables a powerful control mechanism for fathers over children, it constrains the emotional aspects of relationships because maintaining the hierarchical superiority necessitates being in an emotionally remote relationship (Fişek, 1995). In the present study, the relational distance as a consequence of hierarchical rules was also found as the most defining characteristic of first generation father-son relationships. Fathers of first generation were generally perceived as distant/formal figures who were not intimately involved in their children's lives; who avoided any expression of their positive/rewarding feelings toward their sons, and who were mostly punitive, intolerant and feared. It seems that the emotional distance of fathers and rigidity in their fatherhood attitudes were determined by the nature of "structural/formal hierarchy" between fathers and sons as defined by Roland.

As defining features of hierarchical relationships, respect, subordination and compliance emerged as the most central expectations first generation fathers had of their sons. Any sign of disobedience was perceived as disrespecting fathers' authority and resulted in punishment. As a result of this powerful authority, there were unspoken but strictly obeyed rules of hierarchy between fathers and sons in terms of behaviors and communication; for example, sons were not allowed to smoke around their fathers, they could barely express their wishes, and acting out of these rules implied disrespect for the hierarchical superiority of fathers. Hence, limited communication, behavioral restrictions and punishments seemed to

lock the father-son relationships into a very rigid formality and obstructed the possibilities of intimate sharing and involvement.

The established relational distance between fathers and sons appeared to function as a buffer mechanism which protected the hierarchical boundaries between them. Congruently, Roland (1988) stated that the hierarchical nature of relationships crucially enhances the well-being of the extended family because the clear-cut responsibilities and rules maintain the proper functioning of the family. Hence, if fathers and children have strictly defined roles which hold them relationally distant from each other, and contribute to the maintenance of hierarchical relationships, the possibility of experiencing conflictual situations are minimized, which results in harmonious/conflict-free family functioning as Sunar and Fişek (2005) pointed out as a prominent characteristic of traditional Turkish family. Similarly, in the current study, there were hardly any conflicts experienced between fathers and sons in the families of origin; sons' expressions of negative feelings such as resentment or frustrations toward fathers were revealed as very rare; and mothers mostly functioned as mediators of relationships between fathers and sons.

As described by Kağıtçıbaşı (1996, 2002), traditional/rural Turkish household has interdependent family structure, reflecting both emotional and material dependence of family members on each other. In the patriarchal household, children and wife are dependent on the man in the house regarding his function as a provider and protector; at older ages parents become dependent on their children, especially on their sons both psychologically and materially. Sons become responsible for maintaining

their fathers' jobs, providing for the extended family and enabling old age security for parents. Yet, this does not mean that the authoritarian position relocates from father to son; father as the oldest man in the house still maintains his hierarchical dominance over the family members (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Kıray, 1976; Roland, 1988). Although over time, nurturance begins to move from sons to parents as an aspect of generational hierarchy (Wood, 1988), authoritarian hierarchy between fathers and sons remains the same.

The emotional rigidity and strict hierarchal boundaries of first generation fathers can be explained with the structure of traditional families. Majority of the first generation families were of the rural/extended type with an intra-relationship structure of strong interdependence between family members. Emphasizing loyalty and deference from children to fathers and keeping overt conflicts, especially between sons and fathers, at a minimum level appeared as essential to maintaining the functionality of the interdependent family structure; a son rebelling against his father would both sever the authority of the father and make things difficult for the smooth functioning of the interdependent family (Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Establishing emotionally intimate relationships with children has risks for maintaining generational hierarchy because as closeness and equality between parents and children increase, children begin to strive for more independence for themselves, and as a result, the very high possibility of experiencing conflictual relationships emerges as discussed by Fişek (2011).

4.1.1.1. Expression of Emotions

Based on foregoing arguments, in line with the expectation that the negative feelings were either missing or only implied slightly in the stories of most of the participants. Rather than being expressed as anger, resentment or blame, the negative past experiences with the father seem to be repaired with retrospective empathy, understanding and gratefulness towards them. It can be suggested that voicing any negative argument against the father was perceived as insolence because of the strongly internalized patriarchal rules. Accepting father's given authoritarian superiority and showing loyalty and respect toward his position by silencing conflictual thoughts and feelings have been particularly observed in the research on traditional families (Roland, 1988).

Yet, the absence of negative feelings and overt conflicts do not necessarily mean that they did not exist. Roland (1988) put forward that in patriarchal/traditional societies in which hierarchical relationships prevailed, various nonverbal/ indirect ways were prominently used to solve conflicts or to show intimacy rather than the verbal communication as in Western societies. Similarly, in the present sample, both positive and negative feelings appeared to be experienced implicitly. Yet, the patterns of direct and indirect communication seemed to differ with respect to who communicates with whom and the content of the message. First generation fathers expressed their negative feelings and thoughts to their children explicitly and directly, yet positive emotions and thoughts were mostly communicated in indirect and implicit ways. The negative communication patterns apparently empower the hierarchical boundaries between fathers

and sons; these fear and anxiety provoking attitudes of the fathers implied his powerful superiority over his children by reinforcing obedience and subordination. Yet, the expression of positive feelings and thoughts seemed to be perceived as risky in terms of the formality of their relationships as it might disturb hierarchical boundaries between them. In addition, these men were never allowed to go against their fathers in explicit ways and in case they did, it was punished. In line with this finding, Sunar (2002) also illustrated that parents from all three generations had low levels of tolerance for the expression of negative feelings by their children despite the increasing intimacy between parents and children over the generations.

According to Roland (1988), these two different levels of communication as nonverbal and verbal emerge as a result of the unbalance between structural and qualitative modes of hierarchical relationships. He described the qualitative mode of hierarchy as interdependence and feelings of cohesiveness between family members; highly emotional and warm family atmosphere; and sensitivity to others' needs and feelings. Roland also put forward that this mode of hierarchy is mostly expressed in unconscious/nonverbal level for emphatic understanding. In fact, although first generation fathers never expressed their love for their children, the strong belief in the fathers' love and empathic understanding toward them can be observed commonly in the majority of current participants' narrations. Hence, this implicit communication of intimate feelings resulted in enhancement of emotional

closeness between fathers and sons without disturbing the structural hierarchy.

Another essential point noted by Roland (1988) is that any disruptive or ambivalent feelings or thoughts in conflict with the hierarchical relationship structure are repressed, rejected or contained defensively to continue the functionality of the relationship. This pattern was also represented in the original father-son relationships of this study's participants. Regarding the stiff punishment, control and rigidity in the expression of positive feelings, participants rationalized these by attributing them to cultural factors instead of the personalities of their fathers. This defensive stance both protected their feelings of loyalty and respect to their fathers and saved their psychological well-being by reversing the negative situation to a more positive one.

4.1.1.2. Influence of Cultural Discourses

Besides these psychologically based explanations above, cultural discourses of the time which crucially contributed to construction of fatherhood behaviors probably influenced participants' meaning making mechanisms regarding their fathers. As mentioned before, the perceptions of parenthood attitudes and behaviors show variances with regard to cultural and contextual differences (Ayçiçeği-Dinn & Sunar, 2011) So, participants' self-protective approach in response to their fathers' lack of emotional and physical involvement and rigid discipline patterns should not only be regarded as rationalization to repress anger or frustration.

As reported by various studies in traditional/patriarchal cultures, fathers' roles of providing and establishing authority and control are

perceived by children as a function of their caring concern (Bartkowski & Xu, 2000; Fişek, 1995; Hauari & Hollingworth, 2009). Almost all the participants in this current study pointed out a traditional division of labor in their families of origin where mothers' function was to care and love, and fathers' function was to provide, protect and control. In line with this, the authoritarian/symbolic presence of the first generation fathers and the fulfillment of the responsibilities for providing and protecting were perceived as normative and sufficient to meet the demands of doing responsible fatherhood; furthermore, children's appreciation of the importance of these roles appeared to recompense for the negative feelings which might have been caused by relational distance.

Similarly, Snarey (1993) found that men mostly contextualized their fathers' shortcomings by referring to the difficulties of breadwinning responsibility of those times. He stated that men reworked these shortcomings "...by transforming their anger ... into a sense of sadness for and understanding of the conditions under which their own fathers had functioned" (p. 329). In parallel, Sancar (2009) found that despite the unsatisfactory nature of the father-son interaction, men largely appreciated the breadwinning role of their fathers and the empathy and understanding toward fathers increased retrospectively. With respect to the current study, most of the first generation fathers worked in very hard conditions –such as working away from families or working in two jobs - to meet the material well-being of their families. As in these different studies (Sancar, 2009; Snarey, 1993), although the limited interaction between them made the fathers like strangers in the eyes of their children, these feelings of lack

in the past were repaired with the currently established empathy and emphasis on the fathers' sacrifices for their families.

4.1.1.3. Lack of Empathy

The empathic stance towards fathers and the lack of criticism and questioning was not found in all the participants' stories; so why was this protective shield missing for some participants and what did this mean for these participants' psychological well-beings? It seems that the quality of negative experiences with the fathers played an important role in this observed difference. The four participants who complained about their fathers' emotional detachment (Ad MSC, Ed YS, Ant IA and Ist HT) described their father's attitudes as more neglectful or inflexibly inhibiting when compared to the other participants; so compensating for or rationalizing these attitudes and behaviors by attributing them to contextual factors seemed to be impossible for these four men.

Roland (1988) stated that for the sake of reciprocity in hierarchical relationships, while children are expected to behave obediently, parents should show their care, nurturance and responsibility to their children. Congruently, for these four participants, this required reciprocity in their relationships appeared to fail as a result of their fathers' excessive avoidance of showing care or love towards them. Thus, this refraction seemed to cause an increased reaction to the negative experiences of the past father-son relationships and resulted in feelings of frustration, sadness, resentment and deprivation toward their fathers. Üstünel (2010) also showed in her study that fathers' failure to provide this level of care resulted in feelings of rejection, hurtfulness and anger in children.

Tentatively, as the numbers are small, socio-economic status of participants' families of origins emerged as a second important factor regarding empathy with the fathers. Three participants who criticized their fathers in terms of physical punishment (Ist CA) or neglectfulness (Ist HT) or behaving in inconsistent ways (Ist YB) were raised in urban families with social and economic advantages. This difference can be explained in several ways. As Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) stated that with the increase in urbanization and economic well-being, the material interdependence within family decreases, and in return, autonomy in children's behaviors begins to be tolerated and desired more. This may create a permissive environment for children to express their negative feelings more freely without perceiving this as disrespectfulness to the father. For instance, Ist YB described an open-minded father who tolerated and supported his children's individual decisions and behaviors and it seems that he also felt free to criticize him.

On the contrary to other participants, these three men did not normalize their fathers' authoritarian positions with reference to influence of contextual differences upon fatherhood norms and attitudes. As coherent with this, previous studies in Turkey found that children in high SES families associated the parental control with rejection rather than perceiving it as normal (Sunar, 2009; Sunar & Aycicegi-Dinn, 2011). Even though authoritarian control mechanisms and unavailability of fathers were empathically understood and accepted as typical because of contextual and cultural factors of most of the participants in this study, these persons

seemingly expected from their fathers more involvement due to the changed fatherhood ideal in their minds.

4.1.1.4. Masculinity and Fatherhood

The authoritarian hierarchy and emotional distance between fathers and sons in the families of origin can also be explained with the fact that position of fatherhood is also a part of masculine identity. Seidler (2003) pointed out that nature of masculinity is fragile precisely because the “position” of being masculine is a thing which you must always protect in order to never lose it. According to Seidler, one of the ways for verification of your manhood in the eyes of society is to successfully represent your family in the public by fulfilling the proper fatherhood roles. Hence, fathering consists of being an authority in the family by being able to be in control; performing these authoritarian patterns of fatherhood within the fragile position of masculinity requires being emotionally and physically aloof from children. These suggestions reflected very well the hierarchically superior position of first generation fathers toward their children. All behavioral and communicative restrictions seemed to reflect the inequality between fathers and sons vis a vis manhood where fathers were always superior to sons. Also, first generation fathers’ excessive avoidance of expressing positive feelings with the fear of pampering children and losing control can be explained with the idea that any signs of softness toward the children, behaving in affectionate ways or over involvement with them can threaten normative masculine identity and can be perceived as risky for appropriate discipline and control over children (Frosh, 1997; Seidler, 2003).

According to Sirman (2001) the notion of fatherhood in Turkey has been commonly perceived more as the masculine position in the life-span development of manhood rather than as a relational position per se. Hence, the proper fulfillment of normative fatherhood roles -providing, protecting and disciplining- to protect this superior masculine position becomes more of an issue for men. Sancar (2009) proposed that in low SES families -as first generations families in current study were - fatherhood becomes a more risky and fragile in the perceptions of men because inability to provide resulted in possibilities of losing their hierarchically superior and respected positions. Sancar suggested that this increases both the attributed importance of the breadwinning role and also the need to behave in rigid authoritarian ways as a strategy to maintain the masculine identity as similarly shown in Bolak's study (2002). Although the men in her study were not stable providers for their families and their wives carried out this responsibility, they continued to attempt to maintain their position as authority figures by protecting the hierarchical distance toward their children.

4.1.1.5. Closeness between Fathers and Sons

Regarding the different patterns of fatherhood among first generation fathers, there were two persons (Tr HK, Ant ME) who described emotionally close relationships with their fathers with more flexible hierarchal boundaries. Doing joint activities with fathers, using their guidance to learn life, sharing the good and bad with them, feeling their unconditional love and concern and seeing fathers' efforts to fulfill all wishes of them were important themes in these participants' narratives

about their fathers. When the common points in these persons' stories were explored, it was interesting to find that both of these men described intolerant and restrictive mothers on the contrary to intimate relationships with their fathers. Hence, it seems that the traditional motherhood and fatherhood roles described by other participants were switched around in these families. A similar displacement of traditional parenting roles was also illustrated in Üstünel's study (2010) within urban origin families. Similar to Üstünel's findings, while these few first generation fathers in this study were perceived with their positive relational characteristics, mothers in the same families were described as distant and insensitive.

In the stories of these participants, indifferent and distant relationships with mothers were associated with their traditional nature, reflecting their lack of knowledge about the social world. In contrast to mothers, there were an emphasis on fathers' enhanced knowledge about and involvement in the public world. As a result of these fathers' essential roles in introducing the children to the outside world, the relationships with fathers became more intimate and enjoyable. In line with these explanations, such features as being humorous, enhancing children's social abilities or supporting self-directed behaviors and competitiveness were observed to be fathers' crucial contributions to their children's lives when compared to mothers' tendencies to protect and control. Similar observations have been made in previous research elsewhere (Cabrera et al., 2000; Lareau, 2000).

One of these participants (Tr HK) also mentioned that despite his closeness to his father, none of his older brothers or sisters could establish

such an intimate relationship with him because his father was very authoritarian and rigid in his interactions with the other children. It seems that while his need for establishing authoritarian hierarchy decreased with his last child, the qualitative modes of hierarchy (Roland, 1988) including concern and nurturance from parents to children, increased. This may be related with the increased maturity and experience of the father which resulted in greater self-confidence to show more caring and sensitive attitudes rather than avoiding closeness with the fear of losing control. Belsky (1984) reported that the psychological maturity of parents was one of the positive influential factors on parenting practices. Also, in an older age as this father was, fatherhood may become appreciated more as a relational position rather than representing the last developmental point of masculine identity as proposed by Sirman (2001). Ensuring his authoritarian masculine position at younger ages could set free this father to establish a more flexible relationship with his last child. Regardless of the explanation, this example indicated that fatherhood attitudes may not remain as constant, that fathers may modify their attitudes within their life-span development, and, may change their parenting patterns over time.

4.1.2. Guidance/Role Modeling

The role of guidance/ role modeling was perceived as a unique aspect of first generation fatherhood through which sons felt the closeness and concern of their fathers. Appealing to their fathers' knowledge and experience, listening to their advices, observing their behaviors and modeling them emerged as important themes and reflected the generativity of fathers, described by Erickson (1982; cited in Hawkins, Christiansen,

Sargent, & Hill, 1995) as “an interest in establishing and guiding the next generation” (p.44). Hence, despite the hierarchical rigidity and lack of emotional care of first generation fathers, guidance and role modeling children seemed to be a way of showing their interest and care toward their offspring as much as the responsibility of providing was.

Historically, guidance/ modeling has been perceived as one of the most rooted and unchanging roles of fathers besides breadwinning, although its meanings and practices have been transformed over time. Traditionally, religious and moral guidance, teaching of appropriate behavior in the social world, establishing the link with the public life for the children and being a masculine model for their sons to ensure their heterosexual/masculine identity were defined as main roles of fathers, and especially for fathers of sons (Etchegoyen, 2002; Freeman, 2008; Stearns, 1991). These ways of guidance were similarly observed for the first generation fatherhood in the current study, expressed in terms of giving moral advice, being a model of honesty and good ethics, supporting the education of children, and ensuring their proper socialization.

Additionally, encouraging and directing self-sufficient and competent behaviors in children were mentioned by a limited number of participants (Ist YB, Ant ME, Tr HK). This might be related with the fact that dependency and loyalty rather than self-direction were more desired and supported qualities in children. The fathers of these three participants were described as being supportive and tolerant, and lend support to the previous arguments made by family researchers in Turkey that decrease in

hierarchy results in encouragement of individual success and self-sufficiency in children (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Sunar & Fişek, 2005).

However, it should be noted that only six out of fifteen participants talked about their fathers' roles of guidance and role modeling. Basically, the physical unavailability of first generation fathers for children due to occupational reasons might be a cause of this limitation in guidance. Mintz (1998) has also suggested that the physical distance of fathers from their households also restricts these kinds of paternal roles. In addition, although fathers' links with the outside world were important for socialization of children especially when they were young, the educational differences between fathers and sons might have created an obstruction in guiding children as they grew up. Most of the first generations fathers had lower level of education and worked in low-skilled jobs so it is possible that their limited educational and occupational experiences might have remained insufficient to guide children due to the increasing level of education and independence of their children. For instance, as congruent with this suggestion, one of the participants (Ant IA) complained about his family's lack of interest in social activities and stated this as a reason for the fact that nobody was there who could have been a model for enhancing his upbringing.

4.1.3. Expectations

This dimension similar to guidance/role modeling was mentioned by relatively fewer numbers of participants. Only common prospects such as proper schooling or work-related expectations were revealed by participants. Generally, the expectations of fathers appeared as reasons for

experiencing conflict and feeling disappointed when they counteracted participants' own wishes. Parallel with the authoritarian nature of first generation fathering, rather than trying to listen the child and find a fair way for reconciliation of these conflicting demands, inhibition and discouragement of children's own wishes emerged as a way to resolve these types of conflicts. Under such conditions of inhibition, two types of reactions were stated by participants: showing loyalty to the decisions of the father at first but trying to find a way to fulfill his wishes without need for any negotiation with the father, or indirectly insisting on his repugnance toward the father's demands by using the mediation of others to communicate with him. As a very prominent aspect of hierarchical relationships between fathers and sons, expressing one's own wishes to the father, especially the conflictual ones, and behaving accordingly were very rare as this way of acting was perceived as disrespectfulness to the authority of fathers. Yet, this does not mean that children always obeyed the rules without questioning; they tried to cope with these conflictual situations and to carry out their own wishes without confronting the father directly, aptly described by Roland (1988) as that "...in a joint household, children develop into minor politicians to fulfill their wishes..." (p. 222).

Although these arguments were continued in the reports of very limited number of participants, theoretical elucidation of the dimension of expectations will be helpful for further understanding of the dynamics of hierarchical relationships between fathers and sons. Kıray (1976) indicated that main conflicts arise due to the divergence of the traditional expectations of fathers from the changing demands of children. Finding a

job or maintaining fathers' line of work when possible, marrying with a proper woman chosen by the father or at least approved by him, continuing to live either in the father's house or close to it and taking on the major responsibilities of both their family of origin and their current families were commonly depicted aspirations of traditional/patriarchal fathers from their sons (Kıray, 1976). However, newer generations have been distancing themselves from these traditional patterns more and more with the corresponding societal and cultural changes; consequence of this discrepancy is intergenerational conflicts as sons want to behave more independently, to continue their education, to choose their own jobs and to live separately in their nuclear families. These described divergences and conflicts in terms of expectations were observed in the current study as well, even though the related examples were not so common in the narratives of participants.

Sunar and Fişek (2005) put forward that in traditionally structured families, the main goals of parenting were stressed as ensuring loyalty, respectfulness and decency of children; these also clearly emerged in the current study regarding the first generation fathering. As underlying reasons of these prominent expectations, son's perceived responsibilities to represent his family in society and to maintain its honorable position, explained by Roland (2005) by the means of "we-self esteem" concept were identified. The child in the family was not perceived as only representing and carrying out his individual self-esteem, but his public presence always referred to his whole family. So, shaping the behaviors of

children with strict control and inhibitions according to culturally given norms became one of the significant prospects of families.

Proving oneself to the father by meeting their expectations was also revealed as another essential dynamic in father-son relationships of four participants (Ist CA, Ad MSC, Tr EG, Ant ME). For two of these participants (Ist CA, Ad MSC), low expectations of their fathers resulted in feelings of ambition to do their best and showing these achievements to them. It can be thought that expecting something good from children and expressing this trust to them are encouraging and motivating for children to achieve as in the case of Ant ME; on the other hand, feeling the lack of these basic expectations and beliefs in their fathers might have been disappointing for these two participants. Hence, the aim of proving oneself can be seen as a psychological reparation process for handling the feeling of frustration.

4.2. Second Generation Fatherhood: New Fatherhood

4.2.1. Hierarchy and Emotional Sharing/Caring

The dimension of hierarchy was found to be less explanatory regarding the second generation fatherhood. Establishing intimate relationships with children became a more prominent theme in the stories of participants. In terms of hierarchy and emotional sharing/caring dimensions, these participants defined their own fathering attitudes with less hierarchical distance, more flexible communication and behaviors, less coercive control methods, more tolerance and support for children's self-directedness, more involvement in child care; more availability for

and engagement in their children's daily lives and development, and more emotional investment in child raising.

To understand this changing nature of fatherhood, the family change in Turkey as a result of huge social and economical differences should be explored. Turkey has been in transformation since the 1950s from being a predominantly rural-agricultural society with highly patriarchal and traditional family characteristic to being a more urban and industrialized country with an increasing trend towards a more egalitarian family structure (Duben, 2002; Sunar & Fişek, 2005; Timur, 1972). This documented family transformation seemed to be represented in this study's sample as well. While for a few exceptions, the first generation fathers were less educated and worked in low-skilled jobs within rural/ traditional and low-SES families, the second generation fathers are highly educated and work in better jobs when compared to their own fathers and almost all are urban resident and middle class. Thus, it can be proposed that these contextual differences may have played crucial roles in the changing nature of fatherhood from first to second generation.

As shown out in many studies, socio-economic differences play a significant role on how fathers conduct their parenting (Bronte-Tinkew, Carrano, & Guzman, 2006; Erickson & Gecas, 1991; Marsiglio, Amato, Day, & Lamb, 2000; Shows & Gerstel, 2009). Findings of these studies showed that educational, occupational and economic advantages have positive effects on fathering behaviors and attitudes, reflecting the new fatherhood discourse. In the light of these studies, the emergence of more involved, emotionally sharing and democratic fatherhood behaviors

becomes expected from the second generation because they seem to be one step ahead to their fathers in terms of socio-economic status.

Kağıtçıbaşı's (1996, 2002) "family change model" is helpful in trying to understand how these contextual differences may influence the fathering patterns. According to Kağıtçıbaşı, family structures and intra-family relationships show diversity according to socio-cultural characteristics. She proposed that the transformation in family structure from rural/ low SES to urbanized/higher SES resulted in a model of change from total interdependence (material/social/psychological) to only psychological/emotional interdependence. As reflected in value of children studies, child rearing practices become less authoritarian and coercive with the decrease in economical/utilitarian value of children (Aycicegi-Dinn & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982, 1996, 2002; Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). Concurrently, positive relational features, including more emotional closeness and more tolerance/ support toward children, are enhanced in parent-child relationships due to increasing psychological value which includes getting joy, companionship, love or pride from child rearing.

Correspondingly, one of the main themes in the narration of participants about current father-child relationships is their feelings of satisfaction and pride from having children and being a part of their lives. Participants' emotional commitment to child rearing seems to be very central in their identity as fathers. This emotional commitment seems to result in more active father care and concern in father-child relationships

with the intention of being an important and more central figure in children's lives rather than being a third to mother-child dyad.

As a result of this intention to be a main relational figure for the child, the formal nature of father-child relationships, based on authoritarian hierarchy, seemed to be disappearing in the second generation fatherhood. In Roland's (1988) terms, unbalanced state between structural hierarchy and qualitative modes of hierarchy seemed to lessen in these participants' current families. As described before, although the emotional attachment and harmony within the family were emphasized as characteristics of traditional families, this feeling of closeness could be experienced only at an implicit and nonverbal level because of the dimension of structural hierarchy (Roland, 1988; Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Thus, when structural hierarchy is loosened in child rearing, emotional closeness could be experienced in unconcealed ways. This establishment of open intimacy between fathers and children without rigid hierarchical boundaries was reflected in the enhanced freedom in self-expression both for children and fathers and in the decrease in behavioral restriction.

4.2.1.1. Control and Tolerance in Child-rearing

In parallel, obedience oriented discipline methods in current fathers' child rearing were not observed to be as prevalent as in the past. Authoritarian control methods such as physical punishment were found as very rare for second generation fathers. Similarly, Kağıtçıbaşı (2005) and Sunar (2002) showed that coerciveness in discipline was not found to be a common practice in younger generation parents in Turkey. However, regarding the present research, the dimension of control did not totally

disappear from the participants' child rearing methods; rather its meaning, purpose and practice were subject to change. Obedience and subordination signifying the hierarchical inequality between fathers and children were not stated as goals of having control over children anymore. Participants reported that establishing control is important for ordering the lives of their children, setting some rules for them to make their lives easy and safe, knowing whether their children are doing right or wrong and intervening when needed.

Using authoritarian corporal or guilt-inducing methods to forbid the children from doing something and with the goal of establishing control over them was not perceived as effective by current fathers. More democratic attitudes such as communicating with the children, guiding and supporting them, establishing mutual trust in the relationship, being an open-minded figure who tolerates mistakes and being respectful towards their decisions were cited as valuable and efficient ways for monitoring children's behaviors. In line with these findings, various previous studies about Turkish parenting methods also illustrated that egalitarianism in child rearing practices were more prominent in families of middle or high SES –represented by the second generation families of the present study- when compared to authoritarian parenting styles of low SES parents – represented by the first generation families of the present study- (Fişek, 1982; Pehlivanoglu, 1998; Le Compte, Ozer, & Ozer, 1978; cited in Sunar & Aycicegi-Dinn, 2011).

The coexistence of control and permissiveness in child rearing was described as a consequence of continued emotional interdependent

relationships (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002). As a result of the contextual changes such as increasing cultural emphasis on social competency and autonomy for individual achievement, obedience oriented child rearing practices becomes dysfunctional, and autonomy oriented child rearing begins to increase. Yet, the reinforcement of autonomy is still partial because of the highly valued characteristic of relatedness within the family rather than separateness as in the Western family model of independence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002).

The effort for negotiation between control and tolerance in child rearing was debated in the participants' narratives. Some of them seemed to achieve this negotiation more easily without corresponding conflictual feelings or thoughts. As described in foregoing paragraphs, the highly valued way of establishing a balance in child rearing was made possible through the enhancement of communication by means of mutual sharing and trust in the relationship. Yet, the adjustment process from control orientation to autonomy orientation in child rearing did not occur smoothly for some other participants. Although the new/democratic methods tried to be applied, the feelings of ambivalence and insufficiency regarding the quality of their paternal images emerged as a result of noticing that the control over children could not be established properly by these new egalitarian methods.

The seesaws between the persistent but loosened hierarchal nature of father-child relationships and increasing wish for emotional intimacy were also reflected in the theme of "setting limits" for children. Fişek (1991) demonstrated that despite the versatile nature of "proximity"

dimension with respect to differences in socio-economic characteristics such that high education was found as implying more proximity, hierarchical relationships –gender and generational hierarchy- remained as a constant characteristic of the Turkish family structure regardless of contextual differences. Similarly, in this sample, although proximity in father-child relationships increased and became more valuable with the changing context, hierarchy still continued from first to second generation, if with a decreasing tendency. With the increasing importance of the emotional sharing/caring dimension, protecting the hierarchical boundaries became an issue of concern. While current fathers reported that they try to be main relational figures for their children and to be like friends, they stated that they also want to be recognized as authority. As a result, wanting to behave in the manner of equality, showing emotional closeness or fulfilling children's wishes appeared to come into conflict with the fear of losing control over them. This experience of ambivalence between closeness and generational hierarchy was also documented in Sancar's study (2009).

Besides, fathers talked about their concern that too much closeness with the child and lack of restrictions in child rearing would damage the psycho-social development of children. Partially restricting the child, intentionally depriving him/her of something he/she wished and maintaining the relationship within a relative distance were perceived as functional and necessary to raise self-competent, socially capable and psychologically mature kids. Hence, putting some obstructions in children's ways becomes a way of encouraging them to improve their

competence in problem solving as a functional aspect of hierarchical boundaries in father-child relationships.

4.2.1.2. Paternal Availability and Engagement

As indicated before, the availability for and engagement with children, as described by Lamb et al. (2004), became essential aspects of parenting for second generation fathers. Participants' level of both physical and emotional availability and their involvement in child care activities were found as increased as based on their own reports. The enjoyment and satisfaction of being with the child, doing something jointly, observing and monitoring closely his/her development were described by participants as very crucial qualities of fathering. In Palkovitz's (2002) terms, "being there" for children and playing a significant part in their life stories were the most prominent themes of the second generation fatherhood.

Fathers' elevated level of active participation in child rearing indicates some important transformation in traditional gender roles. As represented in the first generation families, traditionally, women are perceived as mainly responsible for housework and child care duties and fathers' roles are restricted to breadwinning and establishing authority. As a result of this traditional division, fathers largely became emotionally distant, boundary drawing figures in their children's eyes. Yet, current fathers' attitudes toward these gendered roles seemed to be adjusted to new norms of involved fatherhood, at least partially, and, consequently, emotional concern and care for children became desired and normative parts of paternal parenting practices besides providing and control.

Along with the internalization of these new fathering roles, current fathers reported that they felt freer in exhibiting their love for children or participating in child care duties such as diapering or bathing the child when compared to their own fathers. Cooper (2000) proposed, especially for middle and upper class men, being an involved father has become an inherent ideal of masculine identities, as much as the traditional breadwinning. This proposition also appeared to be valid for this second generation fatherhood, reflected by the fact that involvement in child rearing in terms of physical and emotional availability is not seen anymore as belonging to the feminine world. Participants perceived their involvement necessary for their children's developmental progress and they pointed out their sensitivity to the children's psychological need for a father. They highlighted the positive effect of their involvement on enhancing children's psycho-social maturity. Additionally, especially for participants who had smaller kids, feeling empathy for their wives and wanting to share the burden of child rearing with them was revealed as a motivating factor for participating in childcare duties.

However, as congruent with the findings of a large body of research, it was found that these depicted changes in fatherhood behaviors remained as partial for second generation fathers. As previous studies showed that although fathers intend to be as much involved in child care as mothers, their engagement continues to be secondary to mothers, expressed as the difference between culture and conduct of fatherhood (Cooper, 2000; LaRossa, 1988, 2007; Lareau, 2000; William, 2008). The reasons for this discrepancy were pronounced as largely having to do with

structural restrictions in men's lives related to the responsibility of breadwinning. Based on the participants' narratives, the role of providing is still accepted as the most crucial and obligatory aspect of doing fatherhood. Haas and O'Brien (2010) stated that the identification with the providing role makes egalitarian division of child care optional for fathers. Similarly, although involvement in child rearing becomes an essential part of current fathers' identities, there is still an inequality in child care work between mothers and fathers, indicating that mothers continue to be at the center of child rearing whereas fathers remain in a peripheral role. In Cooper's (2000) term, the second generation fathers can be described with their "transitional" identities located between traditional and new norms of fatherhood.

As stated before, the contextual disadvantages in the lives of current fathers contribute to this reproduction of traditional fathering and mothering norms. Except for four participants (Ad EC, Ist YB, Tr EG, Ant BK), none of the families are dual-earner, resulting in the emergence of conventional roles for both mothers and fathers, as in the first generation families. Second generation fathers reported that they could not find an easy balance between work and family life and it was stated as unattainable if they want to continue earning money and being successful. As a result of this structural constraint, fathers' availability and engagement level in child care continue to be relatively limited.

As a related issue, it is important to examine the centrality of breadwinning role in these fathers' identities. Being able to properly fulfill the needs of children and in this sense not being a disappointing figure in

their eyes emerged as the most essential reason for why breadwinning responsibility continues to be so essential. When the economic stability of family failed to be maintained, the feelings of insufficiency and impotence seemed to shade all other positive aspects of fatherhood (as observed in the case of Ist CA). Hence, as also reported by Sancar (2009), providing for the family appeared as the most antecedent factor for current generation fathers to perceive themselves as good and responsible figures in the family.

Another important question to be asked is how the occupational statutes of mothers affect the division of labor in households. In line with Pleck and Masciadrelli's (2002) findings, there were no observed differences between dual earner and single earner families in terms of the participation in child care. Although this comparison lacks validity due to the limited number of dual earner parents in this study, it can be helpful to evaluate the reasons why. First of all, it is very meaningful to observe that the couple's time schedules were arranged in men's favor whether or not the woman worked outside the home, which made child care an obligation for mothers whereas a volunteer act for fathers. This can be interpreted as that even though fathers in single as well as dual earner families felt themselves as more democratically oriented toward sharing child rearing duties with their wives, the internalized ideology of traditional gender roles continues to be influential for the construction of fatherhood and motherhood within the family (Bolak, 2002; Craig, 2006; Ranson, 2001). Similarly, in Bolak's study, male participation in domestic labor in most of the studied working class households was generally found fairly minimal

even in the condition of men's unemployment and women's full-time paid work, and often limited to child care.

This controversy between behaviors and attitudes seemed to be compensated by an emphasis on the quality of the time spent with children rather than on its quantity. In line with this finding, a lot of research has revealed that the father's care differs from the mother's care both quantitatively and qualitatively (e.g., Cabrera et al., 2000; Lareau, 2000; Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004; Pleck & Masciadrelli, 2004). While mothers are found to be involved in requisite child care duties fathers' engagement largely includes leisure time such as playing together or doing some out-door activities.

As argued by Dermott (2003) and Dollahite and Hawkins (1998), emphasizing only the inequality between mother and father involvement based on time allocation risks underestimating both the transforming nature of fatherhood and fathers' efforts to change. Current fathers defined their involvement as being stimulating and encouraging for children's cognitive and social development, being a source of enjoyment, relating with them in more intimate ways and being there for them in the condition of need. Hence, although the unbalanced nature of parental and maternal roles continues, it is important to underline these new and crucial contributions of fathers to their children's lives.

4.2.1.3. Feelings of Fathering

The quality of participants' feelings with regard to doing fatherhood is also an important issue to be examined. Being a father does not only elicit positive feelings such as enjoyment, love, pride or

satisfaction but also negative emotions like insufficiency, anger or despair. However, Palkovitz (2002) demonstrated that positive emotions related with fathering were pronounced more than negative emotions even when negative ones were probed in interviews. In the current study, the same pattern also can be observed in the narratives of participants. It was found that fathers rarely expressed their negative feelings of doing fatherhood, and they generally focused on the good feelings of fathering including the satisfaction and enjoyment of having a child and being a part of his/her life; seeing and contributing to their growth and feeling the pride of it; being intimately close to the child; showing love to him/her and also being loved. Although the negativity of fathering was voiced by six participants (Ist CA, Ist HT, Ist ZB, Ad EC, Ad MSC, Ed YS), the negative emotions were also not revealed as intense and overriding as positive emotions in the narratives of these participants except for one (Ist CA). The reported negative feelings were fear and worry about children's well-being and about losing control over them (Ist HT, Ist CA, Ed YS), feeling disappointed because of the son's failure in school (Ist CA) or his daughter's decision to get married without his permission (Ist ZB), feeling insufficient and helpless as a result of inability to achieve the ideals of good fathering (Ist CA), feeling somewhat hopeless toward the future relationships with their children (Ad EC, Ad MSC).

One possible reason for this difference in expressing positive and negative emotions of fathering can be the lack of probing of the negative emotions. Yet, positive feelings of fatherhood were also not probed much; so, it seems that talking about positive aspects of fatherhood more than

negative ones has more different meanings to interpret. Fatherhood experiences probably make these fathers feel positively more than negatively. On the other hand, Roland's (1988) argument about conflictual feelings and thoughts being repressed in traditional/collectivistic cultures with the aim of protecting the harmonious nature of family functioning can be an alternative explanation for the overshadowing of negative emotions. Even though the second generation families are not traditionally constructed like first generation families, as Kağıtçıbaşı (1996, 2002) proposed, strong emotional and psychological interdependency still continues as a collectivistic characteristic of the society and of the new Turkish family. Hence, the negative feelings related with being a father such as fear, anger or helplessness can be perceived as threatening to maintain the responsibilities of fatherhood properly.

In Turkey, there is a very strong cultural/religious belief that the love and care of fathers and mothers are innate and stable, and so feeling emotions inconsistent with these common norms of parenting might be confusing for fathers in terms of their roles. There might be an attempt to maintain the ideal of conflict-free and ultimately capable parenting by repressing or rationalizing the negative aspects of experiences. Bolak (2002) proposed that even for the men who were not able to provide for their families, there was an attempt to maintain the image of "good family men" (p. 246) by underlining the fulfillment of some traditional male responsibilities such as shopping and organization the family finances. This was revealed as a strategy to cope with the feelings of disappointment. Thus, confusing situations and feelings conflicting with

the internalized belief about the fathers' inherently sacrificing, responsible and good existence may have been censored with similar coping mechanisms. Yet, one participant's narrative (Ist CA) differed from the rest in reflecting intense negative feelings about fatherhood including insufficiency, anger, helplessness, disappointment and feeling as an outcast. He generally complained about the distance in his relationship with his children, his inability to establish discipline and experiencing conflict with his wife about child rearing practices. Also, he felt that after his business failed, his children and wives became distant from him. Hence, inability to maintain the economic well-being of his family seemed to result in confronting the fragile ground of fatherhood identity for this father. As argued before, fulfilling the material needs of family increases the feeling of sufficiency, and makes negative aspects of fatherhood experiences less salient.

4.2.1.4. Age and Sex of the Child

Another important dimension is the age range of participants' children. Only four of the second generation fathers have children above the age of eighteen, and others have younger children between one and ten years old. It should be noted that fathers with grown-up children presented a more realistic and comprehensive picture of their fatherhood. This does not mean that fathers with younger children did not describe their fatherhood genuinely; yet their narratives seemed to be influenced by both the future aspirations and the ideal fatherhood norms in their minds as well as their actual fatherhood experiences.

With respect to the emotional sharing/caring and hierarchy dimensions, except for one participant (Ist HT), no profound differences were reported by participants in fathering attitudes due to the gender of their children. Similarly, Snarey (1993) failed to find any significant influence of the child's gender on fathering. Yet, he also reported that the results of studies which investigated the effects of child's gender on childrearing practices do not present a consistent picture on this issue. In parallel with this assumption, Sunar and Fişek (2005) pointed out that boy preference is outstandingly revealed in especially rural families in Turkey and sons receive more encouragement for education due to their higher economic utility than daughters'.

In terms of sons' and daughters' perceptions of their fathers, there are a considerable number of studies which illustrate that gender of the child is an influential factor on how they perceive their parents (Pehlivanoglu, 1998; Sunar, 2002; Sefer, 2006). Generally, daughters are found as perceiving their fathers as more intimate and close than sons do. Similar with these findings, one participant (Ist HT) described his relationship with his son as relatively distant when compared to the relationship with his daughter in terms of emotional sharing/ caring dimension. Fişek (1982) and Bolak (1999) also explained that this distance between father-son relationships functions to preserve the hierarchical boundaries in the family.

4.2.2. Guidance/Role Modeling

Guidance and role modeling is revealed as an essential aspect of second generation fathers' involvement in children's lives with its

increasing crucial value in the construction of fatherhood identity. Besides a stress on moral guidance, supporting individual achievements of children in social, educational and occupational areas by actively participating in and monitoring their lives was expressed as crucial ways of doing fatherhood. In parallel, contributing to children's lives positively and being an important motivating figure in their achievements with their guidance and modeling role appeared as very satisfying and exalting experiences, in line with the stage of generativity as theorized by Erickson (1982; cited in Hawkins, Christiansen, Sargent, & Hill, 1995). Increased educational level can be suggested as one of the contextual reasons for these changing patterns of guidance/role modeling in the second generation. According to Kağıtçıbaşı's family change model (1996, 2002), due to decreased material interdependency, emphasis on children's instrumental values for their families lessen, and instead, their emotional/ psychological values come into more prominence. As educated parents tend to be more achievement orientated in their parenting, with it, the given importance and support to the individual success of the child also goes up (Sunar & Fişek, 2005; Sunar, 2002). Also, more educated fathers seem to be better able to use their knowledge and experience in guiding their children.

This role appeared to reflect the different parenting practices of mothers and fathers. Although it was not elaborated much in the narratives of participants, it seems that fathers have more encouraging and tolerating attitudes toward their children's self-directed behaviors in contrast to mothers' protectiveness and conservatism; this also fits with Sunar's (2002) finding that fathers were perceived as more encouraging of relative

independence in the child by all three generations. As well, it should be elaborated that self-efficacy and competence of children are tried to be ensured with setting limits in their lives. Experiencing/ discovering the difficulties of life and being subjected to some partial deprivations were perceived as strengthening factors for children's characters. With this aim, besides putting limits to the children's lives, fathers restrict themselves from being overly caring to allow children solving problems on their own. So, as corresponding with psychoanalytic proposition, fathers aim to introduce the children with the outside world by creating a rupture in mothers' illusionary protective environment with such restrictive acts (Emanuel, 2002).

Another thing to explore is current fathers' feelings of pleasure and pride resulting from their contributions to children's growth. The resulting effectiveness of paternal involvement with the discourse of spending qualified time with children was found as an emphasized feature of current fatherhood. So, the achievements of children begin to carry the meaning of that their fathering is good and successful and seem to result in increase of fathers' self-esteem which was also reported by Üstünel (2010). With respect to Roland's (1988) suggestion of "we-self" conceptualization of that the self never represents only the individual but it always stands for the whole family, it seems that children's representative value of their families in public with their good morality and successfulness were underlined by both generations, demonstrating the notion "we-ness". Along with this motive, current fathers mostly care about their roles of

being good role models for their children and having the ability to guide them successfully.

It should be noted that the majority of the participants referred to their sons rather than daughters when talking about the guidance/role modeling aspect of relationships. This can be related with the fact guiding and advising sons may be handled in easier ways due to the sameness of gender. As gendered norms of childrearing, feminine modeling of mothers is accepted as pivotal for daughters while fathers are mainly held responsible for masculine modeling for their sons. Although this kind of explanation could not be inferred based on the narratives of participants, this can be an underlining gendered belief shaping the behaviors of fathers.

4.2.3. Expectations

The dimension of expectations is one of the most prominent aspects reflecting the transforming norms of fathering from first to second generation. These related changes are largely associated with the entrance of autonomy in child rearing due to significant changes in contextual requirements (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002). Accordingly, in urban environments parenting styles become achievement oriented and with this motivation assertiveness and autonomy turn out to be more desired qualities in children with the decreasing functionality of obedience to be successful (Sunar, 2002; Sunar & Fişek, 2005; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002; Üstünel, 2010). Hence, corresponding to this reasoning, as expectations of individual success and social- competence from children increase, encouragement and permissiveness toward children's autonomous behaviors begin to be integrated in child rearing practices which can be

commonly observed in fathering of second generation men in the current study.

Promoting social and psychological agency of children necessitates permitting some freedom for child's behaviors, not being overly an intrusive father in terms of child's self-decisions and allowing child to behave mistakenly. Similarly, current fathers indicated to their paternal characteristics of open-mindedness and non-restrictiveness regarding their demands from children and also largely underlined the unconditional support for children's own behaviors and decisions. Rather than insisting on their own specific expectations, fathers tend to behave supportively and understandingly for their children's independent decisions and they try to create a trusting and encouraging environment for their children to think and explore the things in life. Likewise, Sunar (2002) illustrated that in each succeeding generation perceived encouragement for independent behaviors and thinking become greater when compared to previous generations. Also, fathers in high SES families were found to be more supportive for independence than low SES parents (Pehlivanoglu, 1998).

Additionally, the awareness of limited control and influence on children's behaviors and decisions was reported by some fathers. Based on the narratives of these fathers, as children grow and socialize outside home, the things in their lives will inevitably go beyond their fathers' wishes. Hence, expecting children and enforcing them to behave totally according to their fathers' wishes and rules were not accepted as functional rather establishing mutual trust in relationships and enhancing communication as more democratic ways to enable control became a

coping mechanism for fathers to compensate their restricted interventions on children's lives.

This revealed approval for independent behaviors in children can be again interpreted with the decreasing utilitarian values of children with the enhancement of socio-economic conditions. As described before, traditional expectations from children such as maintaining fathers' job or being responsible to take care of parents in older ages implies the importance of being always loyal, dependent and respectful to family (Kıray, 1976; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002). On the other hand, with the improvements in life conditions and reducing material dependence of families to children including old age security resulted in a decline of these traditional expectations from previous to current generations or from low SES to high SES parents (Pehlivanoglu, 1998; Sunar, 2002). Currently, expecting and encouraging autonomous /competent behaviors and individual achievements substitute these traditional prospects.

Likewise, it is important to take into account that as most of these fathers have young children the reported tendency to unconditionally approve and encourage self-directed experiences in children may reflect fathers' intentions rather than actual behaviors. Hence, whether or not their intentions and behaviors will continue as their children grow is not easy to predict from now. It should be noted, however, that fathers with older children talked about very similar predispositions to behave in a supportive and tolerant way towards their children's wishes and decisions, and so, attitudes and behaviors may be relatively congruent for fathers with younger children.

Different from guidance/role modeling dimension, fathers' narratives about the dimensions of expectations included both daughters and sons and except for one participant (Ist HT), nobody reported any significant gender difference in terms of their expectations from children. Hence, it appears that current fathers were generally found as encouraging and supportive of the decisions and wishes of both their sons and daughters. This one participant showed more tolerance and respect for his son's decision to live in another city, he reported that he will be more hesitant to allow his daughter if she similarly decides to live uptown. This difference in his attitude appears consistent with finding in previous studies that compared to daughters, sons perceive their fathers as more permissive and encouraging in terms of their autonomous behaviors (Pehlivanoglu, 1993; Sefer, 2006)

4.3. Fatherhood within the Life-span Development of Men: Modeling and Compensation

In foregoing sections, much change was documented in the patterns of fathering from first to second generation, explained mostly by contextual and socio-cultural differences between the two generations. Improvements in socio-economic and educational backgrounds of second generation families and reflections of increasing cultural emphasis on individualistic values such as independence on child rearing practices (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002; Sunar, 2002; Sunar & Fişek, 2005) were explored as explanations of transformations around fathering norms over time. Yet, exclusive reliance on these context-based explanations may result in overlooking the intergenerational stories in the construction of

fatherhood within the life-span development of men from being fathered to becoming a father, as one of the main questions of this study.

Many researchers have suggested that the past relationships with fathers unavoidably and significantly influence how the adult children of these fathers transform their past experiences in the conduct of their own fathering practices (e.g., Floyd & Morman, 2000; Roy, 2006; Snarey, 1993; Silverstein et al., 2002). The intergenerational fathering patterns with continuities and discontinuities have been generally explored in terms of compensation and modeling. Accordingly, while men whose fathers were caring and close are modeling their fathers' parenting, others whose fathers had indifferent and distant attitudes toward them attempt to differentiate their own fathering from that of their father's by aiming reparation of negative past experiences. Additionally, Snarey (1993) presented a hypothesis which integrated compensation and modeling processes to explain how continuities and discontinuities between generations occur together in the construction of one's fatherhood. Accordingly, men successfully integrate their past experiences into their own fathering by modeling the positive/functional aspects of their own fathers and also by reworking the negative/disappointing experiences to compensate for shortcomings of the past father-son relationships.

In line with these arguments, both compensation and modeling hypotheses were found as valid to explore the experiences of participants in terms of how they build their own fathering with the effects of past fatherhood images in their mind. Firstly, it should be noted that although fathers of the first generation were defined with negative terms such as

indifference, distance and rigidity, almost in all participants' narratives, there was a very basic trust in fathers' unspoken love and concern for themselves. In Roland's (1988) terms, rigid authoritarian control and lack of verbal communication were rationalized as necessities of structural hierarchy; at the same time, emotional closeness and interdependence within the family were maintained at the nonverbal level as qualitative modes of hierarchical relationships found to be prominent characteristics of the Turkish family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2002; Sunar & Fişek, 2005; Sunar, 2002). Congruently, in spite of the negative contents of past experiences with fathers, it seems that most of the participants were able to internalize positive/responsible images of their own fathers as a facilitating factor for intergenerational modeling process. The fulfillments of providing and protecting functions were remembered with the feelings of respect and gratitude which were the prevailing sources of this positive "father presence" in the minds of the participants. Hence, these positive aspects were maintained as basic elements for doing constructive and responsible fatherhood from the previous generation to the current.

On the other hand, there was an attempt to compensate for the negative and unsatisfactory aspects of the past within the current father-child relationships by increasing the level of availability for and engagement with children; behaving in emotionally and communicatively open ways; avoiding authoritarian methods of discipline; being more encouraging, tolerant and permissive. Even though they empathically and respectfully noted that their fathers' unavailability, restrictiveness and emotional distance mostly resulted from the contextual conditions of the

past, the need for changing/ reworking these specific inadequate fatherhood patterns of the previous generation was emphasized. This need for compensation indicates a psychological process of reparation of the disappointing and missing experiences of fathering in their families of origin. Creating emotionally close relationships with their own children seems to be a way of coping with the negative emotions elicited by original father-son relationships. Snarey (1993) argued that establishing an environment in which their children will not suffer as they did in the past constitutes an internal healing mechanism for fathers to overcome their feelings of resentment and sadness toward their fathers.

Hence, alongside an attempt to model positive experiences with fathers, there is also an attempt to not enact their past negative experiences in their relationships with their own children. In the current study, fathers largely inherited their own fathers' providing, protecting and disciplining responsibilities which generally reflect greatly appreciated traditional norms of fathering; yet, they also try to modify these traditional forms by adding some significant new elements into it with the aim of increasing their strength as fathers to compensate for the lacking in the original father-son relationships. Besides fulfilling the basic traditional responsibilities of fathering, participants reported that they tried to do their best by establishing closeness without rigid hierarchical boundaries with their children, something they wished to have had with their own fathers.

However, it should be noted that these efforts to create integration between past and present are not generally achieved in a straight forward way which was described by Snarey (1993) with the following words,

“...good fathers, no matter how well they adapt, never become perfect fathers...” (p. 329). In present research, structural restrictions appeared to be the most pivotal reason for this difficulty to change as similarly asserted by many other researchers (Brannen & Nilson, 2006; Haas & O’Brien, 2010). Fundamentally, even though working conditions improved from the first generation to the second, current fathers are still the main breadwinners of their families, and so the, level of availability and engagement remains limited in terms of time. Lack of proper role modeling is another stated reason for this difficulty in adjustment (LaRossa, 1988, 2007). Some participants in this study reported similar difficulties in their efforts to find appropriate ways of doing fatherhood. Yet, despite the same reported difficulties, except for one participant, they all emphasized and underlined their strengths rather than their deficiencies as fathers. Hence, based on their stories, it can be concluded that most of them are relatively successful in their adaptations to the process of doing fatherhood.

4.4. Strengths and Limitations of the Study

This study attempted to explore and understand the construction of fatherhood in Turkey by comparing two generations of men, with the central aim of following the life course experiences of these men from being fathered to doing fathering. The major contribution of this study is that a considerable amount of qualitative data was analyzed and some meaningful conclusions were derived reflecting the continuities and discontinuities in the fatherhood experiences from the first generation to the second. Although this is a small scale qualitative study, it is

noteworthy that the results are largely consistent with the findings of precious research on the family in Turkey (e.g., Ayçiçeği-Dinn & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Ataca & Sunar, 2005; Bolak, 1999, 2002; Fişek, 1991, 1995; Kağıtçıbaşı, Ataca, & Diri, 2010; Pehlivanoğlu, 1998; Sunar, 2002). Nonetheless, the study also has limitations in terms of methodology, both in terms of the sampling choices and the adaptation of grounded theory to the structure of this research.

Firstly, the limitations of the present sample need to be discussed. It seems that especially second generation fathers were oversampled from the younger, well educated, urban and middle or high SES parents. Yet, the fact that almost all of the participants –except for three (IstYB, Ist HT, Ist CA)- came from families of lower SES levels can partially compensate some part this limitation because the intergenerational comparison also gave a chance to evaluate differences in fathering regarding their socio-economic statue.

The lack of theoretical sampling, defined as an important step in data collection for ensuring the saturation the emerging theoretical categories in grounded theory research can be considered as another methodological restriction of this present research. Charmaz (2006) pointed out that the insights comprised in the initial analyses of gathered data guide researchers to make further inquires to elaborate and strengthen the emerged ideas and concepts in more specified and systemic ways. Hence, some findings of this research remained as unsaturated due to the missing part of this step in data gathering. For instance, the dimensions of guidance/role modeling and expectations could not be elaborated much

because of the relative lack of information about these issues. Because of this limitation, this study can be considered an example of the “abbreviated” version of grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006).

Another issue related to data collection concerns the conduction of interviews by a person other than the researcher, which can be both advantageous and disadvantageous in terms of the emerging themes. For example, if interviews had been done by myself as a female researcher, this might have restricted the responses of men at some level. So, they might have felt more relaxed to share their experiences with a male researcher. On the other hand, due to the relative distance of the interviewer from the theoretical background of the research interest might have created some limitation when probing particular topics. With respect to grounded theory, the active participation of researchers in the data gathering process is essential because this enables the researchers to go beyond the preconceived hypotheses and thoughts in their minds by sensitizing and guiding them to determine what kinds of questions should be asked to explore emerging themes in the data. Therefore, absence of the researcher in the data collection process may have been a limiting factor for further elaboration of particular questions appearing in the interviews.

Additionally, the retrospective nature of this research may have constrained the results of the study. Although an intergenerational comparison was done between the fathering of two generations, it should be noted that the analyses of the first generation fathering were based on the subjective perceptions of participants rather than own accounts of these

first generation fathers. Also, in terms of second generation fathering, it would have been helpful to understand the patterns of fathering in a more objective way if the children of participants had been also interviewed.

4.5. Conclusion

Two divergent ways of fathering which were defined as traditional and new fatherhood were identified and explored in the present study according to emerging dimensions of hierarchy, emotional sharing/caring, guidance/role modeling and expectations. Even though the terms of traditional and new fatherhood reflect categorical distinctions, they were not discussed as exact opposites, or one being good and the other being bad; rather there was an aim to present an intergenerational process of transformation regarding fatherhood attitudes and practices.

Participants' perceptions of their experiences with their own fathers were defined by a strict generational hierarchy which was a central determinant of the nature of father-son relationships in the families of origin. Hierarchy was described with the components of behavioral/communicative restrictions and rigid authoritarian control, which, in turn, limited the relational closeness between fathers and sons. Hence, in terms of the emotional sharing/caring dimension, first generation fathers were characterized with their emotional and physical unavailability and distance. These features were largely seen as contextually determined by life conditions and cultural norms of those times and were reacted to with retrospective empathy and understanding which shadowed the feelings of frustration and resentment.

The fulfillment of the breadwinning role was seen as an expression of their fathers' concern and commitment to child rearing, which appears to have compensated somewhat for the negative aspects of these relationships. When participants talked about their fathers, the fathers' efforts and sacrifices to maintain their families were observed as qualities to be unquestionably appreciated and respected. Guidance/role modeling similarly emerged as a dimension which showed fathers' generativity toward their children. Also, it became a unique aspect of fatherhood differentiating the fathers' ways of showing care from the mothers'. As another dimension of hierarchical relationships, expectations of obedience and loyalty appears to have largely shaped the behaviors and thoughts of children and also resulted in conflicts and inhibitions in terms of participants' own wishes.

More flexibility in hierarchy between fathers and children with increasing level of paternal availability and engagement in child rearing were found as prominent characteristics of second generation fatherhood. Instead of emphasizing the hierarchical distance in relationships, the participants underlined their emotional and psychological commitment to their children's lives, the importance of being positive figures for their children and the centrality of fatherhood identity in their lives as the unique sources of pride and satisfaction. Nevertheless, it should be noted that because providing for the family continues to be the main responsibility of the fathers, their involvement in children's lives remained secondary to the mothers.

It appears that with the increasing importance given to the relational closeness, more democratic and permissive instead of coercive and restrictive fatherhood styles began to prevail. In other words, obedience oriented child rearing attitudes and behaviors began to be replaced by tender fathering based on mutual understanding of each other. It should be remembered that establishment of control did not lose its central importance in child rearing, but that its aims and methods have changed. Creating a trusting environment by enhancing communication, behaving understandingly and tolerantly and being a supportive figure in times of both good and bad were identified as the right way to have some control over their children's lives. In parallel, paternal acceptance and encouragement toward children's autonomous behaviors and decisions increased. Guiding and motivating their children in terms of individual achievements and self-competence became more of an issue for second generation fathers.

As collectivistic cultural norms and values are blended with more individualistic orientations in general, the ideals and attitudes of fatherhood change in the same manner which is also described by Fişek (2002) as "family self with individualistic elements" based on Roland's (1988) "expanding family self" notion. In this process, the values of old generation are not disregarded totally; rather, an integration process occurs between values and ideals of the past and present. At the psychological level, many men, as in this study, may find a chance to compensate for the negative experiences of the original father-son transforming their own

fatherhood into more positive one, while, on the other hand, generally maintaining the functional and adoptive aspects of their own fathers.

APPENDIX A: GÖRÜŞMELER İÇİN SORU YÖNERGESİ

- Bize biraz kendinizden bahsedebilir misiniz? Sizi tanımayan birisine kendinizi nasıl tanıttınız?

Genel olarak aile ile ilgili sorular:

- Biraz içinde büyüdüğünüz aileden bahsedelim...
- Ailede kim kiminle duygusal açıdan ne paylaşırdı?
- Ailede sevgi nasıl gösterilirdi? En çok kim kime gösterirdi?
- Ailede kırgınlık nasıl yaşanırdı? Kimin kime kızma hakkı vardı? Ne yüzden kızardı ve ne yapardı? Bir örnek?
- Ailede korku nasıl yaşanırdı? Örneğin, en çok kim kimden korkardı? Birinin korktuğu nasıl anlaşılırdı? Ne konuda korkardı? Bir örnek?

Baba ile ilgili sorular:

- Babanız nasıl bir adamdı? İşi neydi, evde vakit geçirir miydi, evde olmadığında ne yapardı?
- Babanızla ilgili hatırladığınız anılarda genelde ne var? Örnek
- Babanız sizden ne beklerdi? Ne yapmanızı, ne olmanızı isterdi? Sizinle bunu - paylaşır mıydı? Peki siz aynı görüşte miydiniz?
- Babanızla kavga ettiğiniz zamanları anlatabilir misiniz? Ona karşı geldiniz mi? Neden? Bir örnek?
- Babanızla beraber ne yapardınız? Bir şey yapar mıydınız? (örneğin top oynamak, maça gitmek, maç seyretmek, kahveye gitmek, evde televizyon seyretmek, birlikte yemek yemek...)
- Babanızla yaşadıklarınızdan dolayı "ben kendi çocuklarıma böyle davranmayacağım" dediğiniz şeyler oldu mu? Örnek?

- Babanızla oturup öylesine sohbet ettiğiniz olur muydu? Ne konularda?
- Babanızla olan ilişkiniz zaman içinde nasıl değişti?

Çocuklarla ilgili sorular:

- İlk kez çocuğunuz olacağını öğrendiğinizde cinsiyeti ne olsun istediniz/istersiniz? Neden?
- “Delikanlı” bir kızınız olmasını ister miydiniz? Bu ne demektir? Yoksa “nazlı” mı olsa daha iyi?
- Çocuklarınızla aranız nasıldır? Peki, nasıl olmasını tercih ederdiniz?
- Çocuklarınızla ilişkileriniz birbirinden nasıl farklıdır? Örnek?
- Çocuklarınız sizinle neler paylaşır?
- Çocuklarınızla üzerinde konuşmayı tercih etmeyeceğiniz konular var mıdır? Örnek?
- Üzüntünüzü, sıkıntınızı göstermekten çekineceğiniz konular var mıdır? Bu konuda kızınız ve oğlunuz arasında nasıl bir fark gözetirsiniz? Onlarla hangi konularda yüz göz olunmaz?
- Çocuklarınıza genelde ne yüzünden kızarsınız? Oğlunuzla kızınız için nasıl farklı?
- Oğlunuz hangi yönleri ile size benzesin, hangi yönlerinizi almasını istersiniz?
- Oğlunuzla/kızınızla ilgili geleceğe dair en büyük umudunuz, hayaliniz nedir? Peki, onun geleceğine dair en büyük korkunuz nedir? İçinizden onu korumak gelse ne yapardınız?
- Çocuklarınıza hiç el kaldırdınız mı? Hangi nedenlerden dolayı el kaldırdınız?

- Çocuklarınızın tasvip etmediđiniz bir davranışını görmezden geldiđiniz olur mu? Örnek?
- “Ođlumu/kızımı evlatlıktan reddederim” dedirtecek şey nedir?

APPENDIX B: QUESTION GUIDE LINE FOR INTERVIEWS

- Would you talk about yourself? What would you tell about yourself to a person who does not know anything about you?

Questions about original family life:

- Let's talk about your family of origin...

- Was there any emotional sharing in your family? Who talked with whom? What about did you talk?

- Was love/affection shown in your family of origin? How was it shown?

- How was anger experienced in your family of origin? Who have the right to be angry at whom? What were the issues he/she became angry? What did he/she do? Would you give an example?

- How was the fear experienced in your family of origin? For instance, who was afraid of whom at most? What were the issues the members in your family became afraid of?

Questions about father in the family of origin:

- Would you speak on what kind of a man your father was? What was his job? Did he spend time at home? When he was not at home, what did he do? Would you talk about your memories about your father?

- What did your father expect from you? What did he expect you to do or to be? Did he talk to you about this? Did you have the same idea?

- Would you speak about the times when you and your father had fights? Have you ever been opposed against him? Why? Would you give an example?

- What were the things you did with your father? Did you do anything together? (For example; playing soccer, watching football, going to coffeehouse, watching television, eating dinner together etc.)
- Because of your relationship with your father, was there anything you said to yourself that “I will not behave to my children like my father did to me”?
- Is there any casual time when your father and you talk about something?
- How did your father-son relationships change over time?

Questions about children:

- When you first learn that you are going to have a child, did you have any choice about sex of the child? Why?
- Do you want a mannish or coy daughter? What does it mean for you?
- How is your relationship with your children? How do you prefer it to be?
- How are your relationships with your children different from each other? Would you give an example?
- What do your children share with you?
- Is there any issue that you do not want to talk about with your children? Would you give an example?
- Is there any issue that you hesitate to show your sadness or troubles? Is there any difference between your daughter and son about these issues?
- What are the issues you become angry to your children? Is there any difference between your son and daughter?
- Which aspects of your son/daughter do you wish to resemble yours?

- What is your biggest hope/dream about the future of your son/daughter?

And, what is your biggest fear about the future of them? How would you protect them?

- Have you ever beaten your child? Why did you beat him/her?

- Is there any incident you ignore your children's behaviors which you do not find appropriate?

- Is there anything that you say to yourself "I would disown my child?"

APPENDIX C: ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF QUOTATIONS

3.1. First Generation Fatherhood: Traditional Fatherhood

3.1.1. Hierarchy

3.1.1.1. Behavioral and Communicative Limitations

In the past, it was a matter of manners. Like smoking around my father. I did smoke, I was smoking while I was playing football, but was it possible to smoke around my father? There was no such thing; just as they say “it roared even when it did not rain”, that’s how it was, he roared! (Ist HT)

For instance, I never drank alcohol around my father until my military service. I smoke, but I have never smoked around him. That is what we have seen, that’s how it was. (Ed YS)

I never forget that when I came back from the military service that I was together with my cousins, sons of my aunt and uncle; I never forget that my father said “bring the raki”. I was surprised. Is this my father? Why is he like that? At that time, I came to think that a man who has not done his military service is a half man. (Ed YS)

I need to smoke a cigarette but I can’t. This is what I did; I opened the window of the car, I held the cigarette and held it outside. I was smoking, and my father was sitting beside me. At that moment in time, I felt very strange, as if I committed a crime: Imagine, you did not smoke for years around him. Then, I did not smoke for a while, I mean, not around him. It was as if you were breaking some rules, destroying them. As if you were being disrespectful towards him. (Ed YS)

We could not cross our legs. Or, when guests came he threw a look at us and , we said “good night” and went left. (Ist HT)

Because in our days, when our father was around, we could not cross our legs, let alone sit down. We could not get close to him. (Ist ZB)

At that time, take apprenticeship (...), when your master came, you remained on your feet, you could not talk with him around, you could not eat or drink. As we started working when young, our customs were also somewhat different. That is how we grew up. When we saw our master, we remained standing. The same when we saw our father or our grandpa. (KonYI)

Anyway, the fact is that I was not a person who asked for or got any money from my father. Our bank was our mother, we asked the mother, “mom money”, she hands it out. (Ant ME)

(...) in your school years, in the army, in your life, you did not have any money in your pocket; you asked for it from your father by way of your mother. (Tr EG)

(...) we could not say to our father “dad, we will go to the cinema”, I could not say this because we did not see such things, and neither did our father. I could not say to my father “dad, give me money and I will go to the cinema”; likewise, we could not say such things to our boss. (Kon YI)

(...) we had no such opportunities. In other words, we did not have such a thing as “let us share our problems with someone”. It seemed like as luxury to us. Like “let’s talk with our father”. As a matter of fact, we could not talk to our father. (Di MK)

My father said “you will go”, “you will register in this school” (referred to a high school). I did not want to go there. My cousins had graduated from that same school. I asked them to talk to my father about not registering me there. To say that the school is no good, there is no discipline, students run away. My father did not mind me, and registered me in that school. I said “I won’t go. I want to go to another high school. Somehow, I again persuaded someone to talk with my father. I said “Tell this man, I will not go there”. (Ed YS)

3.1.1.2. Disciplinary Patterns and Punishments

One day my father came home, they say, that my father tied me to the tree. (...) He tied me to a blueberry tree. (...) (Laughingly) When he tied me up, I puffed myself up. And when he left, I ran myself loose from the rope, I remember that I escaped. (Di MK)

My father beat me up; my father had bought me a bike (...) he said “bike in this neighborhood” (...) “Do not go to the main street” yet I went there (...) He tried to find me, got upset, was afraid, and because he was afraid, he beat me pretty bad. . He was right to beat me, but even then, he could have warned me instead of beating me. But, he had said “bike around here, do not go far away.” For sure, people are frightened for their children, no one wants anything bad to happen to their children. (Ant BK)

I remember that I got beaten pretty harsh. Some mistakes appear to us as very trivial today but when you think about those times, for instance, I remember, how much money is the biggest now? 200 TL. He gave me the biggest money of that time and said “go and buy this from there”. (...) I remember that I lost that money. I have never lost any money in my life ever since (laughingly). So, it is this kind of thing; I got a good beating. (...). Did I get beating because of the value of money? I don’t think so. A life lesson. Maybe, you need to not break the jug. (Ad EC)

Why does the father instill in you that fear? By “Be a good man, be a good model”, he will elicits fear, panic in you. He will say things like “Don’t be naughty, do this, do that, this is what will happen if you do that.

When it comes to it, he will beat you, and when it comes to it, he will love you. (Ist ZB)

My father slapped me once very harshly and I put on a role there. The slap was very harsh, with that slap I pretended that I had passed out (laughing) (...) Most likely, I had misbehaved. This event presumably was communicated to my father. Yet I remembered that I objected to my father, this was a thing which he was not used to. “”Did I say “Hit”, did I say “hit me if you want”, something like that, for instance he said at that time, “you are rebellious”, , “unlike you,, your brother, he does not argue with me”, something like that. I was slapped pretty harsh at that time. (Tr EG)

(...) he beat us well but he also loved us, we know that. Of course, looking at life from where I am now, we say things like “my father beat us”, that he was, “overbearing,” not at that time, we couldn’t. Now, at this age, when we look back, of course, the father has to, he has to look out for you, care for you, has to deal with it. (Ad EC)

(...) so, it was accepted as shameful, around his mother, around his elders. He could not show his love to us when he was inhibited like that. I was naughty sometimes. We had a thing, a small place like a cot with a roof. Sometimes, he locked me in there, but I knew that it did not mean anything like that. (Di MK)

I grew up with harsh beatings. In my opinion, I was beaten up for no reason. When I came to a point where I was able to evaluate him, my father had grown up the same, he did not know anything else, and, he did not take the trouble to learn. I said that I got beat. (...) My father beat me up but he also loved me. Overall, these things were the result of his own troubles. (Ist CA)

(...) Maybe it would have been better for me if I had grown up without getting beaten. I did not feel any need to get psychological treatment for these issues. I don’t know whether it would have been better for me or not had I gotten any help, whether things would have been better in my life or not. (Ist CA)

3.1.2. Emotional Sharing/Caring

3.1.2.1. Emotional Distance

Those were our school year. There was mother’s affection; of course there will also be fear. The person who says “I was not afraid of my father” tells a lie. (Ist ZB)

(...) in old times, it did not happen such things as “take my son to my lap, love him”. Also, you live in the rural. Yet, I believe that because of we lived in this way, a great love emerges between mother and son or father

and son. You cannot show it but you feel it in your heart, he/she feels, you feel too. (Tr EG)

In the times of poverty, my father, I don't remember that he bought toys or something else, I don't remember he bought something to us. (...) this was related with the culture of our family, he could not show his love in that sense. So, it was accepted as shameful to show his love, around his mother or around his elders. He could not show his love to us because he was suppressed in this way. (Di MK)

Also, it is sort of, both of my uncles were working in abroad (...) he had to care, he had to behave to my nephews as a brother because he is the biggest one (...) in some way, he has the responsibility of nurturance toward the wives and children of his brothers (...) solving their problems, caring, therefore my father could not show affection to us more. (Ad EC)

Because we were five siblings, he could not give the same affection to all of us. Somewhat now, my father is still favoring our elderly one, my brother. He was interested with his problems, his troubles more, anyhow because we are the younger one we cannot say certain things, we cannot talk to him. (...) Indeed I do not want this, if there is something that should be done, I want to know it meanwhile. You would say to me if you had a trouble. (Ant IA)

(...) maybe there was not such technology at those times. My father did not have this chance. Like calling and saying "what are you doing guys", yet there was also the thing whether the person is prone to do that or not according to his character. Whatever happened, in every situation, you can call or you can be interested with his school. "How is going your school? Let me come to your school, have a talk with your teachers" you can say these. We did not see those things from our father.(Ist HT)

(...) I benefited from the things which he bought yet my father did not get close to us more. For instance, we failed at school, he got angry, he shouted but he has never talked with the teachers. My mother was always looking after us.

(...) He did not do much for us. He did not be interested in us. Because my mother was generally in the home, my father did not talk to us much as a father, there was only his financial support. (Ist HT)

(...) in our adolescence, when we got back home at late hours at night, he did not sleep and wait us. He did not sleep until we got in home and he locked the door. This may have been caused from his love, his concern. (Ist YB)

(...) I love my mother, she behave sincerely, my father loves but he does not show his love, being a man. My father did it wrong in there, my father grew up without a father, I came to this age, he still behaves as if he has not got a father. He did not show fatherly affection, he did not show because of that he could not get. (Ad MSC)

(...) everyone's mothers and fathers bring their children to the exam, well, I am not a child anymore but there have been always longing. I wish that my father would caress my hair one day (he is crying). (Ad MSC)

(...) because the love he showed, when he wanted to show, has always been seen as material, after all he had grown up all by alone, he earned money alone, he did not want to be close to his children as if a part of him would be separated from him. He remained ambivalent with the idea of if he gave love, he would lose money. (Ad MSC)

I have never heard that my father said to me "well done my son", I am 35 years old. (...) When we went to the selection of the national football team, my father never said to me "well done my son". On the contrary, he said "you will not go". When he came to school, when my teachers said "this boy is successful, clever" my father has never said to me "well done my son" (...) I believe that he loves me. I hear this by others. When he talks to my friends, he praises me, but certainly he never said this directly to my face till today. When a friend of my father came "look, how your father appreciates you" such and such. (Ed YS)

(...) we were young, I was in a fight and broke my hand, I had to go to the farm next morning. (...) when I went back to home in the morning I hid my hand from my father. (...) His first reaction was "why did you break your head instead of your hand", he said this. He thought that I did this with the aim of avoiding work but it was absolutely not the case. (Ed YS)

3.1.2.2. Physical Unavailability

I do not exaggerate, if we tried to calculate, it would be possible to count the days which my father and I were together. (Ant SK)

(...) when he began to work in the government office, the job was not in the centre of the city, it was close but it was in a distance which restricted him to come home routinely. He was coming only at the weekends. He was coming at the weekends thus I did not have a close relationship with my father. Because my mother was always with us, we grew up with my mother more, therefore I would say that I was closer to my mother. (Ant SK)

-Would you say that you were closer to your mother?

-Yes, we must say this. That's true both physically and contextually. My father is an inspector. Until we went to primary school, we have been travelling together but we were in Istanbul at winters and my father was on the roads all the time. During summers, we were going to see him yet except this he was always alone. We, as my mother and her children, had always been stayed together. (Ist CA)

(...) he was working at the sugar company there and he used to come only for a day in a week. (...) For instance, in the first four- five years or six,

even it was longer than that, may be seven or eight years in my life, we had not been close to our father because we saw him only once a week. (Tr EG)

My father was a carter in a cigarette company, he could not take care of us because he was travelling most of the times. I began to say, around the ages of 10 or 11, I began to say “this is my father” because he was always travelling. He was coming one night per week, and then he was going again in the very next morning. (Ant IA)

(...) well, there could be possibilities or impossibilities but my father is a valuable person (...) I suppose he was like other fathers (...) He does not want his son be humiliated, beaten down, he does not want these, he always struggles for the child, this has been apparent to me since my childhood. Maybe, he cannot do something but he tries to do lots of things. (Ant IA)

He had been working in a private storage until 1989, in a drug company. He had been going to the constructions at nights to work, he had been going to rock pits. The life was difficult with a single job. He was trying to feed the family. He used to spend five or six hours at home, he was working all the time. Then, he began to work in a public company. Because he was a driver in this job, he had been away from home for long times. So, we did not spend a lot of time with our father. (Kon YI)

My mother basically had a role in managing the household, raising the children, changing the diapers etc. (Ad EC)

So, your mother does everything for you, in your school years, at the times of your military service, you do not have any money in your pocket, you asked money from your father through your mother. She makes tea for you, you wake up in the morning, she prepares the breakfast for you, you come home in the evenings, prepare food for you, your pant is washed, your clothes are ironed, everything. (Tr EG)

3.1.2.3. Emotional Closeness between Fathers and Sons

He is my ancestor, rather than being a father, he was like a brother, like a friend. (...) I was getting along with my father very well. (Ant ME)

I said “Dad I took such amount of money”, “okay” he would say. He would not ask “Why did you take it, what are you going to do with it”. (...) I did everything very easily, I was sharing with him, I was talking to him. If I made a mistake, I would say it to him, I wonder that what would happen if I hid it. I could not sleep when I hid my mistake from him. I was knocking his door at night and I was talking about it. (Ant ME)

It was so perfect. Rather than a father, we were friends. Normal friends. I could talk everything with my father openly, easily. Mother reacted to some things but my father never reacted to anything. He had never slapped

me, however I am a person who was beaten by his mother. (...) He pleased us, he pleased me, was taking me to the place I wanted to go. He used to give me my allowance, any amount I wanted. (...) We were getting along well with my father. Why, because he did everything which we said. (Tr HK)

My father is an authoritarian person at the same time. He did everything which I said (...) yet he was authoritarian to others. (Tr HK)

We used to go fishing. (...) he was a tuberculosis patient. (...) He was coming with me fishing despite his sickness, to make me feel good. The important thing was my happiness not fishing. (Tr HK)

I am excessively interested in cars, I have a deep interest. We were washing the car together, we were going around. It's my father who taught me to drive. (Tr HK)

He was taking us to dinner, we were together, our whole family (...). He was taking us to a park, he was taking us to outside, so we were going together. (Ant BK)

3.1.3. Guidance/ Role Modeling

The training which I received from my father is that "be a man", "be a man, be honest, do not set your eyes on anyone's goods. Do your work and do it honestly". I saw this both in my father's behaviors and his work life. (Tr EG)

What I learned from my father is this "be a man", "be a man, be honest, do not set your eyes on anyone's goods and properties. Do your work and do it honestly". I saw this both in my father's behaviors and his work life. (Tr EG)

There were some events I witnessed myself. For instance, they (some people from father's work) were coming home. (...) there were people saying "Do a favor for me. I will pay you 10 percent of my gain if you do it" and my father kicked them out and we witnessed these. This was very important for us and my father became the most important role model regarding his honest manners. (Tr EG)

Honesty was very important for my father. Everyone seems to care about it but it is very crucial to act accordingly. Being honest is a very good thing, nobody can say that it is bad but it should be applied to one's behaviors too. When we look him as a role model, we were seeing that he was applying this well. We never saw our dad misbehave intentionally or behaving in some ways which will contradict with his honesty. (Ist YB)

-So, when you were growing up as a man, being a boy, which one of your parents did guide you more, your father or mother?

-Of course, both of them guided me but my father guided me more. Why did father guide more? Because he was always out. Mother was inside of the house, if it had been a different household structure in which both mother and father were working, it would have been different in that condition but mother is in the house, she takes care of the house. Father is out, in the work life, he is working, he is interacting with directors, he was working in a sugar refinery, he is interacting with farmers. So my father became more social. Thereby, my father guided me much more in that sense. (Tr EG)

The main purpose of our father was providing for his family. We followed this aim. We studied, we did not go backwards in school. We made our best but just as I said, breadwinning was the main goal. (Kon YI)

The thing I want from my wife is to take care of my children, to smile when I come back home in the evenings, to prepare the dinner, that's it. So to say, my mother did these for my father, my father always worked and came home, my mother took care of our house. This is what we saw from our dad. We began to work at an early age too, we also continued in that direction. (Kon YI)

-I have a 2 and a half years old daughter, because they (referred to his parents) became older, while just as I am talking with you now, I realize we became a mirror of our families.

-How? It is very interesting.

-I become aware of that while I am talking with you now, I am raising my child with much discipline. (Ed YS)

I will do everything for my son whatever my father did for me. Why will I behave like that? My father taught me nothing bad. (Ant ME)

For instance, I am spoiling the kid. My father, just I talked about, he did lots of things for me (...) Now, I want to do for my son the very same things. (Tr HK)

My father was a very open-minded person considering the context at those times. He never put pressure on when it was our ideas, our investigations in question (...) I do not know whether it was conscious or not but we was making inquiries, when someone said something, rather than believing in immediately, he wanted us to check it from different sources, for this he wanted us to read lots of books, he was providing us books. (Ist YB)

My father was among the last graduates of village collages. They learnt a lot of things as requirements of their education. In this respect, while growing up, we felt that we should do everything on our own. So, we tried to get this from our father consciously or unconsciously. For instance, even when he was repairing the roof, he knows how to do it, he knows even the joinery. (Ist YB)

My father is the person who taught me driving. One day I had an accident, I called my father, I said “dad, I had an accident”, he said “did anything happen to you?”, I said “no dad”, he said “okay, to what did you crash? Is there any harm in anything, anybody?” I said “no dad, I crashed to a trash barrel”. (...) he said “I will not interfere, you are a levelheaded person, do what should be doing”. (Ant ME)

He taught me hunting. I have been hunting since first or second year of secondary school. He bought a rifle for me at that age. He did not avoid making any costs. From those small ages, I can say that he helped me to socialize. (Tr HK)

- (...) you can talk about sexuality with your father, he is a man just like you, you are in the same sex, he is the person teaching you everything. The good, the bad (...) whatever it comes to your mind, everything.

-So, have you ever talked with your father about sexuality when you were growing up?

-Of course, we talked a lot of things, we learned everything from our father; when we say we learned everything from our father, we mean talking with him (...) that he says “take this, read it, examine, just look”. (Ant ME)

3.1.4. Expectations

(...) there was always this thing for us “you should continue to school”. “You must because if you don’t do it, you cannot be somebody, you would have nothing”. (Tr EG)

- Did your mother or father have some plans about your future or did they have any expectations from both you and your siblings?

-We were feeling that “we should do better at school”. (...) they did not have any special expectations, when we go to university, they would be very happy. They became very pleased, they became very happy, when both me and my sister achieved it, I felt that they became relaxed. (Ist YB)

In that sense, he had a profile for us in his mind, he was applying this. Besides, from my point of view, of course there were some missing parts. I liked sports. I was playing soccer very well and I intended to play soccer in the future but my father did not allow me to do it, “No, you will continue your education”. I wanted to play saz, he did not allow. (...), if I had been allowed to play saz in the years of primary or secondary school, I would be in a very different position or do a very different job. (Tr EG)

The family cared us a bit more, there were three, it remained two, I mean the number of children. They began to care more or they became more protective. Maybe, this is the reason of all problems, indeed. Him not allowing me to do sports or some other things, maybe these are causing from this; with such an idea “at least these two”, “at least they set foot on something”. You should ask him actually. (Tr EG)

(...) we become rebellious to the family in our youth but two years ago, I confessed to my father that, I thanked him, “it is good that you raised us with that profile in your mind”. In that sense, while I am looking from now, I think that it was the right thing to do. (Tr EG)

The point which affected my life, we are the children of a tradesmen, you will be a tradesman, you will not continue to school. In the years of schooling, our teachers came to talk with my father “send this kid to school”. My father said “No, I won’t send him, he will be a tradesman”. (...) My father has graduated from a primary school, I don’t mean seeing him inferior for that reason. He does not know these issues. He has never thought to let me studying, he has not got any knowledge about these issues. He said to me “Never mind it, what are you going to do if you continue to school, you can lead the shop instead”. (Ed YS)

(...) My father said “son, I did not register you to a vocational high school”, my father was a building worker, “work with me in summer, you can be a plaster worker, you can be an ironworker, you can be a pattern maker”. (...) Anyway, we took the exam while we were working with our father, he thought “he will not be successful in the exam anyway, would he be a bricklayer or plaster worker, I would make him marry someone, in any case we have house, he would remain beside me, I would take care of him”. (Ad MSC)

I was going to the library as if I was going to the building work, I was studying, I was having a lunch break, I was going to training center for only a night, I was returning back home around 9 or 10 pm. My father was saying “Where is he, he goes out in the morning, comes back at midnight”, in order to make him embarrassed, I was saying “I am wandering around dad”. My father thought that I could not achieve it, but I show to him the approval letter because I want to see that moment, I began to increase the pace of working. (Ad MSC)

-Did he have any plans for you when you were younger?

-I did not think I disappointed my father. I can say that I showed a performance which is above of his expectations. I have never thought this consciously until today. I am saying it as an answer to a question. My father did not expect me to finish high school, maybe it was for motivation purposes but there was something which my father was saying openly. (...) When I say I exceeded his expectations, I think about such things. (...) he was dreaming about being a government officer abroad but he could not make it true yet when a teenage boy achieved it, this is a behavior which is beyond his expectations. (Ist CA)

Well then boy, I believe in you”. He just said this (...) this made me feel responsible, I was saying “I made a promise, I must achieve this”. When my exam mark was four, I was begging to my teacher “I made a promise, give me five, I promise I will have six in the next term”. (Ant ME)

For instance, there were times which I experienced lots of economical difficulties but I never made my father or mother aware of these. My father, for instance, had said “would you send me 100 Turkish Liras”, even in such time when I had great difficulties, I sent it to my father by borrowing money from someone else thinking that “they should not feel that”. (Tr EG)

3.2. Second Generation Fatherhood: New fatherhood

3.2.1. Hierarchy

3.2.1.1. Changing Discipline

We had a fight when my son was 3 years old, except this we did not have any fight. (...) when he was at those ages, he was suddenly crossing to the road, and at one time I pulled his ear harshly, he was hurt, I said “never do that again” and he did not. (Ist YB)

Sure, we play with the son, we play with the daughter too. (...) Surely, we are playing with each other, we are wrestling, we are fighting, we are scolding each other (pretending these as a part of playing). Yet, I did not beat them but I gave them that fear. (...) There is fun too but when I am serious there is seriousness in the house. (Kon YI)

(...) as the head of the household, when he comes home, he should be respected, loved, he should behave seriously, he should be respected and loved by others. (Kon YI)

They see different things in television such as conversations, behaviors, when I see these (...) Just I said, I do not beat them too much but of course when it is needed to do, I do it. (...) looking on, saying, shouting, with my behaviors, I make them feel in this way. (...) we slapped of course. I beat when the time comes but it is the last thing to do, beating is for donkeys, it is not for humans. (Kon YI)

We didn't know about television. Now, there is internet, there is television, there are lots of things. (...) Of course, new generation grows more consciously, more differently. Raising them with the old ways, we cannot do this. If we did it, this would show our ignorance. (...) There should not be too much restriction for everything, if you oppressed them, it would not be good. (...) just I said, upbringing of today's generation is very different. Of course there will be something to be ignored. (Kon YI)

Now, society moved to more different things. (...) technology develops too. Soon, they are saying (...) “your daughter is going to bring his boy friend to your house”. I am not going to allow this to happen. (...) I do not want to oppress her too. When she wears skirt, I said “your skirt is short, it is nasty” but because of she is small now I am only evading these loosely. (...) So, in this way, certainly not as an oppressing attitude. Yet, for certain

things, I suppose that she will not go out of these rules. Yet, I may conflict with myself. (Ed YS)

I got harshly beaten when growing up. (...) But I did not hit my children. I had a promise to myself, I did it so. (Ist CA)

I don't know that it was good or not. Well, I am saying about my dad that he behaved so, because he did not know anything else other than this, indeed I did not knowing anything else too. For educating the children, we did not beat them but we did not do anything else. Eventually, in a bit much democratic environment, we try to establish everything to persuade children about what should be done. Of course when you could not get them accepted such thoughts to study lesson or to throw socks not to room but to dirty-laundry basket (...) you say to yourself that you are doing something wrong. But, you cannot solve in what you did it wrongly. This is caused my lack of individual knowledge, that is to say, it is caused from my lack of knowledge in child rearing issue. How do people raise their children perfectly? Is there any school for that? It should be somehow but there is not. (Ist CA)

Rather than paternal authority, there should be an authority or totality of rules. So to speak, there should be a totality of rules which nobody can say no to it. (...) Paternal authority does not mean that I say "no" arbitrarily. It can related with the impossibilities in that time or my disapproval of the asked thing (...) I said no at that particular time yet it happened one day after. If one person says no, sometimes his mother says no too, the child should not asked me the same thing again. The child should internalize this. (Ist CA)

When I am talking to you now, I realized that I raise my daughter in a much disciplined way. (...) for instance let me tell an anecdote (...) my daughter wanted a chewing gum. (...) She took the gum, she said "I will chew this", it was at the late afternoon. I said "you will not chew this (...) You can do whatever you want after you eat your dinner", she said "but dad I want to chew it now". "No (...) you will chew it after the dinner. Unless, I can give it back to the grocer man", she said "okay" and put it back. The gentleman in the grocery said "should it be like that?" "Yes, it should be just like that". (...) when you give this to the kid, you are spoiled kid's appetite before the dinner and this kid does not eat as she want. (...) she sleeps hungrily (...) she wakes up early because she was hungry before she slept. (...) What does happen? Your life becomes chaotic. (...) More problematic things caused from a small incident, I do not know it is right or wrong. It is right for somebody but wrong for others. Is this my system or my parents'? (Ed YS)

The only thing to oppose in my dad's behavior (...) he was becoming overreacted. (...) I never do that kind of a thing, I try to behave consistently. (...) that is to say, if there is something I did not see as right, I should talk about it with my son openly. (...) we would try to persuade each other reciprocally. (Ist YB)

Both you do not oppress children and you ensure that they grow as good persons, isn't it difficult?

-Why would it be difficult? Although you oppress the child, as long as he wants, he does. Lock the door and go out until the evening. (...) The person who wants to do that, will certainly do it somehow, by going out of window. (...) You cannot gain anything by oppressing the child. (...) You should let him take care of himself but you should not let him unchecked by letting him abandoned. You will follow the child, what does he do, is he on the right track or on the wrong. (Ist ZB)

You could not get anything done by yelling to the children. The child finds the right way by observing you, he finds himself with help of your advices. (...) by persuading, advising, this child does the things he is supposed to do. (Ist ZB)

(...) "don't do something hidden". (...) It does not mean always saying "this is wrong that is wrong. (...) it is about not letting her to do something wrong, it is not a coercion. All in all, we always support her even she does wrong things. (...) But, my daughter would certainly share with me if anything like that occurred. (...) We never oppress her. (...) Because we have not a strict boundary between us, "do not this do not that". She knows that I will get angry, the reason for my anger is not about why she behaves wrongly rather it is about why she did not tell us. (...) This creates a restraint over them but this should be, they should not remain totally out of hand. Someone controls or let do not say 'control', we should say something to someone (...). (Ist HT)

There is a television show called as "The fathers hear last". Everything happened and finished, mother arranged everything before (...) but the man was just told about everything after these. I say that "do not let this to be happened". I say "Always tell me beforehand", if there is something to be done, if there is something happened, always let us know it before, let us to behave in the right way. (Ist HT)

3.2.1.2. Changes in Behavioral and Communicative Limitations

Because in our times, we could not cross our legs around the father, even we could not sit around him, we could not approach him. Those times is finished now. Youth is different, that period is finished. We said "Come here son (...) sit beside me in a gentlemanly manner and let's drink a toast". (Ist ZB)

I have never put a curtain among us. In the old days, it was within the frame of family manners. (...) just like smoking around our father. (...) When a quest came, we said "good night" and walked away when he looked us. Surely, children are freer now. They can sit with us around quests, they can have a conversation, they can joke around. There is not a limit which existed in our youth. (Ist HT)

-Probably, you never talked with your father but has your son talked with you about his girl friend ever?

- (...) they did not talk. I could not cross my legs around my father. (...) He came to us more. He came to us with his girl friend. We went, we met her family too. (...) yet he did not ask anything to us about his relationships with girls. I might ask the reason for it? To me, it is related to the fact that children feel free about these issues. I do not suppose that there is something about which he abstains to ask me. He can ask me. I never put a curtain among us. (...) Current children already know everything. It becomes unnecessary to learn so many things from us. (...) So, they do not feel obliged to ask something but I know that I could not ask my father, I am certain of it but my son can ask me. (Ist HT)

For instance, her mother talks much more things with my daughter than me. (...) There are things which she can share with me but my daughter often talks about her problems with her mother. If her mother says about some issues “your father should also decide” or “let us decide together”, these can be said to me. We can discuss with my daughter after that. (...) If she has problems, she can share with me after she talks these with her mother. It does not mean that she does not come to talk with me, she comes but at first this is mediated by her mother. My heart wishes that she comes directly to me and talks to me but she hesitates because she is a girl.(Ist HT)

My relationship with my son is not like my relationships with my daughter. (...) my son (...) loves from inside. Some people are like that. He loves me too very much but for instance my daughter, although she is a grown-up girl, I take her, I am seated her in my lap, kiss her, caress her. My son does not express his love physically. (Ist HT)

I do not know. It did not happen, we have a communication partially but while I say no for something which I find inappropriate, because their mother has not got any intention to say no, they became close to their mother more. There is a slight coaliance at that side. It is not against me but it is a coaliance of how this would be accepted to the father. A plan is designated then said to me. (Ist CA)

She argues that I need to be more understanding. I tried to tell her that I am not an insensitive man but I try to say yes or no according to possibilities in my hand and all our castles made from paper are collapsed at the point which I say no and she says yes. (...) of course I do not understand from sciences of psychology or pedagogy. I am a beaten and battered father in that sense. (Ist CA)

3.2.1.3. Setting Limits for Children

I do not do the things for him every time he wants but also I do not behave very rigorously to him. (...) I do not spoil him (...) I try to be friend with him. (Di MK)

I can fulfill her demands but sometimes I do not. In order to make her getting used to that she should not think that everything will happen whenever she wants. She should understand that something is difficult. (Di MK)

I got used to it from my childhood years; our economic conditions were not so good. (...) I could get my first bike in the last year of primary school, Boran had a bike before he was born. Sometimes, I begin to think that this is wrong because I get my bike after longing for it, waiting for it during long years. Throughout my life, I know its value and I still ride it. (...) If you get something without endeavoring, without longing for it, I think that this does not become very valuable for you. (...) since then, I have been wary when I made Boran to have got something. (Ant SK)

She said “Dad can we buy Lego?”. Well, I am glad to hear that someone asked me to do something. Yet, of course I cannot buy it immediately because the person who wants this is my daughter. (...) My daughter wanted this so I am wondering if I did everything she wants, would she get out of hand one day? If you did whatever the kid wants, and you know, she would get spoiled. I am wondering if I did not buy, would she feel its lack whenever she sees it around? (Ed YS)

(...) a father takes his child to, probably they often take them to shopping centers, as far as I know, these places are the healthiest and most protective ones, there is no traffic or something else. For instance, I take her to the park in the street, I say “play there”. “Dad, come, help me. Help me to slip”. “Nope, slip yourself”. The children are fighting there, they are arguing. She is lining up, they are arguing in the line. I do not go to say “what are you doing? Enough”. Of course I interfere, break up when it becomes so much further. (Tr EG)

I do not support the idea of living in a house full of love. Child should grow by starting to feel something negative from the small ages, yet it should not be too much negative. When you say to this child that there is love in everywhere, everything is peaceful, “look, the world is so beautiful” (...) when that child begins to school, his life becomes ruined by this. He will meet lots of kids in there. He will say “my mother and father deceived me. Where is the great love they were believed me? These kids come and slap me”. (Tr EG)

3.2.2. Emotional Sharing/Caring

Of course, I had talked to her before she was born, I had talked to her when she was in her mother’s womb. (...) When she was born, I said “I am your daddy” and she opened her eyes. (...) the information which you can give to her before she is born makes her life easier, this information becomes her provision. If I say “I am your daddy”, she can say that he is my dad, maybe she cannot see me fully, she sees blurry but she begins to know, she can say this is my daddy. (...) now she calls me for everything, “daddy daddy” because she knows that I am her daddy. (Ad MSC)

(...) she is 2.5 years old, throughout 2.5 years and 9 months since her born, since 3 years 4 months, this have been going through like that she has not spare time for herself (his wife). One or two days per week at nights, I take all of her responsibilities, I relieve her both physically and psychologically and I know it, I do it intentionally. She has a right too. Because she did not make this kid by herself alone, I did not make her by myself alone, she is both of us, this kid also needs me. (Ed YS)

I take care of my child (...) my elder sister is saying “İbrahim looks after the kid more than his wife”. Okay, my wife is right too, it depends on her during the day, I look after her at nights, I want to care. When needed, I even change her diaper, I enjoy it, she is my kid. I always give a bath to her, her mother waits me to bath. Every time she sees me, she immediately begins to say “bıcı bıcı”, she knows it too. (Ant IA)

I look after my kids. (...) for instance I can change their diaper around my father or somebody else. I do not have that kind of a thought, I have not an obsession. “... around my father...”, all in all she is my kid, what can I do? Whose kid is she, did I find her in the way, in the out, did I find her in the street? (...) She wet her diaper. I changed it immediately (...) What will be lost from me? I never mind, my father said this, someone else said that, I have not an obsession. (Di MK)

I often try to do that I leave from my store around 7 or 8 pm and go to the house, I spend time with my wife and kid until 12 pm at night, I eat my dinner, we watch television together. We spend time with Boran. Boran is my son. After that, in the sleep time, after everybody goes to sleep, I go to the work for the second shift. (Ant SK)

I can take care of my child in the absence of my wife. I can take care. (...) Yet, when we look to the whole picture, yes, the mother absolutely takes care of much more things than me. (Ad EC)

For instance I feel sometimes that my daughter misses me. (...) I feel sometimes that she misses me because I leave home half past six in the morning, my classes finish at the noon. My wife’s and my daughter’s classes begin at 12 pm. Theirs finish around half past 5 or 6 pm.(...) in the evenings 7-8-9 pm, at various times I am back home. Yes, I feel that I am missed. When I am there, when we are together, yes, I allocate time for her, but is it sufficient? I do not know. (Ad EC)

Now, “do you allocate time for your daughter”, I do but the sense of time is different for everybody. A quality time of 15-20 minutes I am with her, a good time, I do not mean watching television together, rather I mean such things as talking with her, going out together, examining something, listening about the school, talking about a book, asking questions about them, in that sense I allocate time for her, yes. (Ad EC)

(...) I try to spend short but quality time with my daughter. (...) At summers, we close the store at very late hours when it becomes 9 pm. My daughter has to sleep at 10 or 10:30 pm. Just after I eat my dinner, I look after my daughter. Absolutely, either I take her to go out or we stay in home. I play with her some games such as hide and seek or I pretend like a horse and she rides me but I do not open the television absolutely. I allocate time. Is this time enough for her, I do not know this. (Ed YS)

(...) this is like that for my younger son. Even though he is not yet 2 years old, he speaks everything, he can speak. (...) For instance, I talk to him. There are little books, stories. (...) I tell him. Then, I see that he takes them from me. (...) When I tell, the kid records these. He records one of my reactions, that's to say, he records everything. And you see. In a sudden occasion, he begins to tell everything. People look him surprisedly. You are the person who makes the things in this way. (Di MK)

(...) this kid also needs me. Because the education received between the ages of 2 and 6 is the basic education. The amount of time I can spend with her now is very crucial for these ages. After the age of six you can spend little time with her but it does not matter so much after that age. (Ed YS)

Concern, concern is the source of everything. (...) now, my child is 17 months old, if I say her "candy", she tries to say "candy", if I say her "spoon", she tries to say "spoon". I teach her, I buy a computer, I say "a", I teach her to count with her fingers, I buy an abacus, I teach her to count numbers, 17 months old kid, she has already learnt counting to 5, at the ages of 2.5 or 3, she is going to read newspaper with me because I try to get her used to it. Everything is related with the essence. (Ant IA)

I was keen on playing saz, I could not. There are two saz in our home, I still cannot play. (...) because it does not exist in my essence, so to say, there is no such thing in my family. It is not in my family. If it had been in my family, if there had been a person who could have teach me this, but there was not. So I want that my kid becomes able to play something because social activity is a very good thing. (Ant IA)

Today, I have my own daughter. With my daughter, we try to play games but with my father, for instance we could not play with my father, it was not possible. The pressure of time, to be honest, the time was short, he had to work, he had to work much more than me today. (Ad EC)

My father has never gone to a school meeting, my mother has always came, but now, we say that we are not going to do this. Because of we are with our family, we have not a job necessitates traveling too much, it depends on us too. The kid began going to the school and you look after his lessons. (Kon YI)

No matter what happens you can call and ask or you can look after his school in any case. (...) We did not see such things from our father. But, it

does not just like that with my kids. If I am in Istanbul, if my wife has things to do, I go to her school meeting. I figure out these. If there is a particular problem or, my daughter makes her internship in a company, if there is a problem, I go. If she has got a wish to do outside, I strive to figure it out. (Ist HT)

I behave close to them in home as much as possible in the contrary of my father's distance. And in no case, there were times I argued with my wife, I never intended to give them up. That's to say, I did not get stuck into this kind of an idea. Because of I was going through the same things. They are grown-up now. One is in his 28s, the other is in her 18s. Yet, the thing in my mind is remaining as a whole family. (Ist HT)

I am like a joker for her. I am like a joker in a card game, so to speak they can use me in everywhere for everything. Honestly, I am very pleased about this. (Ist HT)

(...) in those times, my father has handled 5 kids, and now, we have one. (...) I do not want to have a second child anyway, it is better for me to have one child because you can care a bit more, I suppose that this is due to my past experiences (...) because of we are 5 siblings he could not give the same love to all of us. (Ant IA)

I did not live my childhood, at that age. What happened, I began to crave for some things. I have a daughter, my God blesses all children and then ours. I am living my childhood together with her now, we are getting with her now. (Ad MSC)

I am feeling pity for this thing, my child is small. (...) he is going to be jealous. We cannot take care of her (referred to new born baby) much more. The small one is there, because he is just two years old now. So, I was feeling sorry. There is nothing to do. We are going to raise them together. My mother raised ten children. And her mother raised seven daughters, there was no son. (...) For sure, the pressure of men in our region, such as "how does she not have a son?" (...) they continued trying to have a boy up to seventh child. (Di MK)

My wife asked that "Are we going to have a second child?", I said "No, we are not going to have". I could not already take care of one. We have not got another kid intentionally and knowingly. (Ad EC)

I get to home late, I take my wife to work at 7 o'clock in the morning, I take the kid to her nanny. My wife leaves from work at half past four, she gets the kid from nanny. She is back home at around half past four or five, I leave from work at around 10 pm or half past ten. (Ant BK)

When you close the store at eight o'clock in the evening, you arrive home at nine o'clock. While you eat your dinner, you say "how are you my kid", he/she should already be in the bed, the kid will go to the school

tomorrow. The kid already goes to the bed. So, not so much time remains. (Kon YI)

If you say “I am going to make a distinction between the work and home, I will spend more time with my family”, there is no possibility to be successful in your job. (...) always travelling due to your work, you are always travelling (...) because of these journey, because of your nights which you stay outside, you spend at least half of your time on these travels (referred to his old job conditions). So, would I do the same thing, if it had been today? I would do that also in today to be successful. (Tr EG)

I had a friend. (...) he was fired from his job. This friend of mine said to me “Nothing made me upset. Neither being jobless nor such thought as “I had payments, how am I going to pay these”. Her daughter has said to him “what happened to our car?”(...) He said “this made me... this affected me too much”. (...) “Where is our car? Did something happen? Will bad things happen to us? Will something bad happen to my dad?”, these kinds of things or she is just a kid, she cannot even buy when she wants something. The job is important in that sense. (Tr EG)

Costs are increasing. I, myself already went back. I am the fifth person in line now. There are my kids, my wife and after them there is myself. We are the last from now on. If something remains to us after them, we may do it. So, it is just like that. (Kon YI)

The people in home, even if I am starved, my kid and my wife should not be starved, absolutely should not be. My children must have their clothes to wear, my wife must have too. They must dress clean. (Tr HK)

My daughter has been studying, I am charging her fees, I pay for her school 40.000TL per year. (...) None of my children has said destitutely “dad, why did you not buy this?”. So, my children’s attitude toward me is very different. They understand the life conditions too, how much the things are difficult and how much the things are easy. I made a good impression on my children. (Ist ZB)

I have been working in the designing sector since 35 years, believe me I have not got a notebook yet. We bought a notebook and donated it to the school to be able to register Boran to that school. (...) If something should be noted about this incident, it is that after Boran had born, it became such a position for us as if me and my wife forgot ourselves and we devoted everything to Boran. We are sacrificing from ourselves. In order not to cause Boran to experience just the same difficulties we lived in our past. (Ant SK)

My children love me, I love my children. They know I love them but we are not like “let’s go there, we are going to there”. It was happening before. When was it happening? After I had failed in my company, I became introversive and unhappy. We had a car before. We were

travelling at weekends, weekdays (...) Then, I failed to do something. Because of children do not like walking etc. You cannot make them do these by forcing them to get in a bus. So, I understand that the things which we were doing together had only been maintained depending on the facilities provided by the family. (Ist CA)

3.2.3. Guidance/ Role modeling

For their health, for their comfortableness, we should inform them, we should guide them. If we inform them, guide them accordingly, (...) if we transform the information we have, they would behave according to these. (Ist ZB)

I said “see everything from me, in the future you would say that I saw this from my father so I modeled his behaviors”. (...) the child understands that how it should be done, how it should be respected and he behaves according to these, by modeling his father. (Ist ZB)

Besides telling my kid the necessities of life, what honesty is, how he should behave, I teach him personally by taking him to somewhere with me or by giving examples from my dad. (Tr EG)

The thing we will do is raising our children well, teaching them family manners and decency, teaching them the basic rules of our religion, such things in life. After all, he will certainly make the choice by himself. (Kon YI)

Boran loves making lego very much, lego is his favorite game. (...) (while he is playing lego) without his awareness, I make him listen to such styles of music according to my own taste. He does not aware, for instance, recently, there is an artist I listened too much called Emma Shaplin. (...) Boran makes lego by singing Emma Shaplin’s songs, this is what I want, it seems that I achieve it. (Ant SK)

He will be an artist eventually and I fear that he will experience the same difficulties we were going through. (...) so, I think that we can find a sector which enables him to make money and also contains art. (...) What would it be? He would be an actor (...) he would be a ballet, he has a great musical talent. (...) he enjoys mechanical things, he may lean to mechanical engineering; it also includes designing. (...) Boran is in the same way with me in terms of his talent and I am a role model for him. (Ant SK)

I am encouraging him to be active. (...) When he begins to school, I will encourage him to participating social activities. It can be folk dancing, music, sports. I am going to say “Go, which one you wish to do” or I am going to say his teacher “Try to find out what his talent is”. As much as he is socializing with people, he will be ready for life. (Tr EG)

I want the kid not to lose his self-confidence, not to feel embarrassed to do something around people, I do not mean behaving disrespectful (...) He said “can I do dad?” (Imitating an actor when there are some people around) I said “do it”. His mother objected to it. I said “no”, “do it (...)”. I said I will take you to BKM. We will go, you may do something in there”. Then, he is saying “When are we going to?”. I said “I will”. (Di MK)

Our child still continues his education in university. I said him “this is not going well alone, use your organization power” and he participated to a political organization. They chosen him as the chairman, he has been working since 2 or 3 years, he seems to obtain a footing in there. (Ist YB)

I guided him to make him talk with his advisors, behave according to their expectations, if it is needed, say them that “my father is very upset”. I said that “tell even this, they are going to understand”. I said “go and talk like that”, “I must finish this school in somehow or I am going to quit”. I said “(...) they can give you an exam somehow (...) they can do lots of different things”. And it happened so indeed. (Ist CA)

I said “Son, do not bother yourself, this is your house, it is always open for you”. “Whenever you want, when you say I am bothered, come”. (...) “Come, we can find a job for you, you have a profession, you are graduated from college (...)”. He came, we arrange his job too. (Ist HT)

3.2.4. Expectations

Of course I have wishes for her. I absolutely want her to be a doctor because I believe that I am from an environment in which there is not any doctors, we have not any doctors in our family too. So, absolutely, I want her to be a doctor. (Ant IA)

I want her to be a bank employer or a pharmacist, I want to her to continue studying. (...) these kind of jobs have regular working hours, I want her to be a bank employer or a teacher. Yet, what will she decide in the future, we are going to see it, only God knows it. (Ant BK)

I insisted about that Sinan should find a job and Sibel should do her internship. (...)When I was at the same age as Sinan is now, my salary is around 8-9 thousand Turkish liras, I was working in Sheraton hotel. (...) you would earn at least 800-900 TL, you would say to yourself that “I am working, I am waking up at this hour, I should go to sleep at this time to wake up in the morning”. (...) All of these provide an order. (Ist CA)

I can say that Sinan made me feel disappointed too much. He is saying that there are a lot of thing which he wants to do but due to that the fact he cannot do these he experiences internal difficulties. I talked to him, I tried to support him to make him finish his school as soon as possible and convince him to believe that he can do whatever he wants for himself after that. Yet, there was a great resistance. He did not go to school. He did not go to school throughout one and a half years. (Ist CA)

For instance, I will support her if she wants to be a dancer. Whatever she wants in the future, I am certain of that I will support her as a person. We have not got such ideas as “My daughter should be a very good doctor”. (...) I have never got such demands from her as “you should be this”. Not to say “Do in this way, do in that way”. (Ad EC)

Because of I have been experiencing it since my childhood; I know very well that if a person has an artistic talent, it does not possible to stop this by restricting this talent or guiding the child to another way. Why do we want this kind of a thing? (...) a person can only be happy if he able to do what he wants to do. It does not matter what job my child is going to do, it is important whether he is going to be happy in his life. (Ant SK)

-I am going to ask something, is there any time which you say to yourself that “I will not behave to my son like my father behaved to me”?

-Firstly, the most important one, I will never restrict the child in his tendencies for particular things. This can be any talent. For instance, he can say “I want to be a ballet”, it does not matter, or what talent the child has, to which way he wants to go, I will never restrict him. So, this is the first thing in my mind because , I am thinking this, if I had been allowed to play saz in the years of primary or secondary school, I would be in a very different position or do a very different job. (Tr EG)

(...) She will get married. We will try to understand whether the man she wants to marry is the right person or not, and we will decide. If she continues to want marrying even so he is not a proper person, she is going to do that, we cannot prevent this. She is our daughter, we might misjudge him, we might not know him so well, she might know him better than us. He might be wrong for us but right for her, all of these might be. (Ant BK)

He lived in Antalya in his adolescence. I was afraid of him, to do bad things, to use drugs, not only using drugs but there are also people who make its trade. Antalya is full of these people. “Do not go into these things my son, leave there and come back.” This is the thing which should be done. (...) but if I had prevented him, he would say to me “dad you restricted me, you stopped me. If I had done this job in there, I would be different for me”, so I did not want to prevent him. (...) He remained alone, he could have done everything, instead he reported us, he informed us. (Ist HT)

If it had been my daughter, would I allow her? I would think about that. I would not leave my daughter alone in there, unless she goes abroad for the university. In that case, I may allow her. That’s what I am going to. (Ist HT)

I will always want her to do that “my daughter, whatever you do, tell me, you should tell me, if we decide together about that something you did is wrong, you will not do it again”. That’s what I will ask from her, especially not to lie. I will not often make her feel that she is doing wrong

but surely this will make me worry, I will repress it because I know that she will choose the right way. (Ad MSC)

Let's say that you have a son. If your son had been gay, would you say that you might disinherit him?

- (...) I love the kid, I do not love his gender. I do not love this thing, I love this kid. He is my kid. If I had a boy, and he became a gay man, he would not change, he would still be my son. He just changes his gender. (Ed YS)

-Her walking style, her talking style (...) whatever she wants to do in terms of education, in terms of her character, of course we had some red lines. She cannot go out of these.

-What are these lines?

- (...) "your daughter will bring his boyfriend to your house". Such a thing cannot happen. I cannot allow this to happen. (Ed YS)

-Might be anything about which you can say that I disown my daughter, might be anything like that?

-It does not, my kid is always my kid, in spite of everything, she is my kid, I protect her in any case. She is my kid when she is good, so is she not going to be my kid when she is bad? (Ant BK)

This cannot happen, you cannot disown your child. It is your child at the end. If they make a mistake, it certainly must have root in us. It can be, you know, you would do everything, his/her capacity might be so, you know, that might be their nature. You cannot dismiss, he/she is your kid. Can it be dismissed, no, it cannot. I cannot think of such a thing "if they do this I would write him/her off". (Kon YI)

(...) It does not matter what I want. What kind of a person will she become?

We had a quest in our home last night. 3 years old boy, excessively irritable, he hit ours with a train, to her head. She held him and said "let me beat him". "Let me, I am going to beat, I am talking to you do not make me angry". Mine is two and a half years old. (...) She is suppressing everyone in her age. (Ed YS)

Some things exceed us. As I said, we moved to a new place, while I am starting to know the neighborhood, everyone knows my daughter. I go out, everyone is calling my daughter with her name, I said "the kid is very popular in the district". She impressed the people somehow. (Ed YS)

We will teach them everything but of course the choice will be theirs. Regardless of how much you teach, of course the child will do this or that if he does not intend to do good things. At those times they were saying the good, we learnt the bad too. (Kon YI)

(...) I always believe in this; regardless of how much you educate the child until the school years, the child will grow up within the friendship environment in the school years. (...) When he comes home, as we did in

the past, he will behave as if he is an educated, decent, good child but he might live different in his school life. I absolutely believe that friendships in the school years can direct your life. (Tr EG)

Because my daughter knows me as her father, now she says “my dad knows everything”. Soon, she will say “What does he know?” she will not like me, there will be some parts of me which she would dislike, and then she will say other things. At that time, the idol father in her mind will disappear and another father will emerge. (...) Horn will beat ear. (Ad MSC)

It is changing at some point. Now she is 8 years old, she will be a teenager 20 years later, after 10 years, a teenage girl. She will not like us anyway. (...) will she get away, will she go, will she leave the school, will she travel around the world, honestly we cannot know. (Ad EC)

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