

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINE SELF
AMONG YOUTH IN TURKEY

ANIL ÖZGE ÜSTÜNEL

BOGAZICI UNIVERSITY

2010

THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINE SELF
AMONG YOUTH IN TURKEY

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in
Psychology

by
Anıl Özge Üstünel

Bogazici University

2010

Thesis Abstract

Anıl Özge Üstünel, “The Construction of Masculine Self Among Youth in Turkey”

The present study aimed to explore the construction of masculine self among Turkish youth; to examine its developmental trajectory in familial, social and cultural contexts; and to reveal its links with the young men's current and previous interpersonal and intrapersonal experiences. The data was gathered through 13 semi-structured interviews covering the themes of self-conception, social relations, family relations and the male role in Turkish culture and was analyzed by the grounded theory approach of qualitative analysis.

The results revealed that geographical and local differences exerted a significant impact on the young men's developing masculine selves. Two patterns of masculine development were noted in urban and rural contexts, which differed in a wide range of macro- to micro-level variables. The resultant masculine self organizations diverged in their functioning in social and familial surroundings, and embraced different gender ideologies. Transcending geography and locality, the overriding organization framing all of the young men's functioning was found to be a familial masculine self which developed within an atmosphere of interconnectedness and granted men a clear sense of gendered identity.

Keywords: Masculinity, masculinity in Turkey, men's development, parent-son relations, men's social relations

Tez Özeti

Anıl Özge Üstünel, “Türk Gençleri Arasında Erkek Benliğinin İnşası”

Bu çalışma; Türk gençleri arasında erkek benliğinin inşasını anlamayı; bu inşa sürecinde erkeklerin ailevi, sosyal ve kültürel çevrede geçtiği gelişimsel süreçleri ortaya koymayı; bunlar ile genç erkeklerin geçmişteki ve şimdiki bireysel ve ilişkisel deneyimleri arasındaki bağları keşfetmeyi hedeflemiştir. Veriler; benlik tanımlaması, sosyal ilişkiler, aile ilişkileri ve Türk kültüründe erkeklerin rolleri konularını kapsayan 13 yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşme ile toplanmış, temellendirilmiş veri analizi yaklaşımı ile analiz edilmiştir.

Çalışmanın bulguları, bölgesel ve yerel farklılıkların erkeklerin gelişen benlikleri üzerinde önemli bir etkiye sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Mikro ve makro düzeydeki pek çok değişkenin farklılık gösterdiği köy ve kent bağlamında, iki tip gelişim modelinin olduğu görülmüştür. Bu iki farklı ortamda gelişen erkek benlik yapılanmalarının, sosyal çevre ve ailedeki işlevleri bakımından farklılık gösterdiği ve farklı cinsiyet ideolojilerini benimsedikleri gösterilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, bölgesel ve yerel farklılıkları aşan ve tüm genç erkekleri çevreleyen en önemli yapının, ailevi erkek benliği olduğu belirlenmiştir. Bu yapının, bir bağlılık atmosferi içinde geliştiği ve erkeklerin belirgin bir cinsiyet kimliğine sahip olmalarını sağladığı görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Erkeklik, Türkiye'de erkeklik, erkeklerin gelişimi, ebeveyn-oğul ilişkileri, erkeklerin sosyal ilişkileri

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Prof. Güler Okman Fişek, my thesis advisor and teacher, for her constant guidance, encouragement and commitment in generating this work; for providing me with a firm ground and clear mind whenever I lose track; for being available whenever I need and for expanding my vision both in personal and intellectual terms. I feel fortunate to have the chance to study with her and I am grateful for her substantial, long-lasting contributions to my academic and personal life.

I specially thank Assoc. Prof. Hale Bolak Boratav for her keen interest in this work; for her inspiring comments and broadening my viewpoint, and for her contributions to my academic development. I want to thank Assoc. Prof. Bilge Ataca for her support, meticulous attention and constructive suggestions in completing this thesis. I also want to thank Assoc. Prof. Serra Müderrisoğlu for her contribution in the generation of this work.

I owe special thanks to my dear friend Nilay Şentürk for her invaluable support, understanding and encouragement in the midst of most difficult times. I am deeply grateful to my dear friend Elif Karşlı for her sincere interest, understanding and assistance from the beginning to the end. I also want to specially thank Harun Balcı for always standing by me, taking care of me and soothing me at the most stressful times and for believing in me with all his heart and soul. A heartfelt thank to my grandparents, my parents and my sister for their affection for and faith in me.

I want to thank Akif Ercihan Yerlioğlu and Ezgi Kayhan for their assistance in originating this thesis. I also thank the young men who allowed me into their realm of experience for making this thesis possible.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
Conceptualizations of Gender	1
Masculinity Research	5
Development of the Masculine Self	9
Turkish Culture	16
Masculinity in Turkey	20
The Turkish Family	23
The Present Study	29
CHAPTER II: METHOD	31
Participants	31
Materials	31
Procedure	33
Data Analysis	33
CHAPTER III: RESULTS	35
CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	136
APPENDICES	174
A. The Interview Questions (Turkish)	175
B. The Interview Questions (English)	177
C. The Demographic Information Form (Turkish)	180
D. The Demographic Information Form (English)	181
E. Consent Form	182
F. Transcription Notation	184
REFERENCES	234

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Conceptualizations of Gender

Gendered subjectivity has long been an issue of research and theorization in the social sciences. Attempts have been made to capture the essence of a gendered sense of self in various disciplines from anthropology to psychology. The 1970s have proved to be a turning point for the theorization of gender in psychology as the proliferation of feminist ideas and critiques revealed the need for new paradigms and frameworks in gender research. A brief examination of these frameworks will be presented before focusing on the constructions of masculinity.

Terms like “sex” and “gender” frequently appeared in contemporary social life and thinking. As largely contested and condensed categories, originated as conceptual tools to explicate gendered subjectivities, they represented a particular conceptualization of manhood and womanhood and an underlying framework, with “sex” denoting the biological basis of maleness and femaleness and “gender” connoting a social constructionist position. In these discussions, the prominent nature-nurture debate came to the fore once again and initiated a discussion between what is essential and what is constructed.

The first systematic attempts to establish a science of gender incorporated the notions of role theory in the 1930s, positing distinct sex roles for males and females, and occasionally falling back upon biology-based explanations (Connell, 1995; Pleck, 1983). The concept of sex role denoted that a man or a woman enacted culturally prescribed expectations relevant to his/her gender, defined masculinity and femininity as internalized forms of these expectations, and connoted a one-to-one correspondence between the social and the intra-psychic (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1998). Sex-difference research as the basic evidence

base of the sex role paradigm also served to emphasize differences in the inherent qualities of men and women taken as groups and to designate power differentials between the sexes as a structural arrangement (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985; Unger, 1998).

The notions of role theory have been subjected to criticism on several grounds, positing that “sex roles” fell short of capturing gendered construction in all its aspects. For one thing, the sex role paradigm presented an ahistorical and apolitical account of gender relations, that is, it neglected the embeddedness of gendered experience within larger social-political power relations and its embodiment of political-historical currents (Connell, 1987, 1995; Kimmel, 1986). In a related vein, sex-difference research has been reinterpreted to indicate power differences between males and females, rather than revealing an essential difference (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994; Unger, 1998). Secondly, sex roles offered a static, unitary picture of gendered experience although one's internalization of social expectations relevant to his/her gender might differ along a continuum with conflicts being present around them, as revealed in Pleck's gender role strain paradigm (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985; Goode, 1994; Pleck, 1983). Thirdly, the concept of sex role was normative with its overemphasis on normal psychological functioning, that is the achievement of appropriate sex role identity through warding off of homosexuality, femininity and feelings of insecurity in the case of men (Pleck, 1983).

The portrayals of male and female roles as separate and complementary in the sex role paradigm implied a monolithic understanding of gender relations, which acted as exclusionary and precluded the coexistence of the masculine and the feminine in the same person (Alemdaroğlu & Demirtaş, 2004; Connell, 1987, 1995).

As the accumulating evidence revealed contextual/situational variations in sex-difference findings (Unger, 1998) and challenged the unitary conceptions of maleness and femaleness, notions of androgyny were brought into the sex-role framework in the 1960s (Pleck, 1983) and new theoretical currents flourished in the sphere of gender research.

The insufficiency of decontextualized and unitary conceptions of masculinity and femininity in capturing the complex, contradictory and unsteady experiences of its subjects revealed the need to take a more sociological, historical, cultural and relational perspective. This perspective embodied a social constructionist position which suggested a culture-sensitive investigation and theorization, emphasized cultural and contextual variations in gender practices and put forward the idea of multiplicity in the characterizations of gender (Connell, 1987; Johnston & Morrison, 2007; Marecek, 1995).

The social constructionist position challenged the assumption of a correspondence between the biological and psychological aspects of gender, that is of maleness and masculinity in the present case. Unger (1998) posited that one's biological sex and the resultant gender identity did not necessarily depend on each other. Biological and psychological aspects of gender got intertwined in her account since she called attention to the social and cultural meanings attached to being a male or a female as formative of one's gender identity. Butler (1999) took this argument a step further, arguing for the integration of the concepts of sex-gender and expanded the definition of gender to include the wider socio-cultural processes which created the sex-gender dichotomy. She highlighted that gender did not only connote cultural meanings attached to a pre-given sex, but also power processes by which sex was defined as a neutral, blank ground waiting to be determined and constructed by the

social. Butler (1999) underlined that the sex-gender dichotomy was a construction by itself, which posited that the social gave meaning to the natural and made it comprehensible, suggested a discontinuity between them and reduced constructionism to social determinism.

Later accounts on gender highlighted the notion of performativity in the construction of gendered identities and indicated their fluidity, instability and openness to challenge. Unger (1998) took gender as a verb rather than a noun to underscore that it referred to a set of interactions taking place with a gendered other in the social domain. Gender was construed as “performative” and “contingent”, taken as a recurrent achievement people “did” in social interactions (Butler, 1999; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Butler (1993) reemphasized the notion of body/matter and suggested that sex was “a process of materialization” (p. 9), both being created by the recurrent performance of social norms and rituals around a gender and also being disorganized by the choices of its subject, that is the performer was not taken as a preexisting individual, but as one being constituted by the actions and expressions of his/her gender identity. In a similar vein, Frosh (2000) asserted that the sustenance of a gendered self required a particular kind of effort, which embodied a social process including gender-power relations. This emphasis on performative aspects of gendered selves implied that masculinity and femininity were relational constructs, which were enacted in relation to the other in the interpersonal domain (Imamoglu, 1994; Maral, 2004).

In sum, gender came to be viewed as a fluid and conflictual form of identity rather than a fixed and stable characteristic, stabilized once it is achieved. In light of the above stated discussions, an examination of the constructions of masculinity follows.

Masculinity Research

Masculinity has long been regarded as the invisible and normative gender in social sciences, that is the man was taken to represent human reality, requiring no explanation and problematization (Kimmel, 1986; Kimmel & Messner, 2007; Whitehead, 2001). The 1970s was the time when men turned out to be a subject of inquiry in social research as a response to feminist and gay movements which questioned gender-power relations and called attention to the notion of hegemonic masculinity in social, political and personal spheres of life (Kimmel, 1986). Research and writing within the first generation of men's studies inquired about both the costs and privileges of being a man, that is of monopolizing the position of power in the social hierarchy and experiencing difficulties in psychological, physical and interpersonal terms (Kimmel & Messner, 2007; Siedler, 1997). Power differentials between men and women along with the relational consequences of male dominance were delineated in the research stimulated by this movement. Through the 1980s, variations within men's groups and masculine gender ideology became a focal research area, paralleling feminist research on how femininity was experienced differently by women (Kimmel & Messner, 2007).

Introducing a definition of the term masculinity has been a challenging task, which was regarded as a broad, ambiguous construction in social disciplines. Different viewpoints put forward different definitions of masculinity; which was formulated as the compilation of attributes and actions owned and done by men in their actual lives by positivist/essentialist accounts, the social norms and prescriptions attached to being a man by normative approaches, the embodiment of not-feminine qualities with a semiotic framework (Connell, 2001; Gutmann, 1997). In later accounts, a more relational lens was assumed and masculinity was defined as

a particular pattern of gender relations between men and women, which shaped individual characters, self-body relations and cultural ideology of gender-power (Connell, 2001).

Connell's pioneering work on masculinities extended this definition to incorporate and highlight the notions of power and multiplicity in the construction of masculine identities. In her fine-grained analysis which inquired about the relations among different groups of men, she put forward the concept of hegemonic masculinity along with complicit, subordinated and marginalized masculinities and stressed the presence of multiple ways of being a man which occupied different yet interconnected positions of power (Connell, 1995; Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Connell (1987, 1995, 2001) explicated that hegemonic masculinity embodied a particular arrangement of gender practices which legitimized patriarchy and sustained men's dominance and women's subordination. It implied a distinct form of masculinity which took up a hegemonic position in relation to other masculinities and in relation to women, positioned within a particular configuration of gender relations, always open to challenge rather than being a fixed typology.

The notions of multiplicity and complexity of gendered experience emphasized in Connell's elaborate macro-level and power-sensitive analysis of masculinities was expanded upon by discursive approaches to gender relations. Discursive psychological approaches shifted the focus of analysis from macro-level social configurations to the intrapersonal domain, aiming to capture situational and performative aspects of masculinity shaped within social interactions. As Wetherell and Edley (1999) point out, discursive approaches viewed gender as performed by active agents, simultaneously shaping and being shaped by gender discourses, and thus called attention to subjective experiences of individual men. The authors put

forward men's ways of positioning themselves in relation to hegemonic definitions of masculinity and their shaping impact in daily life as a research area.

An investigation of hegemonic masculinity ideals in the Western literature revealed that they were organized around the notions of aggression, physical toughness, competitiveness, power, rationality-control, instrumentality, inexpressiveness and heterosexuality (Connell, 1995; Frosh, 2002; Kimmel, 2001; Kimmel & Messner, 2007; Pleck, 1998; Sattel, 1998), which were frequently shown as natural qualities of men in mainstream writing and thinking (Cornwall & Lindisfarne, 1994). Frosh (2000) asserted that men were deprived of an alternative construction of masculinity, striving to control and gain mastery over the emotional and the uncontrollable. He went on to suggest that negating vulnerable, tenacious aspects of the male body became an essential component of the effort to control and refrain from emotionality and turned the body into something that could be worked upon, something instrumental (Frosh, 2002). In a similar vein, Siedler (1997) pointed out that such idealized conceptions of power and control epitomized in masculine identities came at the expense of emotional experience, unacknowledged and unexpressed in spite of its complexity and richness.

The construction of maleness as representing aggression, power-control and unemotionality has important implications for men both in intrapsychic and interpersonal domains. Frosh (2002) asserted that an endorsement of such qualities idealized within hegemonic masculinity discourses forged a “dissolving gender identity” and fostered violent refusal and control of the feminine/the intimate. Men’s aggressive and controlling attitudes in intimate opposite-sex relationships have been noted frequently in the literature, revealing that violent behavior motivated by a need to control the partner was almost exclusively a male-phenomenon (Johnson, 2001).

In work, family and other social contexts; negative behavioral tendencies and particular crimes such as sexual harassment, pimping, delinquency, substance abuse, early sexual activity has come to be associated with masculinity, which incorporated exaggerated displays of dominance, heterosexuality, competition and physical violence (Messerschmidt, 2007; Pleck, Sonenstein & Ku, 1998).

Overemphasis on the notion of independence along with the denial of any dependency needs in contemporary dominant masculine discourse have been highlighted in the Western literature. Cancian (1989) used the term “feminization of love” to denote the description of the intimate sphere as a feminine enterprise and the construction of masculinity as independent and self-reliant. She asserted that intimacy was defined in terms of feminine qualities, with sexuality being the only masculine aspect in the conceptualization of love. Contradictory and complementary portrayals of love as denoting explicit, amplified dependency in the case of women and independence, temporary gratification in the case of men framed men's intimate relations with females and led them to experience any dependent longings as hidden and unexpressed. Person (1985) also emphasized that cultural constructions of masculinity did not concomitantly include ideals of sexuality and dependency, and fostered a split between them.

Social and cultural analyses of gendered subjectivities demonstrated that negation of inner reality, restriction of emotional experience, avoidance of the feminine, overinvestment in rationality and body strength characterized hegemonic ideals of masculinity predominant in the West. Masculine selves develop within a complex web of social relationships, power dynamics which are dictated and shaped by these hegemonic ideals. The intra-psychic dynamics and structures of masculine selves which mature in such a context will be explored next.

Development of the Masculine Self

Freud's theory of psychosexual development was the first to suggest an understanding of sexuality as not fixed by nature, but developing through a complicated series of stages. Making a remarkable shift in the order of his day, he noticed that masculinity can be questioned rather than taken as a natural or essential category (Freud, 1924, 1949). Following Freud's pioneering ideas that stimulated a good deal of criticism, feminist authors took up the issue of developmental processes through which masculine selves are constructed. Psychoanalytic feminism branched into two different lines of thought, one having an object relational perspective and the other pursuing Lacanian theory. The following is a brief examination of the classical, object relational and Lacanian perspectives on the development of masculine selves.

In Freud's writings, the castration complex was of primary importance in determining and shaping the infant's internalization of a gendered identity (Elliott, 2002; Kimmel, 2001). The boy's task in the Oedipal situation was to consolidate a heterosexual masculine identity through repudiating the maternal identification and counteridentifying with the father. In the Oedipal phase of development, the boy was caught by a conflict between his sexual desire for the mother coming with the realization of his possessing a penis, and his fear of the father who had power and posed a threat of castration. This fear pressured the boy to renunciate his bond with the mother and to replace her with paternal identification, which made him symbolically competent to articulate sexual desire for a mother substitute-a woman. Therefore, the resolution of the Oedipus complex, turning out to be a narcissistic wound for males, came at the expense of maternal attachment along with the capacity for empathy and intimacy while warranting the achievement of a

heterosexual masculine gender identity, consolidated around the notions psychic differentiation, independence and agency (Hudson & Jacot, 1998; Kimmel, 2001). Girls went through a very different process of gender formation in Freud's account, where awareness of the lack of a penis, both for herself and her mother, elicited penis envy, led her to reject her mother and to resort to her father for the possession of the penis that she lacked.

Although Freud's mentioning of bisexuality as a characteristic of human beings in the early years of life and his rendering the coexistence of masculine and feminine currents in the same person have been noted (Connell, 1995), he has been criticized on several grounds by feminist scholars. Freud's theorization has been viewed as fostering an understanding of femininity as derivative of masculine sexuality, which regarded women as passive and lacking agency and sustained relations of power oppressive to women (Elliott, 2002; Hare-Mustin & Marecek, 1988). In addition, his theory of the Oedipal situation was criticized for taking the anatomical difference as a basic tenet and forging a straightforward division between the sexes (Benjamin, 1995).

Contemporaneous to Freud, Jung also took up the issue of gender and put forward the 'persona' and the 'anima' which indicated a gendered distinction. Jung characterized the persona as a masculine quality which referred to a sense of self established in social interactions with the environment and the feminine anima which indicated the self constructed by repressed experiences in the unconscious. Connell (1995) pointed out that Jung, elaborating on the dynamism of and the balance between the persona and the anima, fostered the polarization between the masculine and the feminine while Freud made the first attempts to overcome this dichotomy.

Feminist object relational theories made an attempt to provide an alternative

account of the development of masculinity by primarily focusing on the mother-infant dyad in the pre-Oedipal period and the impact of mothering practices in the internalization and sustenance of patriarchal gendered relations. Dinnerstein (1976) proposed that since mothering was solely provided by the mother, both boys and girls experienced a deformation with respect to gender and internalized the domineering man-submissive women images. The mother, as the sole dependable figure, became both the first source of nurturance and joy, and also all-powerful and engulfing for the infant, and thus fostering ambivalence in the mother-infant relationship. As the boy developed a capacity for gender differentiation, he began to perceive the father both as a rival competing with him over his most intimate and valuable source of pleasure, and also as a new figure who offered a channel of connection to the outer public world and to his same-sex group. At this point, the boy's ambivalent relation to her mother turned out to be problematic and the father came to the fore as an escape from the highly loaded contact with the mother, cultivating emotional security. Dinnerstein (1976) posited that this denial of ambivalence sustained patriarchal relations since unconscious agony, though repressed, reminded one of the archaic fears of the mother and maternal omnipotence, and constantly exerted its influence in present day interactions.

Chodorow (1980, 1999) also attempted to trace the impact of mothering practices on reproducing asymmetrical gender relations in modern societies. She argued that the ideology of gender difference developed within a particular parenting arrangement, where the mother was the primary caretaker and only available attachment figure for both sons and daughters and the father was absent in this picture. As a result, the father/the masculine and the mother/the feminine came to represent binary oppositions, with the former being conceived of as what the latter

was not. Chodorow proposed that children of both genders developed a sense of similarity and being one with the mother/the feminine, which turned out to be problematic only for sons. In the case of girls, the primary sense of oneness with the mother took the form of a *narcissistic object attachment*, in which the mother conceived of her daughter as an extension of herself, rather than an autonomous agent. This sense of oneness with the feminine served as the basis of girls' gender identity in later phases of development. On the other hand, the process of gender identity development was more conflictual for sons. The mother-son bond was called *anaclitic object-attachment* in her account, in which the mother's relation to her son was characterized by difference and not-me quality. Supported by this anaclitic bond which emphasized difference, the boy's renunciation of the primary identification with his mother and repression of his attachment to the feminine became the major task in the development of a masculine self. Given rigidly polarized conceptions of the maternal/feminine and the paternal/masculine developing in the family, the boy achieved a gendered identity based on his repudiation of the mother and this established a firm ideology of gender difference, which fostered and sustained the existing patterns of gender-power relations (Chodorow, 1980). Thus, the nature of masculine identity was regarded as a defensive construction, aiming to repudiate fragility and insecurity and evolving into a male psyche which was intolerant and emotionally distant (Elliott, 2002).

Benjamin (1995), focusing on contemporary gender relations and the mother-father dyad, differed from earlier authors in the sense that she viewed the infant as capable of forming multiple attachments and identifications which fostered an infant's developing sense of self. In her view, a gendered identity developed on the basis of pre-Oedipal identifications, overincluding both parents. Throughout

development, the boy's growing recognition of the exclusivity of being a male or a female, fostered by cultural allocations of gender, produced tension with the overinclusiveness he felt. The boys' early identifications with both parents began to evolve into different capacities paralleling the cultural split of women and men, with identificatory love emerging in relation to the father to represent separation, agency and desire in the psychic world and to have an object to be like, and object love consolidating in relation to the mother to symbolize care, holding and complementarity. In normative development, the major task of the boy turned out to be the sustenance of identificatory tendencies for both parents, which provided him with a capacity to tolerate, to get familiar and intimate with the other (gender)/the different, with no need for repudiating or denigrating it. However, modern society led to a denial of the identificatory love towards the mother for children of both sexes because of its devaluation of the feminine in her account, and thus disrupted the normative development of gender identity.

Benjamin's analysis (1995) offered a conceptualization of gendered identity which was more fluid, tolerant of difference and less polarized, positing that the conception of gender difference evolved from simple opposition into a more integrative framework. She argued that the sense of a gendered self was attained by defensive repudiation of earlier bisexual and polymorphous relationships to parents in the shift from the pre-Oedipal to the Oedipal phase because of the current socio-cultural milieu which fostered an ideology of exclusivity and complementarity of gender identities. She claimed that throughout life, primary bisexual identifications could be resumed and their fluidity, flexibility could be enjoyed if rigid complementarity was not enforced by external sources in one's development (Benjamin, 1995).

Feminist object relational theories have converged their emphasis on the primacy of the mother-infant relationship in the pre-Oedipal period for the construction of the infant's gendered sense of self, along with their attempt to acknowledge and promote the mother's subjectivity. The mother, viewed as the major determiner of the infant's gendered identity, became the target of an ambivalent attachment, in which the child experienced love and idealization along with intense dependency, hatred and fear of engulfment. A fear of the feminine resulting from a view of the mother as omnipotent became the focus of feminist analytic thinking in object relational theorization (Elliott, 2002).

Lacanian theory differed from object relational accounts of gender relations which focus exclusively on the mother-infant dyad, and it called attention to language and culture, that is the symbolic order which was intricately related to gendered experience. Lacan (1982) provided a re-examination of the Oedipal situation with an exclusive focus on linguistic and symbolic practices. He proposed that the pre-Oedipal mother-infant dyad became the sphere of fantasized desire, in which the child, regardless of its gender, longed for being the object of the mother's desire. As the child acknowledged the mother's lack of a penis and her investment of her desire in the father and the phallus, he/she came to recognize himself/herself as an independent and separate entity. Lacan suggested that the phallus functioned symbolically to forbid the child's desire for the mother, broke the primal mother-infant bond and imagined wholeness, and fostered symbolic differentiation; and thus the father's prohibitive stance was the essential component of a child's becoming a social being which denoted a transition from the Imaginary to the Symbolic. Lacan asserted that since the phallus represented masculine authority and the penis, male gender identity was privileged while both boys and girls experienced the loss of the

imagined (Frosh, 2002; Lacan, 1982).

Frosh (2002) presented an examination of maternal and paternal roles in classical psychoanalysis, which also applied to object relational and Lacanian perspectives. Frosh (2002) pointed out that while the mother was depicted in classical psychoanalysis as a figure that attached to her infant narcissistically and formed an undifferentiated couple, the father symbolized separation, prohibition, social regulations and reality. The absence of the father's function was construed to lead the individual to regress and to seek the primal narcissistic and imaginary bond with the mother. Thus, the classical position along with Lacanian and object relational perspectives holds a vision of development as initiated by the frustration of unrealistic wishes, which is achieved by the function of the father. Without this function, the child follows a developmental path characterized by a narcissistic dynamic.

Although portrayals of the prohibitive father and the engulfing mother provides an uncomplicated account of family dynamics, these depictions fell short of capturing multiple attachments the infant is capable of forming; and the multiplicity and diversity of paternal and maternal roles. In other accounts, the significance of the relations between the mother and the father in the development of an infant has been highlighted in the literature. Kristeva (1985) asserted that in the preoedipal period the father functioned as a reference point whom the mother looked up to, hindering the narcissistic coupling of the mother-infant dyad and leaving space for the child to grow up in it. She stated that through her connection with the father, the mother could fall back from engaging in a narcissistic attachment and identification with the infant (cited in Elliott, 2002). Herzog (2004) also emphasized the relationship between mother and father, and proposed that in the absence of good enough

mothering, fathering and marital adjustment, the male psyche developed into a narcissistic organization.

The classical, object relational and Lacanian perspectives outlined above posit theories originated in the West and emphasize the notions of separation and individuation from the maternal and the feminine. These elaborate observations and conceptualizations provide a framework to contemplate the intrapsychic processes of the developing male psyche. However, the use of this separation-oriented framework to examine the development of masculinities in Turkey is warranted only after an examination of dominant masculinity discourses within particular social and familial dynamics in contemporary Turkey.

Turkish Culture

The social psychological literature has historically characterized Turkish culture as a more collectivist one, in which relations with the community are prioritized in defining and shaping personal and social functioning. Forming intimate relations with the community, maintaining harmony and constructing an identity on the basis of those relationships were noted as crucial characteristics of the Turkish culture (Baştuğ, 2002; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). The Turkish family was characterized as “functionally extended” (p.171, Sunar & Fişek, 2005) to underline the significance of relations with relatives, reciprocal assistance and closeness although social changes have transformed physical arrangements from households to nuclear family patterns (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996).

An examination of more recent studies on Turkish culture reveals that new elements are incorporated into its composition. In urban settings, collectivistic and individualistic tendencies are shown to co-exist (Göregenli, 1999 cited in Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Imamoğlu (1999) reported that from the 1970s to the 1990s, autonomy

and independence gained more prominence in men's and women's value preferences, suggesting that individualistic tendencies were strengthened within this period which had witnessed rapid social, political and economic transformations. In a similar vein, Kağıtçıbaşı (1996) highlighted that the modern Turkish family embodied strong emotional attachment among members of the extended family, rather than functioning as an economic unit and, fostered both personal and communal motivations concomitant to each other.

In Turkish society, community and social constraints play a major role in the organization of interpersonal relations and intra-psychic processes. Kagan (1979) suggested that the interwoven nature of the religious and cultural fabric in Turkey emphasized external control, prescribed by the community and extended social relations, and thus making people prone to feeling shame rather than guilt and characterizing Turkish culture a "shame society". Sirman (1998) highlighted the significance of kinship relations in shaping feminine and masculine identities and of the concept of honor in regulating negotiations and in sustaining patriarchy in Turkish culture. She stated that the family and one's relations with kin and community became the political and social unit where a person's social standing was identified and his/her identity was formed in relation to it.

Honor codes as an interrelated system of values, attitudes and prescriptions in Turkey function as standards of conduct against which actions and feelings are evaluated, with a prominent gap with respect to gender in its application. As Meeker (1976) noted, preservation of honor was a social, rather than a personal matter and thus, revealed its underlying conception that social standing, customs and convention were prioritized, rather than personal affiliations (cited in Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Sunar and Fişek (2005) explicated that conservation of honor relied on men's control

of female sexuality. Thus, the concept of honor in Turkey is defined by reference to the female body and connotes control of female sexuality, with men becoming its controlling agent. The authors reported that the strong influence of honor codes in shaping social relationships remained intact, although it lost its prominence for middle and higher classes as a result of modernization.

Besides high levels of interconnectedness and control with the community as a characteristic of Turkish culture, the notions of hierarchy are also put forward in the literature. Fişek (2002) examined and positioned Turkish society along the dimensions of social structure and relational ethos and characterized it as a social organization which is hierarchically ordered along the notions of power, status, respect and reverence. Delaney (1991) also noticed that notions of age and respect were highly influential in same-sex and cross-sex interactions and relations. Although social transformations challenged the existing patterns, Sirman (1998) stated that gender and generation were still the major determinants of one's position in the family.

The dimensions of hierarchy and relational interconnectedness are gendered in the Turkish cultural fabric, that is they are allocated differently to men and women, which brings forth sex-segregation as a prominent characteristic. Kandiyoti (1995) explicated that Turkish households were characterized by hierarchical relationships between men and women and the segregation of their domains of activities. She stated that the contact between men and women, husbands and wives was socially strictly controlled. Olson (1982) also pointed out that sex segregation, both spatially and occupationally, was a common practice which regulated male-female relations in the public and private spheres and characterized the Turkish family system as duofocal, which indicated separate social networks wives and husbands were

engaged in.

Spatial and occupational segregation of men and women get intertwined as Delaney (1991) put forward in her account of gender relations. She demonstrated the construction of the public or the outer domain as masculine and the private or the inner domain as feminine in rural settings in Turkey. In traditional family arrangements, men took the responsibility to regulate the family's relations with the state and the public, carried on their breadwinner role while women remained invisible in the labor force and spent most of their time at the privacy of the home independently from men (Fallers & Fallers, 1976). Fişek (1994) also stated that the duofocal family pattern evident in the Turkish culture fostered a split for men from the domestic sphere of the house toward an all-male world, and canalized women into an enmeshed relationship with their children. Concordantly, bonds with the social networks of same-sex friends were strengthened both for men and women, making intimacy a within-sex experience.

Nevertheless, a comparison with the traditional forms warrants discussion once again as Bolak (1997, 2002) pointed out that work and family arrangements in the household has been challenged by increased migration, urbanization and female employment in urban environments. In particular, she examined the role of working women as major providers in their family in renegotiating gender-power relations around family work. Although she noted that continuities with the traditional division of labor at home were found in urban contexts with women assuming the role of breadwinner, elements of change were also found as evidenced in the emergence of an "irresponsible husband" discourse or the increased voicing of women's expectations for shared work in the household. As Bolak (2002) emphasized, the increase in female employment and the decrease in male's economic competence

offered a flexible boundary to renegotiate occupational sex-segregation and to challenge traditional understandings of being a male/female. In light of the above stated remarks, a conception of hegemonic masculinity in the Turkish context evolves.

Masculinity in Turkey

The construction of masculinities in Turkey have not been systematically investigated although the necessity to scrutinize them in order to fully grasp gender-power relations has been mentioned in social psychological, anthropological and sociological literatures. However, thought provoking observations and a limited number of research findings about masculinity ideals have been provided, which potentially shape developmental trajectories of masculine identities in Turkish culture. An examination of those findings and writings reveals that hegemonic masculinity in the Turkish context is defined with reference to familial responsibilities, the notions of power and control, and sexuality.

The most pronounced theme emerging in the depictions of Turkish masculinity is familial responsibilities, which contribute to a man's sense of masculinity in large part. Several authors suggested that being a real man in Turkish culture was tied to one's attaining the position of the head of household; for this purpose men were treated like prospective leaders of their households, who could carry the responsibility of taking care of a family throughout their boyhood (Cengiz, Tol & Küçükural, 2004; Fallers & Fallers, 1976; Özbay & Baliç, 2004). A more recent study also provided confirming results indicating that gaining a reputation as the head and the provider of one's family was the most prevalent strategy for constructing a masculine self (Sancar, 2009).

Being the head of the household indicates that manhood is defined by its

functions of provision for and representation of the family; concordant with the male-public/female-private dichotomy explained in the previous section. Self-sufficiency and adequacy of material gains to manage a family was shown to be prominent in the case of a male child (Cengiz, Tol & Küçükural, 2004). This is consistent with the normative boy preference in Turkish culture, especially in rural areas where boys are preferred over girls since boys can support the family materially, by staying with the family and by providing labor and future security for parents although this preference is shown to weaken in urban settings (Ataca, Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005; Ataca & Sunar, 1999; Bolak, 1999). In addition, Delaney (1991) emphasized the analogy between the female body and the house or *ocak*, stating that both have to be protected and represented by a man, that is the father, the husband or the son. Thus, the family man is construed as embodying hegemonic masculinity which deems him responsible for the material sustenance of his family and also grants him power and authority as the head of the house in the Turkish context.

The second theme emerging in the hegemonic masculinity discourses in Turkey is sexuality. Delaney (1991) provided a thorough examination of the construction and maintenance of gendered identities within a developmental framework in Turkey. She called attention to the different meanings attached to the body and sexuality in masculinity and femininity discourses in Turkey. Delaney asserted that men learned to embrace their sexuality and exhibited their bodies with no sign of shame as opposed to girls who were socialized to disregard and conceal their bodies. However, as Sancar (2009) reported, hegemonic masculinity was associated with sexual fidelity in the case of the family man although instances of performance conflicting with this image were widespread in men's actual lives.

The hegemonic masculinity discourse is consolidated by a discourse of femininity which is defined in opposition to men's ideals. As Kandiyoti (1987) explicated, masculinity and femininity in the sex-segregated arrangement of Turkish society have been defined as opposite attributes, designated for complementary and contradictory roles. Kandiyoti argued that femininity was not subject to loss or threat since it was an attribute, strictly prescribed and controlled by social practices, regulations and values. In contrast, masculinity was experienced as a state which has to be constantly achieved, rendering it vulnerable and insecure. This unattainable nature of masculine identity was experienced as a concern over reconstructing one's masculinity when it was challenged and led to an anxiety over losing it.

Sakallı-Uğurlu's (2002) research on stereotypes about Turkish women and men provided consistent results with Kandiyoti's concern with dichotomized constructions of masculinity and femininity. The results of the study revealed that the opposition of women and men were constructed in the dimensions of dependent-independent, passive-active, oppressed-restrictive, obedient-authoritarian and benign-stubborn (cited in Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2003). In a similar vein, men are considered to be "self-motivated and self-contained" whereas women are viewed as socially controlled in the Turkish context (Delaney, 1991; Sarı, 2004).

As Cornwall and Lindisfarne (1994) highlighted, however, it is crucial to notice that masculinity and femininity are not always constructed as bipolar opposites which rules out their potential co-existence in the same person or culture. Confirming this assertion; Dindar (2004), scrutinizing the historical roots of Anatolian culture, revealed that it contained both patriarchal and matriarchal currents. Concordantly, Gürbüz's (1988) study suggested that expressiveness appeared to be a domain of convergence which characterized both masculine and

feminine identities in Turkey. She demonstrated insufficiency of the instrumental/expressive dimension to distinguish between masculine and feminine ideals. The results revealed that expressive traits were desired for both sexes, and also they were thought to describe both.

Viewing masculinity in its context, masculine ideals have gone through a process of change as a result of social and political transformations, especially through the republican reforms which targeted the male/female bodies and masculinities/femininities (Durakbaşa, 1998; Yumul, 2000). As Kandiyoti (1998) pointed out, the definitions of masculinity turned out to be double-edged and vague within the modernization discourse. It has been suggested that current masculinity ideals are hybrid, that is the traditional man embodied in the distant, moral, protective, authoritarian male image was degraded and rendered as a sign of underdevelopment by the modernist discourse of the republic, yet at the same time this image was idealized and claimed as being the real bearer of indigenous wisdom by populist movements (Alemdaroğlu & Demirtaş, 2004; Kandiyoti, 1998; Yumul, 2000). Thus, the paradoxes of modernization frames the hegemonic masculinity discourses in the Turkish context, stimulating a dynamic process of construction for gendered identities.

The Turkish Family

No doubt the family, as a social and political institution is the primary unit where gender and power relations are negotiated, and gender socialization of children takes place. It becomes the ground on which children are first acquainted with gender asymmetries embedded in relationships and discern their own position within their family dynamics as a boy or a girl.

Several authors have noted that there was not a unitary pattern that could be

called “the Turkish family” since considering it would be largely to ignore dynamics and structures like social class which potentially shaped the particularities of a family (Sirman, 1998). In addition, rapid social transformations in Turkey have taken place, which influenced what characterized “the traditional Turkish family” and its “modern” counterpart (Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Though noticing individual variation and recent transformations in Turkish family systems, the following discussion will dwell on the general patterns that result from macro level socio-cultural and political influences on the family and occasionally contemplate the traditional-modern distinction.

Fişek (2002) explored the particularities of the Turkish family and viewed it as a system in which socio-cultural and personal dynamics interacted. She demonstrated that the relational ethos within this social organization differed for vertical and horizontal interactions, formed on the basis of distance and formality for the former and, affection, sharing and reciprocal attachment for the latter. Fişek (2002) showed that hierarchical relations shaped male-female interactions among members of the same and different generations and demarcated the targets of control and concern, which flowed from male to female, from old to young. Within the strictly formulated hierarchical boundaries, intimacy and affection were intensely experienced.

Themes of obedience, protectiveness and control have been highly prevalent in parent-child interactions, in which parents expect unconditional compliance, strictly exert control over their children, engage in care taking activities and made sacrifices for the child (Imamoglu, 1991). Fişek (1982) provided confirming evidence for the protective attitude of parents toward children, along with restraining independence and self-directed acts. A recent study revealed that the child’s

obedience gained more significance in low SES groups, while for the higher SES groups independence and self-reliance was more prominent (Sunar, 2002).

In a more recent study, Sunar (2002) demonstrated that parenting practices prioritized family, loyalty and interrelatedness while little disagreement within the family and punitive attitudes toward children were observed. The study also showed that family atmosphere in urban settings encouraged expression of emotions except anger and fostered autonomy. Fişek's exploration of the Turkish familial dynamics also suggested that aspects of the hierarchical relations which pertained to control were weakened although those related to care and concern remained the same in the family (Sunar & Fişek, 2005).

It is worth considering different combinations of relationships among members of the family along the dimensions of hierarchy and intimacy. A closer examination of mother-son and father-son relationship ensues.

Mother-Son Relationship

The significance of the mother-son relationship in Turkey has been pointed out in the familial dynamics within which the child constructs a gendered identity. Kandiyoti (1994) provided an illuminating and thorough exploration of the dynamics of the Turkish family and gender relations within it with an awareness of power allocation among husbands, wives, sons and daughters. As Kandiyoti (1987, 1988) explained, a mother's giving birth to a son was crucial in gaining acknowledgement and authority in more extended families and consolidating her power in the household. Delaney (1991) also highlighted the role of giving birth to a son in upgrading a woman's position in the household since it served as a justification of womanhood and power and ensured future protection and security for the mother. The primacy of the male child for the mother's gaining a powerful position in the family rendered the mother-

son relationship intense and loaded.

It has been argued that narcissistic and ambivalent masculine selves might develop in the Turkish case because the mother displaced the intricacies of her relationship with her husband to her son, might idealize him as serving protection and simultaneously exerting authority over him (Kandiyoti, 1987, 1988). She stated that mother and son might engage in a relationship pattern where the mother protects her son from the father's judicial stance and turns to him for future support, which conveys ambivalent messages to the child. Several authors suggested that in adolescence, the boy's relationship with his mother weakens and his socialization pattern takes the form of a lengthy, proximate contact with women followed by a sudden acquaintance with the competitive and remote male world. This abrupt separation was theorized to result in feelings of insecurity in the developing male child (Delaney, 1991; Kandiyoti, 1994).

Simic's (1999) analysis and observations of the Yugoslav culture and familial relations might be appropriate for the Turkish culture as well: "the apparent patriarchal nature of the family and the society as a whole is more a public than a private fact, and because of this the important affectual power of women is obscured" (p.68). In a similar vein, Kandiyoti (1988) put forward the suggestions made in the psychoanalytic literature, stating that the social arrangements which undermined husband-wife relationships and cherished motherhood led to the development of intense attachment in mother-son dyads.

The intense attachment pattern between mothers and sons, which is a social phenomenon fostered by gender-power relations in Turkey, simultaneously shapes micro-level individual experiences, illustrating the exchanges between the social and the personal. Halfon (2006) demonstrated that secure attachment in relation to

mothers was more prominent relative to fathers. Bolak (1999) reported that the mother in some working-class families was more child-centered relative to the father, investing in her children's needs and taking care of them in physical, material and psychological terms. An exploration of parental representations revealed that maternal representations indicated affective and intimate exchanges with mothers and suggested a relationship pattern which was characterized by symbiosis-reciprocity (Sefer, 2006).

The intricacies of the mother-son relationship in Turkish culture are evident in parenting rules and practices mothers employ. Pehlivanoğlu (1998) reported that the mother was more likely to discourage her son's independence and to use strict authoritarian practices relative to her daughter especially in lower SES families. In a similar vein, Imamoğlu (1991) demonstrated that both gratifying and retributive exchanges with the child took place in the mother-child relationship more frequently than that of the father. The results revealed that the male child was more frequently rewarded and punished relative to the female child, especially in the low SES groups, and thus he was exposed to conflictual and intense affective communications more often.

Imamoglu (1991) pointed out that feelings of defiance and opposition were expressed to the mother more comfortably than to the father. The author discussed that mother's engagement with the child in more frequent and emotionally intense exchanges engendered defiant feelings in the child and the mother was a more comfortable target for the expression of these feelings since she was feared less relative to the father. Fişek (1982) also reported that anger expression was strictly controlled and prohibited in response to fathers, with exceptions being possible in the case of mothers. Sunar, Bolak and Ataca (2005)'s study provided confirming

evidence in that anger was more likely to be expressed towards equal or lower status individuals in private domains.

Father-Son Relationship

Delaney (1991) suggested that the birth of a child for a father was as significant as it was for a mother, since it proved his manhood and adulthood, displayed his power and capability for procreation and served as a source of pride. However, a father's relation to his son took a different form than the one observed in mother-son exchanges. As mentioned in previous sections, the father assumes the authority position in his family, and this shapes his relationships with his children and his parenting style. Fişek (1995, 2002) proposed that fathers, by disengaging from interactions with their children that is by distance, preserved their dominant position in the family to a large extent. This arrangement was also supported by a social structure in which female kin provided assistance in child rearing activities, serving to sustain traditional divisions of labor in the family (Bolak, 2002; Delaney, 1991; Fallers & Fallers, 1976). Thus, the father is positioned as hierarchically superior and distant in relation to his children which has implications for the developing son.

Both early and recent accounts revealed that the notions of detachment, differentiation and distance characterized the father-son relationship in Turkish families rather than emotional closeness (Sancar, 2009; Seçkin, 1996; Sefer, 2006). Bolak (1999) also documented that the father turned out to be distant and stingy towards his son and competed with him over material resources of the household and over his mother's caring and attentive attitude in working-class families. In terms of father-son exchanges, Sefer's (2006) findings suggested that fathers were perceived as being more angry, critical and punitive by sons more than daughters. The result was an ambivalent father-son relationship, in which the developing boy experienced

considerable disappointment over the father's distant and dominant attitude in the face of his expectations for warmth, sincerity and care (Sancar, 2009).

It is clearly evident that wider socio-cultural and political transformations have implications for parent-son relationships. Kıray (1976), noting the changes in the interplay of power and authority in the family, suggested that women, particularly mothers, played a significant role in transforming the family to adopt to the atmosphere of the day, which turned out to be a crossroad in the father-son relationship. She asserted that a process of renegotiation had to be worked through between the son who now had room to claim his independence in decisions about work, partner selection, post-marital residence, leisure activities and the father who feared losing his authority over his son and needed to reassert his power. The mother assumed the function of a buffer in the midst of this conflict, both skillfully persuading her husband to give consent for the son's personal decisions and by soothing her son to be patient. Kıray (1976) claimed that in this way, the father's authority was sustained by an act of generosity and the son's individual conduct was tolerated at the same time. In a recent study, Sancar (2009) also provided confirming evidence reporting that the mother-father-son relationship is defined by a conflict between the father's wish to transmit his own values into his son's life and the son's wish to explore his own way.

The Present Study: Masculine Self in the Case of the Turkish Family

An examination of the Turkish family dynamics, although they may differ across social class and ethnicity, reveals the inadequacy of the feminist psychoanalytic theories in understanding the development of gendered selves, and masculinities in Turkey. Situating the male child within the web of relationships which are shaped by gender-power dynamics, Fişek (1994) proposed that masculine identities might

follow a different path of development than posited in those theories which emphasized differentiation and separation from the mother in Western cultures.

The male child takes on different meanings and functions for a subordinated and restrained mother and authoritative and restraining father in the Turkish case, and thus his developmental challenges may not correspond to that of his Western counterpart altogether. Fişek (1994) asserted that separateness of the male child was provided by the structural characteristics of the culture, enabling prolonged attachment to and intimacy with the mother. Thus, the Turkish boy matured in a context where hierarchical relations fostered differentiation and the development of autonomous aspects of the self while intimate and affectionate bonds fulfilled the needs for dependency (Fişek, 1994). Consequently, the developing self simultaneously enjoys a high level of intimacy and relatedness in the experiential realm, while it is granted a private, separate psychological domain by socio-cultural and developmental demands (e.g. being a male, being older) (Fişek, 2009).

In light of the above stated findings and discussions, the need to identify the ways the masculine psyche is constructed and negotiated within this culture is apparent. The present study aims to investigate the psychic world of masculine identities in a sample of Turkish university undergraduates along with the developmental trajectories the male child goes through in his socialization processes in Turkey. The objective is to delineate particular constructions of masculinity experienced by male children within this culture and their impact on their developing male selves and to explore men's affective and relational patterns shaped within it.

CHAPTER II: METHOD

Participants

Seventeen Muslim, male university students participated in the present study in return for 2 credits in the Introductory Psychology or Social Psychology courses. The participants were recruited from second or third year university students, with an age range of 21 and 25. Their demographics including the locality of origin and the family characteristics are presented in Table 1. The names presented in the table are pseudonyms; the locations are reported by their region and their type of residence for ensuring confidentiality.

Materials

A semi-structured interview consisting of 25 open-ended questions was constructed, taking 50 to 80 minutes to complete. The questions inquired about the participant's self-definitions, social relations, family relations (the mother, the father, the siblings, and other important extended family members) and their understanding of the male role in Turkish culture (For interview questions organized under relevant headings in Turkish and English, see Appendix A and B). The interview questions were tested in a pilot study with 3 participants recruited through convenience sampling and were refined accordingly. The interviews were held by a female researcher, recorded by a digital tape recorder and transcribed with the help of a program named Diktetor.

A demographic information form was filled by the participants to obtain their age and birth place, the parents' age and birth place, the parents' level of education and occupation, the siblings' age and gender, the family arrangement in childhood and the location they grew up in (See Appendix C and D for its Turkish and English version).

Table 1. The Demographic Characteristics of the Present Sample

Name	Age	Birth place	Mother age	Mother education/ occupation	Father age	Father education/ occupation	Siblings ¹	The locality one grew up in
Salih	22	Eastern village	43	Elementary school/ housewife	44	Elementary school/ tradesman	F(27), M(19), F(14)	Eastern village and small town
Bekir	22	Eastern village	62	No formal education/ housewife	75	High school/ retired government officer	M(37), M(33), M(31), M(28), F(25)	Eastern village
Mehmet	22	Eastern small town	43	No formal education/ housewife	51	University/ government officer	F(21),M(18), M(15), M(12), F (8)	Eastern village and small town
Ahmet	21	Eastern city	39	Elementary school/ housewife	49	High school/ tradesman	F(20), F(18), M(12)	Western metropolitan
Hakan	23	Western small town	43	High school/ housewife	49	Middle school/ retired	M(20)	Western small town
Baran	22	Western small town	44	High school/ housewife	49	High school/ self-employment	F(18)	Western small town and metropolitan
Can	21	Western small town	58	Middle school/ housewife	58	Elementary school/ seller	F(26)	Western small town
Onur	21	Southwestern city	46	High school/ housewife	53	University/ self-employment	M(26), M(18)	Western city
Sait	22	Western metropolitan	55	Elementary school/ housewife	53	Elementary school/ retired	F(27)	Western metropolitan
Yiğit	25	Western metropolitan	53	Middle school /housewife	61	Middle school/ retired machinist	F(32), F(29)	Western metropolitan
Barış	21	Western metropolitan	39	Middle school /housewife	48	Elementary school/seller of furniture	M(16), M(10)	Western metropolitan
Yahya	21	Western metropolitan	54	Elementary school/ housewife	60	Elementary school/ retired	M(32), M(30)	Western metropolitan
Rıza	21	Western metropolitan	46	Elementary school/ housewife	49	Middle school/ laboratorian	M(17), M(5)	Western and Eastern cities
<i>Koray²</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>Northwestern small town</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>Elementary school/ housewife</i>	<i>49</i>	<i>Middle school/ laboratorian</i>	<i>F(24)</i>	<i>Northwestern small town</i>
<i>Çağrı</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>Western city</i>	<i>52</i>	<i>University/ pharmacist</i>	<i>58 (dead)</i>	<i>University/ lawyer</i>	<i>No siblings</i>	<i>Northwestern small town</i>
<i>Burak</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>Southwestern city</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>University/ teacher</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>High school/ worker</i>	<i>F(16)</i>	<i>Southwestern city</i>
<i>Metin</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>Eastern small town</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>No formal education/ housewife</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>High school/ government officer</i>	<i>F(35), F(31), M(29), M(27)</i>	<i>Eastern city</i>

¹F and M indicate the gender of one's sibling, with M standing for male and F standing for female. The age of the siblings are given in parenthesis.

²The participants in italics are not included in data analysis.

Procedure

The process of data collection was carried out individually in a quiet room and was initiated after the informed consent form was signed by the participants (See Appendix C). Next, the demographic information form was filled and a brief warm-up conversation about the participants' current lives was held. Following a brief explanation about the interview process, the participants' oral consent was taken for using the voice recorder and the semi-structured interview was carried out.

Data Analysis

Four of the interviews were excluded from data analysis (shown in italics in Table 1) since 2 of them were partially recorded due to technical inconveniences, and the other 2 provided poor data due to the participants' unwillingness to talk in the interview. The interviews of 13 participants were analyzed using the qualitative analysis method of grounded theory on Atlas.ti6. This method refers to a systematic and inductive examination of qualitative data for developing a theoretical framework, grounded in the experiences of both the researcher and the participant (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In the present research, the grounded theory approach was chosen for two reasons. First, it provides an analytic perspective which helps to put forward a theoretical account in a newly explored research area, that is, the construction of a masculine self in Turkish culture. Second, it presents a guideline for an in-depth exploration of this concept along with its particular meanings and dimensions in Turkish culture as they emerge in the participant's subjective experience and discourse.

The analysis in the grounded theory method is composed of three main, interrelated processes: open, axial and selective coding. In open coding, each transcript is closely scrutinized to break it down into definitive categories and to

identify their properties/dimensions. The aim of this procedure is to gain an idea of the themes pertaining to the data and to inform the next step of analysis. For example; the sentence “My uncle always gives me advises. He tells me you are going to the university, you should improve your skills, be careful about this and that.” was coded as “uncle's guidance/mentoring”. Axial coding is carried out through an examination of the properties/dimensions of each category, so that one category is refined and its relation to other categories is clearly delineated. For that purpose, the data is closely examined to reveal when, by which actors, under which circumstances and with what consequences a category emerges as relevant. In this phase, the code “uncle's guidance/mentoring” took the form of “paternal uncle's guidance in self-improvement in academic work”. In the final phase of selective coding, the data is reintegrated around the main categories emerging as significant for the explanation of the phenomena at hand. For the present example, “extended family relations” emerged as the core category.

In the grounded theory approach, core categories emerging in the data might inform the sampling procedure used at the later stages of data gathering. Strauss and Corbin (1998) introduces the concept of theoretical sampling to denote that once a core category is explored, particular sources of data which will maximize the understanding of different dimensions/properties of this core category are deliberately chosen in subsequent steps of a research project. In the present research, it was evident that locality of origin was a core category which configured the links among other emerging sub-categories. The composition of the sample was characterized by predominantly Eastern rural young men in early stages of data collection. For exploring the impact of this core category in depth, the procedure of theoretical sampling was carried out to include a higher number of young men

growing up in Western urban locations.

The data was coded by two researchers to determine the interrater reliability of the emerging categories. Disagreements in coding were resolved either by discussing them to reach a consensus or by adding a new code.

CHAPTER III: RESULTS

The results are reported by sticking to the data and the meaning making process of the participants. Its theoretical elaboration is handled in the discussion section.

Functioning of the Masculine Self in the Social Domain

This section elaborates on the theme of the young men's social functioning both in their current and earlier lives. The first part presents a sketch of the young men's current status and social relations at the university, followed by an examination of the friendship discourse in general terms, illuminating how intimacy among friends is defined and how it develops. Next, opposite- and same-sex relationships are explored. Same-sex relationships are explained along the dimensions of intimacy, self-disclosure and developmental change through preadolescent and adolescent periods. The issues of intimacy, communication, self-disclosure and continuity in same-sex relationships are taken up in the last part.

Current Functioning of the Young Men at the University

The young men's current functioning in and adjustment to the university environment were a salient theme in their talk. However, there was variability in the extent to which they felt comfortable and accustomed to university life. While seven men did not mention any adjustment problems at the university, adaptation was a challenging task for six young men.

I always felt as if I was knocked out in my first year at the university. I didn't want to do anything. (Hakan)

In the prep class, the year that I first came here, I experienced culture shock. I could not pull myself together. (Bekir)

They explained that their new lives at the university setting posed a number of challenges, which could be outlined as:

separating from one's family and shouldering responsibilities of an individualized life (two men),

The university is a quite different setting. It was the first time that I separated from my family and I separated from all the things in the last two-and-a-half year. (Hakan)

socializing with people of different cultural background and social status (one man);

When I came to Istanbul, there was surely also a decrease in it (friendships with males). The university also has an influence on this, there are students from all regions and fractions in here. (...) We are all in the same department here, but it seems as if they, particularly some friends, are in a more superior department. It is nonsense. (...) In Istanbul I have difficulty in communicating with those students who have gone to private schools. (Salih)

expanding one's social network in impersonal, unfamiliar class settings (one man),

Early on, there was a notion of class. In the prep class, there were around twenty-twenty five people. I had difficulty in meeting with them and expanding my social network later. Since in our department, there are mass courses all the time or the classes of at least a hundred people, I don't have so many friends from my department. (Mehmet)

getting used to the impersonal, westernized social atmosphere of the university (one man).

Here, no value is attached to one as a human being. I feel it in here, at this university. You meet with someone at one point and have a chat with him/her. When your conversation ends, it is over. When you come across him/her in the street, he/she does not look at your face or not make an eye contact. For instance, you knock together with someone in the street, you apologize yet he/she does not turn back or listen. Surely, these kinds of things disappoint one. (Baran)

The young men having difficulties in their adaptation to the university differed in their reactions to the challenges of adjustment. Four men indicated overcoming problems of adaptation after a temporary period of dysfunction throughout their first undergraduate years.

You knock together with someone in the street, you apologize yet he/she does not turn back or listen. Surely, these kinds of things disappoint one. But, as one's standpoint expands, he manages to tolerate this disappointment. (Baran)

On the other hand, two of them mentioned experiencing a breakdown after getting into the university and settling in Istanbul.

In the second semester of the prep class, I went through a depressive period. I could not define my psychological state and myself at that period. I lost excessive weight. (Bekir)

Both young men indicated that their social functioning at the university setting was hindered by feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity in social relations.

When I came to Istanbul and saw people's lives, I thought that I should be a person who had a more distant stance. I tried to withdraw myself from people and to improve myself. I was in such a condition that I began to fear greeting people. I am still fearful of people and life in general. (Bekir)

I don't know, maybe I don't trust (people) outside. Although I want to communicate, I can't. (...) I feel insecure, somehow I can't establish a high level of intimacy. (Salih)

Academic under achievement at the university was interwoven with adjustment problems for five young men while eight men did not mention failures in academic work. Those five men indicated that they began to fail in their first year at the university which was allocated for advancing in English. In their freshman year, they dealt with ongoing problems in academic work, having repeat/remedial status which indicated a very low grade point average and required repeating all the courses of the failed semester.

I struggled at the time of the proficiency exam for two years because I graduated from a regular high school. I turned out to be a remedial student for one year after the prep class. (Yahya)

The prep class passed over as such. My grades were low. I passed the proficiency exam in September. It was a very bad period. (...) I turned out to be a repeat student in the second semester of my first year. Then, I was in the summer school. (Can)

Academic failures at the university turned into narcissistic injuries for those two young men who had outstanding achievement in school work in their local contexts where academic under achievement was the norm.

In general I was the most successful one in the class. (...) It is a small place, there are not a large number of schools. There is only one school in the central town and the students are not doing well in general. (...) I thought that I could handle this too (at the university). When you broke off from the lessons, you didn't. I had to drop the class and I failed at the

prep year. After passing proficiency last year, things began to be normal.
(Mehmet)

I was excessively hardworking. In my town, there are very few people who get into the university. There is no one going to xxx university. (...) From my high school, no one except me could manage to get into here both in the preceding and the next academic year. (Salih)

Friendship and Intimacy

The Dimensions of Friendship

Friendship was a salient dimension in the young men's current lives. In the young men's reflections on friendship, three characteristics came to the fore which could be outlined as relational and emotional sensitivity, an interest in the other and accommodation to the social context. The relational and emotional sensitivity of the young men demonstrated itself in a concern with expectations and evaluations of the other in friendships. The young men differed in whether they referred to the other's judgments for positioning themselves in their social network. Eight men defined their social standing from the standpoint of their friends, and explained how they were viewed by the other in social relations. On the other hand, two men did not give reference to the other in characterizing their social standing.

In general, I am loved by my friends. (Barış)

I am known as a friendly person. (Ahmet)

Concern over possible negative emotional reactions on the part of the other in friendships was another indication of the young men's emotional sensitivity, mentioned by five young men while not touched upon in eight men's talk. Among them, three men stated that they take the emotional reactions of their friends and acquaintances into consideration so as not to upset and discomfort the other.

In my relationships, I consider whether something I've done hurts the other, demoralizes or upsets him/her. (...) I try not to break anyone's heart. (Baran)

I think that I have never offended anybody in my life. (Yahya)

On the other hand, two of them emphasized that concerns over managing negative

emotional reactions of the other restricted open disclosure of particular issues such as discussion of relational problems, provision of social feedback in friendships.

When there is a problem between us (an intimate friend), we both know that a problem exists. Yet, we can't tell it to each other so as not to break each other's heart. (Ahmet)

I ask my friends (about myself) to get feedback. Yet, they don't want to tell and upset me. (Can)

In friendships, the young men mentioned being interested in the conduct of the other and the difficulties he/she was going through, which put them in the role of receiver and listener, highlighted by five young men. Among them, three men indicated a preference for listening and striving to understand their friends.

I try to understand them (my friends) in some way. (...) In general, (I am) the listener. (Hakan)

In general, I like to listen (to others) in group settings. (Sait)

Two of them mentioned a concern with problems of the other in friendships. Both men indicated that they listened and tried to help with the difficulties their friends were going through.

I don't know if there is something about me, but they (my friends) tell me about their problems, "this happened, then that happened" rather than their pleasures. I am always the one whose doorstep they lay their problems. (Baran)

I occupy myself with other people's problems. I try to solve these problems by myself in some way. (Barış)

The young men's inclination to accommodate to the relational and social context was also mentioned as one defining feature of friendships. Three men stated that they adjusted themselves with reference to the other in social interactions. Those three men emphasized their ability to interact with different people in a diversity of social environments, which implied their contextual sensitivity in social functioning.

In every context I have been, I figure out what a person can give me on the basis of his qualities and I try to offer him/her the things that I can. I act on the way she/he wants without ignoring my own personality. (Yahya)

In general, I can manage to act in ways that people want. I can

communicate well both with a little child and an old person. (...) I can adapt. I can establish a dialogue with them in the way they want. (Yiğit)

However, for two young men adjustment to different social relations produced negative results. Those two men indicated that they over invested in the relational needs and expectations of the other in friendships, carrying it to the extent of self-sacrificial behaviors which felt overwhelming.

In my social relations, I try to approach people without expecting anything in return as much as possible. (...) I am the one who bends his limits, probably it is my greatest problem. (Baran)

For instance, I buy a chocolate from the canteen (...) One day I realized that I can't eat it on my own. I thought I must share it with Sercan (friend's name). (Barış)

The Development of Intimacy in Friendships

Commonality on several grounds was seen as a requisite for intimacy to develop in friendships by a number of young men, extending from belonging to the same locality of origin, social class and cultural-ethnic-political group to sharing of similar interests and experiences in life. Those commonalities could be outlined as, belonging to the same locality or district (four men);

I can communicate more comfortably with people who come from Anatolia, for instance friends from the dormitory. (Salih)

going through similar life experiences (two men);

I am more intimate with friends who got into the university in 2003 or 2004, turned out to be a remedial or repeat student and postponed graduation. (Hakan)

I have lived in (an eastern city), he (an intimate friend) has lived in (an Aegean city). The life he has lived there was parallel to my life. (...) We shared those experiences with each other. (Bekir)

belonging to the same socio-economic status group (two men);

I look at my surrounding. Actually, there are always people like me in terms of their income. (Rıza)

having similar tastes and interests (two men);

We like the same food for instance, we like to do the same activities. We

listen to music which is similar in style. (Can)

following a similar line of thought and vision in evaluations of matters in life (two men);

Because we think in similar terms and have a similar state of mind, in general we can be critical of certain events. (Can)

The people to whom I want to be close are those who have dreams and an expanded point of view about the world rather than just being occupied with daily matters. (Rıza)

being from one's same-sex group (one man);

I think a man can establish a better friendship with a man. (...) In the end, both sides can understand each other well in many terms since both are men. (Yiğit)

and adhering to similar political ideas (one man).

I was a rightist; they (classmates at high school) were left-wingers. (...) I talked to them on daily, superficial matters but I did not go into serious discussions with them. (Can)

On the other hand, two young men emphasized the significance of difference in the formation of intimate bonds with friends. Both men mentioned that having different points of view on matters in life, including religion and politics was part of their intimate friendships. One of them emphasized his contentment with and appreciation of differences in friendships, which granted him the opportunity to integrate different perspectives and to arrive at finer conclusions.

He (best friend) is the exact opposite of me. (...) We are like day and night. I generally take everything seriously; he takes everything lightly and sees them as a source of entertainment. I watch my behavior in the community while he speaks loudly and indiscreetly. (...) Our being different is better for us. (...) If we were the same, we would act similarly. In general, we react differently to the same event because we are different, and later synthesize them to arrive at a better result. (Yiğit)

Each of us looks at different angles. Actually, we are really different. (...) For instance, one of us is a left-winger, one is a rightist. One is in the middle. (...) One wears a headscarf, yet another drinks alcohol for instance. (Barış)

When intimate friendships were formed, the young men emphasized different terms

in their reflections on intimacy, including;

warmth and sincerity (three men),

They (friends from high school) were very close friends of mine, they were warm. (Sait)

reciprocity (two men),

You give a lot, and the other also gives something. You pile up something in a common pool. (Baran)

I value people very much. In return, people also value me. (Onur)

responsibility of sharing and helping with the difficulties friends struggled with (two men),

I should be able to shoulder his (a friend's) responsibilities. If he has a problem, I should be available for him to share it with me. I'd like to do something (for him). (Barış)

At one point, I thought about dropping out of the university. I didn't tell my family since they would be upset. I mentioned about it to my friends. (...) (They told me) "don't do it". They told my parents to help me. They said that they did it because they loved me. (Ahmet)

Opposite-Sex Relationships

Formation of Friendships with Females

Forming friendships with girls was a salient dimension in all thirteen young men's current social functioning at the university setting. However, they differed in whether they currently interacted with females or not. While eleven young men developed relations with girls at the university,

I have a lot of female friends. I get along with females better than males. (Yahya)

two men did not yet form interactions with females in their current lives.

I don't have many female friends in my current surrounding. (Rıza)

The theme of continuity in friendships with females generated variance among those eleven young men. While previous relations with girls were sustained in the current lives of several young men, others went through a process of transformation at the

university which provided a chance to interact with females. Five young men stated that previously formed friendships with girls were sustained and carried forward throughout their undergraduate years.

I have both male and female friends from middle school to whom I am still very close today. (Onur)

On the other hand, five young men mentioned beginning to communicate with females only after getting into the university. Four of these men indicated overcoming feelings of shyness and inhibition in opposite-sex relations, which enabled them to experiment with forming interactions with females;

I was more shy before. I had difficulty in communicating with women. It is not very well now either, but at least I can talk to them about some issues, I can spend time together with them. (Bekir)

In high school, there was none (female friends). Now, it is all right. There are a lot of female friends in my surrounding. A kind of a change has taken place. In the beginning, it was not easy to talk or to meet with a girl. Because you have not talked to one until that time. (Mehmet)

whereas one man stated that he could not overcome his feelings of timidity towards girls at the university.

I have more difficulty in communicating with a girl. For instance, I think twice when I ask for a book (from a girl) in the class, not to mention social environments. (...) I try to get over it in my mind. Yet, it is beyond my will, I can't overcome it. (Salih)

The young men explained their inhibition and shyness with females by referring to alienating contextual influences, which could be outlined as;

the daily life environment the young men grew up in, which lacked any opportunity for cross-gender socialization (two men),

The context that I lived in was relatively conservative. (...) I was living in a small town, not in the city center (an Eastern city). There was not a place or a café in which a girl and a boy could walk and sit together in. I spent eighteen years in such a context. (Salih)

It is a small place, there are few schools. (...) Most of the girls do not go to school after elementary school. (...) I have told you that I have lived in (an eastern city). There is not much socialization between girls and boys. (Mehmet)

the environment of religiously inclined boarding schools which strictly regulated cross-gender contact (three men),

Making a distinction between male-female and male-male relations is an attribute which naturally comes from high school. The high school I attended was conservative. (...) There were fourteen males and seven females in our class. Five of those seven girls were wearing headscarfs. Maybe, we didn't talk to each other for four years. We didn't make a conversation; I even do not remember asking for a pencil. We were separated from each other. They were sitting here, males were there. (Salih)

There were a few girls at the high school. (...) The school has a conservative structure probably owing to its being located in central Anatolia. Girls and boys didn't want to approach each other. (Rıza)

and the environment of cosmopolitan boarding schools in which socio-economic status and urban-rural distinction came to the fore (one man).

Our school (a specialized high school in Istanbul) was like a private college. Since I came from a distant place, my point of view and theirs (classmates) were contradictory at most points. (Baran)

Intimacy with and Self-Disclosure to Females

Regarding the degree of intimacy and self-disclosure in friendships with females, the young men could be divided into two. While one group of men shared their emotionality and privacy with girls, the other group mentioned the significance of keeping a distance and preferred to share their personal issues with males. Six young men stated that they felt comfortable with sharing emotional and personal topics with girls. They gave a number of explanations for this, which indicated that; females offered understanding of and concern with personal and private issues as opposed to males (three men),

I don't speak of my emotions to my male friends, but I can really talk about them with my female friends. Because I think that they can understand me better. (...) That is, I can tell that I am very very much more comfortable in speaking of my emotions with girls. Maybe, I can also mention about my dreams more comfortably to girls. (Rıza)

females provided a space for boys' feelings to be reflected on and regulated (two

men);

In social relations, I believe that I am inadequate about emotional issues or that I mix my emotions excessively in some circumstances. (...) When I talk to my male friends (about my emotions) and they tell me “don't do this, you are thinking too much, you are splitting hairs too much”; I wonder if something is wrong with me, if I am thinking too much. There is a classical conception that girls have a more emotional perspective, boys repress their emotions. When I talk to my female friends and ask them what they would do if they were in the same situation, they tell me “I would do that, I would not do this”. In this way, I try to achieve a balance with my male friends. (Baran)

females had essential, inborn tendencies to have a different perspective on matters in life (two men).

I think that the other might think differently because of her dispositions. It is more reasonable to share personal issues with female friends to make a healthier analysis of it. (Barış)
Their (girls') minds have a more elaborate vision. (Can)

On the other hand, seven young men mentioned limited disclosure of personal and private issues, and preservation of a distance in relations with girls. Among them, two men explicitly verbalized the significance of keeping a distance in friendships with females although a certain degree of intimacy was enjoyed within the relationship.

Since I establish good dialogues with people in general, there are many close female friends in my environment. But, I am relatively more distant with them in any case. (Yiğit)

The young men explained their rationale for preserving a distance in relations with females by emphasizing;

social and cultural prescriptions which regulated cross-gender interactions and shaped concerns over physical proximity, self-presentation and rules of conduct in the presence of females (two men),

It is technically related to Turkish habits. (...) One is more distant with female friends in any case in order not to make them uncomfortable and for not letting them think that I have inappropriate thoughts about them. (Yiğit)

As I have mentioned, I am a Muslim Turk. I want to behave accordingly. (...) I try not to speak loosely (in the presence of girls), not to use bad language. And I don't. (...) I don't want to shake hands (with them) (...) I am more distant towards girls and I believe that this distance makes them feel comfortable. (Can)

repercussions of gender-based social regulations in the extended family (one man),

We are Easterners. In the East, rules are relatively more strict. My mother sometimes talks about this. My grandmother was a true dictator. (...) For instance, when my aunt's friend came to study together, she didn't leave the two alone in the same room. She definitely sat besides them to monitor their talk. (...) Other than that, having a boyfriend was a very distant opportunity. That's why it occurs to me that boys have male friends, girls have female friends. This kind of logic exists particularly in Eastern culture, an idea that is changing in the West. This affected me. (...) I prefer to make my conversations with male friends. (Barış)

and divergence in interests of males and females (two men).

Think of talking about soccer with a girl, she wouldn't like it. Or think of talking about the hair dresser a girl goes to with a boy, he also does not like it at all. There are such differences in one's domain of pleasure or interest. (Ahmet)

I go to watch soccer with my male friends. Yet you can not go watching soccer with girls. Even if I invite them, it does not happen since they don't like it. (Can)

Developmental Change in Opposite-Sex Relationships

Preadolescent Period

Interaction with girls prior to adolescence depended on the immediate environment of the young men, which included home and school settings. Those men who grew up in a social network which included sisters, sisters' friends, daughters of the friends of the family had a chance to interact with each other at home and at school. Two men mentioned that they interacted with girls within family based social environments.

We didn't have much contact with girls. The only contact happened in that way. I was in the same class throughout elementary school with my younger sister. (...) I knew one or two of her friends at most. (Mehmet)

In the middle school, I had female friends to whom I was close. For instance, my mother's friends had married at approximately the same time. For that reason, we were of the same age as children. We always

spent most of our time together in my childhood. (Baran)

The school setting was a facilitating environment for interacting with girls in preadolescence. One man mentioned that school achievement in a setting of low academic commitment could serve to create commonality with females, which became the basis of opposite-sex friendships.

My best friend in the class was a girl. In middle school, there was not such a distinction (between males and females). We established communication on the basis of our studiousness. (...) There were two or three people who could go on in their education. Two of them were females. I was on very good terms with them. (Salih)

On the other hand, preference for same-sex friendships was also indicated in two young men's talk. Those two men stated that they spontaneously interacted with males in their first years at school, emphasizing its developmental appropriateness.

In the beginning, you make friends with males at school. Later, you begin to have female friends. (Ahmet)
I did not get on well with girls in childhood. Yet I suppose it is common, it is not different for me. (Onur)

The theme of gender differentiation appeared to be a regulator of cross-gender contact in childhood and preadolescence. Four young men mentioned a lack of gender differentiation in their early childhood years while the other nine men did not mention the topic.

Maybe because we were children, we did not make a differentiation between a boy and a girl. (Salih)
Technically there was not a male-female distinction in elementary school. (Yiğit)

In order to explain the lack of gender differentiation, the young men gave reference to the contextual conditions of their early childhood years and their school setting. Those contextual conditions were defined by; informal contact and shared activity among males and females in early childhood (two men),

There was not such a thing as putting boys and girls apart. We sat all together in the summers. Our neighbor's child played an instrument (saz), we listened to it. We played all games with boys and girls together. For that reason, I could not make a distinction in my childhood. (Ahmet)
Our domains of interest were not so different. (...) When I was small, I also jumped rope in our neighborhood. (Baran)

the lack of differentiation in treatment of boys and girls in the school environment (one man).

Our differences do not stand out. You wear the same uniform at school. Girls only wear a skirt. I suppose they can wear pants from now on. Their hair, the only difference with us is that their hair is longer. (Baran)

The process of gender differentiation began at school and continued throughout the adolescence years. The young men mentioned the impact of school setting (one man)

I could not understand the difference between males and females until I went to school. (...) You are still a child. When you go to school, you see that girls are in one side and boys are in another. At that point, you begin to comprehend that we are different. (...) Later, you begin to see that the games played are different. (Ahmet)

and the role of adolescence in being aware of and consolidating gender differentiation (two men).

You are a male, the other is a female until adolescence, yet your differences do not stand out. (Baran)

Adolescent Period

The young men's opposite-sex relationships were organized around the theme of sexuality in adolescence. While eight young men managed to deal with their sexual impulses and formed interactions with girls, five men were more inhibited and lacked any relationships with females.

Awakening of sexual urges was reported to be a turning point in opposite-sex relationships. The young men had great difficulty in talking about their sexual urges toward girls in a direct manner. Four young men indicated that adolescence connoted an alteration in their way of seeing girls and that females acquired a different

meaning, with one man verbalizing his sexual urges indirectly as emotionality.

After a certain age, your way of looking (at girls) changes. (Yiğit)
Your framework changes when you reach adolescence. (...) You try to approach girls in more emotional terms. (Ahmet)

The management of sexual impulses was one source of tension in opposite-sex relationships. The young men utilized a number of strategies which regulated the sexual meaning of girls in order to gain comfort and enhance their interactions with females. Those strategies could be outlined as;

to use a familial/kinship discourse in defining intimacy with the opposite-sex (four men),

I have many intimate female friends now. (...) We go on like in the relationship between a brother and a sister, or two super friends. (Ahmet)
Although we are of the same age, I see most of them (female friends) as a younger or an older sister. (Can)

to keep the theme of sexuality unshared with girls (four men),

I cannot talk about them (love and sexuality) with female friends. (Onur)
When you talk to your female friends, you cannot talk comfortably. (Because) The course of the conversation is carried out by your mind, rather than your instincts. (Hakan)

to suppress the sexual meaning of girls in friendships (two men).

I have never thought about any one of them (female friends) beyond friendship in any case. (Yiğit)
I am more intimate with girls than male friends. (...) We have never looked at each other as a potential date. Maybe the comfort comes from there. (Hakan)

Beginnings of dating relationships with girls appeared to be a salient dimension of some young men's opposite-sex relationships in adolescence. Six men mentioned starting to date girls in high school years, whereas three of them get involved in dating after getting into the university. In their current lives, ten young men indicated a dating relationship with a girl. However, two men mentioned the absence of girlfriends in their current lives, and one man did not touch upon the topic.

The young men described their early dating experiences with terms such as commitment, innocence, naivety and sentimentality. A romanticized idealism seemed to characterize their reflections on “affairs of the heart”, mentioned by five young men.

As I have said, I am very emotional. Commitment, love-these are very important for me. (Onur)

I had dreams in high school. We (me and my first date) are going to get into the same university, then we are going to marry. I had this kind of naïve dreams. (Hakan)

Maybe these are very childish, funny, stupid things (first date), but they were very naïve and sacred, it was seriously sacred. (Baran)

The difficulty with sexual urges was also noticeable in the young men's dating relationships. None of those five young men included any direct reference to the theme of sexuality in their reflections on dating. However, elements of sensuality were found in one man's talk.

I want to feel this innocent love again. (...) I want only to hold her hand, and it gives me pleasure. I can smell my hand because her scent is there. I am in search of this kind of a relationship. (Hakan)

Contextual influences were emphasized to explain the young men's difficulty in establishing dating relationships in which sexuality was managed. Two men pointed out the hindering impact of social regulations which determined what was proper and what was improper in cross-gender interactions.

It was related to the context. The understanding of male-female relations was very different there. Let's say that I liked a girl at school. I could not share it with anyone, neither the girl nor my family nor a friend.

(Mehmet)

Some issues are considered as shameful in the society, they are unspoken. I don't think so. (...) Yet, you can't talk to a girl about her sexual life, to give an extreme example. You can talk about this with a male much more comfortably. But, I think a girl also can't mention about it to a man in our society. (Ahmet)

On the other hand, one man openly verbalized the issue of sexuality with girlfriends and indicated that it was potentially a conflictual topic which provoked performance

anxiety regarding sex. He mentioned a difficulty with containing sexual urges of girls and referred to the victim/abuser discourse in the construction of masculinity.

It is always told that men make use of women in terms of sexuality. It is always the man who abuses the other. I don't believe that. I believe that girls make use of me and that I am abused. (...) The opposite-sex has different expectations. Some of them wants to socialize and at the end of a special night to reach nirvana. Interesting. (...) What they desire is in fact what we desire as men. Actually, they want it from us, we are not aware. (Yahya)

Failures in relations with girlfriends appeared to be a prominent topic in five young men's talk. Two men mentioned that they were not able to experience real love with their girlfriends.

I didn't fall in love with the girls that I date, I couldn't date the girls I fell in love with. (Can)

I didn't have a relationship which went well and I felt in love. (Onur)

The young men who mentioned their failing relations with girlfriends differed in the extent to which they felt comfortable with verbalizing and accepting their relational difficulties. Three men overtly expressed their failures in dating and its emotional repercussions.

We were attracted to each other, but probably attraction is not enough. (...) Later, this relationship ended and I felt remorse for some of the things. (Can)

I had disappointments about my dates. If you ask me whether I have ever been left or have experienced a painful love, no. There is no one that I fell in love, no. But there is dissatisfaction with the other. I have never been fulfilled. (Yahya)

Same-Sex Relationships

Friendship and Intimacy with Males

Same-sex friendships had different meanings for the young men, defined as a sphere of intimate attachment, personal development and competition. The theme of intimacy was put forward by all thirteen young men in differing degrees. Three of them made a classification of their social relations based on the level of intimacy

and, differentiated their ordinary friends and chums.

I have many friends, but I am very selective about the intimates. (Sait)
I have friends that I view as a candidate for establishing comradeship. In
my current life, there is one person who I think of as a comrade and I
consider him as a special person. Yet, I have candidates for camaraderie.
(Can)

Intimacy in relations with males had two defining characteristics, which were
inclusion in a familial discourse and physical contact. Intimate same-sex friendships
were characterized as if they were some kind of familial involvement. The young
men included their intimate friends into the extended family and positioned them as a
family member, indicated by;

giving reference to a familial/kinship discourse in defining same-sex intimacy (four
men),

I consider a male friend as a chum when I love him as much as a brother
who can give me advice. Otherwise, I consider it only as friendship.
(Ahmet)
He is a very close friend of mine. We are more intimate than brothers of
many. (Yiğit)

forming reciprocal contact and acquaintance with each other's families (two men),

We visit each other. (...) We stay at each other's house overnight. (...) I
know his family; I take his mother as mine. (Can)
My family, particularly my father is very close to my friends. My father is
more intimate with some of them than me. He always invites them to the
house. (Ahmet)

Intimacy had a physical contact dimension in intimate same-sex friendships. One
man mentioned the significance of physical intimacy in relations with males.

Particularly with my male friends, I hug them, we jump and bounce. (...) I
How can I say, we shake hands. (...) I feel more comfortable with them, I
can be more assertive and companionable. (Can)

In a similar vein, intimacy in same-sex friendships was made concrete by joint
physical activities. Eleven young men stated that they got involved in a wide range of
shared activities with their male friends while two men did not mention such an

involvement in their talk. Watching and playing soccer were the most frequently mentioned shared activities, appearing in seven men's talk. However, the shaping role of soccer in the development of intimate relationships differed. While three men attached significant meaning to watching soccer in the establishment of intimate bonds,

Friends began to say for the first time that we would go to a soccer match in the last year of middle school. I had gone across to the European side alone once or twice back then. I also joined them, we went there one or two times. (...) Later it became "let's go, let's go there constantly". (...) Going on like this, first with the people that I grew up with, later with the friends here at the university it continued. (Ahmet)

Going and watching soccer together for instance. (...) This is a very nice activity to do together with male friends. The same for going to the stadium. You can experience it in full there, because there are friendships that are very vivid in all its aspects and you want to share something with them. (Can)

for four men soccer appeared as an ordinary activity which did not have an enhancing function in the development of intimacy with males.

It is not at the level of camaraderie, there are friends with whom certain activities are done. Be it soccer, be it lessons, and be it anything else. (Sait)

I play soccer every week. I have friends from the (soccer) club. (...) Yet, I can never get intimate with them. (Yahya)

Among other shared activities in relations with males were participating in religious, cultural, sports activities and entertainment including night life and the use of alcohol (six men).

We went to the same mosque and finished a complete reading of the Koran together. (Can)

Let's do this, let's go to the theater or the cinema today. We do these kind of things. (Mehmet)

(With friends we say) Let's go playing sports there, let's do that. (Can)

We were always on the street, we played ball in the alleyway. We strolled around with friends. There was a particular card game back then, I can never forget. We played it and so forth. (Baran)

When appropriate, you can do those things ranging from getting drunk to drinking alcohol with men relatively more comfortably. (Yiğit)

Personal growth and expansion appeared to be a relational expectation, which strongly shaped same-sex friendships. Six young men stressed the significance of relationships with males to enhance their self-development. For three among them, the self-enhancing role of same-sex friendships was so vital that it determined the permanence of these relationships.

I didn't have steady relationships with my male friends in my life in (an eastern city), in the sense that we went and did typical things that anyone can do. It was not a relationship in which we could contribute to each other. I learned establishing this kind of relationship at the university. (Bekir)

The young men indicated that a number of mechanisms operated to facilitate personal improvement and expansion in friendships with males, extending from future planning to self-evaluation. These mechanisms could be compiled as; making future plans and developing oneself instrumentally with males (two men),

The most frequent topic that we talk about with him is about the plans for the future. (We tell to each other that) Let's undergo training in summer. Look, there is a job position there, let's work. (Mehmet)
I generally talk about the things that I want to achieve, so that he (a male friend) joins me, we do it together. (Rıza)

questioning and evaluating self-conduct with same-sex friends (one man),

We criticize the things that we have done. I think it is a good thing. Because it improves us. (Can)

contacting people whose pursuits, life styles and backgrounds were different (two men).

I like it very much to get into different environments. I think that this brings in a lot of gain to me. (Rıza)
You look at those men, they smoke weed (...) I look around and see those kind of personalities. (...) Their contribution to me is that those people have weak academic backgrounds but they are super in social terms. They are all outstanding personalities. (...) You examine them, what you are going to do, if you mix education with those people, you can get a really nice thing. (Yahya)

The issue of competition was rarely put forward as a defining characteristic of same-sex friendships. Two young men touched upon the topic and they overtly or covertly indicated that their need for status superiority regulated relationships with males. For one man, status superiority in relations with males provided him with a sense of comfort, recognition and appreciation.

I contact friends from (a lower ranking university) more comfortably. Maybe the reason is that when you tell that you are from xxx university, they listen to you talking on an issue, for instance the Turkish economy. (Salih)

In contrast, the other man viewed his constant search for securing a superior position in same-sex relations as an obstacle for the formation of intimate friendships.

I am a little obsessed with leadership. (...) I think that this is a complex. Surely, it turns out to be a problem for me. That is, people were jealous of me. (Rıza)

Communication with and Self-Disclosure to Males

The young men shared a variety of topics in their friendships with males, ranging from relatively impersonal topics like soccer, politics, social issues, sexual urges to more personal information such as attraction to girls and emotionality. The theme of soccer was the most frequently mentioned topic of discussion in same-sex friendships, highlighted by eight young men. However, they differed in their attitudes toward talking about soccer in male groups. In three men's talk, discussing the theme of soccer appeared as a very natural and ordinary activity with same-sex friends.

Be it soccer, be it lessons, and be it anything else. (Sait)
We talk about soccer matches; we talk about nargile for instance. (Barış)

Four men took a more dismissive approach which emphasized the mundaneness and futility of chatting about soccer,

Many times, we talk about sports, matches. This kind of stuff, simple things. (Salih)

while two of them deliberately refrained from engaging in soccer-related discussions,

In terms of sports, unless he asks me I am not a person who likes to talk about soccer with a friend. (Ahmet)

Two men reflected on the meaning of soccer in their lives, which might give a hint for understanding the prominence of the theme in the young men's talk. Both men indicated that their involvement with soccer was a source of relaxation. For one man, this was achieved through distancing from one's daily life.

I can organize everything according to it (soccer). It seems to me that soccer certainly takes one out of his daily life. That is, during this one and a half hour you are certainly not there. Especially me, I don't attend to anything if it is on the screen. (...) Particularly in matches, you let off steam incredibly. (Baran)

I love it very much to go and watch it (soccer) live. And there, I definitely lose myself. (Ahmet)

The second most frequently shared topic was politics, mentioned by six young men who had different attitudes in discussing the theme. In four men's talk, the theme of politics and social issues were not referred to play a major role in their conversations.

Sometimes political issues are discussed, although it is rare. (Baran)

It might be my thoughts about politics, social problems of human beings, stuff like this. (Rıza)

Disclosure of personal information was part of intimate friendships with males, although it was a potentially conflictual issue. The young men differed in the extent of self disclosure in same-sex friendships which embodied a tension between establishing permeability and preserving privacy. Five men indicated forming deeply intimate and permeable bonds in which no personal information was kept unshared, implying an informal assumption of acceptance by and comfort with the other.

We share everything; there are no secrets between us. We disclose just about everything, not just about, but everything (to each other). (Onur)
There is no such topic that I consider that I can never tell them about. They are people with whom I can comfortably share my issues from a problem in my family to a problem with my girlfriend. (Ahmet)

On the other hand, eight young men admitted to forming interactions and intimate relations with males, in which personal information was not totally disclosed.

I have a comrade for instance, I share everything with him. Very little is left private with me, and it is kept as such. (Can)

I am like a castle and it has walls. (...) I am sure that there will be one last wall, that is my side. No matter how intimate one is, he is not going to cross that (last) wall. (Rıza)

Sexuality and feelings about girls were reported to come up as a topic of discussion in all-male groups. Five young men indicated that sexual urges and attraction to girls could be talked among male friends. However, none openly addressed how they personally shared their sexual urges in those group discussions, implying that the theme was taken up in general terms among males or it was presented as such in the interview context.

I share issues about sexuality with male friends more comfortably. (Mehmet)

Surely when talking with males, love and sexuality can be discussed more comfortably. (Onur)

Four young men indicated that reflections on girls in all male groups came up in an objectifying, sexualizing and mocking manner, with an emphasis on their physical looks.

When men see a girl on the street, we don't say that this girl is good, she is very understanding, you can share your everything with her. What we say is that she is very beautiful, she looks nice. (Yahya)

The attitude of two young men towards male talk on sexuality and girls was relatively negative. Both men indicated the meaninglessness of talking on sexual urges among males.

There is chatting on girls and we talk through our hat. (...) If you sit together with a male, you sometimes tell "brother, look at this girl" and so forth. You can make a discussion on her. (...) Yet, chatting about girls is really futile. (Hakan)

The young men's pattern of self-disclosure was substantially altered when the issue was a girlfriend whom they valued and felt committed to. Four men mentioned deliberately not sharing their private lives with girlfriends in male-to-male friendships, mentioning the lack of support from male friends such as providing help and understanding in emotional matters with girls (three men).

I saw her (my ex-girlfriend) in my dream every week. I loved her by heart. (...) When you talked about it with a male friend, he says that "she is a girl from the high school; a lot of time has passed over it". But, I have spent my two years on her. (Hakan)

One man was quite articulate about his reasons for avoiding talk about his girlfriend with his male friends. He mentioned their teasing attitude,

Among men, how can I say, there is chatting on girls. It is something scornful in all-male settings. It is not taken seriously. It is just a girl. It is just something to talk about. (...) I had a flirt once. (...) I did not want to share it with my male friends. (Barış)

the public nature of male socialization and

In general, male socialization takes place at cafés and such places. I do not like talking on these issues (girlfriend) indiscreetly. Because of this, I didn't want to disclose it much. (Barış)

moral concerns about sharing issues related to his girlfriend with other boys.

To tell the truth, I don't find it ethical to make a conversation on my girlfriend with a male friend. (Barış)

Emotionality was another personal topic more infrequently shared in same-sex friendships. Three young men indicated that they shared their positive and negative emotional experiences with same-sex friends.

I share both my pleasure and sadness with people. (Baran)
These kind of people are most helpful at hard times. On the other hand, at happy times, they turn out to be very happy. (Ahmet)

Sustaining of Same-Sex Friendships

Sustaining same-sex relationships in the long run came to the fore in men's talk. The young men differed in forming long-term friendships with same-sex peers. One

group of young men could maintain their relations, which were based on a commonality in the locality of origin and facilitated by developing ways to resolve relational problems. Five men mentioned intimate, long-term relationships with same-sex friends from childhood on, extending into their undergraduate years.

My best friend is a childhood friend. We are companions approximately for sixteen or seventeen years. I have two such friends. (Onur)

My childhood friend is my oldest friend; he is the one I feel close to. He is my friend for fifteen years. (Ahmet)

Preservation of sustained relationships with males from childhood was explained by giving reference to their belonging to the same district and locality of origin, by four young men.

In the previous district we resided, our houses were very close. (Can)

He is from Istanbul. He is a person with whom I lived in the same street for years. (Yiğit)

Me and my family are from (an inner Aegean city). (...) One of those childhood friends that I talked about is also from there. (Onur)

A striking example involved the use of alcohol to open up a discussion about the problems in same-sex friendships, so that the relationship was sustained.

He invites me to his home or I do. We sit and drink and at one point one of us say "I have a problem with you". We developed this tactic. We wake up the next morning and it's taken care of and never mentioned again.

(Ahmet)

On the other hand, another group of men lacked any long-term relations with males which resulted from their isolation at their local setting among non-academically inclined boys, followed by their schooling away from home. Six men did not mention having long-term friendships with males while three men gave a hint of the contextual conditions which hindered the development of sustained friendships. Academic achievement turned into an obstacle to sustaining long-term relationships with males in a particular local context which was characterized by low academic commitment (two men),

In our town, there are very few people who go to the university. There is none who gets into this university. So, I was not loved, I stood out. (...) There were no hardworking students. (Salih)

divergence from the views of a politically active male community (one man),

As I have mentioned, I am not in touch with most of them (friends from his locality of origin). Since we are in the East, most of them had political affinities, views that I don't like. That is why I have contact with very few of them. (Mehmet)

and, rebellious and bullying boys in their childhood (one man).

Those friends who stayed back in there (a town in the Marmara region) turned out to be, how can I say, a so-called bad lot. They came closer to it. (...) (They engage in) smoking cigarettes, starting a gang such and such, this kind of stuff. (Baran)

Within such a contextual arrangement, academic inclination resulted in a reciprocal process of alienation and exclusion from local male youth activities for one man, along with the teachers' involvement in his academic work.

In middle school, I was a person who did not have a lot of friends in his surroundings. (...) Because I always had high grades on the exams, they (local friends) didn't include me when they were going to play a game. (...) I was also hardworking. I suppose it also had an impact. That is to say, they didn't feel close to me. (...) It was the same from the teacher's standpoint. I couldn't locate myself at a certain place there. At one side, I had friends from the children of teachers, soldiers in whom teachers were more interested. Yet my neighbors, that are my local friends were from the other side, yet they didn't like me. (...) It was like being captured in between. (Salih)

The process of estrangement from the childhood social network went on with further academic achievements and moving away for schooling. Two young men explained that physical distance from local friends gradually turned into a distant relationship in which sharing was reduced, resulting in feelings of loneliness.

Since I went to the university out of town, breaks have begun to be felt. The common points that we shared began to decrease. We gradually came to contact less. (...) I get bored very much when I go there (my town). I have no friends now, zero. (...) When I go there, there is no social life. I am always at home. (...) This has been my greatest difficulty. (Baran)
I nearly don't contact with any of my friends from the school, the high school. Its reason is related to this. Perspectives or the domains of interest

change. Nothing is left to share. That is, out of sight out of mind.
(Mehmet)

Development of the Masculine Self: A Relational Matrix

The Mother-Son Relationship

This section presents the results regarding different aspects of the relationship with mothers. The first topic involves the characteristics used in describing mothers by the young men. The following topic illuminates various dimensions of the maternal relationship. Next, the issue of hierarchy in the mother-son relationship is explored, followed by an examination of how the relationship with mothers changes over time. The last part dwells upon the theme of maternal identification.

Mother Attributes

The young men used a number of attributes to describe their mothers, which vary along an individuality-relationality dimension. All thirteen young men utilized relational traits in their descriptions of their mothers. The most frequently mentioned relational attribute of the mother was a sense of dedication to the home, child and family care, and domestic work indicated by seven young men.

She is loyal to her home; she certainly does whatever must be done about the kids or the housework. (Hakan)

My mother is a person who commits herself to her family. (Yahya)

Extraversion, sociability and warmth were among other defining relational characteristics of the mother, indicated by four young men.

My mother loves to talk very much, she is talkative. (Onur)

My mother is very sweet, she is friendly. (Can)

Particularly for two young men, the mother represented sociability with the extended family, managing and regulating communal relations;

My mother keeps an eye on the relatives, cares about them. She has a relative, an aunt somewhere and she knows them. (Can)

In a similar vein, five young men introduced their mothers as being emotional and self-sacrificing, which connoted a sensitivity to and concern with the relational needs and well-being of the other.

I can define my mother as self-sacrificing, the first word that comes to mind. (Salih)

When it comes to my mother, she approaches everything in emotional terms. (Mehmet)

On the other hand, unsociability and unassertiveness described the mothers of three young men.

She does not like to communicate with people, she is not warm towards anyone until she knows them, she gets attached after they begin to get intimate. (Ahmet)

A more negative relational attribute of the mother mentioned by four young men was that of dominance, obstinacy and inflexibility.

The dominant one in the house is my mother. (...) She is an influential person. She was too restrictive, especially when I was a child. She was excessively restrictive. (Yiğit)

My mother set up a little repressive environment for me. (Rıza)

In a related vein, mothers' inflexibility was indicated by strictness, conservatism and narrow mindedness in two young men's talk.

My mother is a more traditional person. (...) She is politically conservative. (...) I always like it for a person to have boundaries. Yet, I think it is disturbing when they are rigid. (Ahmet)

She doesn't have an expanded vision. (Sait)

Those young men who described their mothers with negative terms also tried to explain how and why such attributes developed, mainly focusing on the repercussions of the wider social context in which their mothers grew up and a local prototypic image which influenced their mothers (three men),

She grew up in (an Eastern Anatolian province), she has internalized the social structure there. (...) My mother symbolizes the Anatolian people, particularly Eastern Anatolian people in my mind. (Ahmet)

My mother is a Turkish woman, she is a little chauvinist. She is protective. (Rıza)

the mother's getting experienced in life and in her family of origin (one man),

My mother is more dominant at home as far as I see. (...) Because of her experiences or her growing up in a family of six people. (...) She had grown up in a tough family as well. (...) The grandfather was narrow-minded. (...) He was a so-called fogey. (Yahya)

and the low level of maternal education (one man).

I don't know, maybe it is because of their (parents') education, she is narrow-minded in some issues. (Sait)

On the other hand, six young men touched upon individualistic attributes in defining their mothers. Among them, four men introduced their mothers as being more rational and direct than their fathers.

My mother was a relatively tough woman. By saying tough, I mean that she was more rational. If you are an emotional person, emotions get ahead of reason. No, my mother is not like that. (Onur)
My mother has more rational, sensible thoughts. (Barış)

Ambition, perfectionism and meticulousness were individualistic characteristics which defined mothers of two young men.

My mother is ambitious, perfectionist, meticulous. (Onur)
She thinks excessively. She thinks of incredible details, it is unbelievable. (...) She is occupied with the smallest details; she deduces conclusions from tiny things. (Yiğit)

Two young men emphasized individualistic traits of activeness, assertiveness and competence to introduce their mothers.

I believe that she is very talented. (...) She seriously manages, organizes everything. (Baran)
She is smart. (...) She is really a jack of all trades, she gets through everything. (Rıza)

The Defining Dimensions of the Maternal Relationship

The young men described the maternal relationship along four dimensions, which were attachment to the mother, communication and self-disclosure, guidance and control and the theme of maternal expectations. The relationship with the mother was explored in more detail along those dimensions.

Attachment to the Mother

The quality of the maternal relationship in the thirteen young men's talk differed in the degree of intimacy and attachment. Nine men mentioned that a certain degree of intimacy and warmth was enjoyed with their mothers. Four of these men stressed this in their talk.

I was excessively attached to my mother particularly when I was a child, her care, her love and such. (Salih)

I was devoted to my mother. We have a really special kind of dialogue with my mother, yet not with my father. (Barış)

The presence of an intimate maternal bond was explained by giving reference to essentialist notions of motherhood and dependency in two young men's talk, as if having a mother automatically meant having a close bond with her.

We have a sense of engagement because she is a mother. (Baran)

She is my mother, is there anything beyond motherhood? (Yahya)

Among those nine men who formed intimate maternal relationships, six men emphasized their feelings of satisfaction in their relationship.

For one thing, I can tell that it is very pleasant (to be my mother's son). If I were born once again, I would want to come to world as the son of my mother again. (Salih)

Certainly, being very lucky comes to mind (about being my mother's son). (Baran)

In a similar vein, the reflections of five men on maternal attributes implied holding an idealized representation of their mother.

I think all mothers are very sacred, very precious. My mother is also precious. (Can)

She is very talented. (...) She constantly tries to improve herself. (...) I like this trait of her very much. (...) She is hardworking and her self-sacrifice is one point that I respect a lot. (Baran)

Among them, one man emphasized the enhancing impact of the maternal relationship for his self development.

I can summarize that being the son of my mother means an experience which develops oneself without disappointing him. It is something which

improves one without hurting, examines one without disappointing. (Can)

On the other hand, a sense of warmth and sharing was absent in four young men's talk.

In comparison to my father, we are colder with my mother. (Ahmet)
I was generally the one for whom people, or the relatives feel pity, thinking that "Are you Reyhan's (mother's name) son?" (Yiğit)

The theme of maternal care and concern was one dimension of maternal attachment, touched upon by eleven young men. Those men characterized their maternal relationship with concern, fondness, care and protectiveness.

My mother is very concerned with her children. (Ahmet)
I feel that my mother is very keen on me. (Baran)
My mother used to coddle me when I was small. (Bekir)
She always wants to protect me; she always considers what is best for me. (Can)

Four men among them particularly emphasized the physical aspects of maternal concern; including the provision of nourishment and health care.

We did not become sick or starve when we were children (thanks to my mother). (...) She is perfect in terms of taking physical care of children. (Yiğit)
A significant part of my life passed by going to the hospital with my mother when I was a child. I always remember her taking me by the hand and taking me to the hospital. (...) I did not eat anything by myself, she fed me. (Bekir)

The mother's open expression of affection and concern with sons in both verbal and nonverbal terms was a prominent topic in three young men's talk.

My mother readily hugs me. (Hakan)
My mother tells me "seeing most of the things in you that I imagined to see in a son profile before I got married makes me happy". (Baran)

Communication and Self-Disclosure in the Maternal Relationship

The young men mentioned using both verbal and non-verbal channels of communication in their relation with mother. For three men, there was reciprocal and strong nonverbal communication implicitly going on in the maternal relationship.

Those men implied that attempts at hiding personal information failed since mothers read nonverbal signals without a verbal exchange.

She understands instantly. You do not know how she notices. You can't hide anything from her. (Ahmet)

I know what she is going to say by looking her in the eye. (...) I can not hide anything from her. I understand from her manner in the room, her look that she is looking for a cigarette. (Hakan)

In terms of verbal communication, there was variability in the extent to which the young men disclosed personal information in the maternal relationship. Four men indicated that personal and relational issues and problems were disclosed to mothers, which implied a permeability in the relationship with mother.

I don't hide from her. I can tell about everything to my mother. (Barış)

I can share with my mother as much as a mother and a daughter could share. (Can)

One man explained his comfort in sharing personal and private issues with his mother by giving reference to his mothers' character, that is her rationality and non-judgmental attitude.

She didn't find anything odd in any way. She didn't criticize. She didn't tell me "how could you do something like this" and so on. She didn't do any of these. (...) She understands, she always makes sensible comments. (...) It is something about my mom's personality in fact. (Barış)

In contrast, nine young men stated limited self-disclosure in the maternal relationship.

In general, the son is limited in what he can share with his mother. (Yahya)

Four men indicated a restraint in topics shared with mother. They mentioned that personal problems were withheld.

I generally do not share them (my problems) with my mom. (Ahmet)

Even if I have a problem, I do not tell it to my mother. (Salih)

The young men gave several explanations for their feelings of discomfort in disclosing their personal issues, which included the over-emotionality of the mother,

concerns over her negative reactions and doubts about her capacity to understand.

Five men delineated that excessive emotional reactions of mothers in the face of problematic issues were one source of discomfort which felt unbearable at times, and as a result restricted self-disclosure. In four young men's talk, feelings of responsibility over hurting the mother and guilt over upsetting her appeared to be salient, which implied the operation of a relational superego in regulating the maternal relationship.

She immediately began to cry. (...) I suppose I am not going to forget this. Because I made her cry, something I did made her cry. (Can)
My mother looked at me, her eyes filled with tears. I said "God what am I going to do now". It is a picture that I can never stand. My mother's crying is something that unsettles me deeply. (Barış)
I generally do not share with my mother. Because she gives too emotional reactions. (...) (In one occasion) I only saw that her eyes were filled with tears. I went out of the house right after. (Ahmet)

One young man delineated inordinate affective reactions of mothers by a culturally fostered essentialist discourse, which associated motherhood with over-emotionality about children.

They call it mother love. Probably because of this, the mother is more involved. (Ahmet)

Another explanation for withholding individual strains from the mother put forward by three men was their sensitivity to the mother's negative emotional reactions and concerns over disappointing her.

For instance, I can't tell to my mother that I failed in my courses. Because she gets upset. She wouldn't do anything to me. There is no such thing as oppression, fear in the family after I get to the university. It was also not present before. However, (since) she is self-sacrificing, she gets upset. (Salih)

For two among them, sensitivity to the distress of the mother turned into a conscious attempt to conceal personal problems from the mother and a pretense of being on track, which was characterized by an "as-if" like quality.

It is like pretending. I try to present everything as perfect to my mom, and to be successful even though I am unsuccessful. (Salih)
I talk cheerfully with her even if I am in low spirits. (Hakan)

A second issue limiting self-disclosure and leading to a breakdown in relations with the mother had to do with mother's lack of contact with the wider world and the lack of education.

They (parents) don't know Istanbul well; my mother has never been out of town in the end. (...) Let's say that we are going to a café in here at eleven. (...) My mother says “don't go out in the evenings, it is dangerous”. She thinks very differently. I can't explain the surroundings here to her. (...) I have written down my mother's education, she did not go to school. I suppose she went to school for one or two years in elementary school. Because of this, I can't share most things with her. For instance, if I talk about my courses or anything different, she is not capable of understanding it. (Mehmet)

Guidance, Monitoring and Control in the Maternal Relationship

The mother's role in guiding and monitoring the young men in different life domains was a salient dimension of the maternal relationship. In eight men's talk, mothers' offering guidance for and monitoring of their conduct came to the fore while five men did not mention the topic of maternal guidance.

She tells me “do this, do it in that way my son”. She is always the one who teaches me, makes a suggestion. (Yahya)

The mothers guided and monitored the young men through a number of life domains, mainly religious involvement and academic work. Two young men mentioned their mothers' involvement and guidance in teaching religious and moral notions.

I went to a Koran course when I was small. I went this Koran course for two years at my mother's request. (Baran)
I learned moral values more from my mother. (...) When I was a child, she told me “don't do this, it is wrong, do this, it is right”. I learned this kind of stuff from my mother. (Ahmet)

Academic achievement was another issue controlled and monitored by mothers, appearing in two men's talk.

My mother came to school and complained about me, saying that I didn't finish my homework. (Ahmet)

There was variability in how the young men viewed and experienced their mothers' attempts at offering guidance. For three men, the mother served as a “control mechanism” which provided guidance and support for their conduct, and which felt supporting rather than restrictive.

She approaches me as a friend. She tells me that “it is better if you do this, do that such and such”. (...) She has a solution-oriented framework. (...) You make your own decision within a certain control mechanism. Yet, this control mechanism only guides you in the right direction. It is not a control mechanism in a bad sense. (Baran)

My mother does not confuse you; she does not distress you at your hard times. In contrast, she tries to let up your trouble in some way. (Barış)

The mother is a mechanism that constantly controls you at home. (Ahmet)

On the other hand, for four men mothers' guidance and monitoring came to feel restrictive and controlling.

My mother is too much motherly. (...) She is excessively concerned with everything. She is very dominant. (...) She wants to know everything. (Yiğit)

She wants to learn what I do, how I live. She is very concerned about this issue. (Sait)

Maternal Expectations

The young men mentioned a number of maternal expectations in the mother-son relationship, which included attainment of success in academic and work settings, continuation of the family line, protection of the mother, leading a moral, virtuous life and share of familial responsibilities. The most prominent expectation of the mother mentioned by six young men was achievement in academic work and in life.

I think my mother's expectations are about my educational status. She thinks that my child gets education there, does that, he endeavors such and such. (She thinks) It can be better. (Ahmet)

(Because of my mother) If you are doing something, you must be the best. (...) In terms of her expectations, you must be successful if you are going to a school. You must be prosperous if you are playing soccer. (Yahya)

Among them, two young men explained that their academic achievement was a significant source of pride for the mother in their local settings.

Particularly in small towns, you feel more proud and you become happy when your child gets education. That is, she wanted to experience this happiness. (Baran)

She talks about me proudly in public. (Salih)

One man also stated that his mother attached significance to his school achievement because of her own inability to follow academic pursuits, which implied a narcissistic investment of the mother in her son's conduct.

My mother always wants it since she couldn't go to school for many years. (Baran)

In a similar vein, two young men stated maternal expectations for having a prestigious job.

My mother also wants me to have good job, to have a prestigious position. (Bekir)

For five young men, marriage and having children were among the expectations the mother placed on the son's shoulder. Two young men referred to the typical expectations of women in his local context and his mother's longing for a daughter and grandchildren.

Seriously, it is relatively more important for mothers to have a bride or a grandchild and such. My mother expects such things from me more. (Can)

Like the expectation of each typical Eastern woman, (she views me) as a person who is going to extend her family. (Salih)

One of the greatest dreams of my mother is my having a daughter after I get married someday. She wants a granddaughter. (...) She is going to satisfy her longing for a daughter in this way. (Bariş)

Three young men felt the mother expected them to provide concern and care in their current lives,

They (my parents) want excessive concern. They want me to spend time besides them. I tell it particularly for my mother. (Sait)

and to guarantee protection and sustenance in her future life.

She views me as her savior for the rest of her life. She has a mind state that her son is enough for her rather than her husband from now on. She has such an expectation. (Salih)

At least two young men highlighted maternal expectation for their son's proper demeanor and right conduct.

(My mother's expectations) They are about my being a right person. (...) What my mother wants from me is being righteous, well-mannered. (Baran)

Mothers also viewed their sons as a source of support for sharing familial responsibilities, particularly child guidance. Three young men indicated that their mother expected them to get involved in taking care of and guiding their younger siblings. The mother shared several responsibilities with her son, which included; caregiving to younger siblings (one man),

When he was one and I was four, I kept an eye on him, and my mother washed the dishes and such. (...) My mother entrusted my brother to me as if the child was mine. (Hakan)

guiding siblings in their academic work (two men).

My mother calls me when Okan (brother's name) doesn't do his homework. She complains about him to me, saying that "Okan didn't study his lessons". (Barış)
She asks me "how should I treat her (his sibling), what should I do about her?" and so forth. She gets upset about this. (Baran)

In reaction to different maternal expectations, three young men indicated a willingness to conform to and endeavored to satisfy their mothers' wishes.

I became more aware of her expectations from me. I could fulfill her expectations better. (...) I believe I completed my mission in those terms. (Baran)
I try to be the way she wants so she can be proud. (...) Because I think she deserves it. (Salih)

Hierarchy in Mother-Son Relationship

Six young men mentioned holding a similar position with the mother in the family

hierarchy which was indicated by;

the sons' comfort in questioning and criticizing the mother's conduct (two men);

We generally discuss her characteristics with my mother. I say her “you're doing this, don't”. She tells me “it is right this way”. (Ahmet)

the mothers' forming a coalition with their sons as a reaction to the father (two men);

I mostly share with my mother when I get irritated with my father. Because my mother also suffers from the same problems. When I argue about something with my father, I tell to my mother about the issues we disagree. My mom tells me “yes, I also complain”. (Onur)
When she fought with my father, she always told me to be fair with my spouse, saying “do not do the things that he did”. (Hakan)

the mothers' egalitarian attitude in childrearing (one man),

My mother always approached me more as a friend rather than a mother since my childhood. (Baran)

the mothers' assuming the mediator role between father and son (one man),

My mother always regulates the balance between me and my father. (Baran)

the mothers' deliberately sharing her power and authority with her son to make him more masculine (one man),

I suppose she tries to make me feel like a man, she sometimes shares her authority with me. (...) For instance, someone comes to the door, she says “you should look at door”. (Rıza)

Change in the Maternal Relationship

The young men's relationship with their mothers went through a process of transformation depending on their developmental level, age and life events.

Alterations in the mother-son relationship were felt in the areas of conflict management, self-disclosure and caregiving. In terms of the developmental period, adolescence was a turning point in the maternal relationship. For five young men, the relationship with mother turned into a conflictual one with the onset of adolescence.

Those boys described their adolescence as a period of conflict and dispute with their mother.

In adolescence, I quarreled a lot with my mother, I fought a lot with her. (Onur)

When it comes to adolescence, I think it is a great differentiation. This was the period that I had problems with the family most. Going home late, “where are you, why didn't you call? You can come late, but call us. Why do I report to you?”. These kinds of arguments. (Ahmet)

Two young men indicated increased distance with the mother in adolescence. While one man stated a rupture and disavowal of maternal concern,

I got completely disconnected from my mother when I reached puberty. I began to react to my mother. While she tried to care for me in the same way, I rejected her. (Bekir)

the other young man assumed a more dismissive approach towards his parents.

I began to turn my nose up at to my mother, my father, their manner, their behaviors such and such. (Can)

Two young men explained that disruptions in relations with mother resulted from the conflict between a desire for independent, individual conduct and maternal restrictions. Those two boys who noted an increase in disputes with the mother described themselves as rebellious, dominant and their mothers as ambitious, perfectionist and dominant throughout adolescence.

I was very rebellious, very irritable when I was in adolescence. Because of this, my mother's being so meticulous, ambitious and perfectionist made me very uncomfortable. (Onur)

She (my mother) is a very dominant character. Actually, I also have a dominant character. That is why we had a lot of personality conflict with her. She tried to suppress me, I said “no you can't, this is my character”. (Yiğit)

In terms of self-disclosure, an increase in what was shared with their mothers was noted with age by some young men. Six young men indicated increased sharing with the mother. Four of those men explained that they began to feel more comfortable with disclosing personal issues with increasing age.

I did not share anything with her before, yet I do now. I suppose it is something related to age. (Onur)

My relationship with my mom was like a steady graphic. As age increased, what we shared also increased. (Baran)

Increased age provided freedom from feelings of embarrassment in disclosing the theme of love to the mother for one man,

I suppose I was too embarrassed to share anything with her. I found it odd for instance to tell about the girl that I fell in love with to my mother and I didn't mention it. I even didn't tell her that I had fallen in love. But now I tell her when I'm in love. (Onur)

while for another young man it connoted an enrichment of topics to be shared with the mother.

You can't talk to her much, there is nothing to talk about when you are a child. For now, I can share my issues relatively more with her. (Salih)

For two young men, increased self-disclosure in the maternal relationship was explained by attainment of academic success at a prestigious university.

After proving certain things (his not dropping out of school) I began to feel more comfortable. (...) Owing to this feeling of comfort, I told her about every kind of stuff I experienced in my life. (Sait)

Currently, I can express my ideas very comfortably. (...) I can tell my mother that she is doing wrong. I could never tell it to her before. (...) My getting education at the university, my being in such a good university, these certainly have an impact on this. (Rıza)

The young men's leaving home for university was a transitional life event for the mother-son relationship. Three young men indicated that mother's concern, care and emotionality increased after they left home and moved to another city, which stressed the mother's difficulty with containing separation from her son.

I come to the university and she can no longer reach me. I realize that it seems this has channeled her to overemotionality. She constantly cries when we talk, she worries about what we eat, what we drink and such. (Hakan)

Even now, if I pick up the phone, call and talk to her, she tells me "where are you, come home soon". (Baran)

The Internal Mother

When the young men were asked to think about self-attributes which resembled those of the mother, there was variability in the extent to which they felt at ease with finding their similarities with the mother. A majority (ten young men) was

comfortable with contemplating their likeness with the mother and they easily outlined their common personal characteristics. They verbalized their similarities by using the words “to take after” (çekmek), “to take/get from” (almak), “to come from” (gelmek) which connoted a sense of continuity with the mother and her internal presence, along with “to resemble” (benzemek).

I take after my mother in terms of being jealous. (Sait)
I am neurotic. I think I have taken this from my mom. (Hakan)
The characteristic that comes from my mother is my being so naïve.
(Bekir)

The characteristics which were defined by those ten young men to bear a resemblance to the mother differed along a relationality-individuality dimension. While eight young men compiled relational characteristics, for three men more individualistic traits were taken from the mother. Those relational self-traits which resembled those of the mother could be outlined as,
being extraverted and sociable (four men);

Establishing a dialogue, being warm. For instance, I am lively, I want to meet new people. It seems as if I resemble my mother in those terms.
(Baran)
I have taken from my mother the ability to establish warm relationships.
(...) I am friendly like her. (Can)

being timid, inexpressive and unassertive in social relations, stated in a relatively negative tone of voice (two men);

My mother never interacts spontaneously. In any case, somebody will come over, talk to her, invite her to some place, insist on such and such.
(...) This quality of mine resembles her. It extends into shyness for me.
(Salih)

being emotional (two men).

In emotional terms, I resemble my mother more. (Rıza)
I am very emotional. I am certainly like my mother in this sphere. (Baran)

Commitment to moral values and religious beliefs was another self-attribute which was taken from the mother in three men's talk.

Her commitment to moral values comes to my mind (as a characteristic of mine that resembles her). (Ahmet)

She is a woman who learned Arabic after forty five years of age, and since my childhood prayers were always performed in the house. Because of that, I feel morally strong. I try not to violate the religious rules that I believe in, and I don't. (Yahya)

Individualistic maternal traits which were defined to resemble their self-attributes in three young men's talk were ambition to achieve academically,

The ambition to always be successful. All of these come from my mother. (Yiğit)

My mother is very ambitious (about our obtaining certain things in life). I have taken my ambitiousness from my mother. (Onur)

perfectionism, which implied concerns over details,

Being meticulous, being perfectionist (they come from my mother). (Onur)

Both of us (me and my mother) can think through tiny details. (Yiğit)

and rationality.

She deduces something from an issue. In another issue, the same situation might repeat itself. Because of this, she has the idea that one should take a logical step. (...) (like my mother) I know to learn from my experiences, to make inferences. (Barış)

There was variability in the extent to which the young men felt content with those aspects of themselves which were identified with the mother. While three men who resembled their mother in terms of passivity, timidity and nervousness viewed their maternal identification in negative terms, six young men felt contented with their likeness with the mother.

When it comes to good qualities, I got all of them from my mother. (Rıza)

In a similar vein, three young men emphasized the formative impact of maternal identification for their self-development and viewed maternal attributes as one source of their psychological makeup.

Generally, I resemble my mother in psychological terms. Surely, I resemble her in my character. (Yiğit)

My mother resembles me in terms of her personality. (...) We even have a

joke about it between us, people tell my mother about me that “you give birth to a copy of yourself”. (...) The phrase “he is his mother's son” is frequently used for me. (Onur)

In their similarity with the mother, two men fell back upon essentialist explanations and emphasized the formative impact of genetic transmission in the mother-son resemblance.

There are many features of mine which genetically come from my mother (...) and contribute to my other characteristics. (Yahya)

On the other hand, three young men had difficulty in finding any similar characteristics with the mother. When asked to indicate those aspects of themselves which had a resemblance to maternal attributes, these young men faltered and began to explain how they differed from their mothers.

Any characteristics that resemble my mother don't come to my mind. (Ahmet)

Rational, rational, always rational. My mother thinks more realistically. She is less emotional. That is the point that we diverge. (Yahya)

The Father-Son Relationship

This section focuses on different aspects of the father-son relationship. The first part compiles the characteristics the young men utilized in introducing their fathers. The next section dwells on the defining dimensions of the paternal relationship. The following part explores the transformations in the father-son relationship over time. The issue of paternal identification is taken up in the last part.

Father Attributes

The young men described their fathers predominantly with relational terms, which differed along a positivity-negativity dimension. The most frequently mentioned attribute of the father was his strictness and authoritarianism, appearing in six young men's talk in a relatively negative tone.

My father is a very authoritative, serious person. (Can)

My father is a very tough man. He is the authority figure. (Bekir)

He (my father) was a disciplinarian. (...) I can say macho. (...) He is relatively more short-tempered. (Hakan)

In a related vein, five young men indicated the father's proneness to sudden and unpredictable emotional reactions as another negative relational attribute.

My father flies into a temper very quickly. He unnecessarily hurts the other person. (Rıza)

He is relatively more aggressive. He is hot-tempered. (Hakan)

However, more positive relational attributes were also stressed. Three young men described their fathers with terms like “tender-minded”, “emotional” and “even-tempered”, which connoted a sense of comfort in their interactions.

He is a calm person, he is very even-tempered. My father is very caring. (Onur)

My father has a more retiring character. (Yiğit)

He is a very loving person. (...) He is very easy going. (Yahya)

The father's commitment to home and family was another relational attribute viewed positively by four young men.

I think that my father is a person who has made so many things, made sacrifices for his children. He has worked all of his life for us. (...) He always considers what is best for us. (Yiğit)

He has lived totally for his family and his children. He has never lived for himself. (Yahya)

Individualistic traits were infrequently used in the young men's descriptions of their fathers. Those individualistic attributes of the father were;

rationality (two men),

My father always acts rationally. (Baran)

political inclination and expanded point of view on matters in life (two men),

He has a more liberal point of view. (Ahmet)

He defines himself as a social-democrat in ideological terms. (Can)

having particular areas of interest (one man),

My father's philosophy of life is based on soccer and documentaries. I have never seen my father watching a soap opera. He always watches foreign movies. (...) That is who he is. (Barış)

The father's life experiences in his family of origin and in the public domain were given as an explanation for a number of characteristics. Three men gave reference to the social context and family environment their fathers grew up in to explain their strictness and distance,

His own father was definitely not tough. (...) If we think that he has lived (his youth) between (19)75-(19)80, he was brought up very free compared to his time. (...) If he had been brought up in a more authoritarian way, maybe he would bring me up more liberally. (Baran)

He was a tough man, because you come to Istanbul at twenty years of age from the country. (...) He has done everything by himself; he always attained everything on his own. (Yahya)

and the fathers' life experiences, including his contact with the outer world to delineate his expanded point of view (one man).

My father resided in (an Eastern Anatolian city) for a long time. He also somewhat internalized the structure there, yet he left there for getting into the university. (...) He is more liberal, he has a different point of view. I suppose it is because he has seen so many places. (Ahmet)

The Defining Dimensions of the Parental Relationship

The young men's descriptions of their relations with fathers generated five defining dimensions, which were attachment to the father, communication and self-disclosure, monitoring and control, recognition and acceptance, and the issue of fathers' expectations.

Attachment to the Father

This section touches upon the themes of paternal attachment, care and concern, and emotionality. Attachment and intimacy with the father were a significant issue, which differentiated two groups of young men. For a majority (nine men), the relationship with the father was characterized by distance and indifference on the fathers' part.

Our relationship with my father is typically discreet. (Can)

He is a good father, but he has not shared one-to-one much with us. (...)

He was not very much involved with us. (Yiğit)

The first word that comes to mind about my father is indifferent. He was very indifferent. (Salih)

The distant paternal relationship assumed a relatively negative tone for six young men, who expressed feelings of discomfort, insecurity and fear in the presence of the father.

I was very scared of my dad. I still am. (Baran)

My relationship with my father is really not very healthy. (...) Because he is really very hot-tempered. (...) He has a stressful job. When he came home from work, he was stressful as well. (Rıza)

I felt constrained at the time of the evening prayers, it is when my father came home. (Hakan)

In contrast, the father's presence fostered feelings of comfort and security for four young men, indicating secure paternal attachment.

He had never gone far. (...) I always had him around. I liked it very much. (Ahmet)

I loved my father more than my mother. (...) Because he was always calm, benign. He was affectionate. He became upset when something happened to me. (Onur)

The young men also differed regarding the mental representation of their fathers. In six young men's talk; a positive, idealized image of the father came to fore along with feelings of respect and gratitude towards him.

I have taken my father as an idol to myself. (...) Since my childhood, my father is the ideal man that I consider in my mind. (...) My father is always the ideal human being in my mind. (Ahmet)

It seems to me that my father is, that is one's father is the ideal father for himself/herself. (Yahya)

I have always been grateful to him. (Hakan)

Among them, one man elaborated on the shaping impact of the paternal relationship on his self-development and defined it as a combination of challenge and expansion.

Being the son of my father is something that improves, matures you through disappointments. Sometimes, it does not disappoint, it holds, it is like a shell, a force that makes you feel this. It is something superior, it is like a supreme existence. (Can)

On the other hand, four young men held a negative image of their fathers who were not viewed as idealized figures.

I do not appreciate the current status of my father in economical and career terms. (...) He endeavors, but I do not see it as sufficient. (...) My father is a not a role model for me. (Onur)

In fact, one was surprised at the extent of the negativity of his father's image.

The image of my father I have is very negative. Now, when it comes to pleasant characteristics, I could not tell any from my father. (Rıza)

Paternal care and concern appeared as one aspect of paternal attachment in seven young men's elaborations on their fathers. The father's concern was described under three headings. The first heading was material and financial support, which turned in to a way through which the father expressed his care and affection for the son, as expressed by four young men.

I never experienced a lack or a wish for anything, thanks to my father. I wore everything I wanted, I ate everything I wanted. I never said I wish I could do that. If I want to go out, I go comfortably. (Barış)

Let's say I've made a decision, I want to go to a course or something different. If I ask home for a large amount of money, my father sends it to me one way or another. (Mehmet)

Physical care was a more infrequently emerging area of paternal concern and caregiving. Two young men indicated that their father was involved in taking care of their physical needs and supported the mother in childrearing.

Every morning, he woke me up, prepared my breakfast. (...) He stood by me until I left home to get into the school bus. (Yiğit)

Protection was the third heading under the theme of the paternal care, which expressed the fathers' concern, mentioned by two young men.

The father is more like a shell, it is something outer, it holds and frames you from the outside. (Can)

Open expression of emotionality and affection in the father-son relationship came up as a problematic theme in that the father was seen as having great difficulty in overtly showing affection and care for the son. Four young men indicated that there was an inhibition in open expression of affection, although a

sense of being loved and cared for by the father was present.

He is my dad, I want to hug him, I know that he also wants to hug me. Yet maybe, I don't know, it is because of our natures, I have never sincerely hugged my father, calling him my daddy, in my life. (Hakan)

I never doubt his love. Yet if I think the extent to which he made me feel it, the extent to which I experienced it overtly, I have seen very little. (Baran)

He loves us very much, but he can't show it. (Salih)

Social and cultural standards of conduct in one's local setting seemed to explain the lack of overt emotionality in the paternal relationship. Two men gave reference to the social regulations which monitored the expression of emotions on the part of the father.

There is the thing that the father loves his children after they go to sleep. Mine was something like this. (Baran)

In the social life in the East, a man's loving his child is not accepted as normal. He has to exhibit a more manly attitude. When I think about it later, (...) I decided that my father loves me so much. He is someone who loves me much, yet the society tells him to treat me in this way. (Bekir)

Those young men who were emotionally sensitive and reactive in childhood elicited more affectionate responses from their fathers.

My father used to love me when I was small. Maybe because of my sensitive personality, he loved me. (Bekir)

I had a fragile attitude particularly towards my dad in my childhood. When he was a little angry with me, I do not remember his hitting me; I did not speak with him for two days. I talked to him only after he came and made up to me. (Salih)

The young men's distant and inhibited paternal relationship resulted in feelings of disappointment and anger on the one hand, and a wish for intimacy on the other, as elaborated by five young men.

I love my father, I surely do not think ill of him. Yet since he had insufficiencies, I think that it could have been better. (...) My father didn't do his part. (Salih)

I have regrets. I wish we could experience more things together. (Yiğit)

However, those five young men were not as comfortable in expressing anger at their fathers. Although a sense of being irritated and angry with the lack of

paternal involvement was present in their descriptions, it was not openly verbalized.

I have never given an excessive reaction to my father, I have never responded bitterly to him. (Bekir)

I could never get angry with my dad in any way. Because I know that he loves us inside. (Hakan)

Communication and Self-Disclosure in the Paternal Relationship

Communication and self-disclosure with the father seemed to be a problematic issue for a majority of the young men. The father was hardly seen as a figure with whom to share personal information. Ten young men mentioned that they either lacked any communication or kept personal issues unshared in the paternal relationship.

I don't remember sitting and talking about something with my father. (...)

There is a lack of communication (between us). (Salih)

There is really nothing that I share with my father. (Rıza)

My communication with my father has been broken off. (Barış)

The young men gave a number of explanations for the lack of self-disclosure in relations with their fathers. Those explanations dwelled mainly on two issues, which were the father's nonresponsiveness and the experience of hierarchic distance in the relationship. Those explanations were; the father's inability to understand and take the perspective of his son in personal issues (three men),

I didn't share anything with my father. (...) Once, I cried because of my girlfriend. He told me that "girls are like socks, you wear them and throw them away", this kind of thing. And I understood that we were not going to make it with my dad. (Baran)

I have tried it with my father. (...) I talked to my father. My father couldn't understand what I wanted to mention. (...) You talk about an issue with my dad; somehow he brings the topic of conversation to soccer. (...) I feel uncomfortable with his changing the topic from my issues to soccer. (Barış)

the father's lack of concern and support in emotional and personal matters (two men),

My father is disinterested. (...) I have never thought that he is interested and sharing something with him is beneficial for me. (...) I don't think

that he is going to contribute. (Onur)

generational difference in the father-son relationship (one man),

There are thirty six years between us. It is approximately two generations. Surely, there are many differences between his generation and mine. (...) It is never going to be possible for us to think in the same way. (Yiğit)

the father's hierarchy which hindered the son's open disclosure of emotions and engendered feelings of embarrassment (one man). The reticence based on the traditional restrictions on open talk with the elders, especially on matters involving sexuality resulted in indirect communication through the mother.

I have never talked about my relationships with my dad in any way. My father knows everything about me from my mother, yet he acts as if he doesn't know. In our locality, it is inappropriate to talk about your girlfriend or your future spouse in the presence of the father. I can never tell my father that "there is a girl, I love her very much". (Hakan)

Communication with the father was limited to more impersonal, intellectual topics among those young men who withheld personal issues. Three young men indicated that they shared intellectual topics with the father, including politics, economics and religion.

We talk about politics and such. We talk about religion. (Yiğit)
We discuss everything with my father; we have intellectual conversations with him. For instance, I study economics; my father asks me what is going to happen to the dollar. (...) Or maybe about politics. (Onur)

In a similar vein, one man mentioned superficially disclosing his daily conduct to his father.

What did I share with my father? (I told him that) we played ball with my friends, this and that happened in class. (Can)

On the other hand, a minority (three men) comfortably shared their personal issues and problems with the father.

I talk to my father very comfortably. (Ahmet)
I can share everything with my father, material or psychological. (Yahya)

The father's supportive attitude was explanatory once again for the young men's comfort in self-disclosure, mentioned by two young men.

He is not an aggressive man. (...) That's why I share more with him. I make a mistake and tell him, he is mild-mannered. For instance I was sick, I couldn't go to an exam. (...) He told me "it is not important my son, better late than never." (...) I think he senses me. (Yahya)
Particularly my father stands behind me. (Sait)

Guidance, Monitoring and Control in the Paternal Relationship

The young men touched upon the role of paternal guidance and control in managing their life conduct. The father had a significant impact on the young men's life either by providing or failing to provide support and guidance. Four young men indicated that their fathers were involved with their conduct. Three among them emphasized that their fathers particularly offered guidance in facilitating their exploration of the outer world and in coming into contact with different environments. One man explained that the father encouraged enjoyment of leisure time in the outer world since the father himself did not have the chance in his youth, indicating his narcissistic investment in the son.

It was an Alewi district. My father was a rightist but he told me "these people are good, go and meet them". (...) Sometimes I went to his workplace. I remember that he pushed me to get out of there and told me "drop it, do not spend time in here, go and wander". (...) When he was a child, his father had always taken him to his workplace. He does not want his own children in there. Even today, he does not let me in. (Ahmet)
When I came to Istanbul, he told me "go there, see and experience everything" (Baran)

The structuring of family routines was another issue, monitored by the father. Two young men emphasized the father's role in monitoring and controlling the son's compliance with the daily routines in the family.

When the call to the prayer was given, my father called me, saying "son, come, the prayer is given, we are going to eat dinner". (Can)
(He told me) "you are going to come home when the call to the prayer is given. (Baran)

One young men indicated constant and strict control by the father and gave a hint of the environmental conditions in the father's upbringing which led to his inflexibility.

My father was really very strict in terms of discipline. (...) His circle of friends, his upbringing. (...) These were influential. Because of his being reared among so-called local, traditional, conservative people. (Baran)

The absence of paternal guidance and monitoring was a theme as prominent as the father's facilitating and structuring impact on the young men's lives. Six young men did not touch upon the father's advice in their talk. On the other hand, three young men stressed the lack of paternal involvement and guidance in going through challenging life experiences, mentioning the father's laxness and disregard. Those young men seemed to feel deep disappointment with and resentment of the father's absence as a guide.

I was going to begin high school, I was going to a boarding school. I wish my father told me "son, this and that would happen, be careful about this". (Rıza)

He could be more interested, at least in terms of guidance. (...) My father even didn't know that I was going to study at the university, how he could guide me. (...) We expect it from the father. (Salih)

Recognition and Acceptance in the Paternal Relationship

The young men differed in the extent to which they described their fathers as recognizing and accepting the son's individual conduct. Four young men felt understood and accepted by their fathers who recognized and left room for the son's individuality although two of them emphasized the limitations of their father's understanding,

He is very understanding up to a certain point. His perceptiveness is actually unique to me. (Sait)

He understands me, I realize that he does. (...) Yet, not so much, not as much as my mother. (Can)

while the fathers of three men were characterized as flexible in leaving room for the son's decision making and individual choices.

Firstly, the school that I went to was bad. My father took me from there and sent me to a private school. I went to this private school for three years, then I didn't want to continue. (...) I was transferred to another school from there. (Ahmet)

A teacher of mine gave advice on training courses and told about the exams. He/she talked to my father. Then, I began to go to a training course. (Mehmet)

On the other hand, the lack of recognition and appreciation for the son's individuality was a salient theme in the descriptions of several young men. Two men indicated that the father took a more belittling, contemptuous and judgmental stance toward the son.

I felt belittled very much. (...) I think my father has never taken me as an individual and talked to me. He doesn't see me as an equal. He views me as young. For instance, when I talk about something with him, he doesn't look at me, he doesn't laugh. (Rıza)

Especially until high school, he (my father) had always the idea that the children of other people were more successful. (Baran)

In a similar vein, the father's critical outlook was mentioned in two young men's talk.

He told me "I didn't appreciate the work that you did, you couldn't do it well". (Can)

For instance, I lost my key. Then, he would begin to tell "the key is the honor of the house", such and such. (Baran)

The father's critical and depreciating stance had a great deal of impact on the son's development. Three young men hinted at deep feelings of resentment and anger on the one hand, and a longing for being recognized on the other in their relations with the father, as well as blaming the father for their current problems.

I admired my friend's father, their dialogue, his attitude toward his child. (...) He really takes the other seriously and treats him as if he was an older person. I felt jealous; I thought why my father didn't approach me this way. (Baran)

One thing that I don't like about my father is his disbelief in me. Because of this, I am really very angry with my father. Why does he approach me

this way? Maybe he is the reason of the complex that I have now, my striving to prove myself. (...) I suppose fathers take children as children rather than as an individual. (Rıza)

I studied for four years in high school. I graduated as the top student of my school. My father didn't come even once. (Salih)

Paternal Expectations

The father was presented as demanding that the son shoulder a number of responsibilities, which converged on four areas. High achievement in academic work was one area. Six young men mentioned that the father expected the son to be academically inclined and be successful in school work.

Be successful, have good grades. Then, go to a good school. (Can)

My father tells me that I am the one for whom intellectual work is suitable most at home. (Barış)

The young men speculated on the reasons for their father's concern with their sons' academic achievement and presented several factors, which indicated narcissistic investment in the father-son relationship. Those motivations could be outlined as; the father's desire to compensate for what he missed via his son's achievements (one man),

It is probably because my father couldn't get an education. He wants their children to have an education. (Ahmet)

the father's search for gratification through his son's successes which would grant him a feeling of pride in the local social context (one man),

He views me as an object to be proud of in his surroundings. He feels proud when his friends tell that Yasin's (father's name) son studies as such and such. His greatest expectation is my doing him credit. (Salih)

the father's wish for realizing an idealized image in his son's achievements (one man).

He tries to make me receive private tuition; he focuses on my education status. (...) He tries to turn me into the ideal that he depicted in his mind. (Ahmet)

The second area in paternal expectations concerned career and work-related issues. Attainment of a prestigious, esteemed job was given as what the father expected from seven young men.

My father expects me especially to have a good job, to have a good status.
(Bekir)

He wants me to graduate from the school as soon as possible. One thing my father is worried about is how the things I currently do will influence my future status and career, for instance training. (Sait)

Underlying paternal expectations for good work status was the financial strain of the father, who implicitly demanded the son's eventual support in sustaining the family. Three young men mentioned that the father looked forward to the son's graduation from the university and his earning money to help with the financial maintenance of the family.

I feel as if my father is looking forward for my graduation. (...) Because he gives his retirement pension to me, he continues working. (...) He asks about my grades. (Can)

Since I get into the university, my father keeps telling me "finish your school, I am going to quit working". (Sait)

The proper public image of the son was the third area of paternal expectations. The father's demands regarding his son's standing in the community included two concerns, which were physical appearance and pursuit of a moral life by the son. One young man indicated that his father was involved with his physical appearance in local public domain.

How should my father's child be? He is going to have crew cut and a close shave. He is going to wear trousers and a white shirt and such. I suppose the greatest difficulty my father has about me is related to my appearance.
(Baran)

In addition, five young men experienced their fathers as expecting them to lead a moral life and to be a model for others in their social networks.

He used to tell me "son, I want you to be a model among your friends".
(Can)

We are supposed to improve the wrong things in our surrounding, to

present a virtuous model. (Bekir)

He wants me to be an honest person. (...) He wants me to be a person who is accepted and respected by the community. (Rıza)

The father's concern with his son's appearance and conduct in the public domain was explained by the interconnectedness of their social images. Three young men mentioned the link between the social standings of the father and the son and, they gave reference to the local social structure which deemed the father responsible for his son's inappropriate behaviors through shaming and complaining.

The locality that we are brought up also has an influence. (...) Once, I didn't shave for about one month. In a wedding ceremony, one man came across my dad and told him "we can make Baran's wedding in a church, he looks like a priest". I live in such a place. (...) I suppose he resents and gets upset with these. (Baran)

My father didn't tell about the fights that I got involved to anyone when he heard about them. He even felt ashamed of this, or even my being seen when smoking cigarettes. (Ahmet)

Thus, according to these young men, the father viewed his son as a support and extension in sharing familial responsibilities, which was the last axis of paternal expectations. The father placed a number of fathering responsibilities on the son's shoulders, which ranged from providing assistance in taking care of the home and the family to extending the partilineal line. Those responsibilities were; taking care of and monitoring the siblings (five men),

I think my father consciously passed it on to me. He didn't verbalize it, yet he covertly told me. (...) "Control your siblings, such as how they live, with whom they communicate". (Barış)

My father views me as his heir. (...) He tells me "if something happens to me, you are going to be father to your siblings". (...) I have a twelve year old brother. He (my father) asks me whether I am going to pay for his education. (Ahmet)

being involved in financial management of the home (three men),

One of the simplest things such as reminding him to pay the bills. (Yiğit)
For instance, my father is going to do something. It might be getting credit, it might be an issue about money or the bills. We always deal with it together. (Yahya)

Since the father is the provider in the family, if I work at some place and

earn money, I would tell him how much I earn. Or, if my father changes his job or earns some extra-money, he tells me. (Onur)

undertaking daily chores at home (three men),

When my father had three sons, people had told him “you have three sons, you would not fall flat on your face”. He gradually began to experience it. For instance, when we go on a long journey, I and my brother drive the car alternately, my father sits at the back. (...) For instance, the suitcases need to be carried, we do it immediately, my father doesn't carry them. (Onur)

My mother needs to be taken to some place by car. My mother surely does not have a driving license yet. I do it. That is, I gradually shoulder the responsibilities of my father. (...) Something is needed. I go to the market. I take the garbage out. (...) There are too many chores, like hanging up the curtains and taking them down or going to the bazaar, carrying the bags. (Yiğit)

securing the continuation of the paternal line (one man).

My name is my grandfather's name, my father's father's name. If I have a son, I must certainly give him my father's name. He wouldn't tell this to me. He says “I am not involved in your decision”, yet I know that he inwardly expects it. (Hakan)

The young men's reactions to their father's demands were characterized by overt conformity. Overtly complying with the paternal expectations was mentioned by four young men.

I am obedient, I do everything my father tells. (Salih)

I try not to talk back to my father as much as possible. (...) We have never had a big fight with him. (...) The reason might be my assuming a humble attitude, my trying not to run counter to him. (Baran)

However, overt compliance went hand in hand with covert disagreement. One young man indicated that he silently followed his own line of thought although he seemed to comply with the father's views;

My father talked about it for two hours, made reasonable explanations. (...) I said “ok dad”, yet most of the things haven't changed in my mind. (Ahmet)

while one man felt burdened by his father's demand to be authoritative as the head of the house, concealed his personal feelings and pretended to share his father's

expectations.

Being the son of my father is going to be like a burden to me in future. (...) (Currently) I talk to him as if I have a similar opinion with him. He thinks that Hakan is really going to bang his fist on the table and be a family man. (...) Inside me, I am not a short-tempered person or I am not a dominant person. But, to please my father I can play a little game at least. (Hakan)

The young men's conforming attitudes in the face of paternal demands were explained by two factors. Those factors were the son's sensitivity to the relational, emotional needs of the father and the father's reactive, blaming attitude when faced with any discordance with his son. Two young men highlighted their role in managing the emotional state of the father and indicated a concern with the father's emotional well-being.

I try to go easy on him. Eventually, they are getting older. He is sick, and whatever happens he is not supposed to be stressed. (Baran)
My friends get together. (...) My father sometimes doesn't let me go, tells me "you can't go there". He wants to feel the authority he had before again for one day. I tell him "ok, let it be" because I don't want to upset him. But in fact nothing is going to happen if I go there, I am going to have fun. (Hakan)

Two young men indicated that the father overtly or covertly blamed them and cut off contact which engendered guilt feelings, and explained their compliance with paternal expectations.

My father told me "if something happens to me, you are the only reason". (...) Later, he didn't speak to me for one week. (...) I experienced it twice, one was about wearing a ring and the other about the cigarettes. (Baran)
I always tell him that "I'm going to do this, you should know". My father gets very angry about this. He says "this is not asking for permission, it is informing that I have done this". He tells me "if you are going to tell it in this way, don't". (Ahmet)

Change in the Paternal Relationship

The young men indicated that the relationship with their fathers improved over time in a number of domains and acquired a more intimate tone. One domain of improvement in the father-son relationship was increased sharing (five men).

We became much closer with my father. We began to share more with him. (Hakan)

In my childhood, I didn't have a relationship with my father at all. I gradually began to establish a relationship with him. (Yiğit)

The paternal relationship also improved in the sense that the father came to recognize his son's individuality. Four young men mentioned that their fathers gained flexibility and began to leave room for negotiation and the son's individual conduct.

I suppose my father's point of view is more flexible than before. When I told my father that I was going to do this and he didn't let me, I definitely couldn't do it before. Now, I tell him "I'm going to do this", he tells me not to, I tell him that I must. When I insist on this, he tells me "ok, do it". (Ahmet)

Let's say that my father made a decision. It was a definite decision, it was done. Currently, at least I can tell him "no, what if we do it this way or that way, this is not going to be right", such things. (...) I can make a suggestion and I can change his mind. (Mehmet)

He didn't consider me as an individual before. In fact, he approaches me differently now. I feel more important in front of my father. (Rıza)

Improvements in the paternal relationship went parallel to the gradual closing of the hierarchical gap between the fathers and their sons.

Father-son has turned into a brother-sibling relationship. (Baran)

After a certain age, I suppose the son turns out to be a figure who tries to share the father's authority with him. (...) Sometimes it is like having two roosters in one house. (Rıza)

The young men gave a number of explanations which indicated their hierarchical proximity to the father and illuminated how the paternal relationship improved. Those explanations pointed to a process of change in the father's and the son's attitudes, which could be outlined as; softening of the father's attitude toward his son, which came to the fore with age, retirement and health problems (three men),

He has aged; he is not very aggressive now. (Yahya)

After getting retired, he really softened. (Hakan)

I feel that my father really has softened towards most issues after he has gone through the surgery. That is, my father doesn't unnecessarily insist on anything anymore. (Baran)

the father's acknowledgement of his son's maturity and subjectivity, which was facilitated by the son's growing and separation from home (five men).

I suppose there was a change in his attitude towards me after I got into high school and left home. He might have thought that I grew up more. (...) Currently, my father can approve of nearly everything I say. I tell him “dad, I think such and such, should I do it?”. He tells me “if you have thought through it, it is ok”. (...) I can completely make my own decisions. (Mehmet)

He began to think that this boy has matured more after I get to the university. I feel it. (...) Since the last three years, the trend in my relationship with my father is good. (Baran)

On the other hand, adolescence was defined as a period of conflict in the paternal relationship by three young men.

Our disagreements were intensified in the adolescence period. (...) Eventually, in childhood you are more passive in the process of being disciplined. (...) But, after you reach this age, you begin to think “isn't it better if these decisions are somewhat softened? Can't we meet halfway?”. When I began to think like this, we began to experience more conflicts. (Baran)

I think I was in adolescence period in those days, that is prep class and the first year of high school. I was more rebellious back then. (...) My father used to tell me “ok I understand you, you are in the adolescence period, yet you should also understand us”. (Can)

The Internal Father

A majority of the young men comfortably outlined those self-attributes which resembled those of the father while for a minority it was a challenging task. Eleven young men were at ease with compiling their similarities with their fathers. Those young men described their identified characteristics as an inheritance, with terms like “to take from” (almak), “to have resemblance” (çekmek), “to come from” (gelmek) and “to also have” (bende de var), implying an internal presence of the father in their sense of self.

Surely, we resemble our father as his children. (Yahya)
I see most of my father's behaviors in myself. (Ahmet)

Two young men construed their similarities with the father as innate, indicating an essentialist notion of transmission in the father-son relationship.

I have taken (many characteristics) from both of them (parents). Twenty three from one, twenty three from the other. (Barış)

Five dimensions emerged regarding paternal identifications of the young men; relational capacity, emotionality, rigidity-flexibility, moral values and physical likeness. Regarding the relational capacity of the young men, the father seemed to have bequeathed relational characteristics which had both a facilitating and an inhibiting impact on the young men's sociability, outlined as; difficulty in forming interactions (four men);

I am timid about some issues like my father. My father is also weak in the sphere of communication. (Sait)

I am cold at first, I warm up later. I suppose, my father is also like me. He is also more shy at the beginning, he opens himself later. (Baran)

comfort with socializing (two men),

I learned from my father how to communicate with people. (Ahmet)

I might have taken from my father his easily relating to people. (Yiğit)

dedication to the home and the needs of the family (three men);

When I think about what characteristic I have taken from my father (...) I suppose, when I get married, I will also not spend much money on my personal needs in any way. (Hakan)

Praise be, my father is very committed to his home (...) I resemble my father in this respect. (...) I am very committed to my home. (Barış)

In the emotionality dimension, proneness to sudden emotional reactions and being hot-tempered, resulting in feelings of guilt was self-attributes of four young men, partaken from the father.

My father is normally very cheerful. He suddenly flies into a temper. You can never understand how he gets mad. Most of my friends tell me this as well, "you became angry all of a sudden, we didn't expect it, we didn't understand". (Ahmet)

It is like a flash. You get mad, you pour your heart out, then you regret it. Something like this, I also have it. (Barış)

My father is very emotional. I think I have taken my emotionality from

my father. For instance, my father becomes very upset when he is upset, he becomes very happy when he is happy. (Onur)

The third dimension of paternal identifications was that of rigidity-flexibility. The young men outlined a number of characteristics which varied along this dimension and bore a resemblance to the father, mainly;

having an unprejudiced standpoint in life matters (one man),

I learned from my father that I should never prejudge anything. (Ahmet)

being rigid and stubborn (two men),

My stubbornness comes directly from my father. (...) I am more inflexible, when I see something unpleasant (in someone), I rule him/her out. (Baran)

Moral values were the fourth dimension on which the young men felt identified with their fathers. Conscientiousness and good faith were those moral values the young men took from their fathers. While two men indicated their likeness with the father in terms of honesty and benevolence,

My father is honest. He doesn't lie. He is charitable. (...) He helps if someone needs to go to the hospital. He helps poor people that we know about. He gives them some things. I am also the same. I think I have taken my kindness from him. (Can)

My father is a person who loves to do favors for people. (...) I am also benevolent. (...) I never refrain from offering help. (Barış)

two young men indicated the negative impact of moral identification with the father, making them excessively kind and naive and thus, vulnerable to relational pressures.

I am a little soft-hearted or naïve. (...) Normally, it is necessary to approach those people whom you don't know well or you know a little critically. (...) Yet, both for my father and me, that is the worst quality. (...) We can believe in people very quickly. (Yahya)

Being unable to say no. (...) Later, having difficulty in doing it. (...) You make a promise in the beginning, later you have difficulty in keeping it. I have never seen my father saying no in my life. (Salih)

Physical resemblance to the father was the last dimension of paternal identification, indicated by two men.

His movements come to my mind. His gestures and so forth. (Salih)
Me sitting, standing, watching TV, holding the remote control, eating
food, my everything is the same as my father. (Rıza)

On the other hand, two young men had difficulty in finding any similarities
with their fathers.

We don't resemble to each other with my father. (Mehmet)
In fact, there are not many qualities of mine that resemble to my father.
(Yiğit)

The young men differed in their degree of comfort and satisfaction with their
resemblance to the father. Eight young men did not elaborate on their attitudes
regarding their paternal identifications. Three young men indicated that those aspects
of the self identified with their fathers were beneficial for dealing with life issues,

My father's seriousness, toughness at least helps me a little in urban life.
Eventually when you are in the city, there is no point in being naïve,
cheerful towards people. (Bekir)
I wish I could act rationally like my father. Being excessively emotional is
disadvantageous at most times. (Baran)

while two young men viewed their paternal identifications more negatively, blaming
and reproaching their fathers.

Because of the genetics, because of the genes that I took from my father, I
can't say no. (Salih)
Why do I resemble my father that much? (Rıza)

Sibling Relations

In this section, the young men's relations with their siblings are explored. In the first
part, general themes regarding the young men's sibling relations are explained. Next,
what the presence of younger sisters and brothers mean for the young men are
illuminated separately. The last section dwells on the impact of having older brothers
and sisters on the young men.

General Themes in the Relations with Siblings

Two themes emerged regarding the relations of the young men with their

siblings. The first theme coming to the fore was the issue of sibling rivalry.

Eight young men mentioned that they felt jealous of their siblings and indicated their competitive urges.

I was very jealous of her, when she was born just two years after me.
(Ahmet)

When I was three, my mother gave birth to my sibling. I think it is bad at the age of three when you are learning about the notion of mother. (...)

When you need the mother, it is bad that a younger, needy member joins the family. (Onur)

The differential treatment of younger or older siblings in the family was pointed out as the most significant explanation for their competitive urges. The young men felt that they were treated differently from their siblings in a number of domains by their parents. One domain was the privileges and the freedom the parents granted to their siblings and higher expectations placed on their shoulders, expressed by four young men.

The older child is always expected to be wiser, more well-behaved. He is expected to be quieter. I have been very uncomfortable about this. (...)

My younger brother can be very naughty at times. (Rıza)

I was jealous of my younger sisters. (...) I thought that they were comfortable. I could go out, but I reported everything at my age back then. (...) My father was not very involved with them. He is not even today. (Ahmet)

Another domain was the gradual improvement in the parents' parenting of younger siblings through gaining experience with their first children. Two young men, both firstborns, considered their younger siblings lucky for growing up in the hands of more experienced and well-informed parents, which indicated their longing for adequate parenting.

As parents bring up their children; their first, second, third kids turn out to be like training for them. (...) In that regard, they make some mistakes. I suppose the first child suffers from those mistakes. (Rıza)

My sibling is brought up in the hands of more experienced parents. (...) It seems that their inexperience, their lack of knowledge might influence you more. They might treat you differently. (...) My parents made less mistakes with my sibling than they made in my upbringing. (Baran)

The last domain was related to the issue of intimacy in the relationship with the father. Two young men pointed out that the father could be more tolerant and intimate with their younger sisters, which may indicate their yearning for an affectionate paternal relationship.

I don't remember ever joking with my father. My sibling passes not a minute without joking with him. Every minute, they tickle, tweak each other. (...) I sometimes questioned, I asked myself what he would do if I did the same when I went home. I suppose he would slap me, then tell me to get out and such. But certainly, he has a more intimate dialogue with my sister than he has with me. (Baran)

My sister has grown up more as a spoiled child. She communicates very easily with my father for instance. I can't cross my legs in the presence of my father. (...) She is now thirteen or fourteen. She talks about everything with my father. (Salih)

The second theme appearing in four young men's reflections was the homesickness and longing they felt for their sisters and brothers, after leaving home for the university or after an older sibling got married.

Both of my sisters go to the university in (a Western city). (...) I can see both of them once in six months. It isn't as frequent as in my childhood. I see them when sometimes I visit them there. (...) I miss both of them much. I miss them very much. (Ahmet)

As I was coming here (the interview), my sibling came to my mind all of a sudden. I missed him so much. I have not seen him for a long time. His holidays didn't correspond with mine. (Hakan)

The Presence of Younger Siblings in the Family

Nine young men reflected on the meaning of growing up with younger siblings in their families. Four themes emerged in those young men's descriptions regarding the relations with younger siblings, which could be outlined as hierarchy, intimacy and sharing, responsibilities towards the younger ones and the issue of conflict among siblings.

The first theme was the hierarchical superiority of the older brothers and the formality of their relations with younger siblings. Five young men indicated that they were respected by the younger ones.

My younger siblings respect me. I really made this happen, I established this balance. They do not obey while hating me at the same time. (...) You refrain from some people; you control your manners more in front of them. It is something like this. (Barış)

The feelings of respect on the part of the siblings were explained by being an academically successful model (one man),

I went to a good school. Since I have made a good score in the student selection examination, my younger brother obeys what I say although not listening to my mother, father and my older brother. Being respected is a very nice thing. I feel that my younger brother respects me. (Onur)

and by growing up (one man).

As we grow up, even the relationship between brothers and siblings is carried out within the frame of respect. (Ahmet)

In a similar vein, three young men who were either first born or one and only male child of the family mentioned the hierarchical superiority and the ownership of the leading role in the absence of the father.

In my house, I had the feeling that I was the king. (Ahmet)
It is being the leader in the absence of the father. (...) I was nine or ten years of age. When my father went out, I remember thinking “my father is not here now, I am the man of the house, I am the head of the house”. (Can)

The second theme emerging in the young men's reflections on their sibling relations was intimacy and sharing, mentioned by four young men. There seemed to be a gender-based difference in the degree of intimacy among the brothers and younger siblings. Three young men described the relations with their younger sisters as relatively intimate and warm both in their current lives and their childhood years,

We talk about many issues more comfortably with my younger sister. (...) In the end, we go through similar things; we both go to the university. She can ask for advice from me about many issues, or I can ask from her. (Mehmet)
We get along very well with my younger sister. We always played games together and such. (...) Now, she never keeps me unaware of anything she does. We talk every day. (...) I don't have a difficulty with her. We go on pleasantly like in our childhood. (Baran)

while one young man mentioned a more distant relationship with his younger brother

I have a younger brother. (...) I am the one with whom he communicates most. But it is discreet in any way. (...) It isn't very good. (Salih)

The third theme was related to the responsibilities of having a younger sibling. The young men mentioned that being an older brother placed a number of responsibilities on their shoulders. Some young men felt responsible for offering a good role model to their younger siblings and providing guidance for their lives. Three young men indicated their being a model for younger siblings in the family.

If you are a responsible person, if you are conscious of your responsibilities, I think you must be a model for your younger siblings. I think, I have done this to my siblings. I went to good schools, I am still going to a good one. I am going to graduate from a good university. I will have a good job. (...) For instance, if I were disrespectful to my parents, my siblings would think that it is normal and behave in this way. Yet, until now I have never been disrespectful to my parents. (...) After a certain time, you try to be a model for them. (Bariş)

After all, my younger siblings view me as a model. When I tell them that something is good, they take it as the absolute truth. They readily believe in me. (...) They think that if my brother say this, it is certainly right. (Mehmet)

In a similar vein, four young men also mentioned that they guided and

supported their younger siblings in the following domains;

mentoring the younger brothers and sisters in their academic work (three men),

I constantly talk to my siblings and tell them “study this, be careful about that”. I am always interested in them. (...) Because, apart from my career, there is the anxiety about what my sibling will do, she is now preparing for the student selection examination, how should I advise her if she gets such a score. (...) I must think in that way for each of my six siblings. (Mehmet)

regulating his younger brother's contact with the outer world (one man),

I brought my little brother here, to the university; I took him into the classes. (...) I try to regulate his relationship with the outside in some way. (Bariş)

supporting his younger sister in going through her emotional difficulties, although feeling uneasy with this (one man).

My younger sister had a problem in her first date. Her boyfriend was a jerk. He turned out to be a troublesome guy. (...) After they broke up, in overcoming this process I couldn't fit myself into telling her "it is going to be all right". (...) You know, there is the classic Turkish brother, I covertly think that I should find that boy and smash him. Yet, I tell her it is going to be over, and such. (Baran)

Controlling and monitoring the younger siblings' conduct was another responsibility of the older brothers. Three young men indicated their role in structuring and monitoring their younger siblings.

I ask him where he is going. (...) "Where are you going, what is the time, at what time will you be home, who will you see". (...) I certainly talk to their teachers to find out about their status. (Barış)

In the case of younger sisters, two men indicated having the right to control their cross-gender interactions and contact, and their public appearance.

I had had a desire to be a big brother then. When I was a child, I remember getting angry with and yelling at my younger sister for wearing a mini skirt. I told her "why are you wearing this". (Ahmet)
I didn't say anything when she had a boyfriend. Yet, I tell her "you have responsibilities towards me, towards your family. There are things that you should and shouldn't do. As long as you are aware of them, there is no problem for me". (Baran)

Among other responsibilities of being an older brother were, protecting the younger siblings (three men), carried out to the extent of self-sacrificial behaviors by one young man,

In every break, I took my brother from the schoolyard, took him to his desk, kissed him once and went to my own class. I didn't feel comfortable if I didn't see him in his class. (...) That is, I was like a mother to him. I felt really committed to him very much. A very intense sense of protectiveness as a brother made me pay attention to his everything. (...) I always took care of him. (Hakan)

My little brother is a naïve person. He is pure, badness is beyond his ken. (...) He is a vulnerable kid. That is why he needs some kind of protection. (Barış)

playing the role of the mediator between their parents and younger sisters (one man).

If she wants to make my mother accept something and she can't, she calls me. She tells me "parents didn't let me, call them, they accept what you say such and such". When I call and talk to them a little, I soften them up.

(Ahmet)

The fourth theme was the issue of conflict and disagreement. Three young men mentioned that they constantly fought with younger siblings, which diminished as they grew up.

When we were small, we had many fights with my brother. (...) But, for the last four or five years, there is really none. He is more respectful towards me. He obeys what I say. (Rıza)

We didn't get along well with my younger sister, since she was one year younger than me and she was close to me in terms of age. There were always conflicts and fights. (...) Now, my sister gets into the university. Our conversation has changed a lot since then. (Mehmet)

The Presence of Older Siblings in the Family

Three young men mentioned having older brothers in their families and their reflections converged on two themes, that is hierarchy and nurturance, paralleling the themes emerging in the issue of younger brothers. Among them, two young men indicated that being a boy implied having a low status in the family hierarchy, which engendered feelings of inferiority.

Since you are placed in the lowest rank, you are the one most belittled. I had such a problem. When I was small, I was pulverized. (Bekir)

You feel lowly because of being a younger sibling. (Onur)

The feelings of inferiority turned into an ambition which initiated a competition over gaining superiority and fostered a motivation for doing better in life for those two young men.

My ambitiousness is related to my feeling lowly. (...) Since I am very ambitious and I have an older brother, I feel that I must be better than my older brother. (...) In any case, I compete with him. (Onur)

There is a struggle for being the superior among men. There was such a thing in the family, that is who is going to be more successful. (Bekir)

In addition, the hierarchical inferiority deemed one young man responsible for playing the role of the mediator in the face of conflicts among the superiors, described in a relatively negative tone.

When there is a slight disagreement between the mother and the older brothers, the father and the mother or the older brothers, you talk to one, and you talk to the other. You are like a buffer to prevent conflicts. (Yahya)

The second theme was nurturance, which was offered through a number of channels by an older brother. The older brother seemed to function both as a guide and as a model of identification for those three young men. Two of them indicated that their older brothers provided guidance and mentoring in academic work and in coming into contact with the outer world,

He used to take me to soccer matches when I was small. (...) He used to take me to a tea garden. He listened to music. My knowledge about music was established by the music he listened to. (...) There was a period when I was successful in elementary school. He encouraged me to take the specialized high school exams, that is in my academic life. (Bekir)

and in solving personal problems.

There are more people who you can share or ask for advice when you have a problem. They are (older brothers) an important guide and support in solving your problems. (Yahya)

On the other hand, two young men indicated a more distant and formal relationship with their older brothers. One young man explained the formality and authoritarianism of his older brother by the family environment he grew up in.

I have an older brother. He comes second after the father for us. He is also autocratic. For instance, we are like friends with my middle brother. (...) My oldest brother is not like him. My oldest brother was the one who had the most difficulty. (...) He endured the most difficult times of the house and the family. (Yahya)

The older brother was viewed as an idealized role model to identify with, by two young men.

I have an older brother who is a teacher; I took him as a model when I was small. I thought that I should be like him. When I was six or seven, he studied at the university. (...) I try to deduce how I am supposed to behave by observing his behaviors, I still do. (Bekir)

Those young men indicated that they felt identified with their older brothers on several grounds; which could be outlined as,

physical likeness,

He resembles me in terms of his facial characteristics. (Bekir)

reactivity,

My similarity with my brother is that we react similarly to the same things. For instance, we find the things people do there (locality of origin) meaningless. (Bekir)

and involvement with sports.

Where does my involvement with soccer come from? My middle brother was a very talented player. (...) Involvement with soccer in the family began with him. (Yahya)

On the other hand, two young men mentioned that they would have liked to

have an older brother as a dependable male figure. Those two young men

explained that having an older brother would have granted them

a feeling of being protected and supported (one man),

If I had an older brother, I would feel reassured. If something happened, he would come and help me. This would make me feel good. There is no such thing now. I am alone. (Can)

a feeling of vicarious power (one man),

I sometimes want to have an older brother. (...) For instance, I quarreled with friends in middle school. Some of them had older brothers. (...) So that, they became powerful. (...) I wanted to have an older brother in that regard. (Can)

and an escape from the responsibilities of being the firstborn (one man).

My family asks my opinion about some issues. Since I am older than them (my siblings), they talk about these issues to me. My siblings can still be young, it goes on like this. I wish I had an older brother or sister. (...) I think I matured early. (Mehmet)

Four young men indicated that they had older sisters in their families. Those

young men reflected on the significant impact of their older sisters on their

development. The older sister seemed to function as a mother substitute, caring for the young men and developing intimate relations with them. Three young men's relations with their older sisters were characterized by; mothering and caring for the young ones (three men),

Be it preparing food, particularly the things that children want very much like sweets. She cleaned me up when I made myself dirty without telling my mother. (Yiğit)

She protected me. For instance, I was running to catch up with the lesson. She told me “do not run, you sweat and get sick”. (Can)

intimacy and warmth (three men).

We know each other. We know how each of us gets upset or happy. We know each other's boundaries. That is, it's very warm. My older sister is warm. (Can)

We were very close. I was on good terms with her. (Salih)

On the other hand, one man defined the relation with his older sister as aloof and formal, stressing his feelings of disappointment and resentment. He explained that his older sister did not care for him since she gained maturity relatively early.

We have a cold relationship with my older sister. (...) I could not experience something like sister-brother relationships that I observed in my surrounding. Because of this, I feel a little resentment. (...) Not much goes on between us. (...) I do it when she asks me for something, she does it when I ask for something from her. (...) In fact, I understand her, she got married without living through her childhood. She got married before being a sister to me. (...) I feel that she also resents that she could not be a good sister to her sibling. (Sait)

Those three young men indicated that they did not disclose personal information to their older sisters.

I can't share most issues with my older sister. (Salih)

One young man went on to explain that he withheld personal information to avoid conflicts with his older sister, and

In general, my older sister is someone that I am on very good terms with. Yet there were times that I didn't disclose my opinions or problems to her,

thinking of the possibility that we might disagree in several points. (Yiğit)
and, to preserve his privacy and to enhance his individual conduct.

In any case, she is someone from your family. You can't talk about certain problems with her. What if it's heard, what if she attempts to pose like an older sister although she has never done it before. (Yiğit)

The Parental Couple

This section dwells on the marital relationship of the parents of the young men as perceived by them. Firstly, the significance of traditional arrangements for the parents of the young men is explored. Next, the issue of conflict in the marital relationship and its resolution by the parents are taken up.

The young men's descriptions of their parents' marital relations differed in terms of the traditional vs. modern definitions of marriage. Eight young men indicated that the relationship of their parents was characterized by a traditional arrangement. Those young men pointed out the following characteristics of the relationship between their parents to delineate this arrangement:

the emphasis on formality and respect between their parents (four men),

It is like duty, husband and wife, mother and father. (Yahya)

The communication between them is more formal. (...) There is a respectful relationship between them. (Salih)

the absence of overt emotionality and affection in the relation between the parents (five men), with one man expressing his wish for their intimacy and romantic involvement,

I have never seen my father kiss my mother or hug her. (...) I haven't seen anything affectionate between them. (Mehmet)

It seems to me that there is no affection between them. (...) There is no romance, love. (...) For instance, I wish they would go out for dinner together. Because I sometimes see it. (...) Parents of those children who are in the same cohort with me or younger than me go out for dinner. I think it is a very nice thing. (Can)

the traditional division of labor at home (three men),

The father always provides, the mother manages. (Yahya)
I suppose my father thinks that my mother has to do all these things. (...)
My mother also always wants to clean the house (...) cook, take care of
the children. (Can)

and the differentiation between the social networks of the father and the mother,
which indicated a duo-focal family structure (two men).

My father generally earns money and goes to a coffeehouse in the
evenings. (...) My mother visits her friends, her neighbors, they drink tea
and coffee. (Can)

The father's dominance and status superiority in the marital relationship was another
indicator of this traditional arrangement. For three young men, the father's
dominance took the form of physical violence which was used by the father to
resolve conflicts especially in the first years of the marriage.

My mother couldn't go to visit her own mother without my father's
permission. She asked for permission, she went if my father let her go.
(...) I suppose he was macho. (...) For my father, it is necessary to be
more respectful and self-sacrificial toward the paternal side or the father's
mother and father. (...) My mother and father fought. (...) The man was
really physically aggressive. (Hakan)
They constantly quarreled and fought. My father was sometimes
physically violent to her. They did not have a good relationship. (...)
Since my childhood, I think that they have made the worst marriage ever
done. (Bekir)

Two men among those who mentioned growing up in a conflictual home
environment speculated on what the possible impact on the continuity of the marital
relationship would have been if the mother had been working outside the home.

I wonder if their marriage would have last long if my mother was a
working woman. (Rıza)

However, two young men indicated that while the mother overtly respected and
conformed to the father's authority, she covertly criticized and disapproved of his
conduct, sharing her critiques with her sons.

My mother knows that something that my father does is wrong. She tells us that it is wrong. She is right ninety percent of the time. But, she doesn't object in the presence of my father. (Salih)

My mother sometimes stuck her tongue out at my father behind his back. We used to laugh at him. (Hakan)

On the other hand, three young men described the parents' marital relations as having non-traditional characteristics. This non-traditional arrangement was indicated by; the emphasis on love and affection in the marriage of the parents (one man),

My father tells us that he was speechless for ten seconds when he saw my mother first. My mother also liked him. For all my life, there is a love story between them. (Ahmet)

the opportunity to choose one's partner; explained mainly by the western, modernized local setting (one man).

It (an Eastern Aegean city) isn't a very conventional city. My parents got to know each other and got married. (...) They were engaged for one year. No one was involved when they wanted to spend time together while they were engaged. That is why they got along well with each other. It is not an arranged marriage.

Those non-traditional households were characterized by an absence of fight and violence. Those parents were described as managing the emotional reactions of each other and solving problems among themselves, which indicated their capacity to function as a couple.

I have never seen a big fight or chilliness between them. (...) I saw small arguments. I think these are normal, but they quickly solved them in some way. If they could not solve it, they dropped the subject as far as I know. (Ahmet)

They rarely quarreled, rarely fought. Those arguments were smoothed over within several days. I believe their relationship was successful in general terms. (...) When it is necessary my father tolerates her, or my mother tolerates him. (Baran)

Relations with the Extended Family

This section dwells on the theme of the extended family relations and explores its impact on the young men's development. In the first part, the young men's relations with their relatives are examined in general terms. Next, the significant figures in the

extended families of the young men are identified. The functions of the uncle, the aunt and the grandparents in the lives of the young men are explored respectively in the following section.

The relations with the members of the extended family seemed to be a salient theme in twelve young men's talk. Among them, nine young men indicated that they established intimate and warm relations with their maternal and paternal relatives, they received a good deal of attention and affection and their needs were gratified. Those young men mentioned feeling secure, valued and favored in their families.

I am on very good terms with my paternal and maternal uncles, my paternal and maternal aunts. In our family, bonds with the relatives are very very strong. (Rıza)

My paternal uncles, paternal aunts love me very much. (...) I suppose they are more interested in me than daughters. People like me are called "virgin honey", that is the son of the eldest son in a family. (...) I am very precious in the eyes of my aunts, uncles, grandmother and grandfather. (Hakan)

People become very interested in you. You become the center of attention. (...) I am the first grandchild, plus I am a male. My grandfather is very attached to me. He loves me like his own kids. (...) It is a very very different feeling. I felt that I was special. (Baran)

They couldn't refuse my wishes. They fulfilled what I asked for. (Ahmet)

For three young men, the paternal relatives came to be particularly prominent figures both in their current lives and in their childhood years since they lived either in the same apartment building or the same house.

The apartment building belonged to our family. My grandparents lived on one floor, my uncle above him, then us. The whole family was close to each other. We were very crowded, that is my uncle, his children, my cousins, me. (Ahmet)

We lived as an extended family until I was six or seven. After my parents got married, they didn't leave my father's house. They lived together with my grandparents. (Mehmet)

The young men gave a number of explanations for the affection and care they received in their families. Those explanations ranged from contextual influences which rendered the male child as more precious to individual characteristics,

including characterological traits and birth order. They were outlined as;

social and cultural adherence to the meaning of having a male child (four men),

In Turkish structure, sons are more privileged particularly in certain situations. (...) For instance people of the Black Sea region don't take daughters as children. This is also the same in the southeast region because some regions are more patriarchal. (Yiğit)

Since our culture is Eastern culture, sons are really considered as important. (Salih)

characterological traits which attracted the attention and sympathy of adults (two men),

Because I was not a naughty child and because I am a child who knows his responsibilities and is more well-behaved, they love me. (Hakan)

They love me most among the nephews. Since I get education, I am differentiated from the others. They are interested in me differently. (Salih)

birth order, including the firstborn, oldest sons (two men) and the youngest sons (three men).

I have a particular birth order; I picked up the place first. Because of this, they love me very much. (Hakan)

You are lucky to be the youngest child. People love you, they are concerned about you. (Bekir)

On the other hand, three young men emphasized that their relations with the extended family were disrupted.

For as long as I've known myself, my father and his mother don't speak to each other. Moreover, my father and my uncle also don't communicate. Consequently, there is tension between sister-in-laws. (Baran)

There was the issue of inheritance. (...) For instance there was a problem between my mother and my maternal uncle's wife. Later, a problem arose between my father and my maternal uncle. (Can)

The young men's reflections on their extended family relations highlighted the significant role played by the uncle, the aunt and the grandparents in their development. For five young men, their uncles functioned as a caretaker, as a guide and support, and as a role model, almost as surrogate fathers in their lives. Among them, four young men emphasized the affection, care and concern of their uncles.

Those young men felt a sense of intimate attachment to their uncles, which involved elements of physical intimacy and they sought proximity to them.

I always wanted to be around him (paternal uncle) (...) because he always played games with me, he spent time with me. (...) He was always involved with me. (...) I always remember his tickling and tossing me. (Mehmet)

I was very close to my eldest (paternal) uncle. He loved children a lot. He loved especially me. (...) He always took me to his home. I don't remember, but he did it before I began elementary school. I had stayed with him for three or four days. I love him very much, he was very concerned. (Sait)

Among them, two young men mentioned sharing their daily issues and career plans with their uncles.

I talk about everything, all my anxieties with my (paternal) uncle. I talk about my future plans, either the job I have chosen or the training that I will undergo, with him more than my father. (Mehmet)

In summer, I worked with him in his workplace. (...) We talked about work or other daily issues with him. In general, we have an intimate relationship. (Sait)

The uncle served as a guide to the young men, both by getting involved with their conduct and being a role model. Three young men indicated that their uncles offered mentoring in their academic work, explained mainly by the uncle's high level of education by one man,

My (paternal) uncle always gives advices if something happens. He tells me "you are going to the university, you should improve your skills, be careful about this". (...) I generally ask him, he always gives advices. He is the only one who attended the university in the family. (...) Because of this, I generally consult him for just about everything. (Mehmet)

He (my maternal uncle) helped me a lot about lessons and he encouraged me. (Salih)

and in coming into contact with the outer-social world.

When I was a child, he (my paternal uncle) took me to every (soccer) game. (...) Since my childhood, he always took me out for entertainment. (Ahmet)

In a similar vein, three young men mentioned having an idealized representation of their uncles, who served as figures of identification for them.

When we went to watch a soccer match, I saw that most of the people there knew my (paternal) uncle and gave him a seat. I respected him when I saw it in a place of twenty thousand people. I thought “vow, what kind of a person my uncle is, how he made himself known in here”. (...) I respected him because I watched the things live that most children of my age watched in TV. (...) Later, when I grew up, I began to go to every game. (Ahmet)

My (paternal) uncle was interested in photography. So am I. (...) We both like to travel. (...) He also doesn't like to go shopping with women, I also don't. (Mehmet)

The aunts came to the fore as influential figures in five young men's development, functioning as a caretaker and a confidant. Three young men indicated their intimate attachment to their aunts, who cared for them in physical and psychological terms, especially in their childhood years. One young man explained his intimacy with his aunt by her high level of education and her being younger than his mother.

I loved my (maternal) aunt rather than my mother. I was attached to her. (...) I felt intimate with her. Though my mother was also very concerned, I felt closer to my aunt. (Salih)

My (maternal) aunt is very important to me. She has taken care of me as much as my mother. (...) She is more educated than my mother, she graduated from the university. Moreover, she is seven years younger than my mother. She was closer to us in my childhood since she was younger. She was concerned about our everything, our apparel, our girlfriends. (Onur)

Self-disclosure to the aunt was a salient theme in three young men's talk. Those young men viewed their aunts as a figure to whom they could disclose their personal issues and problems.

In every vacation, I stayed with my (maternal) aunt for one or two days. We poured out our grievances to each other. (Hakan)
I still talk more to my (maternal) aunt about my problems rather than my mother. (Salih)

The last theme coming to the fore in four young men's reflections on their extended family relations was the grandparents, viewed as sources of affection and nurturance. Those four young men indicated their grandparents were affectionate and tolerant towards them.

My (maternal) grandmother used to tell me nursery rhymes. (...) I liked it very much and I never forget those things. My (maternal) grandfather loved me. My (paternal) grandmother is a very important factor. She is a fussy person in fact, but when you go and hug her, she softens. (Can)
My grandfather was a tough man in fact. People likened him to the so-called Ottoman man. He was lenient towards me. I used to play with his ears and squeeze them. (Yiğit)

Two among them explained the tolerance and affection of their grandparents by their being the firstborn grandson in their families.

My father is the eldest son of my grandfather. It has been said that the eldest sons have a particular meaning. I am his only son. (...) He (my grandfather) used to love me very much. (Yiğit)

The Constructions of Masculinity

In this section, the construction of masculinities in the Turkish context as presented by the young participants is explored in detail. The first section dwells on how masculinity norms are defined, how they are sustained or change, and how they are subjectively experienced by the young men. Next, significant developmental landmarks that emerge in the discourse of the young men are pointed out.

The Young Men's Constructions of Masculinity

The Definitions of Traditional Masculinity

Five topics emerged in the young men's descriptions of traditional masculinity in Turkish culture. Those topics were power/hierarchy and accompanying responsibilities, social prestige and masculine interests.

The first topic emerging in the young men's descriptions of Turkish masculinity was the issue of power and high status. The most frequently mentioned concepts were superiority, authority and dominance in relation to other men as well as women, appearing in twelve young men's talk.

Being a man means being a king in Turkey. (...) It is about superiority in Central Asian societies. (Ahmet)
Manhood is about power. (Onur)
The de facto rule is that the man is tougher, he is more dominant. (Baran)

In the reflections of those eleven young men, different aspects of the concepts of superiority and power were mentioned and were seen as influential in the lives of men in private, social and larger public domains. Those aspects ranged from physical strength and aggression to the control of women and social decision making processes. They could be compiled as;

exerting physical power (five men),

Being a man in Turkey depends on physical strength. (Rıza)

It is about being powerful. (...) When two people fight, who wins. It is like brute force. (Mehmet)

controlling the conduct of women and establishing superiority over them (five men),

It is about telling that the woman is going to stay at home. It is about imprisoning someone. (Can)

A Turkish man always wants to be superior to a woman. (Yahya)

having the right to use physical aggression as a means of exerting power (three men),

It is normal that boys beat girls from childhood on. (...) If necessary, a man may beat his younger or older sister. (Yiğit)

In my locality, beating younger siblings is accepted as normal. (Salih)

leading the community, making critical decisions and preserving his sovereignty (three men).

Being a man in Turkey means being dominant. Eventually, men rule the society. (...) Being a man in Turkey means being in control of everything.

The job of Turkish men is to make critical decisions. (Yiğit)

Men's authority and power were accompanied by being unemotional which consolidated their authoritarian masculine image. Four young men indicated that seeming unemotional and tough was one aspect of the traditional masculine man in Turkish culture.

Girls cry, boys don't cry in a relationship. A man should not express it although he loves her. (Baran)

They (men) are like people who never laugh, never cry. (Can)

In addition, three young men described the prototypic male image as somewhat hypocritical, stating one belief especially on the issue of proper behavior, yet doing

the opposite.

I am a Muslim, I do believe in it yet I drink alcohol at night. It is a paradox in itself. (...) This is the classic mind state of a Turkish man. The logic is that I know it is a sin, yet I still do it. (Ahmet)

A married man fornicates. One day later, this topic is opened in a coffeehouse or workplace, he tells that fornication is one the greatest sins. (Yahya)

Along with status and power, a host of responsibilities were attributed to traditional Turkish men, as if power and responsibility went hand in hand. Those responsibilities were seen as centered on the family, but also went beyond that. The familial roles of men were mentioned to be a vital part of their masculine identities. They could be outlined as;

assuming the provider role and earning money for the material sustenance of the family, which was described as a burden (ten men),

Working comes to my mind about masculinity, nothing more. It is about working under the conditions in Turkey. There is always the stereotype that men work and provide for his home. (Sait)

Being a man means being the one who is solely responsible for the house. (...) Particularly after doing his military service, he is a person who is burdened with sustaining the family and consumes his life to get his family, his children or himself better. (Salih)

offering protection to the women in one's family (five men),

The behavior that defines masculinity in Turkey is protectiveness. (...) The mindset is that you are under my protection. As if the woman can't survive on her own, "we are going to protect you. I can be a father, I can be a husband". (Ahmet)

A man is supposed to lay claims to his family, that is men have this feeling of protectiveness or they are brought up in this way. (...) In any case, a father or a man must protect everybody in his house. (Can)

preserving the honor of the family and elevating its social standing (three men).

A man is expected to preserve the honor of his family. He shouldn't act in a manner which dishonors his family. (Rıza)

A man is supposed to be honorable. He must be. He is responsible for protecting his family from becoming a subject of gossip. (...) You are responsible for everything about your family, your mother, your father. You are responsible for raising the name and existence of your family. (Salih)

Although men were deemed to be responsible for the material sustenance of the family, psychological care of the children and the wife were not included in the descriptions of masculinity. For three men, absence of caregiving and commitment to the children and the wife characterized the traditional masculine image.

A man never has a child. That is, a man might have one but this does not influence him. (...) Most fathers don't know at which grade their child is, whether she/he has homework or she/he is hungry. (Yiğit)

Men cheat, women don't cheat. In marriage, men can have an affair with someone else, women can't. (Baran)

The second topic emerging in the young men's definitions of Turkish masculinity was related to the theme of social prestige. Four young men touched upon the significance of appearance for having a masculine image. They indicated that to have a masculine image, a man needed

to have a strong, well-rounded body shape and a confident, threatening posture,

He is tough. (...) Overweening, stiff, self-confident. He talks tactfully. (Barış)

A man is expected to be tall and well-rounded. He is not supposed to be thin. There really is a formalistic approach in Turkey. (Rıza)

His movements are different when he walks. He ambles and swings a rosary in his hands. (Mehmet)

to avoid wearing clothes which were viewed to be feminine in one's local setting.

A man isn't interested in fashion in all reason, he shouldn't be. A man doesn't care about his apparel much, while it's currently changing. He dresses plainly. It's not welcomed if he dresses nattily. (Salih)

If you wear a colored shirt, if you wear a capri or a flip flop, these are contrary. People think that those will spoil one's swagger. (Mehmet)

The third topic appearing in the young men's reflections on Turkish masculinity was the theme of masculine interests. Religion was one domain the young men referred to in their descriptions. There seemed to be different views on the significance attributed to religion in the participants' definitions of masculinity. Religion was not construed as a defining characteristic of Turkish masculinity by six men. They indicated that religion was a significant issue for humanity in general, not for a

particular gender.

I think, the issue of religion should be important for a human being, rather than one gender. (Baran)

I can't make a gender differentiation about this issue. It can be done in every issue but I think that religion is a more general thing. It is something that both a man and a woman needs. (...) Beyond gender, we all have emotions. We sometimes want to take shelter in something. This is present both in men and women. (Barış)

On the other hand, seven young men reflected on the particular meanings of religion

for men. Their reflections revealed that religion was viewed

as a supra-ordinate category which shaped and regulated life (three men),

Religion defines, gives shape to everything. It is a concept, an organization which regulates everything. (Can)

Religion is sort of our standpoint in life. (...) That is it guides our lives. (Mehmet)

as a guide in structuring the division of labor at home (three men),

In Islam, the mother, the father and the children have different duties. They are for sharing. Everything is a measure of each other, a protector of each other. (Can)

In terms of religion, the man in Turkey, that is the father in the house, is expected to provide for and manage his family. (Yiğit)

as one feature of the men's public image (two men),

Let's suppose that a man has nothing to do, no job in the East. (...) By using religion, he tries to establish an image in people's mind. (Bekir)

Men's decisions and acts about religion are more visible. In the simplest term, men go to Friday prayer, men go to bayram prayer and such things. (...) It is more visible whether men fast in Ramadan, because women stay at home. (Yiğit)

as an obstacle to the emancipation of women in the social and public domains (two men),

Many things do not improve because of religion in this country. For instance, people's view of sexuality and male-female relations in general, women's not being in the work life, in commercial life, in scientific life. Things that are related to women don't improve because of religion. (Onur)

If you think through religion, everything is a sin for women, everything is fair for men. (Yahya)

and as a possession to be protected by men (one man).

For men, religion is something to be protected as one's standpoint in life, like they protect their family and their women. (Bekir)

Soccer was another domain of interest described to be a significant feature of masculinity in Turkish culture. Five young men mentioned that watching and playing soccer were one of the defining characteristics of Turkish masculinity.

A man knows about soccer. The characteristics of men might be watching soccer, playing soccer. (Rıza)

A real man watches soccer. (Bariş)

In addition, two young men indicated that socializing in the coffeehouses was another feature which characterized traditional masculine men.

A real man goes to the coffeehouse. (Bariş)

Change and Stability in the Traditional Definitions of Masculinity

The prototypic male image depicted above emerged in the reflections of the young men. However, it was not construed as a static, unitary image which prevailed throughout the country as a whole. Four young men pointed out that masculinity norms in the Turkish context differed according to the local geography and social context in which those definitions were shaped.

It is better to ask about being a man in particular regions of Turkey. There are many differences about the understanding of masculinity in Istanbul and my hometown (a Western small town). The one in my hometown is also different from that of southeast. (Baran)

Being a man in Turkey, but which part of Turkey? (...) Even Istanbul has four or five different faces. Turkey is different when you look at it from here, from Besiktas. It is different when you look at from my hometown. (Salih)

Those young men went on to explain how the constructions of masculinity in the Western part of Turkey such as in Istanbul differed from the traditional constructions in various parts of Anatolia. Modern definitions of masculinity in Western cities were described to be more ambiguous, providing more freedom to men in a number of

domains; which could be compiled as,

more cross-gender interactions and shared activities with girls (three men),

Male-female relations are very different there (Istanbul). It is a closer environment. It is very different in here (hometown). (...) That is, you can't talk about every issue comfortably. There is the possibility of misunderstanding. (Mehmet)

For instance, a man can easily cry when he breaks up with his girlfriend in here (Istanbul), or a woman can manipulate the relationship. (Baran)

socio-cultural activities (two men),

In the East, a man is never involved in any social activities. At most, his social activity is playing soccer. It is very different in here. (Mehmet)

body posture and appearance (one man)

In Istanbul, it is not necessary for a man to fit in with the stereotypes as much as told. Simply take putting on an earring. You can't find a man who wears an earring in any place of Anatolia, but here you can easily find one. (...) It is the same for apparel. They would say "how can a man dress like this". But you can see such things in here. (Baran)

Among other factors which altered the definitions of masculinity were;

the income level and economic development of the local setting (two men),

Men from low socio-economic status are only interested in girls. (Hakan)

the education level of the local social group (two men),

It is different in the West because of education. It is also changing in the East as the education levels rise. Among the educated in the West, there is not much difference between being a man and a woman. Eventually, both shoulder some responsibilities. Both have individual time. (...) They cooperate in making a living. (Salih)

and age of the men (one man).

There are two categories of men. The first is the men who are thirty and older, and the others are the younger ones. (Hakan)

Change versus maintenance of the traditional definitions of masculinity appeared as a conflictual theme in the young men's descriptions. While some men dismissed the traditional constructions and accepted that the masculinity ideals were going through a process of change, others pointed to the mechanisms which maintained these old

norms and indicated a willingness to preserve traditional definitions. Four young men mentioned that traditional masculinity had been transformed and they highlighted the dynamism of social change.

I am aware that Turkish structure is currently changing, yet I am making generalizations now. (Yiğit)

In a related vein, five young men demonstrated a dismissive approach toward the traditional definitions of masculinity, mentioning that they disapproved and did not conform to them.

For some reason, I have never accepted the idea that the man is the head of the household and the woman must respect men. (Mehmet)
Masculinity is power, or being the head of the house. I dislike those cliches and stereotypes. (Onur)

On the other hand, three young men's reflections on their individual experiences in the social and public world gave a hint towards understanding how the traditional definitions of masculinity were sustained and preserved. Those three men touched upon the issue of community pressure which controlled their conformity to the traditional masculine image. Those young men indicated that they were being criticized by the local male community when they acted in a contradictory way to the traditional social norms.

I believe community pressure is also influential. People are necessarily influenced by the others around while doing something. (...) If I have dominant people in my surrounding and people who internalize classic masculinity norms, I would certainly try to adapt my behaviors accordingly for not conflicting with them. (Baran)

When I tell them (people in the hometown) that I dance or I go to the theater, they tell me “why are you doing such things, are you light (meaning effeminate)?”. (Mehmet)

A minority of the young men found a middle way to deal with the change versus stability dilemma. Three men were more ambiguous in their understanding of masculinity and they indicated that the current constructions of masculinity ideally needed to incorporate both the traditional and modern definitions of the male role.

I think that some characteristics of the so-called classical masculinity model need to be sustained in the so-called modern man. I don't totally agree with the modern man. (Baran)

Among the characteristics of traditional masculinity mentioned to be preserved in the current constructions were,
the men's leading role in the family and the state (two men),

Currently I am a person who defends the idea of gender equality as a man and thinks that men should be more active in the management of the family. (...) I still hold some ideas that come from Eastern culture. A man should be in command. (Salih)

A woman should have a voice more, yet simultaneously I believe that leading the state, leading in general should be in men's power. (Can)

the men's controlling concern in opposite-sex relationships (one man).

A man should be jealous. (...) I believe if one values another, jealousy is an expression of this. (Baran)

Being a Man in the Social-Public Sphere

The young men's reflections on the concept of masculinity illuminated how those traditional constructions were subjectively experienced. The young men touched upon both the advantages and the disadvantages of growing up and living as a man. On the positive side, the current constructions of masculinity granted men freedom and comfort in public places. Six young men described being a man in Turkish culture as simple, comfortable, advantageous and free. One striking point in those young men's descriptions was that their reflections on masculinity norms elicited a comparative evaluation and they defined their individual experiences in relative terms, taking women as a reference point.

Being a man is very easy when I think about being a woman in Turkey. For one thing, you are free. You can go in and out of the home at any time you want, you can go wherever you want. Most of the time, there is no such thing like asking for permission. It is a nice thing. (...) I find it advantageous. (Onur)

I can go to wherever I want; I can leave wherever I want. No one can ask me what I am doing. No one tells me not to wear this or that. (...) You are definitely free. Women are not as free as men. It is the same for

everything, in the cultural, economic, political sphere and in the workplace. I feel comfortable. (Barış)

You live in a patriarchal culture. It is an advantageous land for men. This is a land where women stay in the background and men assume more active roles. (...) I think being a man is really comfortable. (Barış)

This comparative stance in the definitions of masculinity brought the theme of femininity to the fore. Cultural constructions of masculinity and femininity were simultaneously defined, associating manhood with freedom and comfort, and womanhood with restriction and inhibition. Among other defining features of the femininity were;

sensitivity and naivety, with a connotation of fragility (three men),

In our culture, if there is a disagreement and the other person is a woman, people can tolerate it, thinking that this is a woman, do not upset her, she can't stand being upset. But if the other person is a man, no one thinks that he is also a human being. (Onur)

Women are more naïve, more genteel, more sensitive. (Can)

and childbearing (two men).

For women, it is important to give birth to a child, to have a child. (Barış)

We don't know about woman's pregnancy. Surely, circumcision and pregnancy can't be compared. (...) Pregnancy lasts nine months. Women take care of its product for a lifetime at the end of nine months. (Sait)

On the negative side, being a man was described to be a burden by four young men, who felt under pressure due to the abundance of dos and don'ts for men's conduct, and the responsibility of taking initiative.

There are many dos and don'ts for men. (Baran)

If you are a man, you always have to do something. If you are a man in Turkey, you are the active side. (Yahya)

In fact, being a man is a really oppressive condition. (Rıza)

Transitional Experiences in the Development of Men

The young men indicated a number of developmental landmarks which helped them to gain maturity and to pass through different stages of life. The socially determined life script for men was mentioned by two young men, who compiled those

experiences which facilitated men's passage into adult masculinity.

It is circumcision, adolescence period, and then comes military service, and then marriage. (Salih)

It occurs to men that I should do military service. I should find a job. I should get married. (Mehmet)

Below, each transitional experience was explored in more detail.

Circumcision

Circumcision had different meanings in the lives of the young men. Five young men indicated that circumcision was a significant experience which had a transformative function for their development.

There is circumcision in the case of boys. Through circumcision, one passes from one thing to another, one phase to another. People treat you with more care, concern and excitement because it is the first specific landmark in one's life. (Baran)

It is like a special day. I think, a boy's circumcision is more important than his birthday. (Yahya)

I wore the ceremonial dress for circumcision and I wandered around everywhere. At that time, it was like a wedding suit to me. (Ahmet)

The transformative function of the circumcision process was illuminated by two young men's reflections on their personal experiences. The alteration was seen in those young men's behaviors following the circumcision process, which could be outlined as,

the intolerance for the presence of women and the rejection of their concern,

Circumcision was nice, funny. Sometimes it made me mad, particularly the presence of women. (...) There were women in my room. (...) I told them that "I am circumcised, what are you doing here?". I shouted at the women in the house. (Can)

and the rejection of a feminine appearance.

A skirt was put on after circumcision. I remember not wearing it. (...) Because you have wild blood, you should not wear a skirt. (Ahmet)

On the other hand, three men did not reflect on their circumcision while for five young men it was not a transforming experience. Those young men indicated that the

circumcision was an ordinary event which was exaggerated in the social world.

It seems to me that circumcision is extravagant. It is a religious obligation.
It doesn't need to be exaggerated like this. (Sait)
It is a normal thing. It doesn't have any extras. (Yiğit)

The young men's feelings regarding their circumcision differed along a positivity-negativity dimension. Six young men had a positive attitude about the circumcision and mentioned pleasant feelings;

It was really a nice feeling. (...) This period of one or two weeks makes one really happy. People come and visit you, congratulate you. (Baran)
I received presents from the people around for the first time. I even bought a bicycle with this money. That is, it was very nice. (Mehmet)

and enthusiasm about it (two men).

I didn't experience circumcision in my life. I don't remember anything because I was circumcised at a very early age. (...) My sibling was circumcised at the age of seven or eight. I was jealous of him in that matter. (Salih)

Among more negative feelings mentioned in the young men's reflections on their circumcision experience were;

fear (five men),

I was very scared in my circumcision. I remember it very clearly. I wished they anesthetized me, so that I didn't feel anything. (Baran)
I knew that something bloody would happen at least. I cried a lot. (Hakan)

pain (four men),

Circumcision was a very painful experience. (Onur)
In circumcision, I was in a lot of pain. (Rıza)

and embarrassment (two men).

I really didn't like circumcision, trumpets and such. I felt embarrassed. (Hakan)

The worst part of this experience was the photos of the circumcision. I visited almost all family, my maternal and paternal uncles with my nephews and tried to destroy those photos. I asked them "why did you take these photos, what are you trying to do?". (Mehmet)

Circumcision was described as a social and cultural phenomenon by some young

men. The presence and gathering of relatives and family members were mentioned by five young men,

It was a context in which family elders, my grandfather or other relatives gathered all together. It appeared like a council to me in the shape of a ceremony. (Salih)

All the family was around. I have eight paternal uncles. Five or six of them were beside me. (Sait)

while three men touched upon the social-communal rituals around circumcision in their descriptions.

There is a bad custom in the circumcision that the boys who will be circumcised and their groomsmen smoke a cigarette. There are groomsmen in our hometown. (...) the friends of the circumcised boy. (...) Shirts are given to them. (...) Some people give them money. (Baran)
The boy who will be circumcised is not going to go out, he is going to stay at home for one week. People show him around by car within a convoy. (Mehmet)

Three young men indicated that their mothers were more active in organizing and managing social and communal relations taking place in circumcision, while the father was in the background.

I remember that my mother was very excited; she sat at the bedside and watched the gifts given to me. (...) My father would find it absurd. (Ahmet)

My mother made most of the preparation for circumcision. (...) I don't know if it had a particular meaning for my father. I suppose it did. (Baran)

Military Service

Military service was not viewed as a significant transitional experience by a majority of the young men (nine men). They had a negative view of military service in their lives. Six young men among them described it as a pointless, redundant phenomenon, which turned into a burden and an obstacle for personal development.

I think it turns out to be a burden in the lives of men. It causes mental fatigue in the family. (Yahya)

I am young and efficient. The state is going to take me for the military service for twelve months maybe all for nothing. (...) I think it is going to seriously interrupt my life. Yet, it is an obstacle at every turn. (Yiğit)

Two young men indicated that the strictness and arbitrariness of the hierarchical relations in military service were one explanation for their negative attitudes.

I am going to receive orders from a person of lower status than me. This makes me very uncomfortable. As I have told you, I am a very ambitious person. I can't tolerate that someone who has a lower status than me in terms of being cultured and knowledgeable is going to give me orders. (Onur)

Changing attitudes toward military service came to the fore in three young men's talk. They indicated that they began to view military service more negatively, which was construed as an idealized phenomenon in their adolescence and childhood.

I love my country but from my point of view children of this country are killing each other and I oppose it. That is why I am alienated from the military service that I definitely wanted to do in the high school. (Ahmet)
Military service does not mean much to me. I will do it at the age of twenty eight or thirty. It had a different meaning when I was a child. I had a more masculine image in my mind about military service. I don't have such an image about military service now. (Bekir)

On the other hand, for two young men military service connoted a typical transformative experience in men's life.

Military service is an important thing in each man's life. When you talk to a thirty year old man, he definitely spends one hour to talk about military service, telling that "we did this, we did that and such". I think if I do it, it is certainly going to be because of these memories. (Ahmet)

In a similar vein, three young men viewed military service as a constructive and meaningful experience. Those young men defined it as a formative process, which was explained by

the commitment to the homeland and the preservation of its autonomy,

Turkey, my country needs to be strong in all terms, both internally and externally, for me to worship and to live as I want. Whether I became a police soldier or a special ammunition officer, I must do my duty best and protect my people, my nation best whatever their race or language is. (Can)

adaptation to the strict disciplinary system in military service.

I think military service will have significant meaning for someone like me

in terms of discipline. I am a lazy person. I postpone everything. It might bring some regularity to my life. From this point it might do good to me. (Mehmet)

Other Transitional Experiences

There were a number of other transformative experiences generated by the young men. They could be outlined as;

the passage to the adolescence period, which connoted a change in the young men's views of themselves and of girls (five men),

The beginnings of male-female relations are considered as a crossroad among men. Adolescence period is in fact a milestone. (Sait)

Adolescence period directly comes to my mind, the times that I reached adolescence. (...) I think you realize that you are a different person from then on. Maybe you begin to feel more self-confident. (...) You begin to see girls from a different perspective. (Rıza)

the beginnings of dating relations with girls (five men),

Each male-female relation experienced in adolescence period is a milestone for men. (...) Because he has a new experience with every person he meets. He has an emotional experience. He makes deductions from this experience. It is really a revolution for men. (Sait)

If we think that one is in Turkey, generally a boy's asking for a date for the first time, his being rejected or embraced, his first date is very important. (Yiğit)

the first sexual experience, which granted a sense of power and control to men (three men),

First sexual experience is a crossroad for a man like military service, like circumcision. (...) You are circumcised; you take one step towards masculinity. You do military service, you take another step. And, you have sexual intercourse; you have completed your masculinity. (Barış)

There are routines in the society, that is the first sexual experience. It is not unforgettable, you forget it but your experience there elicits a desire to experience new things in you. (Yahya)

the first work experience and earning money (three men), which meant economic independence, individual decision making and separation from the family;

Graduating from the university and getting into a job. (...) Economic independence. It lets you free from the obligation to depend on your family, you feel more confident. (Mehmet)

The first day you earn money could be important. Because you gain your freedom. I suppose you are freer from your family. You can decide by yourself. (Rıza)

marriage and being a father (three men).

Marriage, commitment, love, these are very important to me. (...) For most of the men, marriage is not a pleasant process. But for me, it is. (Onur)

I think being a father. When I put myself into my father's shoes, I think it is a very hard duty. Maybe it is harder than military service. Because, the child is going to be your product. (Can)

The Construction of the Masculine Self

This section presents the results regarding the young men's reflections on their selves. The first part explores how and with which characteristics the young men introduce themselves and examines their attempts at self-improvement. The following part dwells on the young men's views of their selves. The last part focuses on the interview process and examines how the young men tell their narratives.

The Young Men's Descriptions of the Self

When the young men were asked to briefly introduce themselves and their lives, three response patterns emerged. The first pattern was the frequent use of a chronological time line in their descriptions. Twelve young men gave brief narratives of their lives within a chronologically sequenced time frame and outlined their life experiences from the birth on, except one man who introduced his current life rather than presenting an outline of his previous experiences.

I was born in (an Eastern city) in 1986. I went to the xxx elementary school. I went to the xxx specialized high school. Later, I got into the law faculty in xxx University. I studied there for two years after the student selection examination. (Bekir)

I was born in (a Western city) in 1984. I have lived there for all my life. I have two sisters. My parents are still alive. I graduated from the xxx Anatolian high school in 2003. I got into xxx University. (...) It was not the university that I wanted to get into. Because of this, I prepared for the student election examination again in 2004. I got into Bogazici University. (Yiğit)

The second pattern was the young men's giving reference to their family environments when presenting a brief sketch of their lives and their selves. Ten young men included their family members into their self-descriptions, while three of them did not.

I have three siblings. Two of them study at the university in (a Western city). One of them goes to elementary school. My father is a craftsman. My mother is a housewife. (Ahmet)

I have grown up in a normal, middle-class family. My father is a worker, my mother is a housewife. I have two older brothers. It is a normal, nuclear family. (Yahya)

In parallel with the salience of the family members in those young men's self-descriptions, seven men demonstrated an immediate reaction of surprise and they faltered only when asked to give a brief description of themselves. On the other hand, six men did not hesitate to give self-descriptions.

Are you talking about my personal characteristics? (Salih)

The emphasis on academic background was the third pattern, which emerged in six young men's self-descriptions as a more individualized feature.

I studied in a high school in the district that I lived. (...) Before that, there was a middle school in the same district. I studied there. (...) My academic status at school was generally high. (My grade point average was) 4,92 in middle school, 5,0 in high school. (Sait)

In elementary school, I was the most successful student in my class. (...) I began to think about the future, about professions and jobs (after 8th grade). Later, I got into a high school for teachers in (an Eastern city). (Mehmet)

Relational characteristics seemed to be relatively more prominent than individualistic traits in the young men's self-descriptions. Seven young men reflected on their social relations when asked to briefly define who they were, implying that the relational experiences were interwoven into their self-experience. In those seven young men's reflections, the dimension of introversion-extraversion appeared to be salient. Four young men described

themselves as being introverted and devoid of social contact, viewed as a negative self-attribute;

I am not a very talkative person. In general, I like to listen in group settings I have been. I like to observe people. (Sait)

I am an introverted person. (Bekir)

I am a person who wants to communicate but I can't do it. (Salih)

On the other hand, three young men highlighted their sociability either in the form of having an expanded social network or socializing frequently with particular friends, which was deemed to be a positive trait.

I have an expanded social network in here. (...) In terms of my personality features, I talk a lot. I am known as a friendly person. (Ahmet)

I am a selective person. I don't establish friendships with everyone. I certainly examine the people that I have taken into my life in detail.

(Barış)

In four young men's self-descriptions, being irritable and hot tempered were mentioned as another relational attribute. For two men, being irritable was viewed as a negative attribute,

Sometimes, I get very angry with no reason. I give unnecessary reactions to people. (Bekir)

The characteristic that I don't like about myself is nervousness. I am a little short tempered. (Yiğit)

while for the other two men it was an ordinary feature of their selves.

I may get mad all of a sudden although I am cheerful. (Barış)

I easily get angry. (Ahmet)

Emotionality was a negative relational self-attribute used by four men in their descriptions. The word emotionality in their reflections included elements of impulsivity and dysregulation.

I sometimes give very emotional reactions. This is one characteristic of mine that I dislike. (Ahmet)

I am very emotional, I don't like it. (...) When something makes me emotional, I either become very upset or I become very happy. I think none of them are good. (Onur)

The young men also made use of more individualistic traits in introducing their selves. Being ambitious was included as a pleasing self-attribute in four men's descriptions.

The most definitive characteristic of mine is my being very ambitious.
(Onur)
I have ambition, I like this. (Salih)

In a similar vein, three young men mentioned setting high expectations for themselves and having perfectionist tendencies, which implied all-or-none thinking.

I am perfectionist although not excessively. (...) When I do something, I want to do my best, or if somebody else does something for me, I want him/her to do it as I requested. I want him/her to pay attention. I also pay a lot of attention to the things I do. (Onur)
If I do something, I think that either it should be the best, or it should never happen. (...) If a course goes bad at the beginning, I drop it. I think that I can take the course again and get a better grade. (Mehmet)
It is all or nothing for me. (Barış)

Six young men included indolence and laziness in their self-descriptions, viewing it as a negative individualistic trait.

I am a little lazy. I sometimes postpone things that I must do. (Bekir)
I am lazy in terms of studying. (Onur)
I am indolent. (Barış)

In eight young men's talk, there was an emphasis on self-improvement and a search for opportunities to expand their experience. On the other hand, five young men did not emphasize the issue of self-development in their reflections.

I feel like an ocean. I think of people as oceans. Because we have no end. (...) That is why, every day I examine how and in what terms I can make a contribution to myself. Even now, my talking to you is a great benefit to me. (Yahya)

The young men mentioned making use of several strategies for improving their selves. The evaluation and comparison of one's prior and current conduct in life were one strategy indicated by three men to enhance their personal development.

I examine how much I developed, how much I succeeded from past to present. (...) I am generally critical of myself. (Baran)

I want to calculate what I have done right and what I have done wrong. I examine myself from time to time, once a week or a month. (...) I close my eyes, I ask myself what I am, where I am, what I am doing, what is my aim. (Yahya)

Four young men emphasized the significance of pursuing and committing to the following individualized activities as other strategies to expand their selves; having a subjectively and socially meaningful job (one man),

Every morning that I wake up, I want to have an answer to the question of why I am working for. It should be something that is beneficial for others as well, not just me. (Rıza)

being involved in intellectual and academic work (one man),

For instance you read. In fact, the thing that you read is something abstract. Because it satisfies you. (...) Every word or every sentence you read or a sentence that different people wrote there might make a contribution to your life. (Yahya)

pursuing one's interests (one man),

I am interested in the photo club. I am not a member yet. There is the dance club that I want to join. (Mehmet)

and reading books on personal-development (one man).

I read several self-help books. I plan to continue reading. (Sait)

The Young Men's Self-Image

The young men were grouped into two in terms of their self-evaluations. Nine young men mentioned that they were content with who they were, viewing themselves in a positive light.

I feel satisfied with myself. (Ahmet)
I have many characteristics that I like. Which one I can begin with?.
(Can)

Among those young men who had a positive self-image; a sense of agency, competence and firmness was found in four men's talk, implying their resilience in their current functioning.

Be it my academic life, be it social relations in my daily life, when I can't obtain the result that I expected, I think about why it didn't go well, what did I do incompletely, what can I do more, how can I get a more successful result rather than thinking that I failed again, I can't do this, I'm not capable of doing this. (Baran)

If you endure, you get what you want. (...) I never think pessimistically such as saying "it is not going to happen, it is not going to finish in time, I can't do it" and so forth. (...) The things that I want generally happens. (Yigit)

When I fail, I tell myself that I need to infer something positive from this failure and think that "I need to be at this point now, I need to live through it", rather than being a loser. I think that maybe this moment will make a great contribution to my life. (Yahya)

On the other hand, four young men were more displeased with themselves, having a negative self-image.

I am not super. I don't have an extreme quality that I go the full distance or that I make it right. (Hakan)

Among those four young men who hold a negative self-image, two men had contradictory statements in their self-descriptions, defining a lack of social contact while claiming to be a good conversationalist.

I don't have dialogues with any people here. I am an introverted person. (...) I can communicate well with people; I can make very good conversations. (Bekir)

The Young Men in the Interview Process

In this part, the young men's emotional reactions to the interview context and the attitudes they took towards the interviewer are explored. The young men were grouped into two regarding their level of comfort with sharing their personal experiences in the interview, conducted by a female interviewer. Seven young men seemed to be relaxed from the beginning of the interview and cooperated with the interviewer. Those young men's attitudes and behaviors during the interview had the following characteristics;

- showing enjoyment in reflecting on their personal experiences and disclosing them to the interviewer,

- being lively and talkative, and showing a willingness to share,
- giving reference to and communicating with the person of the interviewer.

By the way, I call by your first name. Is that a problem for you? (Barış)
 It is not viewed necessary for a girl to have education. This structure has been recently changing. For instance, you (pointing at the interviewer).
 (Yiğit)

The other group of young men was more uncomfortable with the interview process.

Three young men seemed to relax after gradually getting used to the interview context. On the other hand, two young men seemed to be tense during the whole interview, showing no signs of relaxation and they were reluctant to talk on their experiences. Two salient characteristics of those five young men's behaviors in the interview context were;

- showing an unwillingness to talk and having a hesitant, timid attitude,
- having an introverted, depressive look.

Those two groups of young men also diverged in terms of the emotional impact they made on the interviewer. The interviews with the first group was enjoyable and comfortable to conduct. Those young men readily engaged with the interviewer and took an extraverted attitude, which helped the interview process assume a conversation-like quality. However, the second group seemed anxious and had difficulty in engaging with the interviewer. Their use of a more depressive tone of voice, their seeming sad and fragile, particularly about being on the campus and living at the university, had a depressing, saddening influence on the interviewer.

Thus, the young men showed two patterns of reactions to being interviewed by a female. While one group was relaxed, cooperative and talkative, engaging in a reciprocal process of interaction with the interviewer; the other group was observed to be timid, introverted and reluctant, presenting a more depressive picture of their current lives.

CHAPTER IV: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study investigates the formation and functioning of the masculine self among a sample of Turkish undergraduates and aims to delineate the formative impact of family relations and cultural discourses of masculinity in its configuration. This section is divided into three parts, each examining early and current functioning of the young men in familial, social/cultural and personal surroundings. Several important socio-cultural dimensions emerge as exerting a widespread influence on the young men's lives in these three domains, and making a differentiation regarding their patterns of development as masculine subjects. These socio-cultural factors include the distinctions between urban-rural locations and Western-Eastern regions. Thus, growing up as a man in a village, a small town, an urban city or a metropolitan centre situated in the Western or the Eastern part of Turkey makes an important difference on the subjective meaning of being a man. The present sample includes villages and small towns located both in the East and the West, yet they have a large number of similarities and form the common category of “the rural”. On the other hand, all urban and metropolitan locations of this sample are situated in the Western regions. The formative impact of these regional and local differences on the developing male subject will be elaborated on further with their particular relevance to the familial, social and personal spheres.

The Familial Sphere: Parents, Siblings, Extended Family

Developing male identities within the Turkish family system which embodies culturally prescribed gender-power relations constitute one sphere of inquiry in the present research. In this section, this issue of parent-son relations will be discussed along the lines of (Eastern/Western) rural-(Western) urban distinctions. Next, the theme of relations with siblings and relatives in a developing young man's life will be

taken up, which shows no regional or local difference.

Parent Relations

The quality of parental relations in the development of masculine identities differs significantly with regional and local variations. The rural-urban distinction is involved in the regulation of parent-son relations through the mediation of the following demographic, psychological and sociological variables: the level of parental education, the quality of relationship in parental couple, and the extent of adherence to traditional male/father and female/mother sex-roles. Variations in those variables lead to the emergence of two patterns regarding parent-son relations in urban and rural settings, explained further below. One note of caution here is that those patterns should not be viewed as mutually exclusive categories but as a bundle of common characteristics coming together predominantly in rural or urban locations.

The first pattern prevails in the families residing in Western/Eastern rural areas. Within a typical rural family, the son is born to a mother who is either illiterate or has only elementary school education, has little contact with the public world and spends most of her time in the privacy of her home. The father, on the other hand, receives a relatively higher level of education and works to provide for his family in the public domain. Thus, the mother-father couple is characterized as following the traditional Turkish division of labor, that is the mother-as-the-caretaker and the father-as-the-authoritarian provider model, with limited overt affection and the supremacy of male authority in their marital relation (Fişek, 1982; Sunar & Fişek, 2005). This arrangement is structurally akin to the psychoanalytic conceptions of motherhood as limitless care and fatherhood as prohibition and limit setting (Frosh, 2002), and also to foster a structure where the feminine (the maternal) comes to

represent inner private reality, while the masculine (the paternal) is equated with outer presentation in public (Chodorow, 1999).

Within such an arrangement, mother-son and father-son relations are shaped accordingly. Both early and recent accounts demonstrate that the mother is the major secure attachment figure who provides children with care, affection, warmth and emotional engagement while the father is characterized by hierarchical superiority, distance, formality and limited affection (Akhondzadeh, 2002; Fişek, 2002; Halfon, 2006; Seçkin, 1996; Sunar, 2002). Consistent with the findings indicating mother-child intimacy and father-child distance, the mother seems to function as a loving caretaker for the son while the father is perceived to be a distant, aloof parental figure for the rural young men in the present research.

This relational pattern in rural mother-son and father-son dyads is also evident in the maternal and paternal representations. The rural young men described the mother mostly with positive relational characteristics which emphasized her intimate, affectionate involvement with her family and children, consistent with Sefer's (2006) findings indicating that the mother is more likely to be known by her positive attributes in the relational domain. The relatively negative relational trait of unsociability was also added to the depictions of the mother at times. In a similar vein, the father was perceived to be a distant, formal figure and was represented by the negative relational characteristics of authoritativeness and irritability by those young men.

The concept of symbiosis-reciprocity, introduced by Roland (1988), can be put into use to illuminate the intense early attachment in the mother-son dyads. The term symbiosis-reciprocity connotes a highly affectionate relationship which involves mutual emotional engagement, strong nonverbal communication and

permeability of ego boundaries (Roland, 1988, 2005). Consistent with this conceptualization; a majority of the young men in the present study mentioned their sense of intimate attachment to the mother, at times explained by an essentialist discourse which associated motherhood with care and affection. They indicated that there was a great deal of mutual, personal communication with and self-disclosure to the mother, both through non-verbal and verbal channels.

The term structural hierarchy, also put forward by Roland (1988, 2005), proves to be useful as a conceptual tool to grasp the quality of father-son relationship. By structural hierarchy, Roland (1988) refers to the superior position granted to males, generally the father accepted as the head of the household in the case of nuclear families. Situated at the top of the family hierarchy, the father turns out to be an authority figure for the child, expecting loyalty and respect (Roland, 1988) and consolidating his superiority by maintaining a relational distance from his children (Fişek, 1982, 1995), particularly from his son relative to his daughter, as evidenced by research reporting father-daughter intimacy (Sunar, 2002).

The father's distant attitude might indicate a concern with preserving his dominant position in the family and in relation to his son. Or, he might regard getting intimate with children as "the women's job". Regardless of the reason, paternal distance complicates the development of intimacy in father-son dyads. Consistent with Roland's formulation and recent reports documenting distant, emotionally detached father-son relations (Sancar, 2009), the perception of the father as a stiff, indifferent, aloof, unpredictable figure fosters feelings of fear, anxiety, detachment in the son and lays the basis of an insecure paternal attachment. The young men explained their feelings of insecurity and detachment in the paternal relationship as being fostered by the father's hierarchical distance and his nonresponsive attitude

and, reported that this led to avoidance of self-disclosure to him or resorting to sharing intellectual topics with him, practices which sustained and widened the distance between them up until late adolescence.

The term structural hierarchy also entails concomitant responsibilities, that is the superior is expected to provide concern, nurturance and support to the subordinates, namely the father and the son in the present case (Roland, 1988). The current findings demonstrate that the father's care and concern is mostly defined with two terms within those rural families, which are the provision of material support and protection. This finding is in line with Fişek's (1995) report that intimacy is instrumental in father-son relationship. The father's material support as an act of nurturance is expectable, since the father plays the role of the provider in his family and has difficulty in openly showing affection to his son, as explained below.

What happens when the father falls short of fulfilling his socially endorsed responsibility to provide nurturance for his subordinates? On the part of the son, the result is deep feelings of resentment, hurt and considerable nonverbalized anger towards the father on the one hand, and a longing for his support and appreciation on the other. The rural young men in the present research, particularly those who held a negative paternal image and described the father with indifference, mentioned the lack of paternal guidance and their feelings of rejection. This is in line with Roland's descriptions of Eastern father-son relations as well as Seçkin's (1996) assertions that fathers are perceived as not being available to their sons through their development in her Turkish sample. The father's lack of recognition, his critical and contemptuous stance, his lack of understanding and his blaming attitude also came to the fore in discussions on paternal relationship.

The second pattern, with relatively few exemplars, shows up in Western cities

and metropolitan areas, having both continuities and discontinuities with the traditional pattern. For one thing, the mother as the housekeeper and the father as the provider model is sustained in those families. However, differently from the first pattern, the typical mother and the father in those families are likely to have a higher level of education and to come into contact with the cosmopolitan structure of the city environment more frequently than their rural counterparts. The roles of the father and the mother in childrearing and in their marital relationship are altered accordingly. As a parental couple, they have relatively non-traditional characteristics, as evident in their showing affection and love towards each other and the father's involvement in childcare. Within those families, the mother acts as a “control mechanism” and boundary maker for the son while the father provides a comforting relational presence, indicating a modification in the complementary functions of the traditional parent-son relations, and accentuating that limit setting and caregiving are not necessarily tied to a gender as depicted in Western psychoanalytic literature (Frosh, 2002).

In Western urban families, mother-son relations are characterized by positive exchanges, although not remarkable as in the case of rural families. Decreased emphasis found in involved, permeable exchanges with the mother differently from the rural pattern might be related to her taking on a more controlling and monitoring function for her son. Since urban mothers are likely to get a higher level of education, one might speculate that they see themselves qualified to monitor their son, particularly in his academic activities. Confirming this, the mother as a dominant, controlling, rigid figure appeared in the descriptions of the Western urban young men coupled with a perfectionist, assertive stance, which is in line with the evidence demonstrating the mother's frequent use of rigid, authoritative parenting

practices with her son (Pehlivanoglu, 1998).

In a similar vein, the theme of structural hierarchy seems not to be an important consideration in the Western pattern. In this pattern, the young men described the father as sensitive, affectionate, permissive, involved and understanding rather than using terms like distance, hierarchy, indifference. Individualistic themes like the father's viewpoints or his domains of interest were also added to this relational picture. The typical Western-urban father expresses his concern in two terms; offering material support to his son like the rural father and acting as a secure channel of contact with the public world for his son. This is in line with the evidence reporting that the father assumes a more active role in reinforcing his son's autonomous functioning (Sunar, 2002) and in assisting him to discover different facets of life (Pehlivanoglu, 1998), relative to his daughter. Within this pattern, the son seems to be securely attached to his father and feels comfortable with disclosing personal problems to him.

The concept of qualitative mode of hierarchy (Roland, 1988) illuminates one dimension of the father-son relationship in this pattern, in which feelings of idealization and admiration for the father come to the fore. Qualitative mode of hierarchy refers to a hierarchical relationship in which feelings of affection, empathic concern, attachment and admiration are enjoyed between the subordinate and the superordinate (Roland, 1988). The feature most frequently mentioned by those young men who had an idealized representation of the father was his commitment to home and family. This perception of the father as a responsible, committed provider gives a hint of how cultural definitions of masculinity can shape the quality of the father-son relationship.

The configuration of hierarchy in parent-son relations seems to be

transformed within those families. In this pattern, the oldest son or one and only son feels that he is taken as an assistant to his parents in handling intrafamilial responsibilities and is positioned in a hierarchically proximate place to his father in particular. Those nurturant fathers were experienced as seeking their son's participation in monitoring the siblings, in providing financial and psychological assistance for their education and in undertaking domestic work at home. In a similar vein, the mother was perceived as asking the son for his support in taking care of and guiding the younger ones. This finding is in line with the reports which reveal parental expectations, organized around caring for the younger ones (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982).

Two points are of particular relevance in Western urban families. For one thing, a difference in fathering practices is notable, with the father's higher flexibility in his fathering role and his getting involved in childcare. Secondly, individualistic themes are incorporated into the relational depictions of parental relations, the reasons of which are not explored in the present study. Yet, one can speculate that the mother and the father are exposed to a multiplicity of ways of being a female/a male by having a higher level of education and having the opportunity to follow their personal interests in urban contexts which both enhance their flexibility, with the dissolution of communal, closely knit relations and with the increasing prominence of individualistic currents in metropolitans (Sunar & Fişek, 2005). The different social processes in urban and rural settings and their diffuse impact on parent-son relations require a deeper level of exploration. As the present data indicate, differences in the conceptions of fatherhood or the parental representations in urban and rural contexts might be a good starting point.

Up to this point, two patterns of parental relations are documented, which are

differentiated on the basis of Western-Eastern and urban-rural differences. However, points of convergences are also found among them regarding the dynamics of parent-son relations and their developmental course, outlined in the remaining part of this section.

One such commonality has to do with the explanatory style of the participants. In the face of relational difficulties with the parents, the young men use contextual references, citing social practices and norms. This point is exemplified by the use of a discourse of “typical Anatolian woman” to describe the mother's relative unfamiliarity with the public world or her inflexible, controlling attitude. Both qualities turn into obstacles in the formation of an intimate maternal relationship in a number of cases, given the fact that the young men in the present research have outstanding academic achievement and contact with the city environment. In the case of the paternal relationship, the socio-cultural context and its regulations are put into use to account for perceived limitations in the father's overt intimacy and affection. The young men reasoned that the father avoided expressing affection to his son because of the cultural assumptions equating masculinity with unemotionality.

Besides contextual explanations, the young men also develop an empathic reaction in the face of relational problems with parents. To account for the deficiencies they perceived in parental relations, the young men tried to take the perspective of their parents and to understand the reasons and motivations behind their behaviors. An occasional example has to do with references to the parents' growth in their families of origin to trace the roots of their particular traits. Sancar (2009) also reports that the son begins to focus on hurtful experiences his father went through in his life, and tries to forgive and justify his father's attitudes and behaviors. However, she claims that this process of reckoning is initiated by the men's passage

into middle age. The present data document that this perspective taking extends into earlier periods for a man striving to come to terms with his father and his mother in his internal world.

The issue of negotiation between the parental expectations and the son's personal wishes and experiences is another sphere of family dynamics, showing superficial regional/local differences although having the same underlying framework. The mother and the father seem to be perceived as viewing their son as an extension of themselves, as a support and as a representation, which fits in well with the concept of we-self, introduced by Roland (1988). We-self refers to the relative diffuseness of the boundaries between the internal images of “we” and “ours” and underpins the feeling of “we-ness” coloring all experience. An interrelated aspect of the term is we-self regard which connotes that an individual derives his inner sense of self-esteem from the reputation of his family in large part. Those terms point at the centrality of the relational, familial, communal configurations in the organization of inner dynamics and the strong sense of identification with one's group. Thus, all members of the family depend on each other's actions for fostering a feeling of inner esteem.

Academic achievement and a promising work-career are found to be prominent parental expectations, as documented in prior research (Seçkin, 1996). Although rural parents are likely to prioritize work-related accomplishments while their urban counterparts emphasize the son's academic achievement, the underlying motive is common. That is, through his success, the son enhances their parents' self-esteem and their feelings of pride, particularly the mother as in the case of Japanese mothers (Roland, 1988), he turns into a dependable figure for providing financial support to his family, especially to his father and he becomes a source of nurturance

and old age security in the case of mothers, as evidenced by prior research (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Seçkin, 1996; Sunar, 2002).

Moral-proper demeanor of the son is another parental expectation, strongly shaped by the interconnectedness of the son's actions with his family's social standing. The son, as a representative and an extension of his family as explained by Roland's concept of we-self, senses the expectations to behave properly in the public domain and to be acknowledged as a model in his social networks. However, the mother and the father seem to have differences in focus. While the mother is described as a figure who teaches and monitors her son about moral-religious issues, implying an interest in her son's *internalization of moral standards*; the father is more concerned with his son's appearance and behavior *in the public domain*.

Thus, the son is faced with parental expectations regarding his functioning in the private and public domains of his life. His reaction to these demands, serving as pivotal sources of self-esteem for the parents, are regulated by a relational superego and a socially contextual ego ideal (Fişek, 2002; Roland, 1988). The relational and contextual emphasis on the formation of these superego structures fosters an other-orientation. That is, the individual is concerned with how his actions are viewed by others and what the end result of his actions for his own we-self regard and that of others might be. In the present case, the operation of a relational superego is evident in that the son feels compelled to comply with the parents' wishes and to conceal his actual reality which may conflict with his parents' demands, out of a motivation of not letting them down. Dayı (1997) also mentions the empathic capacities of children and parents, and a preoccupation with not offending the other.

Guilt feelings over upsetting the parents or concerns over eliciting overemotional reactions, particularly from the mother, indicates that supporting the

parents' self-esteem by fulfilling their expectations is a strongly internalized motivation on the part of the son. This is in line with previous research (Akhondzadeh, 2002) as well as Roland's (1988) assertion that "maternal expectations are highly internalized, with deep feelings of gratitude and obligation to mother...with profound feelings of guilt and shame when not fulfilling maternal values" (p.85). Personal issues, decisions and thoughts which conflict with parental expectations (e.g. failing at or dropping out of the university) are hard to express. A similar process seems to be going on in the paternal relationship. Taken to its extremes in a few cases, the efforts to conceal problematic issues which are in conflict with the parental demands turn into pretense, producing superficiality especially in the maternal relationship.

The onset of adolescence corresponds to external life events which initiate a new process of negotiation in parent-son relations. All the young men in the present research, due to their special academic position, either left home or began to follow their own pursuits in adolescence. With the unfolding of such a process of separation from home in physical terms, the mother-son and father-son relationships are altered, showing no regional or local differences as far as explored. It has been suggested that the maternal bond weakens after the separation-individuation process, particularly in adolescence (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). The present research indicates that it is not necessarily so. In this period, the maternal relationship is disrupted especially for two groups of young men, but not all. The first group is those rural young men who have to leave home for education and who describe their mother as excessively caring and emotional. The second group is composed of those urban men who have an independent orientation and depict their mothers as dominant and controlling. Thus, the conflicts with the mother, when they are noticeable, emerge at a particular

interface between an external life event or a developmental need which are the son's leaving home for academic work or his attempting to incorporate individualistic currents to his self respectively, and the mother's reactions of becoming more emotional or controlling. In time, those conflicts are resolved in the maternal relationship turning towards the enjoyment of closeness with her.

The paternal relationship follows a different course, experienced as improving by some. The father is described to be more cognizant and tolerant of his son's individual conduct in adolescence. In part, this is achieved by life circumstances such as leaving home for a boarding school, which lead the son to rely on his own judgment and force him toward increasing maturity. Additionally, the father's aging and concurrent life events (e.g. health problems, retirement) are effectual. The change in the father's attitude might be explained by the claim that his concerns over occupying the hierarchically superior position are reduced in old age. This change might also reflect the father's desire to orient his son to the responsibilities of being an adult male and to transfer his duties to him.

Toward late adolescence, a balance seems to be attained in parent-son relations. Some young men improved in their practice of self-disclosure to their parents. With increased age, freedom from feelings of discomfort is attained along with an enrichment of topics to be shared in the maternal relationship. In the case of fathers, the son feels recognized and begins to interact more with his father. However, the results reported here addressing the changes in parent-son relations in adolescence need to be taken as preliminary. A more detailed exploration of the intricacies of mother-son and father-son relations in adolescence, and their impact on developing masculinities is warranted for conclusive results.

Sibling Relations

Birth order seems to make a great deal of difference in the experiences of growing up as a man and of consolidating a sense of masculinity in one's family. Structural hierarchy (Roland, 1988, 2005) comes to fore once again as a useful concept to thoroughly explore the issue of sibling relations and their impact on developing masculinities. The present results reveal that the young men's sibling relations are regulated by the notions of age and gender hierarchy. That is, the oldest brother is structurally granted the highest position among siblings, and being respected by the younger ones, he establishes a formal relationship with them. In a similar vein, the young men who have older brothers are positioned in the lower ranks of the family hierarchy, engendering feelings of inferiority in them which get transformed into ambitiousness as a self-trait.

As mentioned before, hierarchical superiority brings along the responsibility to provide support and nurturance to the subordinates (Roland, 1988), which burdened the young men in a few cases. Being the older brother means that one is supposed to act as a mentor, a socially appropriate role model, a protector and a controller for his younger siblings. Concordantly for the young ones, the older brother is an available figure, serving as an academically successful model of identification and as a contact channel with the social/public world.

In the case of sisters, a different relational pattern emerges characterized by a more intimate, emotional involvement, confirming early research findings on brother-sister closeness (Fallers & Fallers, 1976). The older sister, functioning as a caretaker, might compensate for an insecure maternal relationship. The young men who did not emphasize warmth with their mothers reported feeling intimate with and affectionate towards their older sisters. In terms of self-disclosure, however, she was

not perceived as a confidant. Her being a member of the nuclear family might limit self-disclosure because of concerns over generating conflicts at home (Seçkin, 1996) and maintaining an individualized space. Çavdar (2003) also confirms that males tend to keep their older sisters out of their close relationship network.

Younger sisters, on the other hand, are reported as receiving emotional support, while also needing to be controlled by their older brothers regarding their cross-gender contact and their appearance in the public domain. This indicates that honor codes which rely on men's control of women to preserve the reputation of the family (Sunar & Fişek, 2005) are internalized in a few examples.

The theme of structural hierarchy and resultant responsibilities are only one dimension of the sibling relations, which are imbued with a lot of emotional meaning. Feelings of longing for and emotional closeness to younger siblings were emphasized by the young men. Particularly with younger sisters, a more affectionate and involved relationship seemed to develop. This finding is confirmed with prior research reporting that sibling relations are characterized by positive interactions, with an absence of negativity signs (Çavdar, 2003) and with an open flow of affection in the exchanges of those belonging to the same cohort (Olson, 1982).

The issue of rivalry comes to the fore particularly in relations with the younger ones. Feelings of jealousy indicate a longing for freedom from responsibilities of being the older one and for receiving adequate parenting. Contrary to Çavdar's findings (2003) showing that jealousy is felt over the resources of the mother both by males and females, the current findings reveal that the father's love and attachment is also sought for, as indicated by the young men's feelings of jealousy for father-daughter intimacy.

In short, it is evident that the young men's experiences in their family of

origin are significantly different for older and younger brothers. In the case of older brothers, being a respected figure comes along with the responsibilities of provision and nurturance while for the younger ones being privileged and cared for is attained at the expense of a favorable position. Thus, guidance and support flow from the older brothers to the younger siblings. That is, the family is full of potential responsibilities and privileged positions, the access to which is determined by a man's birth order and his siblings' gender composition.

Extended Family Relations

The current data indicate that the relatives along with the nuclear family form a wide, emotionally interdependent system, surrounding the male child and providing the first and the most immediate environment for him. The relatives take on different functions during the development of the male child, his psychological make-up and his gendered subjectivity, a fact showing no regional or geographical differences in the present research.

The relatives are seen as providing an intimate, affectionate relational context for most of the cases, facilitated by living in physical proximity to them. The grandparents are viewed as a source of affection, care and tolerance which foster a sense of being privileged in the young men, explained mainly by the prevailing son-preference, as documented in prior research (Ataca, Kağıtçıbaşı & Diri, 2005). This confirms the characterization of the Turkish family as “functionally extended” which means that nuclear arrangements connote more of a spatial segregation and that the psychological presence of the relatives is still strongly felt and needed (Duben, 1982; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Sunar & Fişek, 2005), although changing patterns in Turkish families are reported (Dayı, 1997; Imamoğlu & Aygün, 1999; Sunar & Fişek, 2005).

In particular, the maternal/paternal aunt and the maternal/paternal uncle turn

out to be significant figures in the lives of the young men and they serve as a buffer against inadequate parenting, particularly on the part of the father. The traditional division of labor in childcare, which characterizes the mother as the caretaker and the father as the socialization channel, holds in the relations with aunts and uncles, strengthening the association of the feminine and the masculine with the internal/private and the external/public, respectively.

The paternal/maternal uncles are seen as providing the young men with guidance and mentoring to come into contact with and to socialize in the public domain. The influence of uncles was particularly prominent for those young men who voiced insecure paternal attachment, defined their father with distance and shared the same apartment building with their relatives. This might indicate that the son, disappointed by his father's unavailability as a supportive figure and in need of a same-sex, reassuring and encouraging other, turns to his uncle as an alternative. Moreover, the uncle's taking an active role in supporting his nephew might indicate a structural arrangement, given the argument that the father needs to preserve his distance to consolidate his authority. Thus, the son receives the nurturance he needs and the father's hierarchical superiority is maintained at the same time.

One dimension of a young man's relationship with his uncle is designated by the concept of hierarchy by quality (Roland, 1988, 2005). The uncle turns out to be an idealized and respected figure, who is viewed as a model of identification. Particularly regarding the issue of academics, the uncle serves both as a mentor and a model, similar to older brothers. Those uncles who were young and academically oriented might be viewed as more salient models by the young men, who were all high-achievers, as opposed to the father whose educational background, occupation or style of life did not provide any common ground with that of his son. Confirming

this, Seçkin (1996) asserts that late adolescents idealize same-sex figures on the basis of their achievement, ambition, determination and self-confidence, that is a family member, a teacher or a friend to whom one feels intimate attachment.

The paternal/maternal aunt assumes the role of a caretaker for the son, confirming early reports demonstrating the involvement of female figures other than the mother like aunts, sisters in childcare (Olson, 1982). Those young men who had intimate bonds with their mothers were more likely to develop intimacy with the aunts, indicating that the capacity to establish a secure relationship with the mother is transferred to other relations with women. In terms of self-disclosure, the aunt functioned as a confidant, as opposed to older sisters. She could be viewed as an alternative figure to share personal information, both having a position at the outside of one's nuclear family and displaying an intimate, affectionate attitude.

The Social Sphere: Hegemonic Masculinity and Its Experiential Dimensions

The socio-cultural discourses designating the hegemonic definitions of masculinity and framing the young men's course of development into adult males are the second subject of inquiry in the present research. In this section, the theme of hegemonic masculinity as presented by male Turkish undergraduates will be taken up, showing almost no differences among (Western/Eastern) rural-(Western) urban locations. Next, the young men's experience of this discourse will be explored, along with the regional and local distinctions in their individual standpoints toward traditional masculinity and the transitional landmarks contributing to their gendered subjectivity.

The Hegemonic Masculinity Discourse

Hegemonic masculinity refers to a particular definition of the male role idealized within a particular cultural surrounding and a particular time frame, serving to

legitimize the dominance of men in same-sex and opposite-sex relations (Connell, 1995, 2001). Drawing on Connell's formulation in the present research, hegemonic masculinity is seen as being embedded in the powerful, dominant, controlling, unquestionably heterosexual male image; providing for his family, protecting its reputation (especially women) and securing a respectable public position in social relations. This depiction of manhood confirms the emphasis on the themes of power, dominance, heterosexuality and economic independence in the definitions of Western masculinity (Connell, 1995; Siedler, 1997) and the claim that masculinity is constructed around the notion of household and familial roles (e.g. being a father, a husband) along with an authoritative, dominant, protective stance in the Turkish context (Cengiz, Tol and Küçükural, 2004; Fallers & Fallers, 1976; Sakallı-Uğurlu, 2003; Sancar, 2009).

As Connell (1995, 2001) states, the hegemonic definitions of masculinity legitimize the patriarchal power that men have, and in that sense sustains differential gender-power configurations. In the present case, the men's patriarchal superiority seems to be fostered by their monopolizing familial responsibilities, which are defined primarily in terms of material sustenance of the family and its proper public representation. The family man lays claim to the roles of the responsible provider and the representative of his family reputation via his public image in the local social network, confirming Sirman's assertion (1998) that the concept of representativeness is formative for masculine identity.

As a result, all men come to feel entitled to exert power on women. However, they are differentiated on the basis of urban-rural distinctions, only in their means of doing so. While rural young men described power as a concrete quality, mentioning men's right to exert physical power and emphasizing physical differences among

genders; urban men were more likely to describe power as a more interactive feature and to indicate that men, people of higher status, led public lives, had an inflexible vision and controlled women; implying that the means of power exertion are different in rural and urban locations, with physical means emphasized more in the former while relatively more abstract, interactive practices are mentioned in the latter.

The idea of representation in the construction of masculinities is a focal point of discussion in the present research, since it is one potential influence which gives shape to a man's relation to his body and to his religious/moral inclinations. Connell (1995, 2001) formulates that one channel through which gender projects operate is to designate men's relation to their bodies. Confirming this, the young men mentioned the significance of a masculine appearance, embodying elements of threat, confidence and challenge as defining features of masculinity and as one factor positioning a man in his communal network. Further at least in the case of some young men, moral and religious beliefs become part of a man's social image, which serves as a regulator and a guide in dealing with life issues and legitimizes men's presence in public, with no emphasis on an inner sense of spirituality.

A man's position in his local same-sex relationships is also construed as a formative aspect of one's sense of gender within the hegemonic discourse, in line with the literature on homosocial environments which emphasize social bonds among same-sex groups as a constitutive factor of masculinity (Bird, 1996; Flood, 2008; Onur & Koyuncu, 2004). The young men in the present research occasionally mentioned all-male environments such as coffee-houses and all-male activities like watching soccer, as means of providing validation for one's maleness and monitoring his conformity to masculinity norms. The male other in one's local social network is

thus incorporated into one's gendered sense of self.

It is striking to find out that the present depictions of hegemonic masculinity incorporate traditional socio-cultural values, that is of interdependence within one's family, community, local social network even among young male university students in line with previous writings (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). Most of the descriptions here emphasize the social expectations and constraints concerning men. One wanders what would be left when the social requirements are lifted. This indicates that masculine identity takes the collective presence of others as a reference point in its construction. Gürbüz (1985) also shows that interdependence is the norm both males and females are evaluated against and that the trait “dependent” is desirable for both sexes. This contrasts with the emphasis found in Western literature on individuality and independence which are rooted in European ideologies of selfhood (Connell, 2001; Fişek, 1995), positing that masculinity is organized around different notions in different social, cultural, political and economic milieus.

Up to this point, the content which configures the hegemonic masculinity discourse among Turkish undergraduates is presented. An examination of the young men's understanding of manhood in the Turkish context reveals that masculinity is defined vis-a-vis the constructions of femininity in certain aspects, lending support for the idea that masculinity is construed through a rejection of the feminine (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 2001; Maral, 2004). In the present research, the polarity of the masculine and the feminine is constructed with a characterization of women as naive, emotionally oversensitive, socially restricted child bearers which do not come close to the male image in terms of his essential and social capabilities.

The literature explains the polarization of masculinity and femininity by the idea that masculinity is constructed through the repudiation of the maternal and the

debasement of the feminine, which is used as an explanation in the development of sexist ideologies and the practice of violence toward women (Kimmel, 2001). In the present research, none of the young men carried this polarity to the extent of sexism and none mentioned an adherence to hostile convictions towards women, although feeling entitled to have authority over them. This issue is not explored in depth in the current analysis, yet a number of speculative explanations might be put forward. For one thing, the present sample is composed of male university students who come into contact with the idea of gender equality both in experiential and intellectual grounds at the university. Second, an inner connection with the maternal and the feminine coexists with the polarized understandings of gender differences, a theme elaborated on in the next section; implying that hostility towards women does not necessarily stem from the flight from the feminine. The present results raise questions around men's use of violence toward women and calls for an examination of when, where, by whom, to whom, under which circumstances it is perpetrated.

Hegemonic Masculinity in the Experiential Realm

The young men's individual experiences regarding the hegemonic definitions of masculinity are double edged, reflecting the intertwined nature of responsibility and power in masculine identity construction and showing no regional or local differences. From the perspective of individual young men, the primarily financial responsibility of making a living in one's family was experienced as a burden and as an anxiety-provoking situation on the one hand while on the other, the position of power and status fostered feelings of gratification, freedom and entitlement in most of them. Thus, both uneasiness over performing and living up to the necessities of the male role, and pleasure in enjoying the privileges of being a man both contribute to one's masculine identity; making it a dual construction in the experiential realm.

The personal understandings of and reactions to the traditional definitions of masculinity are differentiated along the lines of rural-urban differences. In the present research, the rural young men indicate an embracing attitude towards the traditional definitions of masculinity, with some of them arguing for the preservation of men's hierarchical superiority and authority in private and public domains. However, at the same time they become cognizant of alternative ways of being a man as a result of their being in the university. In their descriptions, involvement in socio-cultural activities and cross-gender interactions were incorporated into the male role, noted as Western male practices. Therefore, a strong adherence to the idea of traditional male dominance as a basic tenet of masculinity construction coexists with the new possibilities in social male practices and performances in the minds of some young men.

The account of masculinity given by this subsample of rural men has two important implications. For one thing, they are capable of reflecting on and adapting to a socio-cultural milieu which has gender meanings and prescriptions different from those of their own localities, confirming Whitehead and Barrett's (2001) view of change as adaptation rather than as a crisis in masculinity. Secondly, this process of adaptation works by adding those elements of Western male practices, which opens up new positions for the male subject in social relations. This brings to mind the notion of hybridity in the construction of masculinities, which marks the reproduction of hegemonic patterns through the appropriation of different, even contradictory, elements from various definitions of being a man and by this means, realigning oneself with the transforming social, cultural, historical medium of the day (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Demetriou, 2001). In the present case, the rural young men seem to endorse a hybrid model of masculinity as a way of integrating

the ideology of male dominance learned in their local origins and the social expansion of maleness realized in Western urban settings.

On the other hand, the urban young men disagreed with the traditional ways of being a man and mentioned the issue of social change acting to transform gendered meanings. However, their gender position seems to embody a paradox in that the traditional discourse they are critical of provides them with increased affection and care in the family, freedom and positions of higher status in public at the same time, neither problematized nor dismissed by them at the personal level.

This condition of covert give-and-take with the traditional hegemonic discourse might be construed as complicit masculinity, defined by Connell as a particular group of men who welcomes the privileges of the patriarchal order and enjoys its benefits while not being an implementer and a promoter of masculine dominance in strict forms (e.g. superiority achieved through cultural/social means, not by violence) (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Demetriou, 2001). Thus, developing masculinities in Western cities and metropolitan areas seem to follow a complicit path, not actively enacting the traditional hegemonic model yet passively actualizing it, as one strategy for constructing a gendered sense of self.

The process of learning traditional masculinity ideals and of consolidating a masculine gender identity is another sphere, which shows differences between urban-rural locations. The role of social/communal initiation rituals in a boy's transition to the more mature state of manhood is frequently noted in the literature, with particular emphasis on circumcision and military service (Fallers & Fallers, 1976; Selek, 2008). However, for Turkish undergraduates the contribution of these customary practices in one's sense of masculinity seems to be relatively minimal. Regarding circumcision, both negative and positive feelings were mentioned, with no particular meaning

attached to it in most of the cases. Military service, on the other hand, was described as a burden and an obstacle to personal development, more notably by the urban young men, although it was temporarily viewed as the embodiment of an idealized masculine image.

The socio-cultural rituals and customs enabling one's transition into manhood are replaced by transformative experiences and periods, expanding a boy's sense of self and enhancing his personal development. An important distinction between urban and rural young men is the former's reflection on their early experiences while the latter's anticipation of future life events as transitive periods. For the urban young men, the developmental process of adolescence transformed their sense of self into a masculine subject. This period brought along the acknowledgement that females had sexual meaning and noted the beginnings of dates and first sexual experiences, lending support for the idea that sexuality is one key theme for the organization of masculine identities (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). In the case of rural young men, the period of adolescence was mentioned yet not elaborated on at the interview. These men anticipated that first work experience and fatherhood will enhance and transform one's sense of masculinity, reflecting an endorsement of traditional hegemonic masculinity definitions, which are internalized as the criterion men tend to validate their masculinity against.

The Personal Sphere: The Masculine Self and Its Social Functioning

This section will dwell on the notion of masculine self along with its functioning in individual and interpersonal domains. The (Western/Eastern)rural-(Western)urban distinction will be explored as it emerges in the spheres of social relations and of self-construction.

The Masculine Self in Social Relations

The two masculine self images presented as emerging in urban and rural locations have implications for one's current and previous opposite-sex and same-sex relationships. The socio-cultural dimension of the urban-rural distinction operates through framing contextual arrangements which facilitate or hinder one's physical and social contact with female and male peers. Two patterns of social relations develop along urban-rural distinctions, with a number of commonalities being present among them.

In the rural pattern, the young men were likely to develop adaptation problems which were reflected in academic and social domains at a metropolitan university, although being among the most highly achieving high school graduates in the Turkish context. The problems arise because of separating from the family, of leading an individualized life and of getting used to the unfamiliar, impersonal social environment at the university. In particular, those men who had a weaker sense of agency and did not separate from their families thus far were more likely to be incapacitated with the challenges of a new life and to have ongoing adaptation problems. In the academic domain, failures in maintaining one's high-achiever status turn out to be narcissistic injuries, curtailing his sense of competence. In the social sphere, feelings of insecurity and frustration emerging at the university context interfere with the formation of social bonds and especially stunt the development of friendships with girls.

The present results reveal that the university setting is the first opportunity to develop friendships with girls for the rural men, who described very limited opportunities to develop friendships with girls in their prior contexts. An examination of their environmental surrounding exposes the prevailing cultural ideology of sex-

segregation, deeply rooted in traditional Turkish culture (Olson, 1982). The social pressures in the young men's community and extended family presented male-female contact as improper. This ideology of sex-segregation hold in school settings, furthered in the case of religiously inclined boarding schools, with girls wearing a headscarf which is considered as a sign of distance by their male classmates. Thus, the social system in the rural locations including the local community and the school institution has a limiting impact on the young men's formation of opposite-sex relationships.

These socio-cultural regulations are internalized to some extent, fostering a sense of shyness and a concern with preserving distance with females, and being influential in the university context. This finding is in line with Fişek's (1994) argument that although young men develop a capacity for intimate involvement, it is not practiced in cross-gender interactions due to cultural and hierarchical differentiation among the sexes.

Same-sex relationships are also obstructed for the rural young men in the present sample. They began to feel alienated from the available sources of social contact in their local contexts since they were high-achievers where academic indifference and failure were the norm. Growing feelings of loneliness and rejection were mentioned by those academically inclined men, gradually becoming more distant with their local same-sex peers who defined themselves with rebelliousness, risk-taking and activity. The development of long-term, intimate friendships with males in one's local context is thus interrupted. In their current lives, those young men are found to be experimenting with socializing mostly with men, with some taking a step towards cross-gender contact.

The second pattern of social relations seems to be more gratifying for the

urban young men. For one thing, they experienced minor difficulties in their transition to university life, given that there was a kind of continually available buffer supporting them since they were not separated physically from their families and their familiar social networks. The urban young men either sustained their long-term friendships with girls or formed new opposite-sex relations in which they disclosed their personal issues, feeling that girls provided understanding, acceptance, concern and a different point of view to reflect on their emotions. The comfort in relating to girls seems to be fostered by the urban context, a truly different environmental surrounding than its rural counterpart, in which cross-gender socialization is the norm rather than an exception. Sunar (2002) also reports that separation of the sexes in urban settings is much less strict than in rural areas.

Regarding same-sex relationships, the development of intimate bonds with male friends is noted in the second pattern, confirming early reports on same-sex intimacy in social relations in adolescence (Olson, 1982). Personal, private issues were shared within the highly permeable relationships formed among those same-sex peers. This intimate bonding is likely to be sustained in the long run, facilitated by the exploration of unique ways of handling relational problems among male friends.

Commonalities between the urban and rural patterns are also found in certain aspects of social relations. Those aspects are the definition of friendship as a general construct, the characteristics of same- and opposite-sex intimacy and the developmental changes evident in them.

When the young men of all origins managed to form friendships, their attitudes were characterized by other-reference, emotional sensitivity to the other and to the context. For intimacy to develop in friendships, the notions of warmth-sincerity, reciprocity and responsibility are deemed to be necessary, drawing upon the

concept of symbiosis-reciprocity in relations with friends (Fehimoğlu-Sinan, 1998; Roland, 1988). This reciprocal, symbiotic bond is facilitated by commonality on a number of dimensions, particularly in their locality of origin, their personal experiences and inclinations and foster a sense of we-ness in friendships.

With respect to opposite-sex relationships, the developmental periods of gender differentiation and of adolescence influence the course of friendships with females for all young men. Before the understanding of gender difference, a boy might comfortably relate to his opposite-sex peers. The young men retrospectively reflected on their friendships with girls and highlighted that their social context was more tolerant of cross-gender socialization back then. The presence of girls in one's immediate environment in the family and at school was a necessity. Similarity was allowed with girls in the games they played, the pursuits they followed, the looks they had, the places they attended in the environment, which facilitated physical and social contact with girls. That is to say, when the environmental conditions foster a sense of similarity among genders rather than emphasizing difference, the boys do not feel segregated or detached from their same-sex peers.

With a growing recognition of gender differentiation, a boy might begin to acknowledge that boys and girls form different social networks at school and prefer to turn to his same-sex peers. This is in line with the developmental research positing that children of both sexes show preference for same-sex relations in their first few years at school (Katz, 1986). Particularly those young men who developed intimate relations with adult male figures like the father or the uncle might be willing to keep his distance with girls at that period. Thus, the developmentally appropriate same-sex preference in friendships seems to be facilitated by the mobilization of the secure base internalized in relation to a male figure in early years of life.

Later on, the onset of adolescence complicates the development of friendships with girls, in which the regulation of sexual urges turns out to be a fundamental issue. To form a friendship with a girl, her sexual meaning needs to be suppressed either by avoiding the topic of sexuality in conversations with her or by referring to her with a kinship idiom. This is in line with Duben's (1982) claim that kinship terms are the socially appropriate way to talk to non-kin women, a strategy to sustain the relation in accordance with the socio-cultural rules of conduct around sexuality. The theme of sexuality is absent not just in opposite-sex friendships, but also in dating relations with girls. It was striking to find out that those young men who mentioned their dates with girls used a romanticized discourse, giving no reference to the theme of sexuality. The restraints around the issue were also observed at the time of data collection carried out by a female interviewer, as evident in the presence of long pauses before referring to the theme and a hesitation in talking about it. In fact, a male interviewer may have elicited different responses.

In male-to-male friendships, the dimensions of intimacy are expanded for all young men in the present research. The practice of referring to one's intimate same-sex peers with a kinship idiom is evident, as in the case of friendships with girls. However, in this case it denotes the high degree of attachment and responsibility one feels toward the intimates and the significance of the relationship (Duben, 1982). Besides, physical and instrumental dimensions are added to the young men's intimate same-sex relations, as evidenced by their giving reference to shared activities (e.g. involvement in sports, cultural, religious activities) and to feelings of comfort in physical contact with same-sex peers, and their emphasizing the enhancement of self development in same-sex friendships. This finding is confirmed by the reports positing that both men and women expect their friends to provide them with

constructive criticism and consultation in the Turkish context (Bekata, 1980 cited in Fehimoğlu-Sinan, 1998).

Same-sex friendships also provide room to discuss the issue of sexuality, opening up a new sphere of exploration and information gathering for the young men. However, this does not extend to the theme of girlfriends and hinders one's disclosure of emotional issues in dates to his same-sex friends. The reasons underlying it were compiled as the characteristics of male socialization, that is its public character and its prominent objectification of women, and the perceived attitudes of male friends, that is their inability to provide full emotional support in the face of relational problems with girlfriends.

One striking difference with the Western literature is that competitive feelings do not come up in the young men's same-sex relationships. In the American context, Pleck (1998) introduces the term patriarchal competition as a socio-culturally fostered motivation and emphasizes its hindering impact for the development of same-sex intimacy and for positive self-regard in men. Turkish culture, on the other hand, disavows competitive individualism and prioritizes the benefits of one's in-group, like other collectivist cultures (Roland, 1988; Triandis, Bontempo & Villareal, 1988). This may explain why a man's competing with his same-sex friend is irrelevant in the Turkish case, who is motivated for strengthening the notion of well-being and in-group identifications with friends.

The Masculine Self as a Subjective Construction

The present results demonstrate that different patterns of self-construction are found in urban and rural locations, which shape parent-son relations and maternal/paternal representations as presented in the first section. Accordingly, two patterns of self-development emerge. In the first pattern in rural settings, the young men were more

likely to define themselves as intraverted, accompanied by underlying feelings of inadequacy, weakness and low self-esteem, with a few trying to consolidate their individuated self-aspects. These young men's negative self-view seems to be fostered by an insecure paternal attachment and a traditional parental couple who frequently fights with each other, notwithstanding a secure maternal relationship. In addition, as explained above, the emergence of culture shock with one's exposure to the multiplicity and flexibility in self-expression and cross-gender relations in the Westernized atmosphere of the university may also have contributed to the retrospective bitterness these young men expressed regarding their self-definition in the interview.

The literature argues for the significance of nurturant fathering (Diamond, 2004; Frosh, 2002) and stresses the fundamental role of the father's recognizing, appreciating and modulating function in his son's self-development (Herzog, 2004; Roland, 1988). Herzog (2004) claims that when the father is absent as an authoritative boundary maker, the son is left to develop a narcissistic dynamic and a deformed sense of self. Confirming this, those rural men who felt themselves devoid of paternal recognition, present a negative self-image and express feelings of low self-esteem in their current lives, revealing narcissistic wounds filled with anger and desire in a few cases. This points out that if the result is an insecure, ambivalent masculine self, the father seems to play a major role rather than the prolonged mother-son bonding and its abrupt dissolution in adolescence (Kandiyoti, 1987, 1988). Thus, the impact of the father's parenting practices on the son's developing masculine self can be a workable research agenda.

In the second pattern, emerging in urban locations, the young men were inclined to describe themselves as being more extraverted and prone to sudden

reactions. The term emotional was also frequently and spontaneously used as a self-referent to hint at their sensitivity and easily dysregulated state, confirming Gürbüz's (1985) report that expressiveness is descriptive of both sexes in Turkish culture.

Those young men evolve into self-confident individuals, with resilient characteristics being present in their functioning, which is enhanced by a secure maternal/paternal relationship and a harmonious parental couple. As discussed above, those young men's familiarity with the Western urban environment facilitated constructive exchanges in the cosmopolitan composition of the university setting and this may have contributed to their sense of heightened esteem at the time of the interview.

Individualistic traits (e.g. ambitiousness) were also added to the self descriptions of these men, bringing the concept of expanding self to mind. Expanding self addresses the aspects of self, developing towards individuation as a result of social transformations and coming into contact with different cultures (Roland, 1988). Those urban men, growing up in the urban context which is more complex in its composition and more rapid in its transformation relative to rural regions, enhance their individuated aspects, with the result coming closer to an autonomous relational self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996) or individuated familial self (Fişek, 1995).

The urban and rural patterns of self-development converge in certain respects. For one thing, masculine identity represents a highly allocentric construction, defined always in relation to the other as evidenced by the emergence of the extraversion-intraversion dimension in the young men's self descriptions. It was evident that all the young men found giving a description of their personal characteristics difficult, tended to evaluate themselves from the other's lenses and incorporated family members into their self-definition in the present research; indicating the presence of a

strong sense of connection with the social group one belongs to (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Triandis, Bontempo & Villareal, 1988).

A boy's sense of inner connection and attachment to his mother, his father, his relatives and other important figures seem to lay the basis from which a gendered sense of self is derived, showing no urban-rural differences. This stands in sharp contrast to early and recent Western models which define masculine self as rooted in the separation-individuation phase of development, achieved through the repudiation of the maternal bond along with the needs for dependency, at the expense of gratifying, nurturant exchanges with the mother (Blazina, 2001; Chodorow, 1999; Dinnerstein, 1976). The present results reveal that this is not a prevailing strategy to secure a masculine sense of self in Turkish culture.

The young men in the current study indicated that they had a strong sense of connection with their internal mother and father, acknowledged as contributing to their self development as a man. Most of them felt comfortable with compiling those characteristics which bore a resemblance to the mother and the father, both positive and negative. Thus, the Western model positing the rejection of the mother as the foremost step in masculine development falls short of providing an adequate account for the present results, since the Western emphasis on individuality and separation does not have the same appeal in cultures characterized by harmony, collectivism and interdependence like Turkish culture (Baştuğ, 2002; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Sunar & Fişek, 2005).

The current results obviously demonstrate the involvement of both parents and their internal images in the formation of a son's masculine self, hinting at the androgynous constructions of masculinity in the Turkish case (Fişek, 1994). This finding is supported by the idea of multiple identification which denotes that both the

mother and the father are the primary figures of identification with the extended family members and other primary caregivers joining to this triadic picture (Roland, 1988). An emerging theoretical account in the Western literature also mentions the presence of multiple, polymorphous identifications with both parents in the constructions of gendered subjectivity and puts forward the notion of overinclusiveness to include internalized images of both parents (Benjamin, 1995; Diamond, 2004).

Limitations of the Study

The present study contributes to the understanding of the construction of masculinities among Turkish youth from a developmental framework. The present results attempt to present a picture of the process through which a young man develops as a masculine subject in the Turkish context, with particular emphasis on the formative impact of familial experiences and socio-cultural masculinity discourses. Nevertheless, a number of limitations and cautions pertaining mainly to the sample composition and the methodological aspects of the study can be put forward.

The composition of the present sample raises questions about the generalizability of the results to the general population. The sample in the present study was composed of undergraduate students who came from Western and Eastern parts of Turkey, grew up in low/middle class families and belonged to a group of the most high-achieving students in the Turkish context. That is, their getting a higher-than-average level of education and living in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of a highly prestigious university and a metropolitan city might limit the representativeness of the present sample. In future studies, the choice of a more diverse and larger sample in terms of SES, locality of origin, age and educational

background might reveal the links between those demographic variables and the construction of masculinities in young and adult male populations.

Methodological aspects of the present study bring up another set of issues. The data collection process was carried out by a female interviewer in the present research. Since the interview process provides data on a co-constructed reality which evolves at the time of the researcher-participant interaction, a male interviewer might have elicited different responses and themes. Thus, the present results provide a partial understanding of the masculine subjectivities as they present themselves in-relation-to a female interviewer. Future research might replicate the current study by construing the data collection process as a male-to-male interaction and examine the differences emerging in such a context.

One last point necessary to consider while evaluating the present results is that qualitative methodology incorporates the subjectivity of the interviewer and his/her theoretical orientation. This point serves as an enriching aspect of qualitative results rather than a limitation as long as the researcher's particular standpoint is presented. The present analysis was informed by a clinical lens, with an emphasis on the inner experience of the subjects and their relational-emotional narratives. Researchers from a different orientation might have produced different results from the same data set.

Conclusion

The processes of masculine development follow various paths, diverging on the basis of two focal socio-cultural factors, which are the geographical location (East-West) and the place of residence (urban-rural) a man grows up in the Turkish context. Those factors render the Western-Eastern/urban-rural differences as salient for the construction of masculinities, through the mediation of a wide range of macro- to

micro-level variables pertaining to the social, cultural, demographic and individual contexts a man develops in: adherence to traditional sex-role definitions, the ideology of sex-segregation in the family, community and social institutions, the content of hegemonic masculinity discourses, the availability of same- and opposite-sex social relations, the marital dynamics of the parental couple, the education levels of parents, the nature of parental representations, the quality of parent-son relations.

Variations in those variables lead to the emergence of two patterns of masculine development. The typical rural man is likely to be brought up in a familial and social environment endorsing traditional sex-role definitions and divisions, and to develop into a somewhat intraverted, timid, insecure masculine self, who advocates a hybrid model of masculinity in the context of an urban, metropolitan university. On the other hand, the urban man is more likely to mature in a context of transforming sex-roles and increasing cross-gender contact, with the result being a somewhat extraverted, assertive, resilient masculine self who follows a complicit path in relation to the traditional hegemonic masculinity discourse in the current atmosphere of the university.

Commonalities transcending geography and locality are also found in the construction of a masculine self in Turkey. The present results demonstrate that all men mature within a system of familial and communal interconnectedness; which is characterized by the availability of multiple attachment figures (e.g. parents, older siblings, relatives), is organized around the notions of age-gender hierarchy and functions on the premise of reciprocal emotional involvement and responsibility. Within this relational matrix, a boy begins to learn what it takes to be a man. Grounded on this experiential tenet, there comes the impact of developmental transitions, social roles and relationships to reconfigure the functioning of the

masculine subject.

On the basis of these experiences, a clearly masculine sense of self emerges, which is different from its Western counterparts. A new term drawing from Roland's concept of familial self, that is of “masculine familial self”, might be introduced to capture the essence of what it means to develop as a man in the Turkish context. For one thing, at the personal level this conceptualization refers to a masculine self organization which is characterized by an other-orientation, contextual sensitivity and empathic understanding as evidenced by the relevance of the terms we-self regard, relational superego, allocentricim etc., with the result being the incorporation of relational and androgynous attributes into one's gendered sense of self. Secondly, it offers a dynamic formulation in the sense that those qualities are found in a continuum within groups of young men; always open to integrate new elements into its composition. Thirdly, at the socio-cultural level this concept highlights that the hegemonic masculinity discourse in Turkey is defined in a matrix of familial-social roles and responsibilities around the notions of provision, representation and social status.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: GÖRÜŞME SORULARI

1. Bugünkü hayatı ve benlik tanımlaması

1a) Kendini biraz tanıtmayı istesem aklına neler geliyor?/ Kendini nasıl bir insan olarak tanımlarsın?

1b) Kendinde sevdiğin, hoşnut olduğun ne tür özelliklerin vardır?

1c) Kendinde sevmediğin, hoşnut olmadığın ne tür özelliklerin vardır?

2. Sosyal ilişkiler

2a) Sosyal ilişkilerini nasıl anlatmak istersin?/ Şu an hayatında yakın hissettiğin kimler var?

2b) Şu an hayatında kız ve erkek arkadaşlarını ayrı ayrı düşünürsen, kız arkadaşlarıyla ilişkilerin nasıldır, erkek arkadaşlarıyla ilişkilerin nasıldır?

2c) Kız arkadaşlarıyla neler paylaşırsın? Erkek arkadaşlarıyla neler paylaşırsın?

2d) Çocukluğundan bugüne bir değerlendirme yaparsan, kız ve erkek arkadaşlarıyla ilişkilerinde nasıl bir değişim yaşandı?

3. Çocukluk dönemindeki ve bugünkü aile ilişkileri

3a) Çocukluk döneminden neler hatırlıyorsun?

3b) Çocukluğunun geçtiği aile ortamını tanımlamanı istesem aklına neler geliyor?

3c) Annen ve baban nasıl insanlardır?

3d) Annen ve babanla ilişkilerin nasıldır? Onlarla neler paylaşırsın?

(Anlatılanlardan kardeş ya da önemli bir yakın çıkarsa onların nasıl insanlar oldukları, ilişkilerinin nasıl olduğu sorulur)

3e) Kendinde annene ve babana benzer bulduğun özelliklerin var mıdır?

Neler?

3f) Çocukluğunda annen ve baban arasındaki ilişkiyi nasıl anlatmak istersin?

3g) Çocukluğundan bugüne bir değerlendirme yaparsan, annen ve babanla ilişkilerinde nasıl bir değişim yaşandı?

4. Ailede erkek çocuk olmak

4a) Ailenin tek erkek çocuğu olmak deyince aklına neler geliyor? (Bu soru, katılımcıların kardeşleriyle karşılaştırmalı olarak cinsiyetine ve sırasına göre değiştirilerek sorulur)

4b) Annenin oğlu olmak nasıl bir deneyim deyince aklına neler geliyor?

4c) Babanın oğlu olmak nasıl bir deneyim deyince aklına neler geliyor?

4d) Annen ve baban bir erkek çocuk olarak senden neler bekler?

5. Erkekliğe ilişkin deneyimler

5a) Sünnet senin için nasıl bir deneyimdi? Neler hatırlıyorsun?

5b) İleriye dönük düşünürsen, askerliğin senin için nasıl bir anlamı var?

5c) Bu iki aşama dışında, erkeklerin hayatında önemli bir yeri olan deneyimleri düşünürsek senin aklına gelen başka aşamalar var mı? Neler?

6. Türkiye'de erkeklik rolü

6a) Türkiye'de erkek olmak deyince aklına neler geliyor? Türkiye'de hangi özellikler ve davranışlar erkekliği tanımlar?

6b) Erkeklik sana göre ne anlama gelir?

7. Dini inanç

7a) Sence bir erkek için din konusu önemli midir?

7b) Sen kendini dindar birisi olarak tanımlar mısın?

8. Bugün burada bu konular üzerine konuşmak nasıl geldi?

9. Eklemek ya da sormak istediğin bir şey var mı?

APPENDIX B: THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Current life and self-definition

1a) What comes to your mind if I ask you to introduce yourself?/ How do you define yourself?

1b) What are the characteristics that you like about yourself?

1c) What are the characteristics that you don't like about yourself?

2. Social relations

2a) How do you define your social relations?/ Who do you feel close to in your current life?

2b) If you think your male and female friends separately, how do you define your relations with female friends, and how do you define your relations with male friends?

2c) What do you share with your female friends? What do you share with your male friends?

2d) If you think from your childhood on, how do your relations with male and female friends change?

3. Family relation in childhood and in current life

3a) What do you remember from your childhood?

3b) What comes to your mind if I ask you about the family environment you grow up in?

3c) What is your mother like? What is your father like?

3d) How do you define your relation with your mother? How do you define your relation with your father? What do you share with them? (If there is another significant figure such as a sibling, the same questions are asked about him/her)

3e) Do you have any characteristics that resemble to your mother or father?

What are they?

3f) How do you define the relationship between your mother and your father in your childhood?

3g) If you think from your childhood on, how do your relations with your mother and father change?

4. Being a male child in the family

4a) What comes to your mind if I ask you about being the one and only male child in the family? (The question is revised according to the participant's birth order and the gender composition among siblings)

4b) What is it like to be your mother's son?

4c) What is it like to be your father's son?

4d) What do your mother and father expect from you as their son?

5. Individual experiences about being a man

5a) What was circumcision like for you? What do you remember?

5b) If you think about your future, what does military service mean to you?

5c) Besides these two steps, what comes to your mind if you think about important experiences in men's lives?

6. The male role in Turkey

6a) What comes to your mind if I ask about being a man in Turkey? Which characteristics and behaviors define masculinity in Turkey?

6b) What does masculinity mean to you?

7. Religious beliefs

7a) Do you think that religion is an important issue for a man?

7b) Do you define yourself as pious?

8. How do you feel about talking on these issues here today?

9. Is there anything that you want to add or ask me?

APPENDIX C: DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ FORMU

Yaşınız:

Doğum yeriniz:

Annenizin yaşı ve doğum yeri:

Babanızın yaşı ve doğum yeri:

Annenizin eğitim durumu ve mesleği:

Babanızın eğitim durumu ve mesleği:

Kardeşiniz var mı?

Varsa, yaş(ları)nı ve cinsiyet(ler)i:

Çocukluğunuzda sizinle birlikte yaşayan/oturan aile bireyleri:

Bugün bunda bir değişiklik oldu mu?

Çocukluğunuzda yaşadığınız şehir:

APPENDIX D: THE DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

Age:

Birth place:

Your mother's age and birth place:

Your father's age and birth place:

Your mother's educational status and occupation:

Your father's educational status and occupation:

Do you have any siblings?

If yes, their age and gender:

The family members who lived with you in childhood:

Is there a change in this arrangement today?

The location in which you lived in childhood:

APPENDIX E: CONSENT FORM

Bu araştırma Boğaziçi Üniversitesi öğretim üyesi Prof. Dr. Güler Fişek danışmalığında, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi yüksek lisans öğrencisi Anıl Özge Üstünel tarafından yürütülecektir.

Araştırmanın amacı; Türkiye’deki sosyal dinamikleri, toplumsal değerleri, aile ilişkilerini ve insanların bunlara ilişkin deneyimlerini araştırmaktır.

Görüşmeye katılımınız karşılığında kayıtlı olduğunuz PSY kodlu ders için 2 kredi verilecektir. Görüşme için yaklaşık iki saatinizi ayırmanız istenmektedir. Görüşmede yaşınız, doğum yeriniz, anne ve babanızın yaşı, eğitim durumları gibi kısa soruların bulunduğu bir formu doldurduktan sonra hayatınız, ilişkileriniz ve aileniz ile ilgili deneyimlerinizi paylaşmanızı rica ediyoruz.

Görüşmeler kasete alınacaktır. Görüşme sırasında dilediğiniz zaman kaydı durdurulmasını isteyebilirsiniz. Görüşme başlamadan önce, görüşme sırasında veya sonrasında dilediğiniz zaman soru sorabilirsiniz. Kredi alma hakkınızı kaybetmeden istediğiniz anda görüşmeyi kesebilir, araştırmadan çekilebilirsiniz.

Paylaştığınız bilgiler kesinlikle gizli tutulacak, araştırma içerisinde sözlerinizden alıntı yapmak gerektiğinde isminiz gizli tutulacak ve başka isimler kullanılacaktır. Sadece bütün görüşmelerden çıkan ortak sonuçlar araştırma sonunda bir araya getirilerek diğer araştırmacılarla paylaşılabilir.

Bu araştırmaya katılmak istiyorsanız lütfen aşağıdaki “Bu formu okudum ve

arařtırmaya katılmayı kabul ediyorum” cümlesinin altını imzalayınız. Dilerseniz bu formun bir kopyasını alabilirsiniz.

Zaman ayırdığınız ve arařtırmaya sağladığınız değerli katkılarınız için teşekkür ederiz.

BU FORMU OKUDUM VE ARAŐTIRMAYA KATILMAYI KABUL EDİYORUM

Katılımcının Adı ve Soyadı:

Tel:

İmza:

Tarih:

Arařtırmacının Adı Soyadı: Anıl Özge Üstünel

İletişim Bilgileri: anil.ustunel@gmail.com

APPENDIX F: TRANSCRIPTION NOTATION

Functioning of the Masculine Self in the Social Domain

Current Functioning of the Young Men at the University

Üniversitede ben bir ilk sene her zaman knock-out olmuş gibi hissettim kendimi. Hiçbir şey yapasım gelmedi falan. (Hakan)
İlk geldiğim sene, hazırlıkta tabi ilk üç gün falan kültür şoku yaşadım. Kendime gelemedim hani. (Bekir)

Üniversite çok farklı bir ortam. Ailemin yanında ilk kez ayrıldım ve iki buçuk senelik yani her şeyimden ayrıldım. (Hakan)

İşte İstanbul'a gelince onda da (erkeklerle arkadaşlıkta) bir azalma oldu tabi ki. Biraz tabi üniversitenin de şeyi de var, her kesimden öğrenci var. (...) Burada sanki böyle ne bileyim hepimiz aynı bölümdeyiz ama sanki onlar, mesela özellikle bazı arkadaşlar, daha yüksek bölümdeymiş falan gibi. Çok saçma bir durum. (...) Mesela İstanbul'da ya da işte öyle özel okullarda falan okumuş öğrenciler daha zor iletişim kuruyorum. (Salih)

İlk zamanlar sonuçta bir sınıf kavramı vardı. Hani orada bir yirmi-yirmi beş kişilik bir sınıf oluyordu hazırlıkta. Onlarla tanışıp sonra çevre genişletme gibi bir sıkıntım oldu hani. O yüzden, bir de bizim bölümde hep kitle dersleri şeklinde hani geniş sınıflar ya da yüz kişilik en az sınıflar olduğu için çevrem işte hep şey şeklinde, bölümden pek fazla arkadaşım yoktu. (Mehmet)

Burada hakikaten insanın insan olduğuna değer verilmiyor mesela, burada onu hissediyorum. Böyle ya tanışıyorsunuz bir yerde, muhabbet ediyorsunuz, kalkıyorsunuz, kalktıktan sonra o orada kalıyor her şey, bitiyor. Mesela, yolda görüyorsunuz, yüzünüze bile bakmıyorlar böyle gözünü çekiyorlar falan. Mesela bir şey oluyor yolda, çarpıyorsunuz özür diliyorsunuz falan, dönüp bakmıyor. Hani bu tarz şeylerde şey yapıyor tabi insanı yani umudunu kırıyor. (Baran)

Mesela bir şey oluyor yolda, çarpıyorsunuz özür diliyorsunuz falan, dönüp bakmıyor. Hani bu tarz şeylerde şey yapıyor tabi insanı yani umudunu kırıyor. Ama biraz daha bakış açısı insanın genişleyince yani bunları da tolare etmeyi becerebiliyor yani. (Baran)

Hazırlıkta, hazırlığın ikinci döneminde depresyon geçirdim. İkinci dönem yani o dönemki ruh halimi ben kendimi tanımlayamıyorum hani o zaman için. Vücudum acayip zayıfladı o zaman. (Bekir)

İstanbul'a geldiğim zaman, hani insanların yaşamlarını görünce biraz şey olmam gerektiğini düşündüm, daha seviyeli daha bir duruş sahibi bir insan olmam gerektiğini düşündüm. Biraz daha insanlardan kendimi geri çekmeye biraz daha bir şeyler kazanmaya hani donanım sahibi olmaya çalıştım. (...) İnsanlara selam vermeye bile artık korkacak duruma

geldim. (...) Hani biraz insanlardan da genel anlamda hayattan da biraz korkuyorum yani. (Bekir)

Dışarıda da çok fazla güvenmiyor muyum bilmiyorum ya, iletişim kurmak istediğim halde kuramıyorum. (...) Güvensizlik var yani, o kadar ileri seviyede bir samimiyet kuramıyorum nedense. (Salih)

Bir prof(iciency) zamanı uğraştım işte düz lise çıkışlı olduğum için. İki yıl, yani girdiğim yıl işte hazırlıktan sonra bir yıl da remedial olarak kaldım. (Yahya)

Hazırlık öyle geçti. (...) Derslerim düşüktü. Ondan sonra proficiency Eylülde geçtim mesela. Çok kötü bir dönemdi o dönem. (...) Ondan sonra öyle ikinci işte birinci sınıfın son ikinci döneminde repeat oldum. Ondan sonra yaz okulunda oldum. (Can)

Ya genelde sınıfta işte en başarılı öğrenciydim. (...) Ufak bir yer zaten, çok fazla okul yok. Hani bir okul var merkezde ve öğrencilerin genel olarak durumu çok iyi değil hani. (...) Ya nasıl olsa bunu da yaparım gibi bir şeyler oldu. Öyle kopunca derslerden olmadı. İşte bırakmak zorunda kaldım, zaten hazırlıkta kaldım. Öyle bir şeyler oldu. Sonra işte geçen sene profu geçince bir şeyler normalleşmeye başladı. (Mehmet)

Çok aşırı, yani çalıştım. Bizim ilçede üniversite okuyan neredeyse çok azdır, burada okuyan hiç yoktur. (...) Zaten bizim liseden benden başka kazanan olmadı burayı. Bir önceki dönemde de, bir sonraki dönemde de. (Salih)

Friendship and Intimacy

The Dimensions of Friendship

Arkadaşlarım tarafından genelde sevilirim. (Barış)

Arkadaş canlısı olarak tanırım. (Ahmet)

Ben mesela şey yaparım yaptığım ilişkide, (...) hani karşı taraf ne kadar bunu incinecek, hani karşı taraf bunda ne bileyim ne kadar morali bozulacak, ne kadar duygusunu şey yapıcım hani kötüleştiricem falan bunları düşünürüm. (...) Hani nasıl diyeyim insanların kalbini kırmamaya çalışırım. (Baran)

Hiç diyorum ki ben kimseyi kırmamışımdır ya hayatımda. (Yahya)

Hani aramızda bir sorun olduğu zaman ikimiz de biliriz aramızda bir sorun olduğunu. Ama birbirimize gidip kalp kırmak için söyleyemeyiz. (Ahmet)

Arkadaşlara soruyorum, yani böyle geri bildirim almak için, böyle onlar da hani beni kırmayayım diye konuşmak istemiyorlar. (Can)

Hani bir şekilde onları anlamaya falan çalışıyordum. (...) Hani genelde biraz daha dinleyen taraf. (Hakan)

Genel olarak bulunduğum grup ortamlarında dinlemeyi daha çok severim. (Sait)

Bende mi bir şey var bilmiyorum ama bana şeyi anlatırlar, hani bir

sıkıntısı olan daha çok bana şey, hani böyle mutluluktan ziyade böyle abi şöyle oldu, abi böyle oldu falan hep böyle dert babası modundayım. (Baran)

Hiç böyle insanların hani derdini dert edinirim ama o derdi hani bir şekilde kendi kendime şey yapmaya çalışırım, yani halletmeye çalışırım. (Barış)

Ben mesela girdiğim her ortamda, her karşımdaki insanın kalite düzeyine, ne bileyim bana verebileceklerini düşündüğüm an, ben de ona ne verebilirsem onu vermeye çalışıyorum ve nasıl istiyorsa öyle davranıyorum. Kendi kişiliğime ve şeye sekte etmeden, sekteye vurmada böyle. (Yahya)

Genel anlamda insanları ve hani istedikleri gibi onlara davranmaya başarabilirim. Hani yani bir küçük çocukla da yaşlı birisiyle de iyi bir diyalog kurabildiğimi düşünürüm. (...) Uyum sağlayabilirim. Onlarla istedikleri şekilde diyalog kurabilirim. (Yiğit)

Sosyal ilişkilerimde hani mümkün olduğu kadar hani karşılıksız bir yaklaşımda bulunmaya çalışıyorum. (...) Belki daha fazla veren kişi ben oluyorum kendi limitinden ama yani şey olduğu zaman da, en büyük sıkıntım da o muhtemelen. (Baran)

Bir çukolata alıyorsun mesela kantinden (...) Bir gün şeyi fark ettim, ya boğazımdan geçmediğini fark ettim mesela. Ya dedim yani Sercan'la (arkadaşının ismi) paylaşmam lazım bunu. (Barış)

The Development of Intimacy in Friendships

Mesela yurttaki arkadaşlarım da, şimdi Anadolulu'dan gelmiş insanlarla daha rahat iletişim kuruyorum mesela. (Salih)

Bölümde de yani 2003 girişli, 2004 girişli, daha önce remedial olmuş ya da repeatle uzatmış falan arkadaşlarla daha yakınız mesela. (Hakan)

Ben xxx'de (Doğu'da bir şehir) yaşadım, o xxx (Ege'de bir şehir) yaşadığı hayat, onun orada yaşadığı hayat, benim xxx'de yaşadığım hayata paralel bir hayattı. (...) Onları birbirimizle paylaştık. (Bekir)

Bakıyorum çevreme, hep kendim gibi insanlar var aslında. Geliri benim gibi olan. (Rıza)

Ne bileyim aynı yemekleri seviyoruz mesela. Aynı şeyleri yapmaktan hoşlanıyoruz. Yakın müzikler dinliyoruz. (Can)

Ondan sonra beraber aynı şeyde düşündüğümüz için, böyle aynı kafa yapısına sahip olduğumuz için genelde olaylara bazen eleştirel bakabiliriz. (Can)

Ama hani genelde böyle çevremde olmasını istediğim insanlar, (...) hayalleri olan, (...) hani dünya işleri, sadece işte aklında bu olmayan da daha böyle dünyaya geniş bakabilen insanlarla olmak istiyorum. (Rıza)

Ne olursa olsun bir erkek bence bir erkekle çok daha iyi arkadaş olabilir.

(...) Ya anlayış olarak. Sonuçta iki taraf da erkek olduğu için birbirlerini daha iyi anlarlar çoğu açıdan. (Yiğit)

Ben sağ görüşlüyümdür, onlar kendileri sol görüşlüydüler böyle. (...) Ben yine onlarla öyle arkadaş şeydim böyle selam verirdim, konuşurduk falan filan ama şeydi. (...) Yine biraz daha ciddi muhabbetler oluşmaya başlar. (...) Onlara girmezdim. (Can)

Benim tam, tam olarak zıttım denebilecek bir insan. (...) Geceyle gündüz gibiyiz. Ben genelde her şeye ciddi yaklaşırken o hafife alır her şeyi, eğlence kaynağı olarak görür. Ben toplum içindeki davranışlarıma çok dikkat ederken o uluorta bağırır, çağırır filan. (Yiğit)

Burası merkezimiz. Hepimiz başka yönlere bakıyoruz böyle. Yani o kadar değişti ki aslında. (...) Ya mesela işte bir tanesi sol görüşlü, bir tanesi sağ görüşlü. Bir tanesi ortada bir şeyler böyle. (...) Bir tanesi kapalı mesela, ama bir tanesi içki içiyor mesela. (...) O kadar farklı ki. (Barış)

Yani çok samimilerdi (liseden arkadaşları), çok içten arkadaşlardı. (Sait)

Kendinizden çok şey veriyorsunuz, karşı taraf bir şeyler veriyor, bir şeyler oluşturuyorsunuz ortak bir havuzda. (Baran)

Yani ben hani insanlara çok değer veririm. Yani karşılığında da insanlar değer verir. (Onur)

Ben onun sorumluluğunu da yüklenebileyim. Hani ne bileyim, gidip işte derdi olduğunda paylaşabileyim. Ne bileyim bir şey yapmak isterim. (Barış)

Mesela en son okuldan bir, bir ara okulu dondurmaya düşündüm. Aileme söyleyemedim, üzümler diye. Bunlarla oturmuştuk, ben böyle böyle bir şey düşünüyorum diye. Sakın yapma falan. Hani bunlar beni sevdiğinden yaptıklarını söylüyor ama bunlar gidip aileme anlatmış. Böyle böyle bir şey düşünüyör, yardımcı olun falan diye. (Ahmet)

Opposite-Sex Relationships

Formation of Friendships with Females

Benim mesela çok kız arkadaşım var. Çok, aşırı fazla kız arkadaşım var. Ne bileyim kızlarla erkeklerden daha çok anlaşıyorum. (Yahya)

Kız arkadaşı konusunda şu an pek yok kız arkadaşım yani şu an çevremde. (Rıza)

Hani ortaokuldan itibaren, ya şu anda hala daha çok samimi olduğum ortaokul arkadaşlarım var gerek erkek, gerek kız. (Onur)

Önceden daha utangaçtım. Yani kadınlarla iletişim kurmakta zorlanırdım. Şu anda da çok iyi değil ama en azından atlattım yani bazı şeyleri hani oturup konuşabiliyorum çok uzun süre beraber olabiliyorum, beraber zaman geçirebiliyorum. (Bekir)

Lisede dediğim gibi hiç yoktu. Şu anda gayet iyi. Hani çevrem var bayağı kız arkadaşım. İşte öyle bir değişme oldu. Hani hiç yokken şimdi bayağı var gibisinden diyim. Çünkü o hiç olmadığı zamanlarda şeyi de zorlaştırdı. Hani ilk zamanlar nasıl desem. Hani bir kızla konuşmak ya da tanışmak hiç de kolay olmuyor. Çünkü şimdiye kadar hiç konuşmamışsınız, şey oluyor. Çok farklı oluyor. (Mehmet)

Mesela yani daha zorlanıyorum yani kız arkadaşla iletişim kurarken. Mesela, işte, şey böyle sosyal ortam dışında derste mesela bir kitap isterken bile belki biraz daha iki kere düşünüyorum mesela. (...) Kendi düşüncemde bunu sürekli aşmaya çalışıyorum. Ama iradem dışında çok, aşamıyorum. (Salih)

Yaşadığım çevre biraz daha muhafazakardı. (...) Onun dışında da işte çevremde de mesela ilçede yaşıyordum ben, merkezde değil (Doğu'da bir şehir). Böyle kızla erkeğin birlikte oturacağı ya da yürüyeceği bir yol veya bir kafe yok yani, yoktu. On-on sekiz senem böyle bir ortamda geçti. (Salih)

Ufak bir yer zaten, çok fazla okul yok. (...) Kız çocuklarının çoğu zaten beşinci sınıftan sonra okumayan şeyler oluyor. (...) İlkokuldan ise zaten yaşadığım yer hani xxx (Doğu'da bir şehir) dedim. Pek bir şey olamıyor, hani sosyalleşme nasıl desem kızlarla erkekler arasında böyle. (Mehmet)

Kız-erkek, erkek-erkek ilişkileri diye ayrım doğal olarak yapmak şeyden gelen, liseden gelen bir şey, özellik olarak. Okuduğum lise de muhafazakâr bir liseydi. (...) Lise benim yaşadığım çevreden biraz daha şeydi tabi, daha şehir merkezindeydi. (...) Bizim sınıfta on dört erkek, yedi kız vardı. Yani kızların yedisinden beşi falan başörtülüydü, kapalıydı. Ve hiç konuşmadık belki dört yıl boyunca. Sohbet anlamında hiç konuşmadık da kalem istediğimi bile hatırlamıyorum yani. Öyle ayrı gayrı vardı. Zaten onlar şurada otururdu, erkekler şurada. (Salih)

Liseye gidince kız çok çok azdı okulda. (...) Okul böyle Orta Anadolu'da herhalde olmasından dolayı biraz tutucu bir yapısı vardı. Hem kız hem erkekler birbirlerine yaklaşmak istemiyorlardı pek fazla. (Rıza)

Mesela hani baktığımız zaman şeydi yani bizim okul, özel okul gibiydi. (...) İşte şey olduğu için de hani ben biraz daha uzak yerden geliyorum, onların biraz daha bakış açısı ve benim bakış açım ters düşüyordu çoğu noktada. (Baran)

Intimacy with and Self-Disclosure to Females

İşte duygularımdan erkek arkadaşlarıma işte bahsetmiyorum ama kız arkadaşlarıma bahsedebilirim gerçekten. Çünkü onlar beni daha iyi anlarlar gibi geliyor. (...) Yani duygularımdan bahsetme konusunda kızlarla çok çok daha rahat olduğumu söyleyebilirim. Veya belki hayallerimden bahsetme konusunda da belki kız arkadaşlarıma belki daha rahat bahsedebilirim. (Rıza)

Sosyal hayatta yani bu benim kişisel görüşüm tabii ama hani nasıl diyeyim sanki biraz daha hani işin duygusal yönüyle ilgili kısımlarında ben hani daha yetersiz kaldığıma inanıyorum, (...) bazı durumlarda aşırı derecede duygumu kattığımı benim. (...) Mesela hani erkek arkadaşlarımla konuştuğum zaman bunu abi işte şey ya böyle yapma ya çok şey yapıyorsun, çok irdeliyorsun, çok didikliyorsun falan filan dendiği zaman acaba diyorum hani bende mi anormallik var, ben mi çok fazla düşünüyorum. Bir de hani derler yani klasik şeydir kızlar daha duygusal bakar, erkekler daha daha hani işte duygularını bastırır falan, onlarla konuşuyorum mesela sen olsaydın ne yapardın bunda derdim falan işte ya ben olsaydım bunu yapardım, şunu yapmazdım falan filan dediği zaman o normal arkadaşlarımdan mesela biraz daha bir denge sağlamaya çalışıyorum. (Baran)

Ama dedim yani belki hani fitrat olarak, yaratılış olarak karşımdaki insan daha farklı düşünebiliyordur. Hani bunun daha sağlıklı bir analizini yapmak da kız arkadaşlarıyla paylaşmak daha hani mantıklı aslında. (Barış)

Onların biraz daha böyle beyni, daha böyle ince bakarlar. (Can)

Yani bayanlarda, ben iyi diyalog, yani genel anlamda herkesle iyi diyalog kurduğum için, çevremde çok fazla yakın kız arkadaşım vardır ama ya ne olursa olsun biraz daha mesafeliyimdir. (Yiğit)

Teknik olarak birazcık Türk alışkanlıklarıyla ilgili (...) Onları bir ölçüde de rahatsız etmemek, yanlış bir şey düşündüğümü düşündürmemek amacıyla ne olursa olsun insan biraz daha mesafeli oluyor. (Yiğit)

Ya ben hani belirttiğim gibi Müslüman bir Türküm. Hani ona göre davranmak isterim. Benim çıkış noktam bu olduğu için, hani bayan arkadaşlarımla biraz daha şey vardır yani aramda böyle, hani gerçi ben konuşurken hani argo, argo konuşmamaya çalışırım. Ya küfür dediğimiz, küfür etmemeye çalışırım. Etmem de. (...) Tokalaşmak istemem. (...) Daha böyle hani kendimi onlara göre mesafeli ve bunların, bu mesafenin onlara kendini iyi hissettireceğini düşünüyorum. (Can)

Ya biz Doğuluyuz. Hani Doğuda biraz daha katıdır kurallar. Mesela benim annemler falan anlatıyor. Anneannem tam bir diktatörmüş yani. (...) Mesela kız arkadaşı geldiği zaman teyzemin ders çalışmak için, o ikisini aynı odada bırakmazmış mesela. Mutlaka yanlarında oturmuş hani ne konuşacaklar falan bunu takip etmek için. (...) Ya kaldı ki erkek arkadaş zaten böyle muhtemel çok yani uzak bir şey. O yüzden böyle şey oldu hani erkeğin erkek arkadaşı olur, kızın kız arkadaşı olur. Hani bu mantık vardır yani. Hani özellikle Doğu kültüründe vardır bu yani hani Batıda biraz da assimile olmuş bir fikir. Bu beni etkiledi. (...) Muhabbetlerimi işte ne bileyim erkek arkadaşlarımla yapmayı tercih ediyordum mesela. (Barış)

Bir kıza bir futbol muhabbeti yapmak var, hiç hoşlanmaz, veya bir erkekle oturup da işte bir kızın gittiği kuaförü anlatmak var. O da ondan hiç hoşlanmaz. Bir böyle hiç zevk alanı olmayan şeyler, ilgi alanı olmayan

şeyler var. (Ahmet)

Mesela erkek arkadaşlarımla maç izlemeye giderim. Ama kız arkadaşlarımla işte böyle hani maç izlemeye gidilmez yani, böyle çağırırsam da hani onlar hoşlanmadığı için olmaz. (Can)

Developmental Change in Opposite-Sex Relationships

Preadolescent Period

Kızlarla yine çok bir muhabbetimiz yoktu. Hani tek muhabbet şöyle oluyordu. Ben kız kardeşimle aynı sınıfta okudum ilkokulu hep. (...) Onun arkadaşlarından bir-iki tane vardı böyle en fazla. Hani ilkokul boyunca o tür bir şey oldu. (Mehmet)

Ondan sonra ama böyle mesela şeyde hakikaten ortaokulda falan cidden ben böyle çok samimi olduğum kız arkadaşlarım vardı. Hani benim annemin mesela arkadaşları öyle aşağı yukarı aynı zamanda evlenmişler hepsi, ondan dolayı biz çocuklar da hep yaşıt olduk, hep böyle beraber geçirirdik çoğu vaktimizi çocukken. (Baran)

Mesela sınıftaki en iyi arkadaşım kızdı. Ortaokulda çok fazla öyle bir ayırım yoktu. Yani çalışkanlık olarak zaten kuruyorduk iletişim. Çünkü çok büyük uçurum var. (...) Okuyabilecek olan zaten iki-üç kişi var. Onlardan ikisi kızdı mesela. Onlarla aram çok iyiydi. (Salih)

Okulda da işte hani ilk başta erkek çocuklarıyla arkadaş oluyorsun. Daha sonra kız arkadaşlar edinmeye başlıyorsun. (Ahmet)

Yani kızlarla şeydi yani ilkokuldan çok şeyim yoktu hani çocukluktan. Çocuklukta çok kızlarla aram iyi değildi ama genelde sanırım bu böyle yani bu bende farklı bir şey değil. (Onur)

Orada yani bu kız, bu erkek diye düşünmüyorduk belki, belki çocukluktan dolayı. (Salih)

Ya tabi ki teknik olarak ilkokulda falan kız-erkek diye bir ayırım pek yoktu. (Yiğit)

Kız çocuğu kenarda dursun, erkek çocuğu şurada dursun diye bir şey yoktu. Yazları hep birlikte otururduk. Komşunun çocuğu saz çalardı, bağlama çalardı dinlerdik. Bütün oyunları kızlar erkekler beraber oynardık. Pek bir ayırıştırma yapamadım o yüzden çocukluğumda. (Ahmet)

Böyle hani çok ilgi alanlarınız pek farklı değil. (...) Ya ben ip de atladım yani ben küçükken mahallede. (Baran)

Yani çok böyle farklılıklarınız ön plana çıkmıyor. Yani aynı üniformayı giyiyorsunuz okulda, kızın giydiği sadece bir etek giyiyor. (...) Saçları zaten bir saç uzun bizden farkı yani tek bu. (Baran)

Okula gidene kadar yani pek bir algılayamıyordum kızla erkeğin farkını. (...) Okula gittiğin zaman böyle bir kızların ayrı bir tarafta olduğunu, zaten çocuksun, erkeklerin ayrı bir tarafta olduğunu görüyorsun. İşte

orada biraz idrak etmeye başlıyorsun, ha biz farklıyız diye. Biraz farklılık vardı. Sonra yani çocuktum, oynanan oyunların farklı olduğunu görmeye başlıyorsun. (Ahmet)

Hani sonuç olarak o ergenlik kısmına kadar tamam erkeksiniz, karşı taraf kız ama yani çok böyle farklılıklarınız ön plana çıkmıyor. (Baran)

Adolescent Period

Belli bir yaştan sonra bakış açısı değişiyor. (Yiğit)
Ergenlik çağına gelince zaten hani bakış açın biraz daha değişiyor. (...)
Kızlara karşı daha duygusal bakmaya çalışıyorsun. (Ahmet)

Hani şu anda da böyle çok samimi olduğum öyle kız arkadaşlarım var. (...)
Çok böyle abi-kardeş ilişkisinde, iki süper arkadaş ilişkisinde gidiyor. (Ahmet)

Mesela bir çoğunu (kız arkadaşlardan) ya zaten böyle şey kız kardeşim ya da bazılarını da ablam gibi görürüm hani aynı yaşta olmamıza rağmen. (Can)

Yani erkek arkadaşlarla konuşurken tabi aşk ve cinsellik çok daha rahat konuşulur, yani kız arkadaşlarla onları konuşamam. (Onur)
İşte kız arkadaşlarla muhabbet ettiğimde hani çok da rahat konuşamıyorsun ya, hani gidişat hani harbiden senin içgüdülerinin yerine normal beyninle bir yerlere gidiyor yani. (Hakan)

Yani ne olursa olsun hani hiçbir zaman hani arkadaştan öte bir şey düşünmedim onların hiçbiri hakkında. (Yiğit)
Erkek arkadaşlarımdan daha yakınımla kız arkadaşlarımla (...) Hiç böyle birbirimize sevgili potansiyeli olarak hiç bakmadık. Belki onun rahatlığı. (Hakan)

Sadakat, aşk bunlar hani çok önemli benim için. (Onur)
Lisede böyle toz pembe hayaller vardır. Üniversite, aynı üniversiteye gidicez, ondan sonra evlenicez falan bilmem ne. O tarz temiz, saf hayallerim vardı. (Hakan)
Belki çok şey çok çocuksu şeyler, çok komik şeyler, çok saçma şeyler (ilk kız arkadaş ilişkisi), belki de ama çok saf ve nasıl diyim hakikaten kutsal bir şey yani, ciddi anlamda kutsal bir şey. (Baran)

Tekrar o masumiyette seveyim diye. (...) Hani başka şeyler olmasın işin içinde. Sadece ben onun elini tutayım ve bu bana haz versin. Saatlerce ben yani elimi tekrar koklayabileyim o kokuyor diye. Hani bu tarz bir ilişki arıyorum. (Hakan)

Dediğim gibi çevrenin verdiği bir şeydi. Hani orada mesela kız-erkek ilişkilerine bakma çok farklı. Diyelim ki ilk okulda ne olur ya da bir kızdan hoşlandım mesela. Bunu ne o kıza ya da ne aileme, hani ne arkadaşına, hiçbiriyle paylaşmazdım. (Mehmet)
Bazı konular sürekli şey olarak görülüyor işte toplumda, üstü kapatılır.

Ayıp diye tabir edilen. Bence değildir de. Böyle şeyleri konuştuğun zaman yani bir kızla oturup da işte onun uç örnek olacak ama cinsel hayatıyla ilgili pek konuşamazsın. Ha bir erkekle oturup onunla bunu çok daha rahat konuşabilirsin. Ama kız olsan da erkekle oturup konuşamazsın bizim toplumumuzda, tahmin ettiğim kadarıyla. (Ahmet)

Normalde erkekler hep bayanları kullanır derler. (...) Ne biliyim işte cinsellik anlamındadır, işte ne biliyim hep istismar eden erkek tarafıdır ya. Ben öyle olduğuna inanmıyorum işte. Ben kızların beni istismar ettiğine inanıyorum mesela ya da istismar edildiğime inanıyorum. (...) Karşı cins hep farklı şeyler istiyor. Bazısı işte çok sosyal olup onun sonunda mesela muhteşem bir gece, nirvanaya ulaşmış bir mutluluk istiyor falan böyle. İlginç. (...) Hep onların istediği aslında bizim erkek olarak istediğimiz şeyler. Aslında onlar bizden istiyormuş, biz farkında değiliz. (Yahya)

Çıktığım kızlara aşık olmadım, aşık olduğum kızlarla çıkamadım. (Can)
Hani şey çok aşık hissettiğim ve çok da başarılı giden bir ilişkim olmadı. (Onur)

Hani mesela biz birbirimizden hoşlanmıştık ama sadece hoşlanmak herhalde yetmiyor. (...) Daha sonra işte bitti ve bu bitince ben çok pişmanlık duydum bazı şeylerden. (Can)
İlişki konusunda biraz hayal kırıklıklarım oldu. Ne anlamda, ben mesela ne bileyim terk edildin mi dersin hiç terk edilmedim ya da ne bileyim bir acı mı yaşadım, bir aşk mı yaşadım yok. Yani böyle çok büyük aşık olduğum hayır yok. Ama karşımdan bir tatminkarsızlığım var yani. Bir tatmin olmadım yani. (Yahya)

Same-Sex Relationships

Friendship and Intimacy with Males

Çok ya çok fazla, arkadaşım çok fazla vardır ama dost olarak bayağı seçiciyimdir. (Sait)

Çok mesela böyle dost adayı dediğim insanlar olur. Şu an hayatımda bir tane dost diye bildiğim, ya belirttiğim öyle ayrı tuttuğum insan var. Ama dost adaylarım var. (...) Sadece arkadaşlarım dost adayı falan da değil. (Can)

Ya erkek arkadaşı hani kardeşim kadar veya bana bir tavsiye verebilecek abim kadar sevebildiğim zaman dost gibi görürüm. Başka türlü sadece arkadaş ilişkisi olarak görürüm. (Ahmet)

Yani bayağı yakın bir arkadaşım. Çoğu insanın kardeşinden daha yakınız. (Yiğit)

İşte böyle birbirimize gideriz. (...) Birbirimizde kalırız. (...) Ben ailesini tanırım, annem gibi bilirim. (Can)

Ailem işte, babam özellikle arkadaş çevremle çok yakın olur. Babam benden daha samimidir çoğuyla. Sürekli eve çağırır. Yolda görür, durur. (Ahmet)

Özellikle erkek arkadaş mesela böyle hani sarılırım, böyle hoplarınız zıplarız hani o şekilde böyle. (...) Böyle ne bileyim tokalaşırız. (...) Daha böyle rahat hissedirim onlara karşı yani, daha böyle girgin olabilirim. (Can)

Ortaokul son sınıfta falan arkadaşlar işte ilk defa biz maça gideceğiz falan demeye başladı ki o zaman Avrupa yakasına tek başıma bir kere ya da iki kere geçmişim hani. Ben de onlara katıldım bir iki gittim. (...) Hadi gidelim, sürekli gidelim. (...) Öyle devam ederek, önce bu xxx'te (İstanbul'da bir semt) büyüdüğüm insanlarla, daha sonra burada karşıda da, sonra üniversiteye gelince de burada arkadaşlarla öyle devam etti. (Ahmet)

Birlikte gidip maç izlemek mesela. (...) Bu mesela erkek arkadaşlarla birlikte yapılacak çok güzel bir aktivite. Mesela stadyuma gitmek de aynı şekilde. Bunu çok güzel yaşayabiliyorsun burada işte çünkü canlı olarak her şey canlı olan arkadaşlıklar var ve sen onlarla bir şeyler paylaşmak istiyorsun. Bunları da bir şekilde gidip paylaşıyorsun orada. (Can)

İşte futbol olsun, ders olsun, başka şeyler olsun. (Sait)

Her hafta oynarım (futbol), kulüpten arkadaşlar var. (...) Ama onlarla hiç samimi olamadım. (Yahya)

Biz aynı camiye gidip hatim ettik beraber, öyle bir şey vardı böyle Kuran öğrenmek için camiye gidilir. (Can)

Ne bileyim hadi şunu yapalım, bugün tiyatroya ya da sinemaya gidelim gibi şeyler oluyor. (Mehmet)

Ne bileyim hani şurada spora gidelim, şunu yapalım. (Can)

Hep böyle dışarıydık işte, sokak arasında top oynardık. İşte arkadaşlarla gezerdik. Paso vardı o zaman, hiç unutmam paso oynardık falan filan böyle sokak arasında. (Baran)

Yeri geldiği zaman hani sarhoş olmadan içmeye kadar bunları erkeklerle çok daha rahat yaşayabilirsiniz (Yiğit)

Erkek arkadaşlarımla xxx'teki (Doğu'da bir şehir) hayatımda çok düzgün ilişkilerim olmadı. Yani şu anlamda normal işte gidip yani öyle normal herkesin yapabileceği şeyleri yapardık. Çok hani şey anlamında hani birbirimize katkı sağlayabileceğimiz bir ilişkimiz olmadı. Hani o tarz bir ilişki kurmayı burada öğrendim hani, bu okulda öğrendim. (Bekir)

Geleceğe yönelik şeyler. Bak işte şöyle bir kurs varmış, gidelim işte. Ya da genelde işte olmak istediğimiz şey neyse ona yönelik, şunu yapmamız lazım. Ya sürekli geleceğe dair planlarla ilgili, ya en çok konuştuğumuz konu odur onunla. İşte hani yazın staj yapalım. Bak şurada bir iş varmış, çalışalım. (Mehmet)

Ya genelde hani yapmak istediğim şeylerden bahsederim ki o da hani benimle beraber gelsin, beraber yapalım. (Rıza)

Bizim yaptığımız şeyleri eleştirebiliyoruz. Bu güzel bir şey bence. Çünkü bizi geliştiriyor. (Can)

Böyle farklı çevrelere girmek çok çok hoşuma gidiyor. Çok hoşuma gidiyor. Bunların bana çok fazla şeyler kazandırdığını düşünüyorum. (Rıza)

Adamlara bakıyorsun. Esrar falan içiyorlar. Xxx (İstanbul'da bir semt) ilginç bir yer. (...) Bakıyorum etrafımda böyle kişilikler var. (...) Aslında onların bana katkısı. Çünkü öyle insanlar akademik backgroundu ya da işte bu ders anlamında, işte bu eğitim anlamında şey backgroundları zayıf olanlar ama sosyal anlamda süperler. Hep böyle sivri kişilikler. Bakıyorsun ne yapıcan, ya sen eğitim yönünü ve böyle kişileri mix edersen çok güzel bir şey ortaya çıkabilir diye düşünüyorsun. (Yahya)

Ya karşıdaki işte, belki işte xxx'teki (daha az prestijli bir üniversite) arkadaşlarla falan daha rahat iletişim kurma sebepim de o. Bir şey hakkında, mesela ekonomi, Türkiye ekonomisi hakkında sen konuştuğum zaman Bogaziçi dedi mi oturup dinliyorlar. Sen de çok rahat konuşuyorsun da (Salih)

Bir de hani böyle birazcık hani liderlik takıntım var benim. (...) Ben bunun kompleks olduğunu düşünüyorum. Tabi bu genelde bana sorun çıkartıyor, yani beni çekemiyorlardı falan hani böyle. (Rıza)

Communication with and Self-Disclosure to Males

İşte futbol olsun, ders olsun, başka şeyler olsun. (Sait)
Valla maç konuşuyoruz, nargile konuşuyoruz mesela. (Barış)

Spor, maçlarla ilgili konuştuğumuz çok oluyor. Öyle, basit şeyler. (Salih)

Hani spor şeyi sormadıkça bir arkadaşla oturup maç muhabbeti yapmayı seven bir insan da değilim. (Ahmet)

Her şeyimi ona göre düzenleyebiliyorum ve yani şey olarak geliyor bana nasıl diyim futbol hakikaten insanı gündelik hayattan kesinlikle uzaklaştıran bir şey. Yani o bir buçuk saat kesinlikle orada değilsiniz yani, özellikle ben, hani bilmiyorum çok şey olduğu için o ekrandaysa tamamıyla hiçbir şey görmem, bir buçuk saat böyle koparım giderim. Maçta özellikle de bir de inanılmaz stres atıyorsunuz. (Baran)
Gidip o canlı izlemeyi çok seviyorum ve orada kendimi acayip kaybediyorum. (Ahmet)

İşte bazen hani siyasi şeyler konuşuluyor nadir de olsa. (Baran)
Ne bileyim belki siyaset, politika hakkındaki düşüncelerim olabilir. İnsanların sosyal sorunları gibi şeyler. (Rıza)

Her şeyi paylaşıyoruz yani bir kere aramızda hiç hiç gizli bir şey yok. Yaşadığımız hemen hemen her şeyi, ya hemen hemen değil her şeyi anlatıyoruz. (Onur)

Hani böyle şu konuyu kesinlikle bunlara anlatmam diyebileceğim hiçbir şey yok. Ailemde olan bir sorundan kız arkadaşımın olan bir soruna kadar her şeyi çok rahatça oturup konuşabildiğim insanlar. (Ahmet)

Dostum var mesela onunla her şeyimi paylaşıyorum. Çok az bir şey kalır ben de hani, o da bende kalır. (Can)

Sanki böyle şey, ya ben bir kale gibiyim ve de bunun surları var. (...) Eminim ki son bir sur daha olacak, yani benim tarafım. O surun arkasına geçemeyecek ki benden, ne kadar samimi olursa olsun. (Rıza)

Hani erkek arkadaşlarla daha rahat paylaşıyorum (cinsellikle ilgili konuları). (Mehmet)

Yani erkek arkadaşlarla konuşurken tabii aşk ve cinsellik çok daha rahat konuşulur. (Onur)

Böyle erkeklerin şeyi vardır ya tabirleri, işte yoldan bir kız gördüğü zaman demeyiz ki bu kız iyi kızdır demeyiz, ya da bu kız çok şey kızdır ya ne bileyim çok anlayışlıdır ya, işte oturup bunla her şeyini paylaşabilirsin falan. Ne denir çok güzel ya falan, uff baksana deriz, ne kadar güzel gözüküyor falan. (Yahya)

Hani mutlaka kız muhabbeti olur ve yani boş boş konuşuyoruz. (...) Hani iki erkek oturunca abi şu kıza bak falan diye bazen söyleyebiliyorsun. Muhabbet onun üstüne dönüyor yani. (...) Hani erkeklerle artık harbiden dolmuş muhabbet hani. (Hakan)

Ya mesela erkekler arasında şeydir hani böyle, kız muhabbeti diyim. (...) Hani bu şeydir, erkek ortamında böyle alaycı bir şeydir yani. Hani böyle ciddiye alınmaz yani. Hani kız yani, öyle. Hani sadece muhabbeti geçer falan. (...) Ondan sonra benim işte bir öyle bir olmuştu bir flörtüm. (...) Hani erkek arkadaşlarımla yani paylaşmak istemedim. (Barış)

Genelde erkek ortamı nedir, genelde işte hani cafelerde şeylerde. Ya bu tür meseleleri (kız arkadaş) de işte oturup böyle uluorta konuşmayı da sevmem falan. Hani o yüzden böyle çok fazla dökmek istemedim. (Barış)

Bir de erkek arkadaşımın oturup açıkçası yani kız arkadaşımın şeyini yapmayı pek de etik bulmuyorum yani. (Barış)

Yani ben sevincimi de üzüntümü de böyle hep paylaşıyorum böyle insanlarla. (Baran)

Onların bir derdi olduğunda en çok zaten böyle insanlar dertli durumlarda çok yardımcı oluyor. Öte yandan böyle çok neşeli zamanda çok neşeli oluyor. (Ahmet)

Sustaining of Same-Sex Friendships

Bir kere en yakın arkadaşım, çocukluk arkadaşım yani yaklaşık bir on altı-on yedi senedir falan arkadaşız, ki yani iki tane böyle arkadaşım var. Ya on altı-on yedi yıldır beraber olduğumuz. (Onur)

Yakın hissettiğim, en eski arkadaşım. Çocukluk arkadaşım, on beş yıllık arkadaşım hatta. (Ahmet)

Eski oturduğumuz mahallede çok yakındı böyle evlerimiz. (Can)
İstanbul'dan. Ya yıllarca aynı sokakta oturduğum falan bir insan. (Yiğit)
İşte biz xxx'teniz (Ege'de bir şehir) ailecek. (...) Zaten bu anlattığım
çocukluk arkadaşlarımdan biri de oradan. Aynı zamanda oradan da
arkadaşım yani. (Onur)

İşte akşam bize gidelim mi der o veya ben derim. Başbaşa otururuz.
Sabaha kadar içip biraz sarhoş olunca anlatırız birbirimize, benim senle
bu derdim var, senin benle bu derdin var diye. Hani bu taktiği de kendimiz
geliştirdik böyle. Ondan sonra sabah kalktığımızda halletmiş oluruz. Bir
daha da o konu hiçbir zaman açılmaz. (Ahmet)

Bizim ilçede üniversite okuyan neredeyse çok azdır, burada okuyan hiç
yoktur. Çok sevilmezdim yani, göze de batardım. (...) Çalışkan öğrenci
yoktu. (Salih)

Ama işte dediğim gibi şu anda pek çoğuyla görüşmüyorum. Çünkü hani
sonuçta Doğuda olduğunuz için pek çoğundaki, belli bir siyasi görüş şeyi
vardı çoğunda. Benim pek sevmediğim görüşler. O yüzden şu anda hani
çok azıyla bir selamım, şeyim var. (Mehmet)

Xxx'te (Marmara'da bir kasaba) kalan arkadaşlarım biraz daha şey oldular,
nasıl diyeyim ya it kopuk derler ya tırnak içinde, hani böyle bir tabir
vardır ya, biraz daha öyle oldular yani. (...) İşte böyle sigaradır işte çete
mete öyle olaylar falan. (Baran)

Orta okuldayken de çevrem tarafımdan mesela, çok fazla arkadaşı
olmayan bir insandım çevremde. Çok aşırı, yani çalışkandım. (...) Sınavlarda hep en yüksek aldığım için işte maç yapacakları zaman beni
maça almazdılar. (...) Bir de işte çalışkandım, onun da etkisi vardır. Çok
onlar yakın hissetmiyordu demek ki bana. (...) Şimdi şeylerin,
öğretmenlerin bakış açısından da öyle. Orada da böyle bir yere tam
oturtamıyordum kendimi yani. Bu kesimde işte öğretmenlerin daha çok
ilgi gösterdiği asker çocuğu, bilmem, ne bileyim öğretmen çocuğu falan o
kesimden arkadaşlarım var. Öğretmenler de öyle ilgi gösteriyor. Ama
komşularım, yani mahalleden arkadaşlarım diğer kesimden. Onlar da beni
sevmiyor. Bu kesimden de değilim zaten. Biraz arada kalmak. (Salih)

Ben dışarıda okuyunca hafif kopmalar başladı, işte ortak bulduğumuz
noktalar azaldı falan. Daha az görüşür hale geldik. (...) İyice koptuk bu
sefer. (...) Xxx'e (Marmara'da bir kasaba) gittiğim zaman çok
sıkılıyorum. Şu an hiç arkadaşım yok sıfır. (...) Yani böyle xxx'e gittiğim
zaman bir sosyal hayatım olmuyor, hep evdeyim ya da gittiğim zaman
arkadaşımın yanına gidiyorum. En büyük sıkıntım da bu oldu yani.
(Baran)

Bunun dışında lisedeki arkadaşlarım okuldaki arkadaşlarımdan hemen
hemen hiçbiriyle görüşmüyorum. Ya bunun sebebi biraz şeyle alakalı.
Hani görüşler değişiyor farklı ya da şey oluyor, nasıl desem ilgi alanları
ya da paylaşılacak bir şey kalmıyor, hani gözden irak olan gönülden de

irak olur gibi. (Mehmet)

Development of the Masculine Self: A Relational Matrix

The Mother-Son Relationship

Mother Attributes

Evine sadık, yapması gerekenleri mutlaka yapan, hani bu çocuklar konusunda ya da evin işleri konusunda. (Hakan)

Annem, o da şey işte. Ailesine adayan bir tip. (Yahya)

Annem konuşmayı çok sever, çok konuşkandır. (Onur)

Annem böyle şeydir, çok tatlıdır, hani sevecendir. (Can)

Annem mesela şeydir, akrabalara falan çok kollar, böyle gözetir. Bilmem nerede akrabası vardır, halası vardır. Onu bilir mesela. (Can)

Annem yani biraz fedakar diye tanımlayabilirim, ilk akla gelen kelime. (Salih)

Anneme gelince, annem her şeye çok duygusal yaklaşıyor. (Mehmet)

Dışa bakışı, böyle insanlarla pek ilişkiye girmeyi sevmeyen, yani tanıyana kadar pek ısınamayan, tanıdıktan sonra ısındığı zaman da bırakmayan. (Ahmet)

Baskın, evde dominant kişi annemdir. (...) Biraz dışlı bir insandır. Biraz fazla kısıtlayıcıydı. Ya özellikle küçükken fazla kısıtlayıcıydı. (Yiğit)
İşte hani annemin de dediğim gibi hani biraz baskıcı bir ortam vardı. (Rıza)

Annem daha gelenekçi bir insan. (...) Politik olarak muhafazakar bir insan. (...) Yani bir insanın çizgilerinin olması benim hoşuma gider her zaman ama çok katı çizgi olduğu zaman da rahatsız eder bence. (Ahmet)
Fazla geniş bakamıyorlar. Annem konusunda böyle. (Sait)

İşte xxx'te (Doğu'da bir şehir) büyümüş. Xxx'in tam toplumsal yapısını almış üstüne. (...) Annem benim gözümde böyle Anadolu insanını biraz şey yapıyor sembolize ediyor, özellikle Doğu Anadolu insanını. (Ahmet)
Şimdi annem aslında biraz böyle Türk kadını, bir Türk kadını, biraz milliyetçidir.
Korumacıdır. (Rıza)

Benim yaşadığım annem daha dominant evde. (...) Yaşanmışlığından dolayı ya da işte o da altı kişilik bir ailede büyümüş. (...) Annem de zor bir ailede yetişmiş. (...) Dede de düz kafa bir adam. (...) Tırnak içinde örümcek kafalardan. (Yahya)

Düşünce olarak bilmiyorum belki eğitimlerinden kaynaklanıyor, biraz dar düşünüyorlar bazı konularda. (Sait)

Annem şeydi böyle daha sert bir kadındı. Yani sert derken daha böyle, daha mantıklı. Hani şimdi kimi zaman duygu mantığının önüne geçiyor duygusal bir insan olunca. Yok annem öyle değildir. (Onur)
Annemin fikirleri daha şey yani mantıklı, makul fikirler yani. (Barış)

(Annemin) Hırslı olması, mükemmeliyetçi olması, titiz olması. (Onur)
Yani aşırı fazla şey düşünen, hani inanılmaz detayları düşünen, inanılmaz şekilde. (...) Hani en ufak detaylara takılan, en küçük şeylerden sonuç çıkaran falan bir insandır. (Yiğit)

Çok yetenekli olduğuna inanıyorum. (...) Annem resmen şey böyle çekip çeviriyor böyle her şeyi, düzeltiyor ya. (Baran)
Zekidir. (...) Hani elinden her iş gelir gerçekten. Her işin altından kalkar. (Rıza)

The Defining Dimensions of the Maternal Relationship

Attachment to the Mother

Özellikle küçükken çok aşırı düşkündüm anneme. Onun işte ilgisine, sevgisine. (Salih)
Anneme çok bağıydim ya. Çok bağıyım, babamla değil de gerçekten annemle hani böyle değişik bir diyalogumuz vardır yani. (Barış)

Zaten hani anne olduğu için bir şeyimiz var, bağılılığımız var. (Baran)
Yani annem, tabi ki anne, daha ötesi var mı, anneden ötesi. (Yahya)

(Annemin oğlu olmak) Yani çok güzel bir şey olduğunu bir kere söyleyeyim. Bir kez daha gelsem dünyaya annemin oğlu olmak isterdim. (Salih)
(Annemin oğlu olmak) Dediğim gibi kesinlikle çok şanslı olmak geliyor ilk olarak. (Baran)

Bence bütün anneler çok kutsal çok değerli, benim annem de çok değerli. (Can)
Çok yetenekli. (...) Kendini hep sürekli yenilemeye çalışıyor. (...) Aşırı şey o çok hoşuma gidiyor. (...) İşte çalışkan olması geliyor ve hakikaten fedakarlığı çok yani saygı duyduğum noktası da o zaten. (Baran)

Annemin oğlu olmak insanı kırmadan geliştiren bir deneyim diye özetleyebilirim, bu her şeyi özetler yani, kırmadan geliştiren bir şey, kırmadan tecrübe eden, kırmadan sınavan. (Can)

Annemle biraz daha şey nasıl diyeyim babamla karşılaştırdığımda biraz daha soğuk kalır. (Ahmet)
Genelde insanların acıdığı falan bir insan oldum, işte akrabaların. İşte Reyhan'ın (annenin ismi) oğlu musun diye. (Yiğit)

Çocuklarıyla çok ilgilenen bir anne var. (Ahmet)
Annemin bana çok düşkün olduğunu hissediyorum. (Baran)

(Annem) Benim üzerime çok titrerdi küçükken. (Bekir)
Beni her zaman kollamak ister böyle, her zaman iyiliğimi düşünür. (Can)
Çocukken hani hasta olmamamız, aç kalmamamız. Yani mükemmel sonuçta çocuk büyüme açısından, fiziksel açıdan mükemmel. (Yiğit)
Ya hayatımın hani çok önemli bir kısmı küçükken annemle hastaneye giderek geçti böyle hani. Hep hatırlıyorum yani beni elimden tutup hastaneye götürdüğünü falan öyleydi. (...) Ben kendi kendime yemek yemezdim, o bana verirdi. (Bekir)

Annem hemen işte atlıyor, sarılıyor. (Hakan)
(Annem) Evlenmeden önce hani erkek çocuğum olursa hani kafamda şöyle olsun diye profil, profilini canlandırdığım çoğu şeyi sende görmek beni mutlu ediyor derdi. (Baran)

Communication and Self-Disclosure in the Maternal Relationship

Direkt anlar. Hiç anlamadığım yerlerden anlar. Bir şey gizleyemezsin, onu da hemen anlar. (Ahmet)
Gözünden biliyorum ne diyeceğini. Hiçbir şeyi saklayamıyorum. (...) Ben gözünden, annemin odada dolanış şeklinden anlıyorum anne sigara mı istiyon diye. (Hakan)

Hani hiçbir şeyinden çekinmem yani, hani her şeyimi ben anlatabilirim anneme. (Barış)
Annemle ben yani böyle hani anne-kız ne konuşursa hani ben de konuşabilirim yani annemle. (Can)

Hiçbir şekilde işte yadırgamadı, eleştirmede, işte sen nasıl böyle şeyler yaparsın bilmem ne falan. Bunları yapmadı. (...) Annem anlamıştır, daha mantıklı yorumlar yapmıştır. (...) Hani annemin karakterinden kaynaklanan bir şey bu aslında. (Barış)

Valla anne, anneye genellikle daha sınırlı şeyler paylaşabiliyor erkek çocuğu. (Yahya)

(Sorunları) Genelde annemle paylaşmam. (Ahmet)
Problemim olduğu zaman bile söyleyemem anneme. (Salih)

Direkt ağlamaya başladı. (...) Böyle çok yani çok böyle unutmicam herhalde bu şeyi. Çünkü yani ben ağlattım sonuçta, benim yaptığım bir şey ağlat, onu ağlattı. (Can)
Annem böyle baktı baktı, gözleri doldu. Allahım, yarabbim ben ne yapıcam dedim ya. Yani hiç dayanamadağım bir tablodur yani. Annemin ağlaması hani şeydir benim için, yani beni böyle derinden sarsan bir şeydir yani. (Barış)
Genelde annemle paylaşmam. Çünkü annem çok duygusal tepkiler verir. (...) Sadece gözlerinin dolduğunu gördüm. Çıktım yani hemen evden. Annem daha çok duygusal tepkiler verdiği için. (Ahmet)

Anne yüreği diyorlar ya, büyük ihtimal ondan. Anne çok daha şey

yapıyor. (Ahmet)

Mesela anneme derslerimin kötü olduğunu söyleyemem. Çünkü üzülür. Bir şey yapmaz bana, yani hiç zaten eskiden de olmadı, artık üniversiteye geldikten sonra hiç yok aileden baskı, korku yok ama annem fedakar olduğu için işte üzülür. (Salih)

Biraz oynuyor gibi yani, başarısız olsam bile başarılı olmaya, her şeyi mükemmel göstermeye çalışıyorum anneme. (Salih)

Neşesizsem bile neşeli konuşuyorum onunla konuşurken. (Hakan)

Ya mesela İstanbul'u pek bilmedikleri için, sonuçta annem çıkmadı şehir dışına. (...) Böyle annem işte saat on birde diyelim ki burada, hani bir cafeye gidicez. (...) Ya çıkma dışarıya işte akşam artık, tehlikelidir. Böyle çok farklı düşünüyor. Hani buradaki ortamı anlatamıyorum tabi. (...) Yani annemin eğitim durumu zaten yazdım hani, okumadı, bir-iki yıl mı ne okumuş sanırım ilkokulda, öyle bir şey. O yüzden pek çok şeyi paylaşamıyorum. Hani şu anda derslerimden ya da farklı bir şeyden bahsetsem de hani pek anlayabilecek durumda değil. (Mehmet)

Guidance, Monitoring and Control in the Maternal Relationship

İşte mesela oğlum şunu şunu yap, şöyle şöyle yap. Böy, hep böyle hep bir telkinde bulunan, bir öneride bulunan taraf. (Yahya)

Ahlaki konuda mesela ben hani şimdi küçükken kuran kursuna falan gittim, işte iki sene kuran kursuna mesela annemin şeyiyle gitmiştim. (Baran)

Annemden daha çok yani ahlaki değerler. (...) Çocukken bak şunu yapma bu yanlışır, bunu yapma bu doğrudur. Böyle şeyleri genelde annemden öğrendim. (Ahmet)

Annem ödevini bitirmedi diye hocaya beni şikayet ettiğini hatırlıyorum okula gelip. (Ahmet)

Biraz daha böyle arkadaş gibi yaklaşır işte, Baran şunu denersen daha iyi olur, böyle yap falan filan. (...) Annem biraz daha çözüme yönelik yaklaşıyor. (...) Kendi kararlarınızı kendiniz ya belli bir kontrol mekanizması içinde veriyorsunuz ama o kontrol mekanizması size sadece doğru yöne gitmek için şey yapıyor, yönlendiriyor hani hiçbir şekilde kötü anlamda bir kontrol mekanizması değil bu. (Baran)

(Annem) Senin kafanı bulandırmaz, ne bileyim seni daha çok sıkıntıya sokmaz sıkıntılı anlarında. Aksine hani o sıkıntıyı gidermeye çalışır bir şekilde. (Barış)

Anne işte evde seni sürekli kontrol eden bir mekanizma. (Ahmet)

Annem de biraz nasıl desem biraz fazla anneydi. (...) Her şeyle çok fazla ilgili hani. Her şeye çok fazla hakim. (...) Her şeyden haberi olacak. (Yiğit)

Öğrenmek istiyor, benim ne yaptığımı nasıl yaşadığımı öğrenmek istiyor.

O konuda bayağı ilgili diyim. (Sait)

Maternal Expectations

Annemdeki beklenti daha çok eğitim durumumla ilgili bence. Hani benim çocuğum orada okuyor, şunu yapıyor, uğraşüyor falan. Hani biraz daha iyi olabilir diye. (Ahmet)

(Annemden dolayı) Bir şey yapılıyorsa başarılı olmalısın. Yapıyorsan en iyisini yapmalısın. (...) Biraz beklenti olarak mesela o, okul okuyorsan derslerinde başarılı olacaksın. Futbol oynuyorsan başarılı olacaksın. Hep böyle bir başarı çitası var. (Yahya)

Özellikle küçük yerde daha fazla çocuğun okuduğu zaman hani bir gurur duyarsın, bir işte daha bir mutlu olursun falan. Hani mutluluğu tatmak istiyordu. (Baran)

O dışarıda gurur duyarak anlatır beni. (Salih)

Annem hep şey vardı hani özenmiş böyle ya kendi pek okumadığı için. (Baran)

Anemin de benden isteyeceği aynı şekilde iyi bir iş sahibi olmam, iyi bir mevki sahibi olmam. (Bekir)

Cidden böyle gelinin olması yani böyle mesela torunun olması falan anneler için biraz daha önemli. Annem mesela biraz daha bekler yani böyle şeyler. (Can)

Klasik olarak işte her Doğulu kadının beklentisi gibi ailesini devam ettirecek bir insan. (Salih)

Annemin mesela en büyük hayallerinden bir tanesi yarın öbür gün evlendikten sonra işte kucacımda böyle kız çocuğu istiyor. Kız torunu olsun istiyor. (...) Hani o içindeki kız evlat özlemini torunla giderecek. (Barış)

Aşırı derecede ilgi istiyorlar. Ya oturayım onların yanında. Özellikle annem açısından söylüyorum bunu. (Sait)

Yani beni, artık nasıl diyeyim, son bundan sonraki beş ya da allah işte ömür verirse kurtarıcısı olarak görüyor. Bundan sonra artık kocasındansa oğlum bana yeter mantığıyla. Böyle bir beklentisi var. (Salih)

(Annemin beklentileri) Doğru insan olmamla ilgili. (...) Annemin istediği o doğru, işte hani efendi olabilme şeyi. (Baran)

O bir yaşına geldiğinde ben dört yaşındayken ben onun başında durmuşum, annem bulaşık falan yıkarmış. (...) Annem hani sanki çocuk benim çocuğum gibi yani bana bıraktı kardeşimi. (Hakan)

Mesela evde Ali (kardeşinin ismi) dersini yapmadığı zaman mesela, annem arıyor. Ali dersini yapmadı diyor, bana şikayet ediyor mesela. (Barış)

İşte şey yapmaya çalışıyor. Ne yapayım ne edeyim falan filan bana soruyor, hani şöyle yaklaşısam üzülüyor falan filan bilmem ne. (Baran)

Ben de hani onun benden beklentilerinin daha farkına vardım. Daha şey oldu, daha beklentilerine daha iyi cevap verebildim. (...) O bakımdan misyonumu tamamladığıma inanıyorum. (Baran)

Ben de daha onun (annemin) gurur duyduğu gibi olmaya çalışıyorum. (...) Bunu hak ettiğini düşünüyorum çünkü. (Salih)

Hierarchy in Mother-Son Relationship

Annemle genelde çok onun huyları üzerine tartışırız. Anne şöyle yapıyorsun, yapma derim. O da bu böyle doğrudur falan der. (Ahmet)

Annemle en çok babamın sinir olduğum yönlerini paylaşıyorum. Çünkü aynı dertlerden annem de muzdarip. Ya babamla bir şeyi tartıştığın zaman anlamadığımız konularda anneme söylerim. Annem de evet evet ben de şikayetçiyim der. (Onur)

Hep eskiden beri şey yapar babamla kavga ettikleri zaman, siz eşinize işte adil davranın falan diye, hep onu söylerdi hani bunun yaptığını yapmayın. (Hakan)

Annem de hiçbir şekilde şey yapmadı, hani nasıl diyeyim bir anneden ziyade bir arkadaş gibi yaklaştı her zaman çocukluğumdan itibaren. (Baran)

Babamla mesela aradaki dengeyi hep annem sağlar. (Baran)

İşte erkek olduğumu hissettirmeye çalışıyor sanırım bazen böyle hani, elindeki iktidarı bazen hani benimle böyle paylaşıyor. (...) Ya ne bileyim işte eve birisi işte gelir, sen bak işte der kapıya bana. (Rıza)

Change in the Maternal Relationship

Ergenlik döneminde annemle çok tartışırdım, çok kavga ederdim. (Onur)
Ergenliğe gelince, o da bence çok büyük bir ayrışma. Direkt aileyle en çok sorun yaşadığım dönem benim. Eve geç gelmeler, nerdesin, niye haber vermiyorsun. Tamam geç gel, haber ver. Ben sana niye haber vereyim. Bunların tartışmaları. (Ahmet)

Ergenliğe girdiğim zaman annemden koştum yani tamamen. Biraz da anneme de tepki göstermeye başladım hani. O yine beni hani aynı şekilde sevmeye çalışırken ben reddettim. (Bekir)

Hani annemi babamı beğenmeme, tavırlarına hareketlerine falan filan. (Can)

Şimdi ergenlik dönemindeyken çok böyle asiydim, çok huysuzdum. O yüzden hani annemin çok bu kadar titiz ve hırslı ve mükemmeliyetçi olması bana çok batardı. (Onur)

(Annem) Fazla baskın bir karakter, ya aslında benim de biraz baskın bir karakterim vardır. O yüzden aslında çok karakter şeyi yaşadık onunla, kargaşası. O beni bastırmaya çalıştı, ben yok bastıramazsın, hayır, hani benim karakterim bu diye. (Yiğit)

Eskiden paylaşmazdım artık paylaşıyorum, yani yani o da herhalde yaşla ilgili bir şey. (Onur)

Annemle olan ilişkim hani nasıl ya şey gibi, yani böyle düzenli grafik gibiydi, yaş ilerledikçe hani paylaştıklarımız da arttı. (Baran)

Ya ben bilmiyorum, herhalde utanıyordum ki paylaşmıyordum. Yani bana böyle mesela aşık olduğum kızı anneme anlatmak garip geliyordu anlatmıyordum. Hatta aşık oldum bile demiyordum yani ama şimdi söylüyorum aşık olduğum zaman. (Onur)

Annemle de daha fazla, tabi çocukken çok bir şey konuşamıyorsun, konuşacak bir şey yok. Annemle şu an biraz daha fazla şeyleri paylaşabiliyorum. (Salih)

Belli bir şeyleri (okulu bırakmayacağımı) kanıtladıktan sonra artık rahatlamaya başladım. (...) Bu rahatlamadan dolayı hayatımda yaşadığım her türlü olayı anlattım. (Sait)

Ya mesela şu anda işte düşüncemi çok rahatlıkla söyleyebiliyorum. (...) Anneme yanlış yaptığımı söyleyebiliyorum. Eskiden olsa asla söyleyemezdim. (...) İşte üniversitede okumam. Böyle işte iyi bir yerde okumam. Bunlar işte etkilemiştir yani kesinlikle. (Rıza)

Üniversiteye geldim ve o işte ellerini artık benim üzerime ulaştırıyor. Onu fark ediyorum ve bu onu biraz daha duygusallığa itti sanki. Konuşurken sürekli ağlıyor üzülüyor falan ne yediniz ne içtiniz falan diye. (Hakan)

Hala mesela şimdi telefonu açayım, konuşayım hadi gel artık falan filan böyle nerede kaldın. (Baran)

The Internal Mother

Kıskançlık konusunda biraz anneme çekmişim. (Sait)

Evhamlıyım. Bunu annemden aldım diye düşünüyorum. (Hakan)

Annemden gelen özelliğim de şöyle çok saf birisi olmam. (Bekir)

Diyalog kurma şeyini böyle o sıcak kalma, mesela şeyimdir böyle kıpır kıpırımıdır böyle, tanışayım şey yapayım falan, hani o, o konuda sanki anneme benziyorum. (Baran)

Annemden şey aldım ben böyle hani. Böyle sıcak ilişki kurabilmeyi aldım yani hani. Bir de benim böyle şeyim var hani arkadaşım, arkadaş hastasıyım biraz da ben. Arkadaş canlısıyım. (Can)

(Annem) Hiç böyle kendiliğinden iletişim kurmaz. İlla mesela birileri gelecek onunla şey yapacak, bir yere çağıracak, zorlayacak falan mesela. (...) O özelliğim biraz benziyor. İşte o biraz bende çekingenliğe doğru

kayıyor. (Salih)

Yani duygusal anlamda işte anneme işte benzemişim. (Rıza)
Çok duygusalım, o konuda kesinlikle anneme. (Baran)

(Anneme benzer bulduğum) hani bir ahlaki değerlere verdiği önem aklıma geliyor. (Ahmet)

Kırk beş yaşından sonra Arapça öğrenmiştir mesela kadın o ve çocukluğumdan beri hep evde namaz kılınır falan böyle. O yüzden manevi yönden kendimi çok güçlü hissedirim ve ne bileyim kuralların dışına, kendi inandığım dinin kuralları dışına çıkmamaya çalışırım ve çıkmam da. (Yahya)

Sürekli başarılı olucam hırsı. Bunların hepsi annemden, annemle alakalı şeyler. (Yiğit)

Mesela annem çok hırslıdır (bizi bir yerlere getirmek konusunda). İşte hırslımı biraz annemden almışım. (Onur)

(Annemden gelen) Titiz olmak, mükemmeliyetçi olmak. (Onur)
(Annemle) İkimiz de aşırı detayları düşünebiliyoruz. (Yiğit)

Bir meseleden çıkarım yapıyor. Bir sonraki meselede de aynı durum hani tezahür edebilir, tekrarlanabilir. Hani o yüzden hani, bu adımı biraz daha mantıklı atmak, hani böyle bir düşüncesi vardır. (...) Olaylardan bir şeyler çıkarmayı, çıkarım yapmasını bilirim. (Barış)

İyi özellikler deyince şimdi hep annemden saydım. (Rıza)

Hani bir olaydan bir çıkarım yapmak, bir sonraki olayda aynı durumla karşılaşabileceğin düşüncesini sindirmek, idrak etmek. Bu gerçekten güzel bir şey yani, kabiliyet bu. Mesela bende de böyle bir şey vardır. (Barış)

Genelde anneme benzerim, yani psikolojik olarak. Tabi karakter olarak genelde anneme benzerim. (Yiğit)

Annem karakter olarak bana çok benzer. (...) Hatta kendi aramızda esprimiz var, yani kendinden bir tane daha doğurmuşsun diyorlar anneme benim için. (...) Annesinin oğlu kalıbı çok kullanılıyor benim için. (Onur)

Annemden, benzeşmeyen ama genetik olarak aldığım ve öbür özelliklerime katkıda bulunan bir sürü feature var. (Yahya)

(Anneme benzer bulduğum) Pek aklıma gelmiyor. (Ahmet)

(Annem) Mantık, mantık, hep mantık. Annem daha iyi, daha reel düşünür. Onda mesela duygusallık daha azdır. Mesela o yüzden ayrışıyoruz orada. (Yahya)

The Father-Son Relationship

Father Attributes

Babam çok şeydi, otoriter bir insan, ciddi. (Can)
Babam ise çok sert biridir, çok hani otorite figürü. (Bekir)
Biraz da hani kuralcıydı. (...) Maçomuydu diyeyim artık. (...) Babam biraz daha sinirli sanki (Hakan)

Ya babam öyle çok çabuk sinirlenir. İşte böyle karşısındakini kırar gereksiz yere. (Rıza)
Babam biraz daha sinirli sanki. Çabuk parlayabiliyor. (Hakan)

Rahat bir insan, çok sakin bir insan, babam çok duygusal (Onur)
(Babamın) biraz daha çekinik bir şeyi vardır, karakteri vardır. (Yiğit)
Babam çok tonton bir adam. (...) Çok mülayim bir adam. (Yahya)

(Babam) özellikle bizim için hani çocukları için çok fazla şey yapmış, çok fazla fedakarlık yapmış olduğunu düşündüğüm birisidir. Hani hep bizim için sonuçta yani hayatı boyunca çalışmış. (...) Sürekli bizim iyiliğimizi düşünmüş. (Yiğit)
Ailesi ve çocukları için yaşamış, komple yani. Kendisi için hiç yaşamamış. (Yahya)

Babam direkt mantığıyla hareket eder. (Baran)

Daha böyle liberal, daha bakış açısı biraz daha farklı. (Ahmet)
İdeoloji olarak sosyal-demokratım diye tanımlar kendisini. (Can)

Babamın hayat felsefesi futbol üzerine kuruludur ve belgesel üzerine kuruludur. Babamı ben mesela hiçbir zaman dizi izlerken görmemişimdir. Ancak böyle yabancı filmler izler. (...) Hapishane filmlerini çok sever yani. Öyle bir insan babam. (Barış)

Kendi babası kesinlikle çok sert değilmiş. (...) 75-80 arasında yaşadığını düşünürsek yani o zamana göre çok çok rahat yetişmiş. Neden böyle yaptığını onu hep düşündüm hani. (...) Çok sıkı yetiştirilse, rahat yetiştirirdi belki. (Baran)
Zor bir adammış. Çünkü yirmi yaşında bu İstanbul'a geliyorsun taşradan. (...) Her şeyi kendi yapmış bu, yani hep kendi elde etmiş. (Yahya)

Babam da bayağı bir xxx'te (Doğu'da bir şehir) kalmış. Oranın yapısını o da biraz almış ama üniversite okumak için çıktığında, (...) daha böyle liberal, daha bakış açısı biraz daha farklı. Çok yer gezdiğinden dolayı ben tahmin ediyorum böyle. (Ahmet)

The Defining Dimensions of the Parental Relationship

Attachment to the Father

Babamla (ilişkımız) genelde seviyelidir böyle. (Can)
İyi bir babadır ama hani ikili ilişki konusunda bizimle pek fazla şey paylaşmamıştır. (...) Babam pek bize karışmazdı. (Yiğit)
Babam ise, ilk akla gelen kelime ilgisiz, çok ilgisizdi. (Salih)

Çok korkardım babamdan, ki hala da korkarım. (Baran)
Babamla mesela ilişkilerim pek sağlıklı değil gerçekten. (...) Babam çünkü gerçekten çok çabuk sinirlenir. (...) Gergin bir işi var. İşten eve geldiğinde de işte gergin oluyordu. (Rıza)
Akşam ezanı okunduğunda ya babam gelecek şimdi, içim böyle bir daralırdı. (Hakan)

Hiç uzağa gitmezdi. (...) Benim babam sürekli gördüğüm yerde oluyordu.
Çok da hoşuma gidiyordu. (Ahmet)
Babamı annemden daha çok severdim. (...) Çünkü hani babam hep sakindi, yumuşaktı, işte duygusaldı, üzülürdü bana bir şey olunca. (Onur)

Babamı kendime zaten direkt idol olarak alırım. (...) Babam çocukluğumdan beri hep böyle kafamda gördüğüm işte ideal erkek şeyi.
(...) Direkt baba kafandaki insan profili. (Ahmet)
Babam ne biliyim bana göre, yani herkesin babası kendine göre ideal bir babadır. (Yahya)
Hep ona (babama) minnettar olmuşumdur. (Hakan)

Babamın oğlu olmak insanı kıra kıra geliştiren, büyüten çoğunlukla.
Bazen de kırmadan, sahip olucu bunu hissettiren böyle bir kabuk tarzında,
bir güç tarzında yetiştiren bir şey. Bir üst düzey bir şey, bir böyle yüce bir varlık gibi (Can)

Babamın mesela ekonomik olarak ve kariyer olarak şu anda bulunduğu yeri beğenmiyorum. (...) Çabalayan bir insan ama ben yeterli görmüyorum. (...) Babam benim için bir rol model değil. (Onur)

Babamın bende oluşturduğu imaj olumsuzmuş. Yani şimdi iyi özellikler deyince, (...) babamdan sayamadım. (Rıza)

Mesela hiçbir zaman benim gözüm hiçbir şeyde kalmamıştır babam sayesinde. İstedığimi giymişimdir, istediğimi yemişimdir. Ah keşke şunu da yapsaydım dememişimdir yani. Gezmeye gitmek isterim. Çok rahat bir şekilde giderim yani. (Barış)
Mesela diyelim ki bir şeye karar verdim. Bir kursa gitcem ya da farklı bir şeye. Yani yüklü bir para istesem evden falan hani babam bir şekilde bana gönderir. (Mehmet)

Her sabah o kaldırır, kahvaltımı hazırlar. Kahvaltımı hazırlar falan böyle.
Ben hani okuldan şey servis için evden çıkana kadar yanımda durur falan

böyle. (Yiğit)

(Babamın oğlu olmak) Sahip olucu bunu hissettiren. (...) Baba biraz daha böyle hani daha bir kabuktur, dıştır yani. Dışta daha böyle çevreler. (Can)

Hani babam çok sarılmak istiyordum, o da biliyorum ki o da bana sarılmak istiyor ama artık biraz mizacımızdan mıdır nedir çok böyle babama candan böyle babacım diyerek ben hayatımda hiç sarılmadım. (Hakan)

Hiçbir şekilde sevgiyle ilgili bir şüphem yok ama ne kadar hissettirdi, ne kadar görünürde yaşadım dersem çok azını gördüm. (Baran)

Çok seviyor bizi, bunu belli edemiyor. (Salih)

Hani babanın çocukları uyuduktan sonra sevmesi, hani öyle bir şey vardır ya, hani öyle bir şeydi benimki de. (Baran)

Doğudaki hani o toplumsal hayatta bir erkeğin hani çocuğunu sevmesi, (...) çok normal karşılanmaz. Hani biraz erkeksi bir duruş göstermek zorunda, ki ben hani sonradan düşündüğüm zaman, (...) babamın aslında beni çok sevdiğine kanaat getirdim. Yani beni aslında çok seven biri ama işte toplum bana o şekilde davranması gerektiğini söylüyor. (Bekir)

Ya babam küçükken beni severdi. Yani biraz hani o duygusal yapımdan, belki duygusal yapımdan dolayı beni severdi. (Bekir)

Biraz kırılğan bir yapım vardı çocukluğumda babama karşı mesela özellikle. (...) Küçük bir kızdığı zaman zaten hiç vurduğunu da hatırlamam da, kızdığı zaman iki gün falan konuşmazdım. İlla gelip gönlümü aldıktan sonra konuşurdum. (Salih)

Babamı da seviyorum tabi kötü bir şey düşünmüyorum ama eksik tarafları olduğu için babamın daha iyi olabilirdi diyorum yani. (...) Babam (üzerine düşeni) çok fazla yapamadı. (Salih)

Biraz pişmanlıklarım oldu. Keşke daha çok şey yaşayabilseydik birlikte. (Yiğit)

Babama hiç çok aşırı tepkiler vermedim zaten, sert tepkiler vermedim. (Bekir)

Hiçbir şekilde hiçbir zaman babama ben çok fazla kızamadım çünkü içinde bizi sevdiğini biliyorum. (Hakan)

Communication and Self-Disclosure in the Paternal Relationship

Babamla oturup bir şey konuştuğumu hatırlamıyorum. (...) Yani iletişim adına bir şey yok. (Salih)

İşte dediğim gibi babamla hani öyle paylaştığım çok bir şey yok gerçekten. (Rıza)

Babamla iletişimim kopuk olmuştur. (Barış)

Babamla paylaşamazdım. (...) Babam direkt giderdi, mesela işte ağlamıştım bir kere. (...) Kız arkadaşımın dolayısıyla, şey demişti çorap gibidir kızlar, giyeceksin atacaksın falan o tarz böyle. Hani tamam

dedim, babamla olmayacak bu iş. (Baran)
Yani babamla denemişimdir. (...) Oturup konuşmuşumdur babamla. Hani benim anlatmak istediğimi babam, (...) fehedememiştir, idrak edememiştir. (...) Bir mesele anlatın babama lafin ucunu tutar böyle evirir çevirir futbola getirir. (...) Ben de oturup hani bir şekilde meselelerimin futbola getirilmesinden rahatsız olurum. (Barış)
Daha ilgisizdir yani. (...) Çok böyle bu konularla ben çok ilgilendiğini hiç tahmin etmediğim için hiç onunla paylaşmanın bana hani bir şey getireceğini düşünmedim. (...) Bir katkısı olacağını tahmin etmiyorum. (Onur)

Çok yani aramızda otuz altı yaş var yani, neredeyse iki kuşak var. Bir de tabi onun kuşağıyla benimki arasında tabi ki çok fark var. (...) Yani aynı şeyde düşünmemiz hiçbir zaman mümkün olmayacak. (Yiğit)

Hiç böyle ilişkilerimi, hiçbir şekilde babama anlatmam. Babam annemden her şeyimi bilir, ama o da bilmiyormuş gibi davranır. Zaten babanın yanında kız arkadaşından ya da ilerdeki eşinden konuşulması, (...) bizim oralarda ayıptır yani. Hani ya baba bir kız var, çok seviyorum falan diye ben kesinlikle diyemem yani. (Hakan)

Siyaset, politika falan konuşuyoruz. Din konuşuyoruz. (Yiğit)
Babamla daha böyle şey tartışırız. Yani onunla daha böyle entelektüel sohbetlerimiz olur. Yani mesela ben ekonomi okurum, babam bana sorar, hani ne olacak bu dolar falan, (...) siyaset olur.(Onur)

Babamla neyi paylaştım, baba işte arkadaşlarla top oynadık, derste şöyle bir şey oldu, iyi aldım. (Can)

Babamla çok rahat bir şekilde konuşurum. (Ahmet)
Babamla her şeyi paylaşabiliyorum. Maddi, manevi. (Yahya)

Böyle bir agresif bir adam değil. (...) O yüzden onla daha çok şeyimi paylaşıyorum, hata yaparım söylerim, ılımlı. Mesela kötü bir şey, mesela hastaydım sınava giremedim. (...) Diyor ki aman oğlum ne olacak, geç olsun, güç olmasın. (...) Yani o şey biraz daha hissediyor galiba beni. Özellikle babam arkamda bayağı bir durdu. (Sait)

Guidance, Monitoring and Control in the Paternal Relationship

Alevi mahallesi idi. Babam sağ görüşlü bir insandı ama şeydi yani, o insanlar çok iyi insanlardır, hep içlerinde bulun git falan derdi. (...) Ara sıra iş yerine giderdim. Şeyi hatırlıyorum, sürekli beni işyerinden çıkarttığını, git gez boş ver burada durma dediğini. (...) Kendisi çocukken babası onu sürekli iş yerine götürüyormuş. O kendi çocuğunu sokmak istemiyor. Bugün dahi mesela sokmaz. (Ahmet)
İstanbul'a gelirken, (...) git gör her şeyi işte şey yap. (Baran)

Babam hemen çağırırdı ezan okunduğu zaman. Oğlum ezan okundu gel, yemek yicez derdi (Can)

Ezan okunduğu zaman eve geleceksin. (Baran)

Babamla hakikaten şu disiplin konusunda falan çok katıydı. (...) Böyle bir arkadaş çevresi, yetiştirildiği ortam, (...) o etkili oldu, biraz daha böyle hani şey diye tabir edebileceğimiz, biraz daha yöresel, daha geleneksel, daha tutucu insanların arasında yetişmesinden dolayı. (Baran)

Ne bileyim işte hani liseye başlayacaktım, yatılı bir okula hani gidecektim. Hani ben şey isterdim, babamın hani beni bak oğlum şunlar işte olacak, işte şunlara karşı dikkat et. (Rıza)

Eksik tarafları olduğu için babamın daha iyi olabilirdi diyorum yani. Biraz daha ilgili olabilirdi ya da yönlendirme konusunda mesela en azından. (...) Babamın benim üniversite okuyacağımdan bile bilinç, o bilinçte bile değildi yani ki yönlendirsin. (...) Çünkü babadan bekliyor, bekliyoruz. (Salih)

Recognition and Acceptance in the Paternal Relationship

Çok anlayışlıdır bir noktaya kadar. Gerçi o anlayışlılığı biraz bana, ya bana özel diyim. (Sait)

(Babam) beni anlıyor, anladığımı fark ediyorum. (...) Ama çok fazla değil, annem kadar değil. (Can)

İlk önce okuduğum okul kötüydü. Babam oradan alıp koleje verdi. Kolejde de üç sene okudum sonra ben okumak istemedim. (...) Oradan başka bir okula geçtim. (Ahmet)

Sonra bir hocamın işte tavsiyesiyle dersane falan, bana böyle şeyler olduğunu falan söyledi. Babamla konuştu. Ondan sonra işte derşaneye kayıt oldum. (Mehmet)

Küçümsendiğimi çok hissettim. (...) Babam sanki beni böyle hani hakikaten bir birey gibi sanki karşısına alıp konuşmadı şimdiye kadar. (...) Beni böyle işte kendi akranı gibi görmüyor. Genelde böyle küçük görüyor gibi beni. Mesela babam bazen yani onunla yani bir şey konuştuğum zaman çok zaman işte gülmez, bakmaz mesela. (Rıza)

Liseye kadar özellikle hep sanki hani başkalarının çocukları daha başarılı gibi falan sanki öyle bir düşüncesi vardı. (Baran)

İşini hiç beğenmiyorum, hiç güzel yapamıyorsun (derdi babam). (Can)

Ya mesela bir anahtarımı kaybederdim işte anahtar evin namusudur, bilmem neden bir başlardı böyle. (Baran)

(Arkadaşımın) Babasına çok imrenmişim hani böyle o diyalogu o çocuğuna yaklaşımı. (...) Hani hakikaten karşıdakini adam yerine koyarak hani böyle yaşından daha büyük biriymiş gibi davranıyordu. Ben özenmişim böyle, yani şöyle niye yapmıyor benim babam falan filan demiştim. (Baran)

Babamda böyle yani hoşlanmadığım bir şey de bana karşı beslediği bir güvensizliktir belki. Ondan dolayı yani gerçekten çok kızıyorum yani babama. Niye bana böyle yaklaşıyor diye. (...) Babalar birey olarak değil

de böyle çocuk gibi işte yaklaşıyor sanırım. (Rıza)
Lisede dört yıl okudum, babam bir kere bile gelmedi. Okul birincisi olarak bitirdim. (Salih)

Paternal Expectations

Başarılı ol, derslerini iyi getir. Ondan sonra güzel bir okula git. (Can)
Babam ailede eline kalemin en çok yakıştığı insanım benim olduğumu söyler mesela. (Barış)

Büyük ihtimal babamın okuyamadığından dolayı. Çocukları sürekli okusun, okusun. (Ahmet)

Beni böyle gurur duyulacak bir meta olarak görüyor çevresinde işte. Arkadaşları işte bak Yakup'un (babanın ismi) oğlu böyle okuyor falan gibi dediği zaman gururlanıyor. En büyük beklentisi işte göğsünü kabartmam. (Salih)

Özel hocaya göndermeye çalışma, sürekli eğitim durumuna şey yapma. (...) Daha böyle bir çizdiği idolu yapmaya çalışıyor. (Ahmet)

İyi bir iş sahibi olmam, iyi bir mevki sahibi olmam. (Bekir)
Biran önce okulu bitirip şey yapmamı istiyor. Babamın kaygılandığı bir durum, işte kariyerdeki şu anda yaptığım bazı durumların ilerdeki durumunu etkiler, staj mesela. (Sait)

Babam genelde okulu bitirmemi bekliyor gibi hissediyorum. (...) Çünkü emekli aylığı, emekli maaşını bana veriyor, tekrar çalışıyor. Yani çalışıyor bir şekilde bitirmemi istiyor derslerimi soruyor. (Can)
Üniversiteye girdim gireli ya babamın söylediği bana okulu bitir, ben işi bırakıcam. (Sait)

Babamın çocuğu nasıl olacak, işte Alabulus traşı olacak. Ondan sonra sinek kaydı gezecek. İşte kumaş pantolon gömlek falan hani babamın benle ilgili herhalde en büyük sıkıntısı dış görünüşümle ilgili oldu herhalde. (...) Adam gibi adam olmanın dış görünüş biraz daha hani kriteriymiş gibi. (Baran)

Oğlum ben senin arkadaşlarının arasında yani örnek bir yerde olmanı istiyorum derdi. (Can)

Bizim ailede yapmamız gereken şey insanlara tepki vermek, yani yanlış olan şeyleri düzeltmeye çalışmak, etrafımızdaki doğru bir insan profili çizmek. (Bekir)

Dürüst birisi olmamı ister. (...) Toplum tarafından böyle tasvip edilen, böyle saygı duyulan bir insan olmamı isterler. (Rıza)

Yetiştığımız yerin de etkisi var mesela. (...) Bir ay falan kesmedim sakalımı. Gelmiş böyle adamın biri babama, düğünde şey demiş işte Baran'ın düğünü de kilise de yaparız artık papaz gibi olmuş falan. Yani böyle bir yerdeydim. (...) Ya tabi ki bunlara herhalde içerliyor, üzülüyor.

(Baran)

Benim tek dışarıda sokakta yaptığım kavgayı bile babama söyledikleri zaman babam bunu kimseye söylemezdi. Hani bundan bile utanırdı diyeyim veya benim sigara içerken görülmemden bile. (Ahmet)

Babam bence bunu bilinçli olarak bana devretti. Hani dedi ki işte hani demedi de dedi. (...) Kardeşlerini kontrol et. İşte hani nasıl yaşadıklarını, kimlerle muhatap olduklarını falan. (Barış)

Babam direkt veliht gibi bir şey görüyor. (...) Hani bak oğlum bana bir şey olursa sen kardeşlerine babalık yapacaksın, biliyorsun değil mi. (...) Oniki yaşındaki kardeşim var, onu sen okutacaksın di mi diyor bana. Sen niye okutmuyorsun diyorum. Onu da mı ben okutacağım falan diyor. (Ahmet)

Yani en basitinden hani faturaların unutulmaması, ne bileyim basit şeyler bile olsa. (Yiğit)

Mesela babam bir iş yapıcak, ne bileyim bir kredi mi çekicek, ne biliyim parayla ilgili bir sorunu mu olacak, faturayla ilgili bir sorun. Hep onları beraber hallediyoruz. (Yahya)

Para konusu, tabi ailenin eve para getireni baba olduğu için parayla ilgili şeyleri, ya ben mesela bir yerde çalışsam para alsam ne kadar aldığımı söylerim ya da babam işte iş değiştirirse ya da eline fazladan para geçse söyler. (Onur)

Üç erkek sahibi olunca, babama işte üç oğlum var, senin sırtın yere gelmez demişler ki yavaş yavaş onu yaşıyor. Mesela uzun bir yolculuğa çıkınca arabayı dönüşümlü olarak ben ve abim kullanıyoruz, babam arkaya geçip oturuyor. (...) Bavullar mesela taşınacak oluyor, hemen biz taşıyoruz, babam taşımıyor falan. (Onur)

Annenizin bir yere götürülmesi gerekir hani arabayla, annemin daha tabi ki ehliyeti yok. Hani hep babamın üzerinde olan sorumlulukları zamanla benim almam. (...) Bir şey alınacaktır, bakkala ben giderim, çöpleri ben çıkarırım. (...) Angarya işler yani ne bileyim hani perdeyi as, perdeyi indir gibi işler ya da pazara git, poşet taşınacak çünkü. (Yiğit)

Mesela benim ismin dedemin ismi, babamın babasının ismi. Benim de bir oğlum olursa mutlaka artık babamın ismini koymalıyım. Hani bunu söylemez, ben size karışmam falan der de içten içe bekler, biliyorum. (Hakan)

Ben mesela sessiz, (babamın) dediği her şeyi yaparım. (Salih)

Mümkün olduğu kadar ben babamı karşıma almamaya çalıştım. Çok büyük bir gerginlik hiçbir zaman yaşamadık. (...) Sebebi belki benim hep alttan almaya çalışmam, tersine gitmemeye çalışmam. (Baran)

Babam eve çağırdı, gittim. İşte babam aldı odaya, iki saat boyunca bana anlattı, mantıklı açıklamalar yaptı. (...) Yani tamam baba falan dedim ama hala kafamda çoğu şey değişmemişti. (Ahmet)

Babamın oğlu olmak biraz ileride bana angarya gibi olacak. (...) Hani ben

de onun görüşlerine yakın bir görüşteymişim gibi konuşuyorum. Diyor işte Hakan harbiden hani vurunca böyle masaya, aile babası olacak gibi düşünüyor. (...) İçimde böyle bir şeylik yok. Böyle çok fazla yani sınırlı bir insan değilim ya da çok böyle baskıcı bir insan değilim. Hani ama babamı tatmin etmek için en azından öyle bir oyun oynayabilirim. (Hakan)

Huyuna gitmeye çalışıyorum hala. Yani sonuç olarak artık hem yaşıyorlar, hem hasta. Ne olursa olsun biraz daha stres yapmaması lazım. (Baran)

Arkadaşlar toplanır. (...) Babam bazen izin vermez, yani gidemezsin falan der böyle. Hani şey eski böyle gücünü böyle tekrar bir günlüğüne de olsa şey yapmak ister. Hani ben babamı kırmayayım diye tamam baba öyle olsun ama yani oraya gitsem hiçbir şey olmayacak, ben eğleneceğim orada. (Hakan)

Bana bir şey olursa tek sebebi sensin dedi. (...) Sonra da bir hafta konuşmadı benimle. (...) İki kere yaşadım onu, bir küpede yaşadım bir de sigara da yaşadım. (Baran)

Her zaman ben şunu yapıyorum, haberiniz olsun. Babam buna çok sinirlenir, bu izin isteme değil de yani haberin olsun, yaptım demek diye. Hani bunu söyleyeceğine hiç söyleme falan der. (Ahmet)

Change in the Paternal Relationship

Çok daha fazla yakınlaştık. Çok daha fazla şey paylaşmaya başladık. (Hakan)

Çocukluğumda babamla pek ilişkim yoktu zaten. Ya yavaş yavaş ilişki kurmaya başladım. (Yiğit)

Babamın eskiye göre daha böyle konulara bakış açısının daha yumuşak olduğunu ben tahmin ediyorum. Hani eskiden ben babama şunu yapacağım desem hayır onu yapamazsın falan dediği zaman kesinlikle yapamazdım. Hani şimdi şunu yapacağım, yapma, ya yapmam lazım, şöyle falan, biraz üstüne gidince iyi tamam yap falan. (Ahmet)

Babam bir karar alırdı diyelim ki. O zaten belli bir karar, o yapılırdı. Şimdi en azından şey yapabiliyorum, ya hayır işte ne bileyim baba böyle mi yapsak, şöyle mi yapsak, bu hiç de iyi olmaz gibisinden. (...) Önerim oluyor ya da fikrini değiştirebiliyom hani. (Mehmet)

Eskiden daha yani söylediğim gibi yani işte böyle adam yerine koymazken şimdi daha farklı yaklaşıyor bana sahiden. Hani babamın karşısında kendimi daha böyle önemli hissediyorum. (Rıza)

Hani abi-kardeş ilişkisine döndü biraz daha baba-oğul. (Baran)

Ya belli bir yaştan sonra işte şöyle galiba. Babayla böyle bir iktidarı paylaşmaya çalışan bir figür gibi oluyor. (...) Böyle evin içinde iki tane horoz gibi oluyor bazen. (Rıza)

Yaşı ilerledi falan, biraz daha böyle agresif değil (babam). (Yahya)

Emekli olduktan sonra hani harbiden yumuşadı yani. (Hakan)

Şimdi babamla hakikaten ciddi anlamda bu ameliyat olduktan sonra

özellikle çoğu konuda yumuşadığımı hissediyorum. Yani babam da artık fazla çoğu şeyde gereksiz yere direktmiyor. (Baran)

Liseye geçip de ayrıldıktan sonra evden çok daha sanki bir değişme oldu hani bana karşı tavırlarında. İşte artık biraz daha büyüdüğümü mü düşündü ne bilmiyorum da. (...) İşte şimdiki durumda babam, yani söylediğim neredeyse her şeyi kabul edebiliyor. Hani baba şöyle bir şey düşünüyom, yapayım mı falan. Tamam sen zaten hani düşünmüşsen, şey yapmışsan. (...) Tamamen kendim kararları alabiliyorum yani. (Mehmet) Üniversiteye geldikten sonra şey oldu hakikaten olgunlaştı bu çocuk demeye başladı, biraz daha hissediyorum. (...) Hani dediğim gibi bu son üç senedir babamla olan ilişkimdeki trend de iyi gidiyor. (Baran)

Ergenlik döneminde biraz daha şiddetlendi. (...) Yani sonuç olarak çocukluk döneminde o disiplin diyelim edinme sürecinde pasif oluyorsunuz. (...) Ama o yaşa geldikten sonra yani biraz daha ya sanki bu kararlar biraz daha yumuşasa daha iyi olmaz mı falan, oluru yok mu falan. Bu şekilde düşünmeye başlayınca biraz daha sürtüşmeler yaşanmaya başladı. (Baran)

Mesela ergenlik çağında olduğumu düşünüyordum ben o zamanlar, hazırlık ve lise birde. O zaman biraz da asi oluyorum ben. (...) O zaman şey diyordu babam bana, işte anlıyorum hani ergenlik çağındasın, blue çağındasın ama sende bizi anla yani. (Can)

The Internal Father

Ya babama da çekmişiz yani evlatlar olarak tabi ki. (Yahya)
Babam da hani babamın çoğu hareketini ben kendimde görüyorum. (Ahmet)

Ya ikisinden de almışım yani. Yirmi üç ondan, yirmi üç ondan. (Barış)

Babam gibi çekingenimdir bazı konularda. İşte iletişim konusunda babam da biraz zayıftır. (Sait)

İlk başlarda soğukum, sonradan açılıyorum falan. Sanki babam da öyle biraz hani başlarda biraz daha utangaç sonradan açılıyor sanki babam da. (Baran)

Babamdan daha çok hani insanlara nasıl yaklaşacağımı (...) öğrendim. (Ahmet)

Babamın belki hani insanlarla kolay ilişki kurması var. Belki o. (Yiğit)

Babamdan aldığım özellik nedir diye şey yapsam, (...) evlenince herhalde ben de hiçbir şekilde dışarıda kendi özel ihtiyaçlarım için çok fazla para harcamayacağım yani. (Hakan)

Çok düşkündür benim babam evine maşallah. (...) O bakımdan da babama benziyorum. (...) Evime çok düşkünüdür yani. (Barış)

Babam çok normalde çok neşelidir. Birden sinirlenir, hiç anlamazsın nasıl sinirlendiğini. Benim de çoğu arkadaşım bana onu der. Yani birden öyle

bir sinirlendin ki biz hiç beklemiyorduk, anlamadık. (Ahmet)
Saman alevi gibi. Parlıyorsun, döküyorsun içini, rahatlıyorsun, sonra da pişman oluyorsun. Böyle bir şey, bu da bende var mesela. (Barış)
Babam çok duygusal, yani duygusallığımı sanırım babamdan almışım.
Babam çok mesela üzüldüğü zaman çok üzülür, sevindiği zaman çok sevinir. (Onur)

Hiçbir zaman ön yargılı durmayacağımı falan öğrendim. (Ahmet)

İnatçılığım bir kere babam, o direkt babamdan. (...) Daha sertim hani, bir olumsuz bir şey gördüğüm zaman hani direkt silmem (silerim anlamında)
(Baran)

Babamın işte bahsettiğim gibi dürüstlüğü, yalan söylememesi, merhameti.
(...) Birisi hastaneye gitmek durumunda olsun ona yardım eder. Çok böyle hani bildiğimiz fakir insanlara yardımcı olur, bir şeyler verir. Ben de o şekilde. Merhametlidir, ondan aldığımı düşünüyorum biraz. (Can)
Babam iyilik yapmayı çok seven bir insan. (...) Yardımseverimdir. (...) Yardım elini uzatmaktan hiçbir zaman çekinmem yani. (Barış)

Yani biraz yufka yürekli miyim diyim, saf mıyım. (...) Karşımdaki insanı böyle normalde tanımadığın insanla ya da ne bileyim çok az tanıdığın için biraz daha critical yaklaşmak gerekiyor. Ama babamda da bende de ki en kötü özellik, (...) böyle hemen daha çabuk inanabiliyoruz. (Yahya)
Bir şeye hayır diyememe, (...) daha sonra da bunu yapmakta zorlanma. Ya söz verme dedim ya arkadaşlarıma, ilk başta söz veriyorsun, sonra da yapmakta zorlanıyorsun. Babamın hayır dediğini hayatımda görmedim.
(Salih)

Hareketler falan geliyor böyle. Ne bileyim, durduk yere işte el kol hareketleri falan konuşurken. (Salih)
Oturuşum, kalkışım, televizyon seyredişim, kumandayı işte elimde tutuşum, yemek yiyişim, her şeyim işte aynı babam. (Rıza)

Babamla da. Onla da hani pek benzemiyoruz. (Mehmet)
Babamda pek fazla benzediğim özellik yoktur aslında.(Yiğit)

İşte o babamın o sertliği, ciddiyeti bana en azından biraz daha bir şehir hayatında bir yardımcı oluyor. Yani sonuçta şehir hayatına girdiğiniz zaman insanlara karşı çok saf, çok güler yüzlü olmanın çok bir anlamı yok. (Bekir)

Babam gibi mantığıyla hareket etmeyi biraz daha isterdim. Fazla duygusallık da çoğu zaman dezavantaj oluyor. (Baran)

Hep bu genetiğin yüzünden, hep babamdan aldığım gen yüzünden mesela hayır diyemiyorum. (Salih)

Niye o kadar çok benzedim babama. (Rıza)

Sibling Relations

General Themes in the Relations with Siblings

Hemen iki sene sonra bir kardeşim olunca çok kıskanıyormuşum. (Ahmet)

Ben hani üç yaşındayken annem kardeşimi doğurmuş. O kötü olmuş. Ya tam üç yaşında böyle anne kavramını öğrendiğin zaman, (...) hani anneye ihtiyaç duyduğum zaman hani bir tane daha küçük daha ilgiye muhtaç bir ferdin aileye katılması biraz kötü olmuş ama. (Onur)

Büyük çocuktan hep işte beklenir, daha böyle işte akıllı, uslu olması beklenir. Daha böyle sakin olması istenir. Hani ona çok işte böyle rahatsız olmuşumdur. (...) Yani çok hin yanları vardı yani küçük kardeşimin. (Rıza)

Bende de onlara (kız kardeşlerime) karşı bir özenti vardı. (...) Bana göre de onlar rahattı. Ben gidiyordum ama her şeyin hesabını veriyordum o yaşlarda. (...) Babam hani (onlara) pek karışmıyordu. Bugün dahi karışmaz. (Ahmet)

Sahiden çocukları büyüttükçe, işte birinci, ikinci, üçüncü çocuğu onlar (ebeveynler) için de böyle bir staj gibi oluyor. (...) O açıdan bazı hataları işte oluyor, bunları da işte ilk çocuk çekiyor işte cezasını sanırım. (Rıza)

Kardeşim daha tecrübeli bir anne babanın elinde yetişiyor. (...) Biraz daha sanki tecrübesizlikleri, bilinçsizlikleri hani bir şekilde size yansıyabiliyor. Biraz daha farklı yaklaşılabilir. (...) Ama kardeşime bende yaptığı hataları ailem biraz daha herhalde aza indirgeyerek yaklaşmışlardır. (Baran)

Mesela ben babamla hiç şakalaştığımı hatırlamam, kardeşimin şaka yapmadığı anı yok. Mesela babamım her dakika birbirlerine vururlar, gıdıklarlar, cimdirirler falan. (...) Şimdi ben hiç böyle bir şey görmedim. Hani bazen hakikaten sorguluyordum yani. Eve gidiyordum mesela acaba ben bunu yapsaydım ne yapardı bana dediğim oluyor yani. Çat git yerine falan filan. Ama kesinlikle hani kardeşime benle olduğundan çok çok daha şey bir diyalogu var, nasıl diyeyim daha samimi. (Baran)

(Kız kardeşim) Evin küçüğü olduğu için şımarık da biraz büyüdü. Çok rahat iletişim kuruyor o. (...) Babamla falan mesela, ben babamın mesela yanında ayak ayak üstüne uzatmam. (...) O şimdi on üç-on dört yaşında, babamla her şeyi konuşuyor. (Salih)

Kızların ikisi de xxx'te (Batı'da bir şehir) üniversitede okuyor. (...) Onlarla da artık altı ayda bir falan görebiliyorum ikisini de, (...) hani çocukluğumuz kadar değil, ama işte bazen yanlarına gittiğimde. (...) Şimdi özlüyorum ikisini de. Çok özlüyorum hem de. (Ahmet)

Şu anda otobüste gelirken şey geldi, aklıma böyle birden kardeşim geldi. Çok özledim onu. Bayağıdır göremiyorum. Hani onun tatilleri uymadı bize. (Hakan)

The Presence of Younger Siblings in the Family

Kardeşlerim de hani hem saygı duyarlar bana. Yani gerçekten bunu sağladım, bu dengeyi kurdum. Hani nefret ederek itaat etmezler yani. (...) Hani bazı insanlardan çekinirsin ya, onun karşısında hareketlerini bir daha kontrol edersin falan. Böyle bir şey yani. (Barış)

Ben hani iyi bir okulda okudum. ÖSS de iyi bir derece yaptığım için kardeşim annemin, babamın ve abimin dinlemediği pek çok sözü benden duyunca dinliyor. Hani saygı duyulmak güzel bir şey ki kardeşim hani bana saygı duyuyor. Ben onu hissediyorum. (Onur)

Büyüdükçe biraz daha ilişki, abi-kardeş ilişkisi bile, biraz daha saygı çerçevesinde gitmeye başlıyor. (Ahmet)

(Kız kardeşimle) Daha rahat pek çok şeyi konuşabiliyoruz. (...) Sonuçta aynı şeyleri paylaşıyoruz, hani sonuçta ikimiz de üniversite okuyoruz falan. Pek çok konuda hani bana danışabiliyor ya da ben ona. (Mehmet)

(Kız kardeşimle) Gayet iyiydik, hani şey sürekli beraber oynarız falan filan. (...) Hiçbir şekilde yaptığı hiçbir şeyden beni habersiz bırakmıyor. Sürekli her gün konuşuyoruz. (...) Bir sıkıntım olmadı. Gayet çocukluğumuzdaki gibi şen şakrak gidiyoruz yani.(Baran)

Bir tane küçük erkek kardeşim var. (...) Evde yine en iletişim kurduğu benim. Benle de yine sınırlı bir seviyede. (...) Çok da iyi sayılmaz. (Salih)

Hani eğer gerçekten sorumlu bir insansan, sorumluluğunun bilincinde bir insansan kardeşlerine hani model olman gerektiğini düşünüyorum ve kardeşlerime de hani zannediyorum bunu yaptım. Hani işte ne bileyim iyi okullarda okudum, hala iyi bir okuldayım. İyi bir okuldan mezun olucam, güzel bir işim olacak. (...) Mesela anneme babama karşı hürmetsiz olsam ben, kardeşlerim de bunun doğal bir şey olduğunu düşünüp o şekilde davranacaklar. Ama şimdiye kadar hiçbir şekilde benim anneme babama karşı bir saygısızlığım olmamıştır. (...) Ha bu şekilde örnek olmaya çalışıyorsun belli bir zamandan sonra. (Barış)

Diğer küçük kardeşlerime gelince onlar sonuçta bir model olarak görüyorlar. Ben şimdi bir kardeşime bak bu iyi dediğim zaman direkt tek gerçek oymuş gibi. Dediğim her şeye hemen hemen güvenirler. (...) Bak bunu yapman iyidir, kötüdür dedim mi hani kendisi alıp da yargılamaz genelde. Hani abim dediyse doğrudur gibi düşünürler. (Mehmet)

Ben de sürekli kardeşlerimi arayıp hani şey yapıyorum. İşte şunu ne yaptın, şuna çalışman lazım. Şuna dikkat et. Sürekli bir ilgilenme var. (...) Çünkü yani sürekli şeyin kaygısı var. Hani kendi kariyerim dışında, bir de kardeşim hani şimdi üniversiteye hazırlanıyor. İşte acaba ne yapacak, işte şöyle bir puan alırsa hani şu bölümü mü tavsiye edeyim, şu bölümü mü tavsiye edeyim. Sürekli onun için. Yani diğer altı kişi için de birer birer düşünmem gerekiyor böyle. (Mehmet)

Küçük kardeşimi mesela okula getirdim buraya, derslere falan soktum. (...) Ben daha çok böyle dışarıyla olan ilişkilerini hani bir şekilde regulate etmeye çalışıyorum. (Barış)

(Kız kardeşim) İlk ilişkisinde bir sorun oldu. İşte o çocuk pislik, böyle belalı herifin teki çıktı. (...) Ayrıldıktan sonra o süreci atlatmada, (...) böyle ben kendime yakıştıramıyorum yani şeyi nasıl diyeyim tamam abim geçecek işte. (...) Hani klasik Türk erkek abisi vardır ya hani işte hayır olmayacak. (...) Hani içimden allahım diyorum hani bulsam şu çocuğu da hani dağıtsam böyle, ama bir taraftan tamam hallolcak, bilmem ne. (Baran)

Ben sorarım, nereye gidiyorsun derim. (...) Ya nereye gidiyorsun, saat kaç, ne zaman evde olacaksın, kimle görüşeceksin. (...) Mesela giderim mutlaka hocalarıyla hani görüşürüm durumu nasıl falan tarzında. (Barış)

O zamandan bir abilik yapma hevesim vardır işte. Hani kardeşime mini etek giydi diye kızdığımı, bağırdığımı hatırlıyorum daha çocukken. Sen onu niye giyiyorsun falan diye. (Ahmet)
Mesela bir erkek arkadaşı olduğu zaman ben ses etmedim ama diyorum hani belli başlı bana karşı hani ailene karşı sorumlulukların var, yapman yapmaman gereken şeyler var, bunların bilincinde olduğun sürece benim için sorun yok diyorum. (Baran)

O bir yaşına geldiğinde ben dört yaşındayken ben onun başında durmuşum, annem bulaşık falan yıkarmış. Yani bana emanet edebilirmiş. (...) Ben her teneffüs kardeşimi bahçeden alır, elimle sıraya oturtur, ondan sonra bir kere öper kendi dersime giderdim. Yani içim rahat etmezdi onu sınıfta görmezsem, hani dışarıda kaldıysa falan bir yere gittiye diye. (...) O yüzden her zaman da annesi gibiydim. Harbiden çok sahiplendim. O kadar koruyucu bir abilik hissi geldi ki her şeyine dikkat ediyordum. Ben belki oynamıyordum. (...) Hep böyle üzerine titredim. (Hakan)

(Küçük erkek kardeşim) Yani saf bir insan böyle anladınız mı, böyle temiz bir insan, hiç böyle kötülüğe akli ermeyecek. (...) Ya her türlü böyle tehlikeye açık bir çocuk. O yüzden bu çocuğun bir şekilde korunmaya ihtiyacı var. (Barış)

Anneme bir şey yaptırmaya çalışsa yaptıramasa, işte kız kardeşim beni arıyor. Abi şöyle bir şey dedim. Evdekiler izin vermedi. Sen bir arasana. Senin dediğini kabul ederler falan diye. Tamam ararım falan derim. Ben arayıp biraz konuşunca biraz daha yumuşatıyorum. (Ahmet)

Kardeşimle gerçekten küçükken çok çok kavga ediyorduk. (...) Ama şu son dört-beş senedir hiç yok yani sahidem. Bana karşı daha saygılı. Söylediğimi dinliyor. (Rıza)

Şimdi kız kardeşim benden bir yaş küçük olduğu için, yakın bir de yaş olarak onunla pek iyi anlaşamazdık. Yani sürekli böyle bağırma, çağırma, kavga şeklindeydi falan. (...) İşte şimdi kardeşim de geçen yıl üniversiteye yerleşti hani. Ondan sonra şimdi muhabbet çok daha değişti.

(Mehmet)

The Presence of Older Siblings in the Family

Küçükken beni maçlara falan götürürdü, beraber maçlara falan giderdik. Beni işte çay bahçesine falan götürürdü. İşte müzik falan dinlerdi, ben onun dinlediği müziklerden böyle bir müzik kültürüm oluştu. (...) Ben ilkokulda falan biraz başarılı bir dönem geçirdim. Anadolu liseleri sınavına falan girmem için o beni teşvik etti yani eğitim hayatımda falan. (Bekir)

Bir sorunun olduğu zaman paylaşabileceğin insan sayısı yani, danışabileceğin insan sayısı daha fazla. (...) Bir-iki tane abinin olması, senin sorunlarını çözmede, büyük bir yardımcı, büyük bir guide, guider. (Yahya)

Büyük abim var işte. O mesela bizde babadan sonra gelir, o da despot bir yapıda. O mesela daha ciddidir. Mesela ortanca abimle ben arkadaş gibiyim. (...) Büyük abim öyle değil ama. Büyük abim o da, en çok zorluğu çeken oymuş. (...) İşte evin aile ortamının en zor zamanlarını falan o çekmiş. (Yahya)

Öğretmen olan abim var, küçükken model aldım kendime, hani onun gibi olmalıyım falan dediğim. Ben işte altı-yedi yaşındayken falan, eski evimizde o üniversitede okuyordu, üniversiteyi bitirmişti. (...) Onun hareketlerini gözlemleyerek yani ki hala da gözlemliyorum kendime öyle bir nasıl davranmam gerektiği konusunda bir sonuç çıkarmaya çalışıyorum. (Bekir)

(Abimle) Aramızda on iki-on üç yaş fark var. Bana benziyor yüz, hani yüz şekli falan. (Bekir)

Abimle ortak özelliğim benzer şeylere benzer tepkileri veriyoruz. Mesela oradaki insanların yaşamlarında yaptığı şeyleri anlamsız buluyoruz. Bize anlamsız geliyor, tepki veriyoruz. (Bekir)

Futbol merakım nereden geldi. Benim ortanca abim çok büyük bir yetenekmiş. (...) Ortanca abim ailede hep iste, yani ailede ilk böyle futbol şeyleri onla başlamış. (Yahya)

Bir abim olsaydı ben çok şey hissedirdim. (...) Hani benim bir güvencem var. Yani bir şey olduğu zaman bu gelecek, o yardım edecek, ben bunu biliyorum. Bu bana kendimi çok iyi hissettirirdi, şu an öyle bir şey yok. Biraz daha yalnızım. (Can)

Abim olmasını bazı zamanlarda istiyordum. (...) Ortaokulda mesela tartışardım dedim ya arkadaşlarla. (...) Hani onların mesela bazılarının abileri falan vardı. (...) Onlar güçlü oluyorlardı o zamanlar. Hani o şekilde güçlü. Benim de abim olmasını istedim o konuda. (Can)

(Ailem) Bazı şeyleri (bana) sorarlardı. Belki de ben şu anda onlardan (kardeşlerimden) büyük olduğum için (annem-babam) benimle konuşuyorlar hani bu konuları. Onlar hala küçük kalıyorlar, hani bu şekilde gidiyor. Ama yine de bir ablam ya da abim olmasını istedim.

Yemek olsun, hani çocukların daha çok isteyeceği şeyleri tatlı falan, üstümü kirlettiğim zaman hani bu anneme yansımadan ablam falan yıkardı. (Yiğit)
İşte beni kollardı. Hani mesela ben koşturuyordum derse yetişmek için. Koşma koşma terlersin, hasta olursun falan derdi mesela. (Can)

Böyle birbirimizi tanıyoruz, birbirimizin hani nerede bozulabilir, nerede mutlu olur onları biliyoruz. Birbirinin çizgilerini de biliyoruz. Çok sıcaktır yani. Ablam da sıcaktır yani böyle. (Can)
Çok samimi olmuştu. İyiydi aramız. (Salih)

Ablamla ilişkim konusunda biraz donuk bir ilişkimiz var. (...) Etrafımda gördüğüm abi-kardeş ilişkilerinin çoğunu yaşayamadım ben. O yüzden biraz burukluk var. Genel olarak ablama ya iyi yaklaşırım, fazla bir şey olmaz yani aramızda. (...) O bir şey istediğinde ben yaparım, ben bir şey istediğimde o yapar. (...) O da bilmiyorum hak veriyorum aslında biraz da, kendi çok çocukluk yaşayamadan evlendi. Ablalık yapamadan evlendi. (...) Onun da içinde bir burukluk olduğunu hissediyorum, kardeşine ablalık yapamama burukluğu vardır onun içinde de. (Sait)

Ablamla bile paylaşamıyorum birçok şeyi. (Salih)

Ablam genel anlamda çok, yani çok iyi anlaştığım birisidir ama ne olursa olsun üç-beş noktada hani anlaşamama olasılığımızı düşünerek fikirlerimi paylaşmadığım olmuştur ya da sorunlarımı açmadığım. (Yiğit)

Ne olursa olsun ailenizden biri yani. Bazı sorunları anlatamazsınız yani birebir. Ya duyulursa, ya bir şekilde ya da o ablalık hani hiç taslamadı gerçi ama bir gün o ablalık taslamaya kalkarsa diye. (Yiğit)

The Parental Couple

Görev gibi, karı koca, anne baba. (Yahya)
Şimdi biraz daha resmi aralarındaki iletişim. (...) Saygılı iletişim var. (Salih)

Hani ben şeyi hiç görmedim, mesela hani babamın annemi öptüğünü ya da böyle sarıldığını. (...) Öyle çok hani duygusal bir şey görmedim ben. (Mehmet)

Duygu yokmuş gibi geliyordu bana. (...) Hani aralarında bir aşk, sevgi. Sanki böyle bir şey yoktu. (...) Mesela beraber akşam yemeğine dışarı çıkmalarını istedim. Çünkü bazen görüyorum. (...) Çevremde gördüğüm, aynı nesilde olduğumuz ya da birkaç yaş küçük insanların anneleri beraber yemeğe çıkıyorlar mesela. Bence hoş bir şey, çok hoş bir şey. Bazen ne bileyim bunu yapmak lazım diye düşünüyorum. (Can)

Baba hep getiren, anne toparlayan. (Yahya)
Babam sanki şey düşünürdü annem bunları yapmak zorunda. (...)
(Annem de) Hani işte evin temizliğini yapayım. (...) Bir yemek pişireyim, çocuklarıma bakayım. (Can)

(Babam) Genelde işte para kazanmakla ve yani akşam kahveye giderdi. O kültürü var babamın. Annem de işte ne bileyim arkadaşlara, komşulara gider falan çay içerler, kahve içerler. (Can)

(Annem) Hani babamdan izinsiz annesine bile gidemezdi. Hani izin alırdı, hani babam git derse giderdi. Biraz da hani kuralcıydı. Babam biraz daha herhalde maçomuydu diyeyim artık. (...) Babama göre yani erkek tarafına ya da erkek anne-babasına daha fazla hürmet, daha fazla emek yapılması gerekiyor. (...) Annemle babam kavga ediyordu. (...) Erkek harbiden böyle sopası elindeydi. (Hakan)

Devamlı tartışılardı, kavga ederlerdi, babam şiddet de uyguluyordu bazen çok iyi bir ilişkileri yoktu. (...) Çocukluğumdan beri düşündüğüm zaman hani yani olabilecek en yanlış evlilik, en yanlış evliliği yapmışlar diye düşünüyordum. (Bekir)

İşte annem çalışan bir kadın olsa hani evlilikleri uzun sürer miydi, bu işte merak etmişimdir. (Rıza)

Annem mesela nasıl söyleyeyim, babama işte bir şeyin yanlış olduğunu, yaptığı bir şeyin yanlış olduğunu bilir. Bize de söyler, bak bu yanlış. Annemin dediği yüzde doksanı çıkar. Babamın yanında itiraz etmiyor. (Salih)

Annem işte bazen babamın arkasından dil çıkarırdı babama. Bu da böyle işte falan diye. Biz de gülerdik falan böyle.(Hakan)

Annemi görünce de kendi deyişi bir on saniye dondum kaldım diyor. Annem de zaten şey olmuş. Yani ben bildim bileli böyle hep bir aşık muhabbeti var aralarında. (Ahmet)

Xxx (Ege'de bir şehir) çok kapalı bir şehir değil. Onlar (Annem ve babam) gayet tanışarak evlenmişler. Yani sanırım işte babaannemin bir arkadaşıyla anneannemin bir arkadaşı tanıştırmış. Hani bir yıl nişanlı kalmışlar ve hani nişanlıyken beraber vakit geçirmelerine kimse karışmamış yani. O yüzden gayet de anlaşmışlar, görücü değil.(Onur)

Pek bir soğukluk, çok büyük bir tartışma hiç görmedim. Yani çok aşırı bir tartışma bugüne kadar hiç görmedim. Öyle ufak tartışmalar gördüm. Çok normal bence de ama onları da ya hemen bir şekilde çözüyorlardı. Çözmezlerse konuyu kapatıyorlardı bildiğim. (Ahmet)

Çok seyrek kavga ederlerdi, çok seyrek tartışılardı. O tartışmalar da zaten hani birkaç gün içinde tatlıya bağlanan şeylerdi. Genel anlamda başarılı bir ilişki olduğuna inanıyorum. (...) Yeri geldiği zaman babam idare eder, yeri geldiği zaman annem idare eder. Hakikaten o konuda uyumlu bir çiftlerdir. (Baran)

Relations with the Extended Family

Amca, dayı, hala, teyze onlarla aram çok çok iyidir. Hani gerçi bizim ailede akraba ilişkileri çok çok kuvvetli. (Rıza)

Amcalarım, halalarım falan çok severler beni. (...) Kız çocuklarından herhalde ne yazık ki biraz daha fazla ilgi gösteriyorlar ve hani şey derler bana, hani benim gibilere oğul balı derler. Hani ilk erkek çocuğun erkek çocuğu. (...) Halalarım ya da amcalarımın gözünde ya da babaannem ve dedem gözünde çok değerliyim ben. (Hakan)

Biraz daha üstünüze fazla düşülüyor, biraz daha ilgi odağı siz oluyorsunuz. (...) Ben hem ilk torun, artı erkek olmam dedem de mesela aşırı düşkündür bana ve yani kendi evladı gibi sever beni. (...) Çok çok farklı bir duyguydu, çok böyle ayrıcalıklı olduğumu hissettim yani. (Baran)

Böyle kıramama, dediğini yapma. (Ahmet)

Aile apartmanıydı. İşte bir katta dedem, üstünde amcamlar, sonra biz falan. Sürekli bütün aile iç içeydik. Hani amcam, amcamın çocukları, kuzenlerim, ben bayağı kalabalık. Bir apartman tamamen bizim aile oturuyordu. (Ahmet)

Altı-yedi yaşına kadar biz sürekli hani büyük aile şeklinde yaşadık. Hani babamlar evlendikten sonra hani evden ayrılmadılar. Hani babaannemlerle falan beraberlerdi. (Mehmet)

İşte babaannemle babam konuşmuyor ben bildim bileli. Ondan sonra babamla amcam konuşmuyor bildim bileli. Haliyle eltiler arasında gerginlik var. (Baran)

Miras olayı oluyor. (...) Mesela dayımın karısıyla işte annemle aralarında sorun oluyor. İşte dayımla da babam arasında sorun oluyor. Biraz öyle sorun oluyor. (Can)

Sürekli onun (amcamın) yanında olmak isterdim böyle. (...) Sürekli oynadığı için benimle, hani vakit geçirdiği için. (...) Benimle hep ilgilenirdi böyle. Nasıl diyeyim havaya atmalar, yok gıdıklamalar falan, onlar hep aklımda kalmıştır. (...) Ben küçükken işte en küçük amcam üniversite okuyordu. Onu çok daha fazla özlerdik. (Mehmet)

En büyük amcamla bayağı bir yakındık. Ya çocukları çok severdi. Özellikle de beni çok severdi. (...) Sürekli beni alır, daha ilk okula başlamadan yapıyormuş onu, ben bilmiyorum, hatırlamıyorum. Beni almış annemin yanından, kendi evine getirirmiş. Orada bir üç-dört gün kaldığım günler olurmuş. Severim de zaten o amcamı, bayağı ilgiliydi. (Sait)

Bütün kaygılarımı, her şeyi amcamla konuşurum. (...) Babamdan çok amcamla konuşuyoruz geleceğe dair planlarım, hani seçtiğim meslek olur ya da bir staj yapacaksam falan. (Mehmet)

İşte yazın onun çalıştığı yerde çalıştım yaz aylarında. (...) Muhabbet ettik iş konusunda olsun, normal konularda olsun. Genel olarak onunla bayağı bir yakın ilişkimiz vardı. (Sait)

Bir şey olduğu zaman amcam sürekli tavsiye eder. Bak üniversite okuyorsun. Şu yönlerin eksik. Şunları tamamla işte. Şunlara dikkat et falan gibisinden. (...) Ben genelde ona sorarım, o sürekli tavsiye eder. Zaten ailede üniversite okuyan bir tek o vardı hani. (...) O yüzden yani hemen hemen her konuda ona danışırım. (Mehmet)
Teşvik etme konusunda. Mesela bende ders konusunda şey yapardı, yardımcı olurdu. (Salih)

Çocukken amcam her maça götürürdü. (...) Hani çocukluğumdan beri sürekli beni alıp gezmelere götüren, eğlenceye götüren. (Ahmet)

(Maça) Gittiğim zaman oradaki insanların çoğunun böyle amcamı tanıyıp yer verdiğini falan, hani yirmi bin kişilik yerde yeri sana böyle çocuk kafayla biraz daha saygı duyuyorduk. Vay be amcam nasıl bir insan acaba falan diye. Burada kendini nasıl tanıtmış falan diye. (...) Hani benim yaşımdaki çoğu insanın televizyondan izlediği şeyleri canlı canlı izlediğim için böyle amcama bir saygınlık. (...) Sonradan ben kendim büyüdükten sonra her maça gitmeye başladım. (Ahmet)
Amcam fotoğrafçılıkla ilgileniyordu, ilgisi vardı. Ben de de o var mesela. (...) İkimiz de gezmeyi çok severiz diyim. (...) Amcam da bayanlarla alış verişe çıkmayı pek sevmez, ben de pek sevmem. (Mehmet)

Teyzemi çok severdim annemdense. Ona bağlıydım. (...) Biraz samimi hissetmek yani. Annem mesela o kadar şey yapsa da, çok ilgili olsa da bize, bilmiyorum teyzeme karşı daha bir yakın hissediyormuşum gibi. (Salih)

Tezmem bizim için çok önemlidir. Yani annem kadar emeği vardır üzerimizde. (...) Annemden daha böyle eğitilmiş, ya üniversite mezunu teyzem. Bir de daha genç tabii annemden, yedi yaş küçük. Daha genç olduğu için de çocukken bize daha yakındı. Hani her şeyimizle ilgilendi işte giyim, kuşam, kız arkadaş. (Onur)

Her gittiğim tatilde bir ya da iki gün onun (teyzemin) yanında kalırdım. Onunla işte dertleşirdik. (Hakan)
Tezeme yani şu anda bile annemden daha fazla, problemim olduğu zaman giderim. (Salih)

Anneannem şey derdi böyle mesela tekerleme gibi bir şey söylerdi. Paşadır, paşa oturur başa falan böyle, çok hoşuma giderdi, hiç unutmadığım şeyler böyle. Dedem gelirdi severdi böyle. Babaannem mesela çok önemli bir faktör. Babaannem böyle hani aslında mızımız birisidir ama gidip böyle hani sarıldığın zaman böyle hani tereyağı gibi erir. (Can)

Dedem biraz sert mizaçlı bir insanmış aslında. Biraz böyle eski, hani Osmanlı erkeğine benzetirler, böyle bir terim vardır. Hani bana fazla müsamaha, ne bileyim sıkarmışım, kulaklarıyla oynarmışım, burnunu çekiştirirmişim falan böyle. (Yiğit)

Yani babam en büyük oğlu dedemin ve oğullardan ben en büyük oğulların falan bir özelliği vardır derler, onun da tek oğluyum. (...) Çok severmiş. (Yiğit)

The Constructions of Masculinity

The Young Men's Constructions of Masculinity

The Definitions of Traditional Masculinity

Türkiye'de erkek olmak kral olmak bence. (...) Orta Asya toplumlarında çok daha böyle üstünlük. (Ahmet)

Erkeklik işte güçtür. (Onur)

Genel geçer kural erkeklik işte klasik, (...) erkek daha serttir, işte erkek efendime söyleyeyim daha baskındır. (Baran)

Türkiye'de erkek olmak, (...) biraz daha fiziksel güce dayalı. (Rıza)

Güçlü olmak. (...) İki kişi kavga ettiğinde kim şey yapabilir, kaba kuvvet gibi. (Mehmet)

Yani kadın evde oturacaktır ya da ne bileyim yani bir şekilde birilerini bir yere hapsedmek. (Can)

Bir Türk erkeğinde her konuda olduğu gibi genellikle hep bayandan üstün olma şeyi var. (Yahya)

Küçüklükten itibaren erkeklerin kızları dövmesi normaldir. (...) Gerekirse erkek kız kardeşini ya da ablasını dövebilir. (Yiğit)

Mesela küçük kardeşi dövmek de bizim orada mantıklı görünen bir şeydir. (Salih)

Türkiye'de erkek olmak deyince egemen olmak, sonuçta toplumu erkekler yönetiyor. (...) Erkek olmak biraz daha Türkiye'de her şeyin kontrolünde olması demek. (Türk erkeğinin işi) Kritik kararları vermektir. (Yiğit)

(Türk erkeğinin) İktidarı isteniyor. (Rıza)

Mesela kız ağlar erkek ağlamaz ilişkide. Erkek sevse de pek belli etmemeli misal. (Baran)

(Erkekler) Hiç gülmeyen, ağlamayan (insanlar gibi). (Can)

Müslümanım, evet inanıyorum ama tutup akşam oturup alkol alıyorum. Yani bu da hani kendi içinde bir tezatlık yaratıyor ama, (...) klasik bu da Türk erkeği mantığı. Ya biliyorum günah ama yapıyorum mantığı. (Ahmet)

Evli adam gidiyor zina yapıyor. Ama bir gün sonra gidiyor ortamda işte kahve ortamıdır ya da ne bileyim bir ofis ortamıdır, bir konu açılır. En büyük günahlardan biridir zina, hiç affı yoktur. (Yahya)

(Erkeklik deyince aklıma) Çalışmak geliyor, başka bir şey gelmiyor. Türkiye koşulları altında çalışmak, zaten genel olarak da erkek çalışır, (...) etiketi vardır. Çalışır, evine bakar. (Sait)

Erkek olmak evin tek sorumlusu, (...) özellikle askerlik yaptıktan sonra sırtına mecburi bir aileyi geçindirme yükü binen, ondan sonra da ömrünü ailem daha iyi olsun, çocuklarım daha iyi olsun veya ben daha iyi olayım diye ömrünü böyle tüketen bir yani insan. (Salih)

Türkiye'de erkekliği tanımlayan davranışlar hani bir koruyuculuk özelliği. (...) Siz bizim himayemizdesiniz mantığı. Hani sanki kadın tek başına duramayacakmış gibi biz sizi koruruz. İşte baba olurum, koca olurum yani (Ahmet)

Erkek bireyin biraz daha aileyi sahiplenmesi, bizim kültürümüzde olan sahiplenme duygusunun erkeği erkekte olması ya da bu şekilde yetiştirilme. (...) Her şekilde bir babanın ya da bir erkeğin evinin de hani şey olması lazım, herkesi gözetmesi lazım (Can)

(Erkekten) Ailenin belki namusunu muhafaza etmesi isteniyor. Ne bileyim işte böyle aile şerefine işte böyle leke sürdürecektir hareketlerde, davranışlarda (bulunmaması isteniyor) (Rıza)

(Erkek) Şerefli olur. Mecburdur. Yani ailesine mesela bir şey gelmemesini, her şeyden o sorumludur, bir laf söylenmemesinden. (...) Ailenin, bilmem çevrenin, annenin, babanın her şeyinden sorumlusun. İsmi yükselt, varlığını yüceltmekten sen sorumlusun. (Salih)

Erkeklerin hiçbir zaman çocuğu olmaz. Yani olur ama bu onu etkilemez. (...) Çoğu baba çocuğunun kaçınıcı sınıfa gittiğini tam bilmez. Çocuğun ödevi var mı, çocuğu aç mı falan. (Yiğit)

Erkek aldatır, kız aldatamaz. Mesela evliyken de erkek işte şey yapabilir başkasıyla ilişkiye girebilir, kız giremez. (Baran)

Efe yani. (...) Böyle bir mağrur, böyle hani dik, kendinden emin. Ondan sonra işte konuşması böyle usturlu. (Barış)

Uzun boylu olması, boylu poslu olması falan işte istenir, bekleniyor. Zayıf olmaması işte isteniyor, bekleniyor. Biraz şekilci işte bir yaklaşım var Türkiye'de sahiden. (Rıza)

Yürüdüğü zaman bir yürüyüşü farklıdır böyle. Salına salına ya da tesbih salları. (Mehmet)

Erkek modayla falan ilgilenmez mantıken, ilgilenmemesi lazım. Erkek öyle giyimine kuşamına çok da önem, şu anda biraz o da değişiyor ama, çok önem vermez. Düz giyinir. Süslü giyineni hoş karşılamazlar. (Salih)

Renkli tişört ya da şey giyersiniz, hani capri giyersiniz, parmak arası terlik giyersiniz. Bunlar çok ters. Hani sanki raconu bozar gibisinden bakıyorlar. (Mehmet)

Hani cinsiyetten ziyade bence hani din konusu insan için yani önemli olmalı ya benim görüşüm bu, kişisel görüşüm. (Baran)

Bu konuda ben cinsiyet ayrımı yapamıyorum ya. Her konuda yapılabilir ama hani din daha genel bir şeymiş gibi geliyor bana. Hani erkeğin de kadının da böyle ihtiyaç duyduğu bir şeymiş gibi geliyor bana. (...) Cinsiyetten öte hepimizin duyguları var. Hani bir şekilde bazen bir şeylere sığınmak istiyoruz. Hani bu kadında da var, erkekte de var (Barış)

(Din) Her şeyi belirleyen her şeyi şekle şemale sokan, her şeyi düzenleyen kavramdır, bir müessesedir. (Can)

Din konusu bir kere hani hayatı şekillendiren bir şey. Din hani bir nevi

hayata bakış açımız. (...) Ya da hayatta almamız gereken kararlar, pek çok konuda dinin mutlaka etkisi oluyor hani. Yani bir nevi hayatımıza yön veriyor. (Mehmet)

Bir İslamiyet'te de görevleri vardır annenin, babanın, evlatların, farklı farklı görevleri vardır. Bunlar paylaşım içindir, her şey birbirinin bir ölçüsüdür, bir koruyucusudur yani. (Can)

Aileyi çekip çevirme dini açıdan Türkiye'de erkekten beklenir, hani evin babasından beklenir. (Yiğit)

Doğuda mesela adamın yapabileceği hiçbir şey yok, bir işi yok, gücü yok. Dindarlıkla, (...) din mevzusunu kullanarak bir imaj oluşturmaya çalışıyorlar insanların kafasında. (Bekir)

Erkeklerin din konusundaki şeyleri aslında biraz daha belirgin oluyor, hani kararları, hareketleri. En basitinden erkekler cumaya gider, erkekler bayram namazına gider gibi şeyler var. (...) Mesela erkeklerin Ramazan orucunu tutup tutmadığı çok daha bellidir, çünkü kadınlar evdedir. (Yiğit)

Bu ülkede hala daha birçok şey din yüzünden gelişmiyor. Örneğin insanların cinselliğe bakışı, sadece cinsellik değil, insanların genel olarak kadın-erkek ilişkilerine bakışı, kadınların çalışma hayatında olması, kadınların işte ticari hayatta olması, kadınların bilimsel hayatta olması, birçok şey bu kadınlarla ilgili şeyler birçok şey bu din şeyi yüzünden ilerlemiyor. (Onur)

Bayanlara her şey günah, erkeklere her şey mubah gibi bir durum var dini ele aldığın zaman. (Yahya)

Erkekler için din hani ailelerini nasıl koruyorlarsa, kadınlarını nasıl koruyorlarsa yani dinlerini de öyle koruyorlar hani kendi hayat görüşleri olarak. (Bekir)

(Erkeklerin özellikleri) Mesela futboldan işte anlaması olabilir. Futbol seyretmesi, futbol oynaması. (Rıza)

Erkek adam maç izler. (Barış)

Erkek adam kahveye gider. (Barış)

Change and Stability in the Traditional Definitions of Masculinity

Türkiye'nin hangi bölgesinde erkek olmak, o biraz daha sağlıklı bir soru olur. Hani mesela İstanbul'daki bir erkek anlayışıyla işte bir benim bulduğum yerdeki (Marmara'da bir kasaba) erkek anlayışı arasında çok fark var. Tabi oradakiyle güneydoğudaki mesela çok farkı var. (Baran)

Türkiye'de erkek olmak. İşte Türkiye derken nasıl bir Türkiye. (...) İstanbul'un da gerçi dört-beş tane yüzü var. Bizim bu çevrede, Beşiktaş'tan, buradan bakınca Türkiye farklı. Bizim oradan bakınca Türkiye farklı. (Salih)

Orada, hani erkek-kız arkadaşlık durumu çok farklı. Hani çok daha böyle samimi bir ortam ve çok değişik. Burada çok daha farklı. Yani ben kendim

bile çok iyi hissedebiliyorum. Yani her türlü konuda rahat konuşamıyorsunuz. Hemen yanlış anlaşılma. (Mehmet)
Mesela bir erkek burada (İstanbul'da) çok rahat bir kız arkadaşından ayrıldığı zaman ağlayabiliyor misal ya da nasıl diyeyim ilişkiyi kız manipüle ediyor gibi gözükebiliyor. (Baran)

Erkek sosyal hiçbir şeyde neredeyse yoktur orada (Doğuda). Sürekli böyle hani dediğim gibi, en sosyal şeyi halı saha maçı falan olur hani. Ama burada çok daha farklı. (Mehmet)

İstanbul'daki erkek deyince, erkeğin bu kadar mesela söylendiği kadar kalıplar içinde olmasının gereksinimi pek olmadığı gözüküyor. Mesela İstanbul'a baktığımız zaman pek erkek yapmaz denen şeyler, en basitinden mesela küpe takmak, hani Anadolu'nun herhangi bir yerine gitseniz küpe takan bir adam olmaz ama burada çok rahat görebiliyorsun. (...) Yani giyim tarzı mesela bir erkek böyle giyinir mi denir yani şeyden gelenler, diyorlardır da o tarz şeyler görebiliyorsunuz (Baran)

Gelir seviyesi düşük olan yerlerin erkekleri, erkek çocukları. Ya her şeyleri kızmış gibi geliyor yani. Öyle bir izlenim bırakıyorlar yani. (Hakan)

Batıda işte biraz daha farklı, eğitim. Batıda değil de Doğuda da tabi eğitim arttıkça o da değişiyor da. Eğitim seviyesi arttıkça, ne oluyor. (...) Batıda eğitilmiş çevrede erkek olmak ve kadın olmak arasında çok bir fark yok. İkisi de sonuçta belli sorumluluklar üstleniyor. İkisinin de kendine ayracağı vakit de var. (...) Geçim sağlamakta ortaklar. (Salih)

(Erkeklerde) İki kategori var tabi. Bir hani böyle otuz yaş ve üzeri olmuş erkekler, biri daha gençler. (Hakan)

Ya değişiyor tabi şu an gerçekten değişiyor farkındayım Türk yapısı ama genelleme yapıyorum şu an. (Yiğit)

Zaten onu hiçbir zaman kabul edemedim ben nedense böyle. Hani işte evin reisi erkektir ve kadın mutlaka erkeğe saygı duymalıdır. (Mehmet)
Erkeklik işte güçtür, işte evin reisidir falan. Ya öyle şeylere ben çok karşıyım. Çok, hiç sevmem klişe ve stereotip şeyleri. (Onur)

Toplumsal baskının da etkisi olduğuna inanıyorum. Hani insanlar etrafındaki insanların ister istemez etkisinde kalabiliyor bir şey yaparken. (...) Ya mesela benim etrafımda atıyorum çok böyle baskın insanlar olsa, çok hani böyle klasik erkek normunu ortaya koyan insanlar olsa muhakkak hani hareketlerimi ona göre düzenlemeye çalışırdım çok çarpışmamak için, insanlarla çatışmamak için. (Baran)
Dans ediyom desem ya da yok işte tiyatroya, şeye takılıyom. Ya aman bu tür şeyler niye şey yapıyon, light mısın sen falan. (Mehmet)

Bu klasik erkek modeli dediğimiz erkek modelindeki özelliklerden de bu modern erkek diye tabir ettiğimiz erkeğe de taşınması gereken özellikler

olduğunu da düşünüyorum mesela. Hani tamamıyla modern erkek şeyine de karşıyım hani. (Baran)

Şu anda erkek olarak kadın-erkek eşitliğini savunan, erkeğin de kadından farklı olarak yine ailenin şeyinde, yönetiminde biraz daha etkin olması gerektiğini düşünen bir insanım. Yönetimde erkek fazla şey olur ama sonuçta o belki de işte Doğudan gelen kültürü halen daha tam olarak kafamda şey olmadı, eşit seviyeye gelmedi. Biraz daha erkek yönetimde üstün. (Salih)

Biraz daha hani bayanın da söz sahibi olması lazım. Hani tabi mesela şunu da düşünüyorum aynı zamanda hani devlet yönetimi, yönetim gibi şeyler erkeklerin elinde olmasını düşünüyorum, olması gerektiğini düşünüyorum. (Can)

Bir erkek kıskanç olmalıdır. (...) Bir insan bir insana değer veriyorsa onu gösteren bir kıskançlıktır benim düşüncemde. (Baran)

Being a Man in the Social-Public Sphere

Türkiye'de kadın olmak kalıbını düşününce erkek olmak çok kolay. Bir kere çok özgürsün, istediğin saatte girip çıkabiliyorsun eve, istediğin yere gidebiliyorsun, çoğu zaman izin almak diye bir şey yok. Ya bu güzel bir şey yani. (...) Benim gibi karakteri olan bir insan için önemli yani özgür olmak. O yüzden de avantajlı görüyorum (Onur)

İstediğim yere gidiyorum, istediğim yerden çıkıyorum. Kimsenin bana nıpyosun sen falan dediği yok. Başını çıkar, şeyini çıkar dediği yok. Ya anlatabiliyor muyum, hani kesinlikle özgür, ya erkek kadar özgür değil kadın. Her alanda böyle, yani kültürel alanda öyle, ekonomik alanda öyle, politik alanda öyle. Her iş, iş alanında öyle yani. Ne bileyim hani rahatım yani. (Barış)

Zaten ataerkil bir toplumda yaşıyorsun. Yani erkek için çok avantajlı topraklar. Yani Türkiye gerçekten öyle bir ülke. Hani kadının arka planda olduğu, erkeğin daha çok aktif rollerde olduğu böyle bir toprak yani burası. (...) Erkek olmak gayet rahat bence. (Barış)

Bizim toplumumuzda bir tartışma bir anlaşmazlık durumunda karşıdaki kişi kadınsa eğer abi bu kadın, hani bunu üzmemelim, üzmeye gelmez gibi bir feragat durumu oluyor ama karşıdaki erkek olunca kimse hani karşımdaki insan diye bakmıyor olaya. (Onur)

Bayanlar biraz daha naif, hani biraz daha böyle ince, hassaslar. (Can)

Hani kadın için de şeydir mesela, doğum yapmak, çocuk sahibi olmak. Budur yani kadın için de. (Barış)

Biz de bayanların hamilelik durumunu bilmiyoruz. Ya tabi kesinlikle karşılaştırılmaz yani sünnetle hamilelik. (...) Hamilelik durumunda dokuz ay. Dokuz aydan sonra bir de onun üretimi olan bir şeyi ömür boyu çekiyor. (Sait)

Erkeğin yapmaması gereken belli şeyler vardır, erkeğin yapması gereken belli başlı şeyler vardır. (Baran)

Türkiye'de erkek olmak deyince, erkek olduğun zaman hep bir şeyler yapmak zorundasın. Türkiye'de erkeksen bir şeyleri yapan taraf sensin. (Yahya)

Aslında baskı altında tutan bir durummuş demek ki erkek olmak. (Rıza)

Transitional Experiences in the Development of Men

Sünnettir, ergenlik çağıdır, sonra askerlik, sonra evlenmedir. (Salih)

Askerlik yapayım, iş bulayım, evleneyim gibi bir şey olur. (Mehmet)

Circumcision

Erkek çocuğunda hani sünnet olunuyor. Sünnet olduğu için, (...) belli bir şeyden belli bir şeye geçiyor, belli bir dönemden belli bir döneme geçiyor ve yani. (...) Hayatındaki ilk spesifik bir dönüm noktası olduğu için insanlar da hani biraz daha heyecanla, biraz daha ilgiyle, daha alakayla yaklaşıyor. (Baran)

Sanki bir özel bir gün. Ne biliyim çocuğun sünneti onun doğum gününden daha önemli. (Yahya)

Sünnet elbisesini mesela giyip her yeri dolaştığımı hatırlıyorum işte. Böyle o benim için damatlık gibi bir şeydi o esnada. (Ahmet)

(Sünnet) Hoş, komik, bazen işte beni kızdıran, işte kadınların olması. (...) Kadınlar var tamam mı odamda. Ne yapıyorsunuz ne arıyorsunuz falan burada. Ben hani sünnet olmuşum tamam da sizin ne işiniz var burada. Evdeki kadınlara bağırıştım o zaman böyle.(Can)

Sünnetten sonra hani etek giyilir falan derler, benim giymediğimi hatırlıyorum. (...) Güya işte şey delikanlılık, etek giymeysin. (Ahmet)

Bana abartı gibi geldi. Ya sonuç itibariyle olması gereken, dini açıdan olması gereken bir durum. Bu kadar büyütülecek, söz konusu olacak bir şey değil yani. (Sait)

Öyle normal bir şey. Ekstra bir olayı yoktu yani. (Yiğit)

Hakikaten güzel bir duygu yani şey olarak nasıl diyim. (...) İnsanı da hakikaten mutlu ediyor bu dönem. Yani o bir haftalık, iki haftalık süreç, sürekli gelenler gidenler, işte tebrikler. (Baran)

Hani belki de ilk defa hani çevreden hediye falan almıştık, şey olmuştu. Hatta o harçlıklarla bisiklet almıştım falan böyle. Ya o yüzden çok hoş olmuştu hani böyle şey. (Mehmet)

Sünnet deneyimi eksik olan bir deneyim hayatımda. Çok küçükken olduğum için hiçbir şey hatırlamıyorum. (...) Kardeşimin sünneti olmuştu yani yedi-sekiz yaşındayken falan ve ben özenmişim ona bayağı bu konuda. (Salih)

Sünnette çok korkmuştum, onu çok net hatırlıyorum. Yani işte hatta şeyi isterdim hani bayıltırın beni öyle hiç ben şey yapmıyım falan filan diye,

hissetmiyim diye. (Baran)

Kanlı bir şeyler olacağını en azından biliyordum. Çok ağlamıştım böyle.
(Hakan)

Acılı, acılı bir deneyimdi.(Onur)

Çektiğim acılar çoktu. (Rıza)

Ben sevemedim sünneti. Öyle hani davul, zurna falan ne bileyim böyle bir kendimi utanmış gibi hissettim o zaman. (Hakan)

En kötü şey, tecrübe sünnetten kalan fotoğraflar vardı. Yeğenlerle birlikte neredeyse bütün aileyi dolaşıp amcaları, dayıları o fotoğrafları bulup yok etmekle uğraştım. Yani niye çektiniz, ne yapmaya çalışıyorsunuz, hiç anlamam derdim böyle. (Mehmet)

Sürekli ailenin büyükleri, işte dedem olsun, diğer akrabalar falan olsun hepsinin toplandığı bir ortam geliyor. İşte gözümün önünde bir meclis gibi, düğün şeklinde. (Salih)

Bütün aile etraftaydı. Etrafım, sekiz tane amcam var benim. Beşi altısı yanımdaydı sürekli, ikisi de sonradan geldiler. (Sait)

Sünnette, düğün şey çok kötü bir adet aslında ama sigara içerler sünnet çocukları ve sağdıç. Bizim orada sağdıçlar vardır. (...) Sünnet çocuğunun arkadaşları. (...) Onların hepsine böyle şey verirler, tişört dağıtılır. (...)

Harçlık verir bazıları. (Baran)

İşte sünnet olacak çocuk hani bir hafta falan diyelim dışarı çıkamayacak, evde yatacak. Arabayla böyle dolaştırılır konvoy halinde. (Mehmet)

Annemin çok heyecanlı olduğunu, bir de takılan takıları annemin başımda durup izlediğimi hatırlıyorum. (...) Hani babama çok saçma gelir bu.
(Ahmet)

Hani sünnetle ilgili çoğu şeyi yine annem hani ayarladı. İşte düzenledi falan filan. Ama şey nasıl diyim babam için hani böyle çok spesifik bir anlam taşıdı mı, taşımıştır herhalde yani. (Baran)

Military Service

Bana göre insanların hayatında büyük bir kambur haline dönüşüyor erkek çocukların hayatında. Aile için mental bir yorgunluğa sebep oluyor.
(Yahya)

Tam hani gencim, verimliyim falan böyle bir anda askere alınıcam, on iki ay belki de. Devlet boşu boşuna. (...) Hayatımı ciddi bir sekteye uğratacağımı düşünüyorum. Ama her an önünüzde bir engel. (Yiğit)

Kendim benden çok çok daha alt seviyede bir insandan emir alacağım ki bu bana çok dokunur ki hani anlattım çok hırslı bir insanım ki hani benden çok aşağıda bir insanın kültürel olarak, birikim olarak bana emir vermesine hiç tahammülüm yok. (Onur)

Ülkemi de çok seven bir insanım ama hani benim gözümde hani bu ülkenin çocukları birbirlerini öldürüyor ve ben buna çok karşıyım. O yüzden işte lisedeyken mesela kesinlikle gideceğim dediğim askerlikten

soğudum. (Ahmet)

Benim için şu anda hani askerlik çok fazla bir anlam ifade etmiyor. Sonuçta hani artık yirmi sekizde mi otuzda mı falan giderim. Çocukken benim için anlamı farklıydı. İşte hani biraz daha erkeksi bir imaj çizilirdi benim kafamda askerlik olduğu zaman. Şu anda öyle bir şey yok yani benim kafamda askerlikle ilgili. (Bekir)

İşte her erkeğin hayatında çok önemli bir şey. Hani otuz yaşında bir adamı oturtturup işte bir yaptığın zaman bir saat askerliği kesin ayırıyor şunu yaptık bunu yaptık falan diye. Hani gidersem sırf bu anılar için giderim diye düşünüyorum. (Ahmet)

Türkiye'nin, özellikle benim devletimin çok güçlü olması lazım, benim bu şekilde yaşayabilmem için. (...) Benim bu ibadetlerim, benim istediğimi yaşayabilmem için bu ülkenin çok güçlü olması lazım her açıdan, iç ve dış güvenlik olarak. Hani ben jandarma da olsam, özel mühimmat kuvvet komutanı da olsam içte ve dışta en iyi şekilde yapmam lazım görevimi ve en iyi şekilde halkı, milletimi yani herhangi neyi ırkı ne dili ne olursa olsun kollamam lazım. (Can)

Askerliğin özellikle benim gibi birisi için çok anlamı olacağını düşünüyorum. Disiplin açısından. Hani dediğim gibi çok tembel ya da böyle her şeyi erteleyen biri. Belki hayatıma bir düzen getirmesi açısından iyi olacak hani. (Mehmet)

Other Transitional Experiences

Erkeklerin dönüm noktası olarak gördüğü ikili ilişkilerin başlangıç dönemi olur, ergenlik dönemi aslında bir şeydir, dönüm noktasıdır. (Sait)
Ergenlik geldi şimdi benim aklıma direkt. İşte o ergenliğe girdiğim zamanlar. (...) Artık farklı bir insan olduğunu fark ediyorsun sanırım. Belki biraz da işte kendine güvenin geliyor. Etrafindan artık farklı bir özellik, kızlara karşı farklı gözlerle işte bakıyorsun. (Rıza)

Ergenlik döneminde yaşanan ikili ilişkiler, her biri birer dönüm noktasıdır erkekler için. (...) Ya çünkü her tanıştığı insanla bir deneyim yaşıyor, duygusal anlamda bir deneyim yaşıyor. Bu deneyimden kendine çıkarımlar yapıyor. Bu gerçekten erkekler için bir devrimdir. (Sait)
Türkiye'de olduğunu düşünürsek genellikle bir erkeğin ilk birisiyle, hani daha çocukça düşünürsek çıkma teklif etmek genelde. Reddedilmesi, kabul edilmesi, ilk ilişkisi biraz bir erkek için hani daha önemlidir. (Yiğit)

(Cinsel deneyim) mesela bu hani erkek için askerlik gibi sünnet gibi bir dönüm noktasıdır bence. (...) Sünnet olursun erkekliğin bir kısmını tamamladın, askerliğini yaparsın bir kısmını tamamladın ve işte cinsel ilişkiye girersin. (...) Erkekliğini tamamlamış oldun yani. (Barış)

Erkekler için işte bu şeyler, halk arasındaki rutinler. İşte ilk, ilk cinsel deneyim. Unutamıyor değilsin unutuyorsun ama o, onun onun onda yaşadığın şeyler bundan sonraki hayatında hep başka şeyler deneyimlemek arzusu uyandırıyor sende. (Yahya)

Üniversiteyi bitirip bir işe başlamak. (...) Ekonomik özgürlük. Hani bu hani aileye bağımlı olma zorunluluğunu da kaldırıyor biraz da, hani güven de olabiliyor biraz. (Mehmet)

İlk para kazandığı gün olabilir. Çünkü özgürlük elde ediyorsun. Ailenden sanırım daha özgür oluyorsun. İşte kimseye sormadan yapabiliyorsun. (Rıza)

Evlilik, (...) sadakat, aşk bunlar hani çok önemli benim için. (...) Birçok erkek için çok evlilik güzel bir süreç değil aslında ama benim için güzel bir süreç. (Onur)

Baba olmak diyeceğim. (...) Şimdi babamın yerine koyduğum zaman kendimi çok şey hissediyorum kendimi böyle çok zor görev diye düşündüm. Hani askerlikten bile belki daha zordur belki de hani çünkü öyle bir senin meyven olacak. (Can)

The Construction of the Masculine Self

The Young Men's Descriptions of the Self

1986'da xxx'de (Doğu'da bir şehir) doğdum. İlkokulu xxx İlköğretim Okulu'nda okudum. Liseyi xxx Anadolu Lisesi'nde okudum. Daha sonra xxx Üniversitesi hukuk fakültesine kaydoldum. ÖSSden sonra iki sene orada okudum. (Bekir)

1984'te İstanbul'da doğdum. Hayatım boyunca da İstanbul'da yaşadım. İki ablam var. Annemle babam hala sağ. 2003'te xxx Anadolu Lisesi'nden mezun oldum. xxx Üniversitesi'ni kazandım. (...) İstedğim okul değildi. O yüzden 2004'te hazırlanıp tekrar üniversite sınavına hazırlandım. xxx Üniversitesi İşletme'yi kazandım. (Yiğit)

Üç kardeşim var. İki tane xxx'de (Marmara'da bir şehir) üniversitede okuyor. Biri ilkokul okuyor. Babam esnaf. Annem ev hanımlığı yapıyor. (Ahmet)
Valla çocukluğumdan beri normal, orta halli bir ailede büyüdüm. Babam işçi, annem ev hanımı. İki tane abim var. Küçük bir çekirdek aile normal. (Bariş)

Kendimi aslında, kişisel özelliklerimden mi bahsediyorsunuz? (Salih)

Lisede oturduğum bölgede, xxx'te (İstanbul'da bir semt) bir süper lisede okudum. (...) Ondan önce ortaokulda da, aynı xxx'te, oturduğumuz yerde bir ortaokulumuz vardı. Oradaydım. (...) Okuldaki başarı durumum zaten genel olarak yüksekti. 4.92 ortaokul, 5.0 lise. (Sait)

İlkokulda genelde sınıfta işte en başarılı öğrenciydi. (...) İşte sekinci sınıfa kadar OKS falan filan sınavlardan (hiç haberim yoktu). (...) Dershaneye kayıt oldum. (...) Biraz daha ciddi olarak bu tür şeyleri düşünmeye başladım, hani gelecekle ilgili şeyler olur, meslek olur, hani çalışma, ders çalışma falan. Sonra işte liseyi xxx'da (Doğu'da bir şehir) bir öğretmen lisesini kazandım. (Mehmet)

Fazla konuşkan bir insan değilimdir. Genel olarak bulunduğum grup ortamlarında dinlemeyi daha çok severim. İnsanları biraz izlemeyi

severim (Sait)

Yani biraz içine kapanık bir insanım. (Bekir)

(Ben) iletişim kurmak isteyen ama istediği kadar iletişim kuramayan birisi (Salih)

Çok geniş bir sosyal çevrem var burada. (...) Kişilik özellikleri bakımından çok konuşan bir insanım. Arkadaş canlısı olarak olarak tanırım. (Ahmet)

Seçiciyimdir. İnsanlar konusunda çok seçiciyimdir. Yani herkesle arkadaşlık yapmam. Ondan sonra mutlaka hani hayatıma aldığım insanları yani ince eleyip sık dokumuşumdur yani hani. (Barış)

Bazen çok gereksiz yere sinirli oluyorum, çok gereksiz yere tepkiler veriyorum insanlara. (Bekir)

(Hoşnut olmadığım özelliğim) Asabiyet, yani az da olsa asabiyim. (Yiğit)

Aniden böyle, çok kakara kikiryken aniden böyle çok sinirlenebiliyorum falan böyle. (Barış)

Çok çabuk sinirlenen bir insanım. (Ahmet)

Çok sevdiğimden, bazen çok duygusal tepkiler verdiğimden. O mesela hiç sevmediğim bir özelliğim. (Ahmet)

Çok duygusalım, evet onu sevmiyorum hiç. (...) Kafaya çok takıyorum bir şeyi. Böyle çok beni duygulandıran bir şey olduğu zaman ya çok üzülüyorum ya çok seviniyorum. İkisi de iyi değil bence. (Onur)

En belirgin belki özelliğim hırslı çok hırslıyım. (Onur)

Hırs var, bunu beğeniyorum. (Salih)

Çok aşırı olmasa da mükemmeliyetçiyim. (...) (Bir işi) Ben yaparken tam yapmak isterim en iyi şekilde ya da başka biri benim için yapıyorsa onun da o işi benim rica ettiğim gibi tam yapmasını isterim. Kesinlikle hani çok dikkat etmesini isterim ve kendim de çok dikkat ederim. (Onur)

Bir şeyi yapacaksam ya hiç olmasın, ya çok iyi olsun gibi bir şey var. (...) İlk başta kötü gitti mi bir ders hemen bırakıyorum mesela, daha sonra alır çok daha iyi getiririm. (Mehmet)

Ya heptir, ya hiçtir benim için. (Barış)

Biraz tembellik var bende. Yapmam gereken şeyleri erteliyorum bazen. (Bekir)

Tembellik ders çalışma anlamında var. (Onur)

Üşengecimdir. (Barış)

Kendimi umman gibi hissediyorum. Yani insanı umman gibi var sayıyorum. Çünkü ucu bucağı olmayan bir varlığımız. (...) O yüzden her gün kendime ne anlamda nasıl katkı yapabileceğimin hep araştırması içerisindeyim ve şu an sizle konuşuyor olmam bile çok büyük bir getiri. (Barış)

Mukayese ederek geçmişte ne kadar düzeltebildim, ne kadar hani başarılı olabildim istediğim şeylerde falan. (...) Genelde çok eleştirel yaklaşırım

kendime. (Baran)

Dođru yaptıklarımla yanlış yaptıklarımı her zaman hesaplamak. Arada bir, işte haftada, ayda bakarım. (...) Hemen şöyle bir gözümü kapatırım, ben neyim, neredeyim, ne yapıyorum, (...) hedefim ne. (Yahya)

Sadece kendim için değil de etrafıma da faydalı bir şey olabilecek, böyle her sabah kalktığımda ne için ben çalışıyorum sorusuna böyle çok verecek cevabımın olmasını istiyorum. (Rıza)

Mesela okuyorsun, soyut bir şey aslında yani okuduğın şey. Niye, sadece kendini tatmin ediyor. (...) Senin okuduğın her kelime, her cümle ya da farklı insanların bir tane orada yazdığı bir cümle bile senin hayatına bir şey olabiliyor. (Yahya)

Fotoğrafçılık kulübü ile ilgileniyorum. Şu anda hani üyeliğim yok da hani üye olmak isteyip katılmak istediğim dans kulübü var. (Mehmet)

Birkaç kişisel gelişim kitabı okudum, daha da devamını getirmeyi planlıyorum. (Sait)

The Young Men's Self-Image

Gayet memnun gibi hissediyorum kendimden. (Ahmet)

(Kendimde beğendiğim özelliğim) Çok var. Hangisinden başlayabilirim. (Can)

Okul hayatım olsun, genel gündelik hayatımdaki insan ilişkilerimde olsun istediğim sonuçları alamadığım zaman ya işte bu sefer de olmadı, yapamıyorum, beceremiyorum gibi değil de daha çok hani niye olmadı, neyi eksik yapıyorum, hani onun yerine neyi koyabilirim de tekrar daha başarılı bir sonuç alabilirim gibi (düşünürüm). (Baran)

İnat ederseniz oluyor bir şeyler. İsteddiğiniz şeyler oluşuyor. (...) Hiçbir zaman bir şeylere kötümser yaklaşıp olmayacak ya da bir şey yetişmeyecek, yapamıcam vesaire gibi düşünmediğim içini (...) genelde olur istediğim şeyler. (Yiğit)

Dibe vurduğın an loser olmaktansa o dibe vurmuşluktan bir güzel bir olumlu, pozitif bir şey çıkarıp evet şu an burada olmalıyım, bu anı yaşamalıyım. Belki benim hayatıma bu an büyük katkı yapacak. (Yahya)

Çok böyle süper bir insan değilim, hangi açıdan düşünürsem düşüneyim. Ben şunu harbiden sapına kadar doğru yapıyorum ya da bunun arkasından gidebiliyorum diye kendi kendime öyle bir ekstrem bir özelliğim yok yani. (Hakan)

Valla çok fazla insanla diyologum yok burada. Yani biraz içine kapanık bir insanım. (...) İnsanlarla çok rahat iletişim kurarım çok iyi sohbet ederim, çok iyi muhabbet ederim. (Bekir)

The Young Men in the Interview Process

Ya ben sen diyorum ama hani problem olur mu? (Barış)
Eđitim olarak hani kızın fazla okumasına gerek yoktur. Yeni yeni bu yapı
yıkılıyor. Misal (görüşmeciye işaret ediyor). (Yiđit)

REFERENCES

- Akhondzadeh, S. M. (2002). *Enhancement of self-esteem in hierarchical relationships*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, Istanbul.
- Alemdaroğlu, A. & Demirtaş, N. (2004). Biz Türk erkeklerini böyle bilmezdik!: mynet'te erkeklik halleri. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 101, 206-224.
- Ataca, B. & Sunar, D. (2005). Continuity and change in Turkish urban family life. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 11, 77-90.
- Ataca, B. , Kağıtcıbaşı Ç. & Diri, A. (2005). The Turkish family and the value of children: trends over time. In G. Trommsdorff & B. Nauck (Eds.), *The value of children in cross-cultural perspective: Case studies from eight societies* (pp. 91-119). Lengerich: Pabst Science Publishers.
- Atlas.ti. The Qualitative Data Analysis Software (Version 6.0) [Computer program]. Long Island, USA: Research Talk Inc.
- Baştuğ, S. (2002). The household and family in Turkey: An historical perspective. In R. Liljeström & E. Özdalga (Eds.), *Autonomy and dependence in the family: Turkey and Sweden in critical perspective* (pp. 99-115). Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute.
- Benjamin, J. (1992). Recognition and destruction: An outline of intersubjectivity. In N. J. Skolnick & S. C. Warshaw (Eds.), *Relational perspectives in psychoanalysis* (pp. 43-60). Hillsdale, NJ/London: The Analytic Press.
- Benjamin, J. (1995). Sameness and difference: An overinclusive view of gender constitution. In *Like subjects, love objects* (pp. 49-114). New York: Yale University Press.
- Bird, S. R. (1996). Welcome to the men's club: Homosociality and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinity. *Gender and Society*, 10, 120-132.
- Blazina, C. (2001). Part objects, infantile fantasies and intra-psycho boundaries: an object relations perspective on male difficulties with intimacy. *Journal of Men's Studies*, 10, 89-99.
- Bolak, H. C. (1997). When wives are major providers: Culture, gender and family work. *Gender and Society*, 11, 409-433.
- Bolak, H. B. (1999). *He loves to show off even though he is poor: Gendered strategies in the Turkish working class households*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Bolak, H. (2002). Family work in working class households in Turkey. In R. Liljeström & E. Özdalga (Eds.), *Autonomy and dependence in the family* (pp. 239-262). London: Routledge.

- Butler, J. (1993). Introduction. In *Bodies that matter: On the discursive limits of "sex"* (pp.1-23). London: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1999). Subjects of sex/gender/desire. In *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity* (pp. 3-33). New York: Routledge.
- Cancian, F. M. (1989). Gender politics: Love and power in the private and public spheres. In A. S. Skolnick & J. H. Skolnick (Eds.), *Family in transition: Rethinking marriage, sexuality, child rearing and family organization* (pp. 219-230). Glenview: Scott, Foresman.
- Carrigan, T., Connell, B., & Lee, J. (1985). Toward a new sociology of masculinity. *Theory and Society, 14*, 551-604.
- Cengiz, K., Tol, U. U. & Küçükural, Ö. (2004). Hegemonik erkekliğin peşinden. *Toplum ve Bilim, 101*, 50-70.
- Chodorow, N. J. (1980). Gender, relation and difference in psychoanalytic perspective. In H. Eisenstein & A. Jardine (Eds.), *The future of difference* (pp. 420-436). Boston: G. K. Hall.
- Chodorow, N. J. (1999). The psychoanalytic story. In *The reproduction of mothering* (pp. 57-172). London: University of California Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1987). *Gender and Power: Society, the Person and Sexual Politics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Connell, R. W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Connell, R.W. (2001). The social organization of masculinity. In S. M. Whitehead & F. J. Barrett (Eds.), *The Masculinities reader* (pp. 30-50). Malden: Polity Press.
- Connell, R.W. & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Rethinking the concept. *Gender and Society, 19*, 829-859.
- Cornwall, A. & Lindisfarne, N. (1994). Dislocating masculinity: Gender, power and anthropology. In A. Cornwall and N. Lindisfarne (Eds.), *Dislocating masculinity* (pp. 11-47). London: Routledge.
- Çavdar, A. (2003). *The-self-with-sibling representation and the oedipal themes in the sibling relationship*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, Istanbul.
- Dayı, A. (1997). *A grounded theory of family distance: explaining independence/interdependence in modernizing Turkish families*. Unpublished doctorate thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania.
- Delaney, C. L. (1991). Relatives and relations. In *The seed and the soil* (pp. 147-200). Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Demetriou, D. Z. (2001). Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity: A critique. *Theory and Society*, 30, 337-361.
- Diamond, M. J. (2004). The shaping of masculinity: Revisioning boys turning away from their mothers to construct male gender identity. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 85, 359-380.
- Dindar, C. (2004). "Babamın sazının önünde oynadım, başkasının değil": Toplumumuzdaki erkeklik kimliği üzerine sosyopsikolojik bir inceleme. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 101, 225-236.
- Dinnerstein, D. (1976). The rocking of the cradle and the ruling of the world. In *The mermaid and the minotaur* (pp. 28-88). New York: Other Press.
- Duben, A. (1982). The significance of family and kinship in urban Turkey. In Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı & D. Sunar (Eds.), *Sex roles, family & community in Turkey* (pp. 73-99). Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Turkish Studies.
- Durakbaşı, A. (1998). Cumhuriyet döneminde modern kadın ve erkek kimliklerinin oluşumu: Kemalist kadın kimliği ve "münevver erkekler". In A. B. Hacımırzaoğlu (Ed.), *75 yılda kadınlar ve erkekler* (pp. 29-51). İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
- Elliott, A. (2002). Psychoanalytic feminism: From Chodorow to Butler. In *Psychoanalytic theory: An introduction* (pp. 125-155). United States: Duke University Press.
- Fallers, L. A. & Fallers, M. C. (1976). Sex roles in Edremit. In J. G. Peristiany (Ed.), *Mediterranean family structures* (pp. 243-260). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fehimoğlu-Sinan, S. (1998). *Self experience, westernization and intimate friendships: an exploration of Roland's concept of familial self*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, İstanbul.
- Fişek, G. O. (1982). Psychopathology and the Turkish family: A family systems theory analysis. In Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı (Ed.), *Sex roles, family, community in Turkey* (pp.295-321). Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Turkish Studies.
- Fişek, G. O. (1994). Paradoxes of intimacy: An analysis in terms of gender and culture. *Boğaziçi Journal: Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, 8, 177-186.
- Fişek, G. O. (1995). Gender hierarchy: Is it a useful concept in describing family structure? In J. van Lawick & M. Sanders (Eds.), *Family, gender and beyond* (pp. 63-72). Heemstede, The Netherlands: LS Books.
- Fişek, G. O. (2002, September). *Bende bir ben var ailemden içeri: Türkiye 'de ailevi benlik araştırmaları*. Paper presented at the 12th National Psychology Conference, Middle East Technical University, Turkey.

- Fişek, G. O. (2009). Self development, individuation and culture: A psychoanalytic Perspective. In S. Bekman & A. Aksu-Koç (Eds.), *Perspectives in human development, family and culture* (pp. 194-206). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flood, M. (2008). Men, sex and homosociality: H bonds between men shape their sexual relations with women. *Men and Masculinities*, 10, 339-359.
- Freud, S. (1924). The passing of the Oedipal complex. *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, 5, 419-424.
- Freud, S. (1949). *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*. London: Hogarth Press.
- Frosh, S. (2000) Intimacy, gender and abuse: The construction of masculinities. In U. McCluskey & A. Hooper (Eds.), *Psychodynamic perspectives on abuse: The cost of fear* (pp. 132-143). London: Jessica Kingsley.
- Frosh, S. (2002). Father's ambivalence (too). In *After words: The personal in gender, culture and psychotherapy* (pp. 21-34). London: Palgrave.
- Goode, W. (1994). Why men resist. In A. Skolnick & J. H. Skolnick (Eds.), *Family in transition: Rethinking marriage, sexuality, child rearing and family organization* (pp. 137-149). New York: Harper Collins Collage Publishers.
- Gutmann, M. C. (1997). Trafficking in men: The anthropology of masculinity. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26, 385-409.
- Gürbüz, E. (1988). *A measurement of sex-trait stereotypes*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, Istanbul.
- Halfon, S. (2006). *Attachment in a cultural framework*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, Istanbul.
- Hare-Mustin, R. T. & Marecek, J. (1988). The meaning of difference: Gender theory, postmodernism and psychology. *American Psychologist*, 43, 455-464.
- Herzog, J. M. (2004). Father hunger and narcissistic deformation. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, 73, 893-914.
- Hudson, L. & Jacot, B. (1998). The male "wound". In B. M. Clinchy & J. K. Norem (Eds.), *The gender and psychology reader* (pp. 433-453). New York: New York University Press.
- Imamoglu, O. (1991). Çocuğun aile içinde yetiştirme ortamı ve toplumsallaşması. In *Türk aile ansiklpedisi* (Vol.1, pp. 236-240). Ankara: Türk Yazarlar Birliği Vakfı.
- Imamoglu, E. O. (1994). A model of gender relations in the Turkish family. *Bogazici Journal: Review of Social, Economic and Administrative Studies*, 6, 165-176.

- Imamoglu E. O. , & Aygün Z. O. (1999). 1970'lerden 1990'lara değerler: Üniversite düzeyinde gözlenen zaman, kuşak ve cinsiyet farklılıkları. *Türk Psikoloji Dergisi*, 44, 1-18.
- Johnston, C. A. & Morrison, T. G. (2007). The presentation of masculinity in everyday life: Contextual variations in the masculine behaviour of young Irish man. *Sex Roles*, 57, 661-664.
- Johnson, M. P. (2001). Conflict and control: Symmetry and asymmetry in domestic violence. In A. Booth, A. C. Crouter & M. Clements (Eds.), *Couples in conflict* (pp. 95-104). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kagan, M. (1979). *Sexual conduct and relations and their place in traditional Turkish society*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1982). Introduction. In Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı & D. Sunar (Eds.), *Sex roles, family & community in Turkey* (pp. 1-27). Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Turkish Studies.
- Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1996). Human development, family, culture. In *Family and human development across cultures* (pp. 1-72). New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1987). Emancipated but unliberated?: Reflections on the Turkish case. *Feminist Studies*, 13, 317-338.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1988). Bargaining with patriarchy. *Gender & Society*, 2, 274-290.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1994). The paradoxes of masculinity: Some thoughts on segregated societies. In A. Cornwall & N. Lindisfarne (Eds.), *Dislocating masculinity: Comparative ethnographies* (pp. 197-213). London: Routledge.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1995). Patterns of patriarchy: Notes for an analysis of male dominance in Turkish society. In Ş. Tekeli (Ed.), *Women in modern Turkish society: A reader* (pp. 306-318). London: Zed Books.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1998). Modernin cinsiyeti: Türk modernleşmesi araştırmalarında eksik boyutlar. In S. Bozdoğan & R. Kasaba (Eds.), *Türkiye'de modernleşme ve ulusal kimlik* (pp. 99-117). İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.
- Katz, P.A. (1986). Gender identity: Development and consequences. In R. D. Ashmore & F. K. Del Boca (Eds.), *The Social psychology of female-male relations* (pp. 21-59). Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- Kıray, M. (1976). The new role of mothers: Changing intrafamilial relationships in a small town in Turkey. In J. G. Peristiany (Ed.), *Mediterranean family structures* (pp. 261-271). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kimmel, M. S. (1986). Toward men's studies. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 29, 517-529.

- Kimmel, M. S. (2001). Masculinity as homophobia: Fear, shame and silence in the construction of gender identity. In S. M. Whitehead & F. J. Barrett (Eds.), *The masculinities reader* (pp. 266-287). Malden: Polity Press.
- Kimmel, M. S. & Messner, M. A. (2007). Introduction. In M. S. Kimmel & M. A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp. xv-xxiii). Boston: Pearson Allyn and Bacon.
- Lacan, J. (1982). The meaning of the phallus. In *Feminine sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the ecole Freudienne* (pp.74-85). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Maral, E. (2004). İktidar, erkeklik ve teknoloji. *Toplum ve Bilim, 101*, 127-161.
- Marecek, J. (1995). Gender, politics and psychology's ways of knowing. *American Psychologist, 50*, 162-163.
- Messerschmidt, J. (2007). Varieties of "real men". In M. S. Kimmel & M. A. Messner (Eds.), *Men's lives* (pp. 3-20). Boston: Pearson Allyn and Bacon.
- Olson, E. A. (1982). Duofocal family structure and an alternative model of husband-wife relationships. In Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı (Ed.), *Sex roles, family & community in Turkey* (pp. 33-72), Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Turkish Studies.
- Onur, H. & Koyuncu, B. (2004). "Hegemonik" erkekliğin görünmeyen yüzü. *Toplum ve Bilim, 101*, 31-49.
- Özbay, C. & Baliç, İ. (2004). Erkekliğin ev halleri. *Toplum ve Bilim, 101*, 89-103.
- Pehlivanoğlu, P. (1998). *Differences in Turkish parenting practices due to socioeconomic status and sex of the child*. Unpublished masters thesis, Bogazici University, Istanbul.
- Person, E. S. (1985). The erotic transference in women and in men: Differences and consequences. *Journal of American Academy of Psychoanalysis, 13*, 159-180.
- Pleck, J.H. (1983). Psychology constructs masculinity. In *The myth of masculinity* (pp. 1-13). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Pleck, J. (1998). My sex role-and ours. In B. M. Clinchy & J. K. Norem (Eds.), *The Gender and Psychology Reader* (pp. 531-538). New York: New York University Press.
- Pleck, J. H. , Sonenstein, F. L. & Ku, L. C. (1998). Masculinity ideology and its correlates. In B. M. Clinchy & J. K. Norem (Eds.), *The gender and psychology reader* (pp.308-323). New York: New York University Press.
- Roland, A. (1988). *In Search of Self in India and Japan: Toward a Cross-cultural Psychology*. New Jersey, USA: Princeton University Press.

- Roland, A. (2005, August). *The familial self revisited*. Paper presented at the 34th Annual Conference of South Asia, Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, China.
- Sakallı-Uğurlu, N. (2003). Cinsiyetçilik: Kadınlara ve erkeklere ilişkin tutumlar ve çelişik duygulu cinsiyetçilik kuramı. *Türk Psikoloji Yazıları*, 6, 1-20.
- Sancar, S. (2009). *Erkeklik: İmkansız İktidar Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Sarı, U. (2004). *Men who desire to conquer: romantic love and masculinity among some young professionals*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, İstanbul.
- Sattel, J. W. (1998). Men, inexpressiveness, and power. In B. M. Clinchy & J. K. Norem (Eds.), *The gender and psychology reader* (pp. 498-504). New York: New York University Press.
- Seçkin, K. B. (1996). *A narrative analysis of the construction of self in a group of Turkish university undergraduates: A self amidst tradition and change*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, İstanbul.
- Sefer, N. (2006). *Paternal representations in late adolescence*. Unpublished master's thesis, Bogazici University, İstanbul.
- Selek, P. (2008). *Sürüne Sürüne Erkek Olmak*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Siedler, V. (1997). *Man Enough: Embodying Masculinities*. California: Sage Publications.
- Simic, A. (1999). Machismo and cryptomatriarchy: Power, affect and authority in the contemporary Yugoslav family. In S. P. Ramet (Ed.), *Gender politics in the Western Balkans: Women and society in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav successor states* (pp. 66-86). University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Sirman, N. (1998). Nous vivons pour notre nonneur: L'identité dans la parente turque: Immigrés de Turquie=We live for our honor: Identity within Turkish kinship: Immigrants from Turkey. *Hommes & Migrations*, 1212, 53-61.
- Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Sunar, D. (2002). Change and continuity in the Turkish middle class family. In R. Liljeström & E. Özdalga (Eds.), *Autonomy and dependence in the family: Turkey and Sweden in critical perspective* (pp. 217-137). İstanbul: Swedish Research Institute.

- Sunar, D. , Bolak, H. B. & Ataca, B. (2005, August). Emotional display rules among Turkish students: Status and context effects. Presented at the 113th Annual American Psychological Association Convention, Washington D.C., The United States.
- Sunar, D. & Fişek G. O. (2005). Contemporary Turkish families. In J. L. Roopnarine & U. P. Gieler (Eds.), *Families in global perspective* (pp. 169-183). Boston: Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.
- Triandis, H. C., Bontempo, R. & Villareal, M. J. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 54, 323-338.
- Unger, R. K. (1998). *Resisting Gender: Twenty-Five Years of Feminist Psychology*. London: Sage Publications.
- West, C. & Zimmerman D. H. (1987). Doing gender. *Gender and Society*, 1, 125-151.
- Wetherell, M. & Edley, N. (1999). Negotiating hegemonic masculinity: Imaginary positions and psycho-discursive practices. *Feminism & Psychology*, 9, 335-356.
- Whitehead, S. M. & Barrett, F. J. (2001). The sociology of masculinity. In S. M. Whitehead & F. J. Barrett (Eds.), *The Masculinities reader* (pp. 1-26). Malden: Polity Press.
- Whitehead, S. M. (2001). Man: The invisible gendered subject. In S. M. Whitehead & F. J. Barrett (Eds.), *The Masculinities reader* (pp. 351-368). Malden: Polity Press.
- Yumul, A. (2000). Bitmemiş bir proje olarak beden. *Toplum ve Bilim*, 84, 37-50.