

ONE HOME TWO WOMEN: SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND SEXUAL
KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION FROM MOTHER TO DAUGHTER IN
TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

ONE HOME TWO WOMEN: SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE TRANSMISSION FROM MOTHER TO DAUGHTER IN TURKEY

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Sexuality is more than a word, it depends on familial relations, interaction, knowledge and experience. Like sexuality, sexual socialization also refers to knowledge and experience. How women are sexually socialized is a significant problematic for the feminist theory. Every woman has a unique recollection of her sexual socialization; these memories belong to childhood, adolescence and adulthood. The current study emphasizes how sexual experience and sexual knowledge are transmitted from mother to daughter in Turkey. Its aims to advance a new perspective to sexual knowledge and generational transmission of sexual experience. Hence, the study is focusing on two group of women amongst which ten of them are mothers and ten of them are daughters. Qualitative research is used in order to deeply problematize sexual knowledge. The originality of the study lies in Feminist Standpoint Theory which is theoretical framework. In addition, feminist epistemology and feminist methodology are guiding lights of the research. Unit of

analysis is woman and both groups of women have situational and positional knowledge. In order to discuss sexual knowledge, issues of sexuality, sexual socialization, family and motherhood are interrogated.

Keywords: Feminist Standpoint Theory, Feminist Epistemology, Feminist Methodology, Sexual Knowledge, Sexual Experience

ÖZ

BİR EV İKİ KADIN: TÜRKİYE’DE CİNSEL BİLGİ VE DENEYİMİN ANNEDEN KIZA AKTARIMI

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Bir kelimedenden fazlası olan cinsellik; aile ilişkilerine, aile içi ve dışı bireylerle olan etkileşime, bilgi ve deneyime işaret etmektedir. Tıpkı cinsellik gibi, cinsel sosyalizasyonda bilgi ve deneyimin birleştiği noktada bulunmaktadır. Kadınlar nasıl cinsel olarak sosyalize olur sorusu feminist teorinin merkezinde yer alan sorunsallardan biridir. Erkek egemenliğin toplumsal, sosyal ve kültürel olarak varlığını güçlendirdiği bir alan olan cinsellik ve cinselliğe bağlı dinamikler çalışmanın sorunsalıdır. Her kadın, benzersiz cinsel bilgi edinme deneyimine sahiptir ve bu deneyimler onların çocukluk, ergenlik ve yetişkinlik dönemlerine aittir. Toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri bu sosyalizasyonun belirleyicidir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye’de anneden kıza cinsel bilgi ve cinsel deneyimin aktarılmasına odaklanmaktadır. Amacı jenerasyonlar arası yapılan cinsellik aktarımına yeni bir bakış açısı getirmektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda on anne ve onların kızları olmak üzere toplamda yirmi kadına ulaşılmıştır. Bu kadınların birbirinden farklı cinsel bilgi ve deneyimleri, kadınların cinsel sosyalizasyon süreci ile ilgili yirmi farklı hikâyeye ulaşılmasını sağlamıştır. Cinsel bilginin derinlemesine sorunsallaştırılması amacıyla nitel araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Çalışmanın teorik çerçevesi olan Feminist Duruş Kuramı çalışmanın

özgünlüğünü desteklemektedir. Çalışmanın metodolojisi feminist duruştur. Epistemoloji ise; bu kuramın bilgi ve güç arasındaki ilişkiyi öteki pozisyonunda bulunan kadınların konum, yer ve pozisyonları üzerinden bilgi nasıl ürettikleri ve deneyimlerini nasıl güce çevirdikleri üzerinden kurulmuştur. Araştırmanın analiz birimi olarak kadınların ele alınması, onların konumsal ve pozisyonel bilgilerinin kullanılmasını sağlamıştır. Cinsel bilgiyi tartışmak amacıyla, cinsellik, cinsel sosyalizasyon, aile ve annelik kurumu da tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Feminist Duruş Kuramı, Epistemoloji, Metodoloji, Cinsel Bilgi, Cinsel Deneyim

To my mother and to my father

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FST	Feminist Standpoint Theory
FDK	Feminist Duruş Kuramı
TDHS	Turkey Demographic and Health Survey
HUIPS	Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies
UNFPA	United Nations Population Found
SIECUS	Sexuality Information and Education Council of United States
TEPA	Research on Adolescent Profile in Türkiye

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Every woman has a unique recollection of her sexual socialization process; these memories belong to childhood, adolescence and adulthood. The current study aims to advance a new perspective regarding women's access to sexual knowledge and generational transmission of sexual experience. The originality of the study lies in its theoretical framework and the way it conceptualizes sexual socialization. This research is based on the Feminist Standpoint Theory (FST), a theoretical position which rejects basic assumptions of modernity understanding, that is, rationalism, essentialism and universalism, where not situating itself within postmodernity. In addition, this research specifically addresses the unique characteristics of mother and daughter relations focusing on sexual socialization.

My initial interest in studying women's sexual knowledge transferred from mothers to daughters emerges from one of my childhood memories. When I was at the age of 12, my mother was pregnant to my brother. The topic of that time was "*where do babies come from?*" Although I already knew the answer, I wanted my mother to answer it. One day, I heard my mother talking to her sister about planning on having a natural birth. I asked her "*what does normal birth mean?*" and she answered, "I will explain it to you later". Nearly 16 years later, I was still waiting for her explanation. Many women that I know reported having similar childhood memories. They do not have any recollection regarding their sexual socialization, sexual development and gender development within interfamilial relations. They indicate talking sexuality only with their close female friends rather than with their mothers. Although this is the case, mothers claim talking sexuality frequently with their daughters. *Why such a contradiction exists?*

This chapter consists of five major parts, background and overview of the study, aims and objectivities of the study, theoretical and methodological foundation of the study, expected potential contributions of the study and structure of the thesis. They enable to establish general framework of the study.

1.1. Background and Overview of the Study

Although sexuality is more than a word, it is a kind of forbidden norm in Turkey. In daily discourses, sexuality refers to fertility and reproduction. However, sexuality does not mean procreation; it is an essential part of identity formation. While sexual identities and sexual knowledge are ignored, gender stereotypes are exaggerated in social life. In addition, like the other components, male-stream ideology also influences the understanding of what sexuality is. Male-centric perspective reduces sexuality to the following understanding: men are the founders of the demands; women are the producers of supply (Hughes, 2000). This point of view disregards women's subjectivity and supports subordination of woman both in public and private spheres. Family structure and motherhood institution are very effective according to this perspective. Although women's sexual experiences are not taken into account in male-centric perspective, how women are sexually socialized is a significant problematic for the feminist theory. Moreover, woman's sexual knowledge is seldom questioned by social theory, due to its phallogentric character. Thus, the methodology and epistemology of the FST opens up new fields to discuss sexuality and sexual knowledge.

Family institution and its structure have been problematized by social theory where family is an ensemble of relations that create different identities: relevant individuals are tied with marriage or affiliation and sharing same home in the family (Bourdieu, 1996, p.19). Moreover, it has economic, social and psychological functions. In addition to these, Bourdieu (1996, p. 19) argues that family is not different than any other words. Discourses on family are politically established and those discourses aim to produce, reproduce, and socialize individuals. Bourdieu (1996, p.25) notes the character of family that is a strong policy constituted by the state to form the sensation of the social. Although this view focuses on the sexual experience and

sexual knowledge, without a discussion on family's function and motherhood institution, mother-daughter relations are hardly can be analyzed.

The family is a bridge that concatenates public and private domains; therefore, studies and researches on family have to connect these two domains. Moreover, changes and transformations in society affect the meaning of family. For Allan (2008, p.1), "the function of family becomes more specialized and more privatized" today. When politics privatized family, interfamilial relations started to become indistinctive. Family is a space of self-realization; however, self-realization takes place depending on the expectations of social institutions.

The socialization role of the family institution is a life-span continuum; it is a social learning process. The social structure of society, what is good or bad, and the requirements of the society and social systems are taught by actors of this society. Moreover, gender roles, sexual identity, stereotypes and identity construction are at the center of this process, in which family is the first and the most important locus of socialization. For this research, mother-daughter relation is specifically important, since the main aim of this study is to emphasize mothers' roles in their daughter's gender roles learning and sexual socialization processes within the context of inter-familial relations. One might question how the identities are transferred, although daughters do not want to have similar identity characteristics as their mothers, the transmission creates a strict and infrangible bond. It can be assumed that sexual socialization has one message that is each woman is a product of past generation and she reproduces next generation on the basis of the characteristics of the society.

Both mothers and daughters pass through the same stages of biological development, such as puberty, menarche, and menopause. Besides the biological characteristics of these stages, these are also social developments since daughters take their mothers as a model. Furthermore, it can be argued that transmission of sexual knowledge and experiences are hidden processes external to words. Fox (1980, p. 22) claims that conversations on sexuality, sexual behaviors and gender stereotypes are implicit, circuitous and tacit between mothers and daughters. Past, present and future are combined together in sexual socialization in order to preserve continuity of created

sexual knowledge. Interaction and meanings help in conveying the experiences and knowledge. On this ground, the ways that girls are sexually socialized is a significant problematic for this thesis.

Furthermore, analyzing gender and sexuality as if they are separate fields is not possible for the comprehensive scope of feminist theory. West and Zimmerman (1987) underscore that not only gender but also sexuality is achieved representations which are socially constructed. In other words, they hint this constitution processes being under the influence of dominant ideology and its social institutions. Family is considered to be the first place where gender identity development and sexual socialization begin. For this study, in addition to family, motherhood is also considered as one of the most important institutionalized structures with regards to the development of identity and internalization and interpretation of sexuality.

In this chapter, first, critical concepts will be presented including their similarities and differences and the current study's approach to these notions will be discussed. To begin with *socialization*, it is a process through which individuals acquire social knowledge and social skills required to be a member of society (Spanier, 1977). Society's cultural characteristics, social structure, expectations, and traditions are all significant factors shaping the socialization process which initially starts in the family. Sociological accounts mostly focus on the role of family in socialization processes. However, with a lack of gender perspective they mostly neglect the central role of gender in family relations since family unit is authorized by patriarchy. When studies focus on the function of the family in general, they emphasize the socialization of children and parents within the institution and underline the fictionalization of gender roles in the family. Family is an institution in which the power relations are unequal. Other social structures or institutions, and domination and subordination based on gender and age are internalized in family. Beşpınar (2014, pp.234-235) remarks that fictions of society and its corresponding expectations are determinant factors of gender practices and gender dynamics. These fictions and expectations are affected by social facts. Cultural-social structures and institutions are directly related to the gender mechanism. With the contributions of

feminist theory, gender is attached to social research and literature. Max Ferrees's study (2010) on literature on sociology of family infers that the increase of gender perspectives in empirical family studies means that "half of the glass is full". On the other hand, "the other half is empty" means that the view of gender in family literature has been marginalized (as cited in Beşpınar, 2014, p.235). Fictionalization of role of mothering also fabricates continuation of socialization. In addition to socialization, sexual socialization refers to "the process of becoming sexual, taking on gender identity, understanding and relation to the variety of sexual behavior, and generally learning the knowledge, skills and dispositions that allow a person to function of sexuality in a given culture" (Spanier, 1977, pp.90-91).

Due to penetration of patriarchal structure of the society in Turkey, sexuality is male-dominant. In contrast with this view, this study argues that sexuality is monopolized by motherhood and that mothers promote female sexuality as being oppressed, since the dynamics and practices of maternity institution are included in the structuring of sexuality. The combination of family and intimacy among generations confines women's issue into sexual morality. Sexual socialization takes place through the reproduction of gender roles. Therefore, mother's history, her sexual knowledge accumulation, and her position are related to her daughter's sexual socialization. This should not be considered as the interaction of gender roles. Learning to match the previous generation and basically learning gender roles should not be overlooked, but sexual socialization continues for life. Because knowledge acquisition on sexuality has maintained by highly dependent to subject's changing situation in society.

Sexual socialization is the subject's informally acquiring knowledge on sexuality. Spanier (1977) opts to use the term sexualization rather than sexual socialization to explain this process. In contrast, I prefer the term "sexual socialization", as this concept underlines the continuity of being a sexualized subject. This research's point of view, which is the FST, makes it difficult to make a holistic and unified definition of sexual socialization. I view sexual socialization as a knowledge and experience transmission process between same sex members of the family. This means that well

established gender stereotypes affect gender inequality in the family institution and the socio-developmental process of sexuality, especially in adulthood.

In contrast with socialization, education is a formal process of theoretical learning, and the education system is a concern of the state. Although education and socialization are both ways of transmission of cultural norms and values, family is not a part of formal education. Education is framed and disciplined process for conveying information and abilities to impress individual's development (Shtarsthall, Santelli_& Hirsch, 2017). The general assumption is that school-based education is not based on suppositions and teaches the right information.

In addition to education, sexual education is described as a course for imparting scientific, reliable and non-judgmental knowledge, and it should be based on an age-appropriate knowledge (UNESCO, 2017). Sexual education covers information about sexual health, birth control methods, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual life, fertility, reproductive knowledge; and, most importantly, it helps to increase the young generations' self-esteem. Rather than being gender sensitive, sexual socialization is intensively based on gender inequality and women's subjugation; and also, it is a process full of social myths and incorrect information.

Throughout the study, sexual knowledge and sexual experience transmission are going to be a prime focus, because of the fact that female sexuality is constituted on a gender-biased ground. Moreover, women's sexual knowledge is also the process of identity development.

1.2. Aims and Objectivities of the Study: Research Problem

This section includes both the aims of the research and how the research is problematized. There is a commonsense understanding in Turkey that the legitimate starting point of sexuality is the marriage; although young women do not have any prior sexual knowledge. Previous sexual experiences like realization of the sexual organ, enlargement of breasts, menstruation are ignored. In contrast to the common belief, the transmission of experience and knowledge with respect to sexuality from

mother to daughter starts before marriage. Further, sexual socialization and the learning of gender stereotypes occur in various ways. The ideological structure of motherhood is influential on younger women and mothers. Family-based sexual knowledge is characterized by sexist hierarchy. In addition to the fact that resources of sexual information are scant and biased, there are also restrictions preventing the extension of the knowledge. When women object to the family-centered, sexist and gender-biased sexual socialization, their comprehension of the issue varies. On the other hand, being biased embodies partiality in itself, and one of the aims of this study is to disclose women's partial knowledge.

Due to the conservative character of the society in Turkey, women avoid talking on sexuality and sexual knowledge, and sexual experiences. The society attributes stereotypical roles to women, such as being chaste before marriage, not talking about sexual freedom, making yourself a present for your husband, and keeping yourself to your husband. Moreover, sexual freedom is a forbidden word; it can be uttered in nowhere and by no one. However, sexuality is socially constituted, and it includes practices in various ways. The starting point of the interrogation of this study is this *dilemma*. In this sense, one of the concerns of this study is the reproduction of women's sexuality on the basis of sexual socialization within the context of mother-daughter relation.

The processes of sexual knowledge and sexual experience transmission spreads to the whole life; because human being has not fixed location and situation and affected by social changes in different ways. Reality is socially constituted in the lives of human beings. Sexuality does not follow a linear pattern; hence, dynamics of constitution have different influences on dynamic of identities. Consequently, this study focuses on the social constituted of sexuality in combination with socialization and motherhood institution.

Contrary to other researches on this issue, this study is focusing on the post-puberty period in women's life. It is assumed that individuals are socialized throughout their lives, and sexual knowledge diversifies in accordance with experiences and interactions with other people. Emphasizing only the periods of childhood and

puberty ignores the dynamic character of the interaction: “Childhood is institutionalized through family, education and state; resulting in dependence on adults and exclusion from full participation in adult society” (Jackson & Scott, 2010, p.103). Sexual practices, sexual values, sexual identities are investigated by Gagnon and Simon (2005), Brickell (2006), Fox (1980), Boyd (1989) and more scholars in a general way. Nonetheless, individual experiences and knowledge, and subject’s relationships with other women are not analyzed in situational, locational and perspectival relations. Harding (1991, 2004), Hekman (1997, 2004) and more standpoint theoreticians make possible to do research on these relations.

Within this framework, the central research questions of this study in its broadest scope are the followings: The transformation of sexual knowledge and sexual experience from mother to daughter in family and the acquisition of sexual knowledge necessitates the interactive analysis of motherhood, family, understanding and expectations of two generations, in which the related actions of them are shaped by partial, situational and locational knowledge.

Based on and related to this basic research problem, sub-research problems are listed as follows:

- The effective role of motherhood institution is limited.
- Expectations of second generation from the first generation are not clear and they are hardly realized.
- For these two groups the definition/description of themselves as subjects and their memories and understanding of sexuality, sexual socialization, sexual education, family and motherhood are subjectively constituted, and their related actions are politically embedded. That is their understanding and acts are not institutionally structured, unified, holistic, and singular but multiple, relative, reflexive, contextual, and constraining.

These are the research problems that shape my interest in this study. As I mentioned, the main aim of the study is to emphasize mother’s role’s in their daughters’ gender role learning, and sexual knowledge learning and sexual experience transmission

processes within unique characteristics of mother and daughter relation. In the light of this goal, I aim to understand women's subordinated positions in family and women's emancipation.

Thus far, I have provided my initial interest, and my perspective in relation to socialization, sexual socialization and sexual education, which will lead me throughout the study. In the following sections of this chapter, I will discuss the initial interest and the aims of the study, the scope and the significance of the study, and the outline of the thesis.

1.3. Theoretical and Methodological Foundation of the Study

The study is strongly influenced and based on FST, which provides a relevant and useful position for the study. Sexuality combined with experience and knowledge is a political issue that makes FST to be useful. Essentialist conceptualization of sexuality will be challenged by the theory. In order to realize my aims and objectivities, I rejected to use dichotomic formulations. Since women are masters of culture and mind. Each standpoint makes equal contribution to the sexual knowledge. Therefore, all women have equal positions to analyze their everyday experiences.

Subjectivity is considered to be the central epistemological understanding, and the constitution of the subject is an ongoing process under the influence of specificities of subjective experiences and interactive acts in social relations and specifically between mothers and daughters. They can have different experiences and knowledge levels but each one is un-repudiated. Their sexual knowledge is heterogenous depending on their standpoints. Standpoints identify individuals' positions with regards to power relations; thus, women have diversified standpoints. Multiple social identities are constituted through different epistemologies. In each circumstance, epistemologies are constituted by multiple experiences. I assumed that women have collective consciousness and their realities are in their socially constituted lives, which enables to give voice to women's realities on sexual socialization.

Besides, I utilized qualitative research in questioning women's daily lives. I interviewed 20 women. Qualitative research and interview will offer me to combine theory with knowledge. Sexuality, sexual socialization, family, motherhood, and gender patterns are examples of social practices. This information gathered as a result of the study aims to produce politics, which is sexual knowledge and women's sexuality. The respondents are considered to be conscious of the realities of their life experiences as well as the researcher. I think that sexuality makes meaningful life experiences and helps to understand the way of life. This position adds researcher's subjectivity to the study. Researcher does not have an absolute and fixed position that varies around the subject of the research, its subject of the research, its theory and its collected data. By means of this viewpoint, hierarchy between respondents and researcher will be eliminated.

1.4. Expected Potential Contributions of the Study

Despite the fact that, discussion of sexuality, sexual knowledge and sexual experience transmission are not new in social research. Significant names from psychology: Freud, Lacan; a critical name from sociology: Foucault (2015) studied about these topics. However, perspectives of some of them depend on biological determinism and essentialism such as Freud. Symbolic interactionist approach was also criticized sexual socialization depending on sexual scripts. Gagnon and Simon (2005) are important name who discussed sexuality. However, their theories analyzed sexuality in general framework. Although they focused on female sexuality, they did not emphasize on female subordination. Unlike questioning women's sexual disempowerment, and socially and culturally constitution of sexual knowledge, conventional social theories are far away from discussing male-centric sexual knowledge and subordinated groups' knowledge. Feminist theories are at the heart of the topic of sexuality. However, some of them, especially radical feminists: Millett (1971) and Firestone (1979) emphasizes on reproduction without analyzing partial and perspectival sexual knowledge. In addition, Chodorow (1999) analyzed woman's reproduction role with focusing on motherhood institution. She problematized patriarchy not leaving modernity.

Contrary to them, as mentioned above, theoretical framework of the thesis, FST, tenders both theoretical and methodological advantages. The main contribution of the research is to analyze marginalized group's knowledge and experiences which will open a space for doing research via FST. In addition, this study will take advantages of different true-life stories. Story tellers are knowers of the sexual knowledge. FST will add new perspective to the sexual socialization that is addressed as an everyday life experience. The theory argues that reality can be accessed only daily experiences of subordinated and exploited subjects who refer to marginalized group. Knowers' experiences have come from women's situations and positions both in society and in family. Therefore, FST and the study will contribute to two spheres that is also main contribution of feminist epistemology.

Sexual socialization is related to informal information; it is more than transmission; it is a way of acquisition of knowledge. Women can access to limited knowledge. The study basically depends on family, and women have diverse and divergent positions in familial relations. In mother- daughter relations, women's positions have diversified hierarchical differences which constitute women's perspectival knowledge. Thence, the study will contribute how positional perspectives influence access to knowledge. The most significant practical contribution of this study is to open new scope to discuss women's emancipation in their oppressed position since sexuality, in conventional-patriarchal societies, shapes who women are and who women should be.

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

This chapter is an introduction to and includes general information about the initial interest and the aim, the scope and the significance of the study. Following Chapter 1, the next chapter will comprise the knowledge on sexuality in literature. The aim of Chapter 2 is to describe how social theory, feminist theory and FST clarify sexuality and sexual knowledge in the literature, in order to clarify sexual knowledge according to different approaches, sexuality, sexual knowledge, sexual socialization, sexual education, motherhood and family institutions will be examined.

In Chapter 3, the theoretical ground of the thesis is discussed which helps me to define and conceptualize FST. The theory has its own methodology and epistemology that is differentiated from conventional social theory and other feminist theories. Feminist Standpoint It criticizes modernist approach because it is universalist and essentialist; furthermore, the methodology of dichotomy maintains hierarchy among subjects, and it is structured on construction of social institutions. On the contrary, FST gives priority to women's experiences, women's knowledge and women's subjectivity. Marginalized and oppressed women who are in secondary position have a chance to speak according to the theory. Moreover, in the methodology part of the chapter, research procedure, profile of the sample, data generation process, the design of the questionnaire and research and the limitations of the sample are discussed.

In Chapter 4, analysis and interpretation of the information gathered from the field is made in connection to the theoretical stand and the research problem.

In Chapter 5, the theoretical, methodological and practical contributions and the limitations of the study and the recommendations for the future studies are provided.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL THEORY, FEMINIST THEORY AND FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORY

In this chapter, the literature is used within the scope of this understanding where I profoundly concentrate on how different approaches in social theory, such as sociology, philosophy and psychology examine the source of sexual knowledge on the basis of formal and informal education. Besides, I analyze how feminist theory conceptualize sexuality and sexual knowledge at the base of gender and sexuality discussions, family, motherhood, and socialization-based sexual knowledge. In addition to these two major issues, I tackle with Feminist Standpoint (FST) Theory and its epistemology in the last part of the Chapter which includes the relations between sexual knowledge and this theory, knowledge and politics, motherhood and everyday experience. The main aim of this chapter is to constitute a bridge between women's sexual knowledge and sexual experience transmission.

I will emphasize on how social theory, feminist theory and FST explain and discuss the problematic of sexual knowledge. Some of the concepts will be touched upon under the main issues of sexual knowledge. These concepts are sexuality, sexual socialization, sexual education, motherhood and family.

Social theory headline consists of three main subtitles that are Different Approaches to Sexual Knowledge, Social Theory and Family, and Adequacy of Sexual Education Explaining Sexual Knowledge. The first subtitle is designed to show essentialist and universalist characteristics of social theory with focusing on sexuality and sexual socialization. The second one shows that general perspectives on describing family, its institutionalized function and relationships among family and its members. The third one is emphasized on association between sexual education and accumulation of knowledge. Moreover, Feminist Theory section gathers under the heads of Gender

and Sexuality, Feminist Theory and Family, Feminist Theory and Motherhood and Feminist Theory and Socialization Based Sexual Knowledge. How feminism demolishes male-stream specialities of social theory is examined in the second part. The third and last part of the the theoretical framework is FST. Throughout this section, situational, locational, partial, contextual, relative and reflexive characteristics of FST are deliberated under Epistemology of FST, Relations Between FST and Sexual knowledge, Knowledge and Politics and Analyzing Everyday Experience titles.

Sexual knowledge is one of the best ways to study the systematic domination over women in public and private spheres related to gender inequality. Sexual knowledge is a significant issue within the context of attitudes, behaviors, beliefs, morals and culture.

Individuals gain sexual knowledge by means of two ways. One is that people are sexually socialized by their families, social and cultural relations. Such knowledge is basically experience-based and is filled with informal notions. The second one is that individuals are sexually educated by schooling. Education teaches formal information on sexuality. As I highlighted in the first chapter, knowledge on these two positions is the main source of challenges for this research. Since, education and socialization are intertwined.

2.1. Social Theory

The issue of sexual knowledge has been questioned by many disciplines, from philosophy to psychology, from sociology to feminism. In the most general sense, sexuality refers to essentialist and universal meanings of knowledge in social theory. As Sirkeci and Cindoğlu (2012) approach even if sexuality points out intimate area of individual's life, it is construction by different dynamics. Social theory indicates divergent approaches. Although each discipline has unique characteristics to conceive the issue at hand, these approaches are particularly biased due to acknowledging the method of dichotomy. Throughout this chapter, how different approaches explain sexual knowledge, social theory and family institution, sexual

script theory, sexual education are adequate to explain sexual knowledge will be discussed under social theory.

2.1.1. Different Approaches to Sexual Knowledge

In order to understand sexual knowledge, first of all, it is necessary to emphasize on how different scientific disciplines embrace sexuality. In general, essentialism and dualism are two pivotal features of social theory; these have been argued by feminists for a long time. Rahman and Jackson (2010, p.17) states that “essentialism literally means any form of thinking that characterizes or explains aspects of human behavior and identity as part of human ‘essence’: a biologically and/or psychologically irreducible quality of the individual that is immutable and pre-social”. Thus, social theory adopts essentialism that encapsulate women’s sexuality that is inherently submissive and admitted as contrast to men.

Likewise, early sociologists, like Marx and Weber did not define gender as basic social division between positions of men and women. As a family, heterosexuality is an institution. Sociology explains gender as a critical social concept in order to understand social division in cultural and social structures (Rahman & Jackson, 2010). When I question how sexuality is studied, one of the most famous scholars is Foucault (2015) and his critical work ‘History of Sexuality’. He first tried to show why and how sexuality became a matter of curiosity. And for this purpose, he explained the concept of sexuality and constitutive power of discourse within the framework of institutional power. Sexuality is an issue of discourse and an apparatus that order bodies and pleasure into what we know as ‘sex’ (Jackson & Scott, 2010, p.17). Foucault’s focus on discourse puts him on the grounds of postmodernity. Discourse is a process of transformation of social existence. Sexuality is not the sex drive, but it is that the actors are controlled by an ideological system. Foucault in problematizing modernist thoughts, argues that the truth does not exist without discourse. Such an understanding challenges continual scientific understanding about knowledge production (Rahman & Jackson, 2010, p.43).

Foucault's study, 'The History of Sexuality' (2015) explains historical constitution of subject and relationship between subject and power. In the constitution process, subject is surrounded by discursive and non-discursive practices. There is no single but multiple sexual discourse around the subject (Foucault, 2015). He analyzed two different characters of sexuality in order to prove this argument. These are *Scientia Sexualis* and *Ars Erotica*. The first one refers to knowledge and power connection. For him, public space is constructed with, potency, religion and scientific area. He believed that sexuality is obstructed by power. Unrecognized sexual orientation is not accepted by power. Sexuality and discursive knowledge of it are strictly repressed. In fact, repression on sexuality pushes to ignorance of sexuality; moreover, sexuality is not only justiciable but also manageable (Foucault, 2015). He assumes "sexuality produces sex" and daily discourse constructs sexual subjectivities (Jackson & Scott, 2010, pp.18-19). However, he underlines that when sexuality gains manageable role with discursively, it destroys meaning of sexual knowledge because sexuality is started to substitute procreation, prohibitions and a pro- government self (Foucault, 2015).

In addition to Foucault, Parsons (1983) finds the essence of sexuality in sexual behavior which is obstructed by sexual knowledge, scripts and beliefs. Furthermore, sexual behaviors are varied, so it makes it difficult to make meaningful research and the effect of various sexual behaviors on women varies according to the differences between secondary and oppressed positions during sexual socialization.

Sociological studies about sexuality, in its most general sense, reduce sexual knowledge into social order without leaving regulation role of it. Although modernist theories accept sexual knowledge has a universal essence, postmodernist theories try to find the core in discourses.

2.1.1.1. Sexual Knowledge and Psychology

Particularly psychology reduces sexual behavior into normality and abnormality. Moreover, normal sexual behavior is based upon heterosexuality. Freud is the initial scholar that thoroughly problematized sexual knowledge where he treated sexuality as an instinct (Walby, 1990). On the other hand, he is a significant essentialist figure since his analysis is taken for granted and depends on dichotomy. In his understanding, girls and boys are ‘masculine subjects’, they are male-centered (Sarup, 1992, p.121). Boys and girls define themselves through their mothers. The boys continue their attachment to their mothers until their sexual identity develops, while in girls the attachment is maintained with their fathers. The girls, who are under the influence of the transformation process, wish to define themselves through the phallus of their fathers, since the father represents himself as having power of the phallus. In fact, Freud’s point of view is modernity-based because the unit of analysis he used was dichotomy. The first sexual object for children is the mother figure (Jackson & Scott, 2010, p.10). Walby (1990, p. 111) criticized Freud’s understanding of sexuality, arguing that “it is conceptualized as a drive, as an instinct possessed by all human being by virtue of their biology. The sexual drive, libido, underlay other social constructs as a fundamental power force”. For me, reducing sexuality to instinct leads to the formation of a biased theory since it ignores the social. In addition, he is also criticized by radical feminist because of the value he gives to the penis, due to his definition of male-based female sexuality and his argument of “libido as male force” (Jackson & Scott, 2010, p.11). Unlike feminist theory and particularly FST, his analysis is essentialist and universalist.

For the problematic in this study Lacan is another important figure. First, his analysis finds its place in post-modernity. Reinterpreting Freudian sexuality understanding made a significant contribution to sexuality studies. He focuses in how subjects are constructed through language. According to him, the meanings produced by language cannot be objectified however they are fundamental and unpredictable. Instinct drive and libido “cannot be reduced to the order of need” (Rose, 1986, p. 57). Moreover, unlike Freud, he argues that the categories of men and women are

constructed through language, but not through natural instincts. According to Lacan, constructed discourse constitutes the human subject besides, the subject is a composition of “the subject of speech and the subject of language” (Sarup, 1992, p.53). Speech (discourse) has an intersubjective role which causes the individual to be shaped. In other words, speech is an activity of the individual which is effective in gaining identity. Therefore, language is always there, and a newborn enters into a built-in language system (Sarup, 1992, p.15). In this study, gender and sexual identities of male-centered language were used. However, the relationship between language and sexuality creates an unstable understanding (Sarup, 1992, p.128).

For his point of view, the lack is the creative force behind sexuality. His understanding of ‘lack’ is not similar to Freud’s. While Freud sees penis envy as a lack, Lacan takes it as a symbolic deprivation. For instance, the child starts to feel the lack when s/he leaves her/his mother (Sarup, 1992). According to Lacan’s argument, not only the subjects but also sexuality was created socially. Therefore, it is impossible to separate sexual practices from individual subjects. Furthermore, he, who places emphasis on the female subjects, especially the subjects in the role of mother, argues that children should be separated from “imaginary relationship with mother”, since such separation contributes to the formation of the subject. For this reason, phallus symbolizes external communal power not only for men but also for women (Sarup, 1992).

To conclude, I have tried to explain only the critical scholars who have become reference point in the literature. In contrast to the FST, neither Freud nor Lacan speaks of a sexual knowledge based on the sexual experiences. In particular, Freud did not focus on the diversity of individuals’ positions and the effect of this diversity on sexual orientation. In addition, in these approaches, women are considered with their oppressed, subordinated and dominated social positions. For this reason, I do not think that I can benefit directly and comprehensively from the such perspectives for the discussion and analysis of the research problem of this study.

2.1.1.2. Social Learning Theory: Gendering Behavior

This theory, in the discipline of psychology, tries to explain why daughters' behaviors are similar to their mother. According to Social Learning Theory, daughters internalize the behavior of their mothers unconsciously and involuntarily and want to be like their mothers, so they define themselves through their mothers (Boyd, 1989). Being same-sex is a decisive factor in the process of imitation and it also causes separating of father figure from the mother.

Social behavior is learned through gender roles. In the imitation process, the social environment of the subject (parents, relatives) fixes gender-based behavior with rewards and punishment (Parsons, 1983, p.31). The latter structurally (institutionally) reproduce women's passive and gender roles. Institutions are a reproduction system; they realize social learning of generations through daily practices. According to Nodding (1984, p.128), "we are not nearly as we are at reproducing mothers in women". The idealization of sexual stereotypes and motherhood also constituted through the motherhood institution within the patriarchal order. Social learning theory thus points to the impact of social circles on subjects' identity formation.

2.1.2. Social Theory and Family

While problematizing the concept of family in Turkey, one should not forget that it is a patriarchal institution. Even proverbs support this. For example, the saying "man makes the house, woman makes the home" shows that women are the producer of home at the private level. Many different approaches discuss family and its structure. Family "includes variations in marital and intimate partnership and dissolution; intergenerational parent-child relationship and socialization practices; and paid and unpaid labor" (Allen & Sierra, 2015, p.93). Combining ideological practices and inter-generational relations are priorities for the socialization.

In addition, Bourdieu, brought critical point of view to the studies on family. According to him (1996, p.19), the family is only a 'word', family ideology and functions are promoted by state, and social policies about the family support the

preservation of social order. Besides, he describes family as “a set of related individuals linked to each other either by alliance (marriage) or filiation, by adaptation (legal relationship) and living under the same roof (cohabitation)” (Bourdieu, 1996, p.19).

According to functionalist perspective, family has mainly four functions that are sexuality, reproduction, economics and education (Steel & Kidd, 2001). Family is also a domain where primary interactions begin. In family, people face many different roles, such as being child, parent or kin. During the interactions with other family members, individuals are under the influence of the requirements of the social order. Moreover, interactions open processes of socialization. According to Starbuck (2002, p.336), decisions are taken with whom one would establish connect in a primary (mother, father, sister) and secondary relationships (aunt, cousin); individuals have more than one role within familial interaction. Thus, family is an institution where socialization of generations occurs. In the following subheading, I will examine how interactions with other people in the institutions of family is determined.

2.1.2.1. Sexual Script Theory

Meaning of sexual knowledge is scrutinized by social theory. Sexual Script Theory is one of the most impressive theory focusing on knowledge accumulation by subjects. According to Ken Plummer (1982, p.226), analyzes sexuality as a natural drive, it is based on social and cultural construction. She claims ‘sexual scripts’ is a metaphor for combination of construction of sexual knowledge. It is a combination of social constructionism, that is sexuality is socially constructed and symbolically interacted, in which as a process where meaning is developed. Blumer thinks that “people act toward institutions, ideals, and other people” (Blumer, 1969 as cited in Brickell, 2006, p.94). Interactionists approve “social meaning giving shape to our sexuality” (Plummer, 1982, p.232). Social meanings shape gender roles and ensure the continuity of reproduction of meanings. Moreover, social meanings affect development of sexual knowledge.

The first developers of Sexual Script Theory are Gagnon and Simon. In their view, sexuality is the production of the social relations. They deny both “the unproven assumptions of the power of the biological attribute” and “the notion that such a drive must find expression in specific sexual acts or categories of sexual acts” (Spanier, 1977, p. 95). On the other hand, Gagnon and Simon have argued that sexual instinct is a male-centered sexual power and sexual actions of human beings are scripted that depends on knowledge. (Jackson & Scott, 2010; Gagnon & Simon, 2005).

In the article ‘The Sociological Construction of Gender and Sexuality’, Brickell (2006) divides the perspectives of sexuality theories into four. These are historicism, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology, and material feminism. These are the basic parts of social constructionism in Brickell’s work. According to his argument (2006), sexuality is multi-charactered and continuously transformed concept. Scripts are imitations of social life, learned and created by meanings. Moreover, they organize sexual acts and prevent the diversification of sexual experiences.

In fact, sexual scripts have historical roots that have social and personal consequences. They specify sexual behaviors and attitudes. To be specific, scripts are important symbols in the stereotyping of sexual behavior, since they contribute to the learning of the social world (Gagnon & Simon, 2005). For them, “scripts are involved in learning the meaning of internal states, organizing the sequences of specifically sexual acts, decoding novel situations, setting limits on sexual responses and linking meanings form nonsexual aspects of life to specifically sexual experience” (Gagnon & Simon, 1974 as cited in Wiederman, 2015, p.7). The theory of sexual scripts reveals the association between performance and speech, custom and anticipation; moreover, the theory connects subjects’ sexual attitudes and their sexual experiences (Brickell, 2006, p.95). Social institutions such as family, education, the state and religion both define and create sexual scripts. According to the arguments of Jones and Hostler (2002), the status of sexual scripts changes throughout the life of an individual. For example, the scripts of adulthood are multifaceted because it is the task of adults to train new actors with scripts. These

scripts are institutionalized, and sexual behaviors are organized according to social expectations with layers such as meaning, expectation and belief. These also act upon un-repudiated changes in sexual knowledge.

Knowledge of sexuality is a field of social interaction. Walby (1990, p.114) in her remarks on symbolic interactionism of meaning, process and interaction argues that meaning is created by individuals and transformed into action. However, being an individual is not a stable position, it is affected by social relations and daily life practices. To understand how sexual knowledge is created, the theory probe importance of the social interaction to create meaning in individuals' actions (Brickell, 2006). The objectivities of these scenarios are basic to organize social interactions according to expectations and needs. Subjects are under the influence of these scripts, which have the task of maintaining an ideology.

2.1.3. Adequacy of Sexual Education Explaining Sexual Knowledge

In the review of the literature, I have observed that the concepts of sexual education and sexual socialization have similar characteristics on sexual knowledge and they are used interchangeably in some scholars' studies; such as Spanier (1977), Fox and Inazu (1982), Nodding (1984), Brickell (2006). However, these two concepts are used differently in this study. While sexual socialization is a parental duty, sexual education includes officially provided information within the public education. In other words, while family is responsible for the transfer of information in the private, the state is responsible for the transfer of information in the public sphere. Sexual knowledge is thus separated into formal and informal spheres. Informal education includes many misleading information and sexual myths. On the other hand, main objective of school-based knowledge is to prepare children and adolescents for adult life.

The education system is effective in transmitting cultural and social value judgments. Education is framed and disciplined process for conveying information and abilities to impress individual's development (Shtarsthall, Santelli & Hirsch, 2017, p.116). Contrary to education, socialization is "the process through which an individual

acquires an understanding of ideas, beliefs and values, shared cultural symbols, meanings and codes” (Schneewind, 2001 as cited in Shtarkshall, Santelli & Hirsch, 2007, p.116). In socialization, parents conduct their children on social values and norms about sexual knowledge which includes many implicit and explicit meanings (Shtarkshall, Santelli & Hirsch, 2007, p.116).

Spanier (1977) remarks that sexual education is a learning process through formal education. Sexuality continues throughout an individual’s life; so sexual experiences are changing and evolving realities from birth to death. Also, age is one of the decisive factors for sexual education since both physical and experimental development of individual are realized based on age. Sexually educated young women have knowledge that involve being empowered about sexually transmitted diseases, sexual harassment, risky sexual behavior, and most importantly their sexual identity.

UNFPA (The United Nations Population Fund) states that a comprehensive sexual education should consist of scientific knowledge about human anatomy, reproduction health, sexually transmitted diseases, and contraception and sexual education should necessarily include supporting young people to understand their sexual body. The aim of this education is to empower young individuals in order to help them to gain life skills and know their individual rights and freedoms (UNPA, 2016). According to this report, “22.1 percent of men and 27 percent of women in Turkey do not know the reproductive organs.” Such statistics indicate that individuals, especially women in Turkey, do not have adequate knowledge about their sexuality.

Sometimes, sexual knowledge is under the influence of sexual myths. For Sungur (1998, p.104), sexual myths are social patterns that affect the free experience of sexuality. Due to misinformation in society, sexual myths are social patterns that affect the free experience of sexuality. Not only these myths but also sources such as internet or peer groups can also carry misinformation. The partnership between home and school may facilitate the access of the individual to the right sexual information. According to Sungur (1998, p.104), sexual education is a lifelong process and it first begins in the family. This education continues through media, friends, teachers and

health professionals. However, not only school-based but also family-based sexual knowledge transmission should have gender equality. Young generations are prepared to the responsibilities of social life by sexual education (Goldman, 2008). Besides, Goldman (2008) argues that if sexual knowledge is filled with misinformation it can cause unwanted pregnancies, increasing rate of sexual transmitted diseases.

However, Turkey has no formal sex education in the curriculum of the education system. As Çuhadaroğlu (2016, p.209) notes Turkey does not have sex education in national curriculum. According to his article, sexual education was first started in 1974 with the studies of the Family Planning Association of Turkey. With the joint project of Ministry of Education and Sanipak, the company produces hygiene products for women and baby, sexual health education was carried out in some regions between 1993 and 1998 in order to educate girls on adult life and sexual health (2016, p.209).

The patriarchal and conservative structure has been strongly opposed to the attempts to increase awareness on sexual knowledge. In the sense of education, sexual knowledge covers several areas such as sexuality, anatomy, sexual development, sexual diseases, and identity (Çuhadaroğlu, 2016, p.212).

SIECUS (Sexuality Information and Education Council of United States) has been a pioneer about sexual education in the US. This Council has developed universal and extensive sex education goals in order to restrain from lack of communication on issues related to sexuality, reproduction, puberty, sexual transmitted diseases. SIECUS became a precursor for privatizing Turkish sex education programs in cooperation with “The Turkish Family Planning Association, The Turkish Family Planning Foundation, Istanbul University, and the Institute for Children’s Health and Human Resources Developmental Foundation. This new program was ‘The Human Development Program for 12-14 years old Adolescent’”. The program had two goals which are information and attitudes, values and insights (Cok & Gray, 2007, pp. 134-135). This school program is psychologically and scientifically supported. Goals of the program are supplying precise knowledge on sexuality, body, sexual diseases,

marriage, pregnancy, and rape. Moreover, it aims to ensure young generations to identify and explore themselves, and to understand relations in family and to teach taking responsibility in society (Cok & Gray, 2007). Besides, it blends and recognizes cultural needs of Turkish society.

In addition, some researchers argue that the content of sexual education should change according to age. Lenderyou (1994) divided sexual education into four age related stages. The first stage covers the age range of 4 to 7 years. At this stage, which focuses on the differences between male and female bodies, information about harms and harassment is provided. The second stage is between 7-11 years of age and includes information about reproduction and emotional relationships. Third phase is the information about sexual preferences, individual rights, sexually transmitted diseases and sexual behaviors to children aged between 11 to 14. The last stage is for the 14-16 years old children aiming to be informed about sexuality, marriage, divorce, romantic relationships, birth control methods and birth (as cited in Sungur, 1998).

As mentioned above, formal and school base knowledge should be given at certain age ranges depending on the development of body and mind. However, what is more important than age is that the information to be provided to girls and boys should have the principles of gender equality. Only a 'gender equal' education allows the individuals to define his/her own body and discover his/her sexual subjectivity. Sexual education, which contributes to individual's sexual consciousness, also supports the empowerment of young women and men. In addition, sexual education is a need for public and mental health.

On the other hand, since sexual education supports the transfer of sexual knowledge on the basis of the ideology adopted by the state, it can also present practices such as sexuality, sexual behavior and sexual experience from this ideological perspective. In this case, it can prevent the individual to realize herself and to have a voice about her. The main point that I adopt in this study is that knowledge should be based on experience. For this reason, I focus on sexual socialization instead of sexual education.

As I mentioned above, I tried to explain different approaches about sexual knowledge and sexuality in social theory general and psychology and sociology in particular, focusing on sexual script theory, how social theory approaches family and to what degree sexual education is adequate to explain sexual knowledge. Disciplines and theories on sexual knowledge differ. Sexuality is accepted in this study as a reality in which it is socially constituted given the influence of different institutional explanations. However, the essentialist and universalist definitions of sexuality and sexual knowledge are not accepted by the theoretical framework of this thesis, since it rejects modernist assumptions. Sexuality has been recognized as knowledge of women who have daily experienced within institutions. Every woman produces her own strategic knowledge in order to get rid of the pressures of patriarchy or to maintain it.

With the means of Feminist Theory and particularly FST, some of these approaches, such as Sexual Script Theory, will be used in the discussion and interpretation part of this study. Because, in the process of reaching the realities on sexual knowledge, it is almost impossible for mother and daughter to avoid institutional based produced scripts.

2.2. Feminist Theory

Feminism is at the heart of the discussions on sexual knowledge because it is the knowledge of women's exploitation. Under this subheading, I will emphasize on how feminist theory embraces this issue. In order to underscore sexual knowledge, first I will reveal how feminism adverts sexuality and sexual socialization. Although social theory incarcerates sexuality issue in private spheres, feminist theory asserts that sexuality is related to both public and private spheres. The significance of sexuality is associated with the task of maintaining social order and ensuring its continuity. The fact that gender studies have become an academic field made it possible to increase the importance of feminist methodology and epistemology. A strong feminist theory constructed within the social theory is only possible through feminist knowledge and feminist politics. The main objective of feminist theories is to make women research units while avoiding phallocentrism. For that purpose,

questions like: “Who are the oppressed women, why are they subordinated, and how do they get rid of exploitation are central for the research.

Feminist theory opens new paths in order to disclose sexism in social theory at different levels (Rose, 1994 as cited in Tanesini). Sexual knowledge is an issue that is operated by gendered power relations and social theory reduces sexuality into vaginal intercourse that is particularly heterosexual. On the contrary, feminists underscore sexuality as more than a biological determinant. It is a social knowledge which is obtained by social practices.

With their assertion “personal is political” (Bryson, 1999), radical feminists reunite public and private spheres. This mergence supports that women’s sexuality is a topic for social interaction. For them, for exemplifying women’s secondary position in society, women’s sexuality should be at the center (Shulman, 1980, p.591). Moreover, empowerment of women can be achieved with be freed from patriarchal exploitation (Fahs, 2014).

Sexuality is particularly negotiated by radical feminists. MacKinnon (1982, p.515) claims that “sexuality as a social process which creates, organizes, expresses and directs desire, creating social beings. We know as women and men, as their relations create society.” However, unequal gender relations in the formation of the social are legitimized through sexual objectification of women. Her study, ‘Toward A Feminist Theory of State’, contributes to determining the methodology of sexual studies. She notes that male-dominated power is formed in the sexual sphere, thus sexuality is an area where male domination is intensely practical (1989, p.127). Sexuality that is socially structured by male oppression can only be destroyed by opposing theories of feminism.

Feminist theory has critical contribution to women-based sexual knowledge since feminists underline it depending on patriarchal ideology. Women’s ideas on sexuality “reflect the ideology of dominant group” (Myerson, 1986, p.67). This ideology is a kind of “sexual terrorism” that includes violence, rape, submission, sexual harassment and domination of female body (Myerson, 1986, p. 69). For social

theory, sexual knowledge is related to historical accumulation of social life. Millett (1971) supposed sexual knowledge as an understanding the way of patriarchal order which involves sexual violence, objectification and construction of women's submission.

On the other hand, French Feminism has brought a new perspective to the theories of sexuality. Irigaray, who criticized the male-centered social theory, denied the category of 'normal woman' that is a male dominated phallogocentric understanding. She supposes that female sexuality is defined based upon masculinity (1985, p.23). Instead of starting from sexual intercourse, her analysis starts with the sexual imagination of woman. A female subject, who is objectified because of being defined as imagined subject, can not be able to talk about her wants, wishes, and choices; furthermore, she loses her knowing about sexuality and her wanting from sexuality (Irigaray, 1985). For her, Freudian Oedipal bans are spread by "categorical and factitious law" (1985, p.25). Sexual practices are culturally disabled because there are two kinds of desire, men and women, and these desires find positions in sexual relations. However, women are positioned foreign to men's sexual desires.

Furthermore, Yuval-Davis supposes that rather than bureaucracy and the state, nations are culturally and symbolically reproduced by women (2003). Likewise, women's reproduction roles are argued by other feminists. Social theory tends to reduce these roles into private domain. However, Pateman (1988 as cited in Yuval-Davis, 2003) acutely defends that without noticing private sphere, public field is not totally understood.

One of the realities in Turkey is that sexuality is seen as a taboo; thus, it can be observed that different social classes and circles avoid talking about sexuality. Ilkcaracan and Seral (2000, p. 187) argue that women do not have access to sexual knowledge since neither formal nor informal system of education touches on sexuality. Women have access to limited knowledge which mostly includes "misinformation and social myths". In fact, these wait upon promoting construction of strict codes and restraining female sexuality (2010, p.187)

At the level of family, especially by mothers, sexuality is associated with honor and shame, because mothers are held responsible for raising the generations and reproducing the sexual identities. Since Turkey has a strong family culture and family is considered as the basic unit of society, family institution is under the influence of inter-sections such as religion, social class and gender. Feminist theories examine the production, reproduction, socialization and sexuality functions of the family institution. In addition, Orthodox Feminist Theory questions the family's reproduction function under daily reproduction, the reproduction of the labor force, that is the future generations, and the reproduction of the social system. According to feminism, these reproduction relations stimulate the suppression and subordination of women in society.

2.2.1. Gender and Sexuality

Discussions on sexuality cannot be built separately from gender, since sexual development is based on gender stereotyped expectations. According to these expectations, the content of sexual socialization change. Gender and sexuality for social theory is a way of supporting patriarchal control. Gender is a way of explaining subordinated position of woman by declining essentialism. Gender is a significant area to examine social divisions between male and female subjects: femininity and masculinity are socially designed characteristics instead of natural attributes (Rahman & Jackson, 2010, p.18).

Gender refers to hierarchy in social relations. Sexuality is, on the other hand, social regulations in the institutionalized relations (Rahman and Jackson, 2010). Moreover, these two concepts are mutually interdependent and the decisive aspect of the individual's identity acquisition. West and Zimmerman (1987) note not only sexuality but also gender representing social construction of social life. Actors perform 'doing gender' according to gender expectations. In the 1980s to 1990s, feminism theorized gender "as something beyond personality characteristics, with a focus on how masculinity, femininity, and gender relations varied". Therefore, gender has to be conceptualized "as a stratification system" and depends on different intersections (Risman & Davis, 2012, pp.7-8). Gender is a standpoint just like

sexuality. The positions of subjects are gender-related and this affects the diversity of the individual's knowledge and sexual experiences.

Unequal gender relations are created in social level and then sustained and reproduced in institutional level (Risman & Davis, 2012). Gender inequality leads to sexual differences and unequal sexual orientation. One of the most important articles on gender is West and Zimmerman's 'Doing Gender'. Their first assumption is that "it is individuals who do gender" (1987, p.126). According to them, "gender is embedded everyday interaction"; as a result of the interaction with cultural and social means; thus, gender becomes a gained status (1987, p.125). For them, the concept means that rejecting essentialist and dualistic understanding of sex and underscores the socio- cultural origins and differences among female and male (West and Zimmerman, 1987 as cited in Rahman and Jackson, 2010). The orientation of the actor is developed through social roles, and this development continues with everyday life practices. Carter (2014, pp.246-247) argues that gender is dynamic and fluid. Her point of view is similar to the theoretical framework of this study. They are capable of repositioning depending on their conditions. They also differ in gender-based identities depending on standpoints.

The strong ideology behind identity production remained attached to the sex categories. As West and Zimmerman remark institutions dividedly construct woman and man. However, this differentiation is not essential, universal but social (1987). In short, they underscore that gender is comprehended as generated quality of social institutions (West and Zimmerman, 1987). Doing gender is related to "doing power" that means that men "doing dominance" and women "doing deference" (West & Zimmermann, 1991, p.32). A gender-less sexual study is reduced to biological determinism. For this reason, gender reality as well as sexuality should be questioned; since women can access their sexual knowledge based on sexual experiences through the roles attributed to them.

2.2.1.1. Identity Theory and Identity Control Theory

As gender studies became an area of social theory, the links and distinction between sexuality and gender became a matter of problematization. Some social scientists argue that gender and sexuality produce each other continuously, while others underline the differences between these two in identity production processes. ‘Identity Theory’ and ‘Identity Control Theory’ are among the research methods of social psychology. Their purpose is to analyze how gender identities are important parts of the individuals’ lives (Carter, 2014, p.243). Identity theory focuses on the role of the family in socialization and identity production and it explains this by the help of symbolic interactionism. Broadly, social beings become social beings in the light of symbolic interactions (Mead, 1934 as cited in Spanier, 1977). In addition to Mead, Carter (2014, p.248) explains identity theory as identity is a translational process which is shaped in social interaction and imitated other identities in order to gain particular position. Individual is a combination of many different identities, social and personal roles.

Moreover, Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin (1999, p.192) think that interacting with others allow “people automatically sex categorize, stigmatization as female and male, any concrete other with whom the interact”. For example, daughters live their first interactions with their mothers. These interactions determine accordingly gendered role identities that as a given status. These roles, especially in the family, have a meaning like being a mother, father, brother, or wife. The roles produced in family relations maintained with family dynamics. Role identities can also be seen as a kind of performance. For example, the role of a daughter is a passive and obedient role.

In brief, sexual socialization consists of mothers’ socialization of daughters, identity and identity control theory. Socialization is an identity creation process. I choose the word ‘creation’ since, at the end of the process, individuals create constituted new identities under the influence of a creator subject’s perception of sexuality. Studies on literature show that mothers’ positions and their approaches about sexual socialization are nonverbal, unspoken and normative. Daughters’ imitations of their

mothers, their interpretations of gender inequalities establish insufficient sexual knowledge throughout daughters' sexual identities constitutions.

2.2.2. Feminist Theory and Family

Feminist theories add a gender dimension to family theorizing. Theoretical ground of feminism develops new knowledge on gender suppression in order to develop new perspective on how female and male subjects create their knowledge, what significance of power relations is in operating identity, affiliations and institutions (Tronto, 2006 as cited in Allen & Sierra, 2015). Expectations of family unit from women have been discussed by feminists. For example, Firestone is one of the important feminist scholars who wrote 'The Dialectic of Sex' in 1972, in which she assumed that biological reproduction conduces toward subordinated position and exploited by biological characteristics. Therefore, likewise childbearing, child rearing roles are imputed women (Rahman and Jackson, 2010, p.41).

Feminist theories, in general, do not accept one types of family. For them, family of heterosexual, homosexual, legal, extramarital partnership, fictive, single-parent, divorces and fragmented ones are types of families. Family is a complex entity. Alllen and Sierra (2015, p. 95) underline that feminist theories disclosing gender is a fact in familial relations. Gender is blindingly obvious relation in family. As gender, family is socially constructed and culturally developed institution. The knowledge of womanhood in the family has been revealed through feminism which questions the family institution in which unequal relations have continued and where women are objectified. However, this study focuses more on intergenerational relations and motherhood than on family.

2.2.3. Feminist Theory and Motherhood

Motherhood is one of the most important institutions of patriarchal ideology with regard to meeting the needs and requirements of society within the family. Although women appear as actors in this institution, they are exploited day by day. Male-dominant theories argue that women are psychologically appropriate to provide

emotional support. The expectation of being a good mother brings about an intense relationship with the child. Thorne (1993 as cited in Arendell, 2000) claims that motherhood ideology idealizes family, gender and gender relations, and it is based on heterosexuality. Moreover, it consolidates sexual division of labor within family.

Unlike psychological reasons, maternity is a cultural entity. Feminism strongly argues that the motherhood developed within male-centered understanding and used primarily for the interests of masculinity (O'Reilly, 2014, p.7). The most widely accepted feminist thought is the rejection of motherhood as an instinct or an impulse; since the gender-based division of labor and cultural practices attribute maternity to women in the private sphere and women are suppressed through motherhood.

Moreover, the relationship between mother and daughter in the family is an academic problematic for feminist researchers. Women are in the two different positions as mother and daughter at family level. Rich (1986, p.118) states that "woman has always known herself both as daughters and as potential mothers." Widespread ideology decides who women are and who they should be. In the social system, women are considered as chaste, obedient, accept motherhood practices and act in accordance with their roles as women. The patriarchal family reproduces the roles expected of women through motherhood. Although women are born as women, their effects on culture are almost negligible. This is because women are not the creator and narrator of male-centered culture (Rich, 1986).

Nancy Chodorow, tackled with motherhood and motherhood practices, has made significant contribution to discussions in the literature. She combined feminist theory and psychology with her work in 'The Reproduction of Motherhood'. First, she underlines mothers having significant role in their daughters' psychological development and self-realization (1999). She also accents thoroughly motherhood; mothering turns to a kind of sexist role. Chodorow also has focused on the relationship between mother and daughter through the question of "how women create and recreate this relationship internally" (Chodorow, 2000, p.338). In this relationship that is created, daughters' personalities and subjectivities are influenced by their mothers. She argues (2000) further that mother's perceptions of gender

consciously or unconsciously are internalized by daughters. Besides, gender is as organization for serving motherhood (Chodorow, 1999). Sexual division of labor is reinforced in each generation again; therefore, she claims motherhood have been reproduced by women.

Furthermore, according to Miller's (1997) argument, the mother and child continuously produce one another with a mutual relationship (cited in Dedeoğlu, 2015). This process turns into identity production. One reason for this is that the boundary between them is not clear (Fischer, 1986). Having the same sexual identity and going through similar bodily processes reinforces the bond between mother and daughter. Dedeoğlu (2015, p. 1) argues that “mothers have agency in formation of the child’s future identity, cultural values and dispositions, and serve as role model against social pressures, and interpersonal support”.

According to Adrienne Rich, the primary information about society comes from the mother (1986). Considering motherhood as an ideology, Rich (1986, p.43) argues that maintenance of patriarchy have not remained standing without motherhood institution and transformation power of this institution. In addition, this institution has been discursively conducted which figures itself in “ways of representing, interacting and being” (Dedeoğlu, 2015, p.3; Fairclough, 2001). Symbols, gestures, behaviors, discourse and language used affect gender and sexual identity development. In order to be a mother, a woman is associated with discursive social relations (Dedeoğlu, 2015, p. 3). According to Rich (1986, p.220), “mothers and daughters have always exchanged with each other beyond the verbally transmitted lore of female survival knowledge that is subliminal, subversive, and preverbal”. One of the ideas I adopt in my work is that motherhood traps women like a chain, and this brings with it the mandatory tasks that must be followed. Towards the end of the 1990s, changes in motherhood and mothering practices were observed. Sharon Hays improves the concept of ‘intensive mothering’ that is “a child centered, expert guided, emotionally absorbing, labor intensive and financially expensive” (1996, p. 5). Moreover, Elliot, Powell and Breton (2015) claim that this new mothering style

changes the meaning of parenting. Most women in Turkey have intensified motherhood practices. and mothering entails an extensive scope of social relations.

To conclude, feminist theory has discussed what motherhood is and what mothering is. Mothering is accepted as women's practices and women make decisions on their children's development. On the other hand, motherhood is constructed to sustain male-centered power and it is an ideology. Women's social and biological reproductive roles have critical importance for sustaining social order. Socialization role of mother makes discussed motherhood institution important. If women access sexual knowledge with sexual experience transmission, interactions with mother should be criticized. I suppose that rather than mothering, motherhood constructs future generations' sexual knowledge. Therefore, motherhood is accepted as a constructive force, not as a constitutive power.

2.2.4. Feminist Theory and Socialization Based Sexual Knowledge

Social Theory includes many approaches about sexual socialization. In the most general sense, socialization is a knowledge acquisition period in order to be a member of a specific society (Brim & Wheeler, 1966 as cited in Spanier, 1977). Socialization depends on the expectations and needs of the society which is reduced to the development process. On the other hand, sexual socialization refers to "the process of becoming sexual, taking on gender identity, understanding and relating to variety of sexual behaviors, and generally learning the knowledge, skills and dispositions that allow a person to function in sexual terms in a given culture" (Spanier, 1977, pp.90-91).

My point of view to sexual socialization is that it is a process in which knowledge and experience are transferred between actors who have the same gender roles. Therefore, I focus on the sexual socialization background of mother and daughter who are exposed to similar gender inequality in the same family. For social theory, sexual socialization is a dressing suitable for sexual attitudes and behaviors. Contrary to social theory, feminist theory content that sexual socialization is a form of recognizing patriarchy in subordinated lives.

Gender-based behaviors are transmitted on the axis of social and cultural expectations, and young generations begin to learn sexuality and gender patterns from childhood onwards. This process that begins with the discovery of sexual identity continues with the consolidation of sexual behaviors that are linked to sexual identity. Through socialization, attitudes and behaviors are observed by actors through gender roles (Parsons, 1983). In the family, mother possesses an authority on sexual matters. Girls on the other hand, are surrounded by discourses on how they will become women. These discourses are composed of historical knowledge, power, and different subjectivities in order to ensure the continuity of social order. Sexual behavior “is dictated by sexual knowledge, sexual attitudes and sexual scripts” (Parson, 1983, p.22). Sexualized meanings are created when knowledge turns into behavior. Sexual behavior is a combination of the imitation of same-sex actors and the interpretation of knowledge. Before the individual’s formal education (schooling) begins, the meaning of development, identity, social class, gender, sexuality start in the mind of the individual. Moreover, the socialization process in the family teaches the social meanings and ideas related to the interaction (Carter, 2014, p.246).

House is an orientation area, parents’ roles on learning sexual knowledge has been investigated in this area. According to Fernandex, Bedia and Cerda (2016, p.821), formation of subjectivities that form a base on patriarchy occur in socialization in the family. Sexual socialization continues for a life-long period. Fox and Inazu (1982, p. 9) stated that sexual socialization involves issues such as and sexual morality, sexual education, menstruation, pregnancy, birth, breastfeeding, menopause. For them, this continuity is female actor’s liability in family (1982). Shaping and reproducing socialization seen as woman’s role since the mother is the primary source of socio-emotional support. In the light of this section, I will examine mothers’ socialization roles within mother- daughter relations in the following part.

2.2.4.1. Mothers Socialize Daughters

The question of how sexual socialization between mother and daughter occurs is a controversial issue. Feminism endorses profoundly to comprehend mother-daughter relations. Fox assumes that female sexuality connects female generations since they

encounter same physical, mental and psychological developments, such as menstruation, birth, menopause. In fact, “mothers and their daughters are bound together in a time-lagged mutuality of shared sexual experiences, a bond that is nonetheless potent for all its unspokenness” (1980, p.21).

Communication about sexual experience and sexual knowledge is a problematic issue. According to her (1980, p.22) communication between mother and daughter on sexuality, sexual values, sexual experiences are “unspoken, indirect and nonverbal”. This point brings a new question. If sexual socialization occurs through the mother, how does it happen? This is a question both for my research and different perspectives in the literature.

Despite the role of mothers in internalizing their gender roles (Fox & Inazu, 1982), sexuality is an issue that is not spoken; thus, kept secret. Daughters try to differentiate themselves from their mothers, but socialization still continues to be a powerful interaction. In one-way sexual experiences and sexual information are transmitted. Mothers and daughters are mutually interdependent and daily practices within the family enable each other to build their subjectivities.

With the help of this research, I had the chance to analyze "ordinary everyday sexuality" (Jackson & Scott, 2010, p. 6). Although daughters tend to differentiate themselves from their mothers, socialization prevents this. Daughters gain subjectivities with the help of their own socialization processes, while mothers also have their own processes. Just like a maze, all women access to sexual knowledge building itself through similar processes. I aim to reach to a knowledge of womanhood created by a feminist conscious understanding to find an outlet from this maze.

Young generations learn convenient gender roles and sexual behaviors via observing former generations, especially mothers who nearly spend all their time as care-givers (Collins and Russell, 1991, p.222). On the other hand, Gül Özyeğin’s study, ‘New Desires, New Selves: Sex, Love, and Piety among Turkish Youth’ (2015) analyzes identity development in Turkish youths in the dimensions of social class, gender,

sexuality and piety. She (2015, p.24) underlines that mother and daughter connection is critical for formalizing later generations' sexual selves.

As I mentioned above, in this sub-heading, I focused on how feminist theory clarifies sexuality and sexual knowledge. First, I focused on feminist theory in general. And then, I continued with problematizing concepts of gender and sexuality, family, motherhood, and socialized based sexual knowledge. Feminist theory through sexuality studies seeks to break-down the domination of male-stream social theories on sexuality. However, feminist theory and its different flows do not suffice to comprehend sexuality and specify sexual knowledge. In general, one point that demands further problematization in feminist theory is experience based knowledge. In line with this view, for sexual experience-based knowledge, I will set a sight on FST in the following section.

2.3. Feminist Standpoint Theory

This section provides a discussion of a major contribution to the unique structure of the research that is acquired by the theoretical touches of the feminist standpoint theory. In this research where FST is used as an instrument, the theoretical position of different disciplines will be evaluated with the perspective of this standpoint. The theory draws on the experience of the marginalized/oppressed group and exposes the knowledge of femininity oppressed by the male supremacy. Sexual knowledge is an important area for analyzing the socially unequal position of women. If one looks at the doctrine of modernity, this issue provides a way to question the dominance of female subjects by institutions. However, in this study, women are examined within the extensive scope of their knowledge of oppressed subjectivities.

FST, which constitutes the theoretical framework of this study, does not only critical of the methodology of modernism but also takes into account of the critical stands of postmodernism on modernity understanding. In other words, neither the modernity not the postmodernity is the frame giving the position of this thesis. This theory considered having the chance to criticize and contrast two different positions by being situated in contemporary modernity understanding. This understanding is a

critique of modernity and it is not using gender-based analysis since this kind of analysis focuses on differences between woman and man. On the contrary, contemporary modernity emphasized gender- biased analysis because women are different among themselves. Moreover, it gives priority to subjectivity because subject is constituted by structure. Subjectivity that is essence of human is central issue in social life. Human being starts to life with being subjective. According to critique of modernity, FST, subjectivity is conditional, based on situation, empirical, reflexive, locational, constituted, contextual, embodied which are specifics of subjectivity. FST offers both a methodology for the analysis and also a theoretical stand incorporating knowledge production and power relations that will be tackled in the fourth analysis and interpretation chapter.

Within the limitations of gender equality and the empowerment, women continue to struggle for their emancipation and liberation from her oppressed and exploited positions. For this aim, FST argues in opposition to universalism and essentialism. Subjects are “multiple, heterogeneous, not unitary and they are not typical” (Harding, 2004, p. 134). This opens a new field for the sexual knowledge: impossibility of talking about a totality of sexual knowledge. Each subject is unique in terms of sexual experience and sexual knowledge transmission.

To examine FST, it is essential to analyze its methodological and epistemological understanding. As Harding (2004, p.141) points out, theoreticians of feminist standpoint have censured the hegemonic traditional science since this science only serves male- centric approaches with addressing construction of social relations rather than constitution of them. The source of this theory is the voice of women and women’s perspective because other theories are considered to be gender biased.

2.3.1. Epistemology of Feminist Standpoint Theory

The theory focuses on women’s standpoints of various features. Subjectivity, knowledge and experience are used for developing the theory. The roles attributed to women through gender patterns are the source of the standpoints in feminist research (Harding, 2004, p.119). The woman becomes the subject of the action, transforming

from object to subject. The theory is a tool of epistemology. The methodology has been replaced by the science of knowledge since the action becomes central in epistemology.

The main epistemological debate revolves around subjectivity, knowledge and politics, power and experience. The aim is to construct a new method of knowledge accumulation. In addition to male-dominated ideology, oppression increases on collective groups through social institutions. Therefore, becoming a collective group is a necessity. Aim is to illustrate women as subjects that are marginalized and suppressed in society. If they become a group, they can create their collective consciousness. This group, which is suffering from the same problems can generate knowledge and create knowledge-based politics. Harding also defends this argument. For her (2004, p.3), “oppressed women are collective subjects of research”. A group that has produced its own knowledge can oppose exploitation and domination.

One of the most important needs of experience- based knowledge transfer is the common language. Discourse is a tool in the construction of knowledge-based social reality. Women are considered not being able to know and speak about them given the classical formulations of social theory throughout history. Gender reality is hidden in women’s discourses since their experience of femininity is hidden in discourse, not in the text. In this study, the discourse of sexual knowledge between mother and daughter is problematized as reality is being understood in the discourse. Methodological foundation of standpoint theory is discursive constitution which has been built authenticity of women’s existences (Hekman, 1997 as cited in McClish and Bacon, 2002, p.30).

Feminist epistemology accepts that gender is a category which enables to study on various dimensions of knowledge (Tanesini, 1999). Unlike male-stream epistemology, dominated people’s knowledge is “a mirror of what is known” (Tanesini, 1999, p. 43). Without subordinated knowledge, epistemology thus evinces only knowledge of who has the power. Epistemology of marginalized group has precedence since they are creators of their own knowledge. This understanding will be extended in the following section.

2.3.2. Relations Between Feminist Standpoint Theory and Sexual Knowledge

In this study, I have assumed that the family is a combination of dynamic relations between different subjects. Dynamic relations in family are unequal. For this reason, these two groups of women are sometimes the subjects who produced their own knowledge; sometimes they are in a position of defending the prevailing conventional ideologies. Their partial knowledge is determined by their positions in these relations. Sexual knowledge is thus shaped by their lives and experiences.

I assert that sexual socialization is something more than transmission of experience; it is a way of acquisition of knowledge. Sexual socialization is a pattern of knowledge production that is encapsulated in hierarchal power practices and presented as a set of rules that must be observed. Sexuality is transmitted as a knowledge securing the continuity of the social order. This theory provides that every woman has a subjective position which contributes woman to establishes a standpoint based on her experiences within the prevailing social institutions. For the theory, one's position is no more important than the other. Each standpoint contributes equally to the sexual knowledge. FST allows women to recognize their social position in society at macro level, and in family at micro level. In the family, women have different and diverse positions. For example, a woman is a sister and a daughter and has the potential to become a mother. Despite the fact that mother, wife and daughter have different social positions in family, they possess a secondary position to men. Each of them has different experiences within familial oppression and ideological repression. Moreover, FST is an approach revealing the sexual information produced by different women. It is related to women's sexual socialization processes experienced in childhood, adolescence and adulthood periods. In addition to these periods, age, being married or not, the structure of the family, the memories of physical development, and the formation of sexual identity shape their daily sexual experiences. Also, women's social lives are surrounded by other women having various knowledge and experiences.

Sexual knowledge has a broad perspective on issues related to gender, sexual identity, sexual orientation, gender stereotypes, sexual development, intimacy, sexual norms, sexual values, sexual scripts, and reproduction. This diversity makes it difficult to discuss sexual knowledge through a precise line. Sexuality in daily discourse provides the position of being woman and man. This situation leads to disclosure of experience and knowledge while focusing on the standpoints of individuals.

2.3.2.1. Feminist Standpoint Theory and Motherhood

The conceptualization of motherhood varies from one society to another; therefore, a universal motherhood practice is unacceptable. Unlike modernist social theory, FST analyzes how the maternity institution affects the specificities of subjectivities of women. Motherhood is a domain of knowledge and action given situational and locational experiences, and this knowledge varies according to the consciousness of women.

FST does not particularly discuss motherhood or mothering likewise radical feminism or other feminist approaches. However, standpoint theoreticians concentrate on divergent situations. Being mother and its specific practices also refer to specific situations. Not only each society but also each woman has unique motherhood experience and mothering practices. The combination of knowledge of mothering and parenthood encapsulate womanhood knowledge that is a primary issue which I will try to analyze.

2.3.3. Knowledge and Politics

In this section I will attempt to explicate the association between FST and concentrate on knowledge in general and sexual knowledge in particular.

One of the main assumptions of this theory is that “knowledge is always socially situated”. The situational positions of the others are varied and are “distinctive kind of” knowledge (Harding, 2004, p.7). Situational information is the question of everyday life. Women’s daily lives and experiences are the basis of knowledge of

women. In addition to Harding, Hekman (1997, p.349) notes that the theory relies on two main suppositions which are “all knowledge is located and socially situated, and that one location, that of the standpoint of women, is privileged because a vantage point that reveals the truths of social reality.”

Knowledge is both an origin and a means to power (Tanesini, 1999, pp.186-187). When social knowledge is shared, it makes everyday life comprehensible for individuals who have skills to understand social reality (Rahman and Jackson, 2010). The theory aims at empowering women on the basis of knowledge and politics. According to Brooks’ (2006) argument, the theory of knowledge relies on the experience of observing and understanding the social in the constitution of knowledge. Moreover, Brooks (2006) argues that knowledge and practices are combined by FST’s epistemology since the theory establish knowledge with its methodology.

The way to reach reality is through knowledge, and this knowledge is heterogeneous since each woman’s life practices and experiences are different depending on her conditions. This point of view entails me to sexual knowledge. Whether can I talk about one and unique kind of sexual knowledge, or not? This will be addressed and discussed in the following analysis and interpretation Chapter 4 in detail.

It is imperative to focus on situational and locational information for feminist politics. A woman is a subject who accumulates knowledge, depending on her past and present positions. Women’s practices that are marginalized in domestic relations are central for the conceptualizations of this study. “The standpoint epistemologists start through from marginalized lives and take everyday life as problematic” (Harding, 2004, p.127). Marginal lives entail dominant ideologies like capitalism and patriarchy. Harding (2004, p.81) argues that “we are embodied others”; not be embodied by others. For me, the category “we” does not refer to a subgroup. On the contrary, it is a feature that includes various identities and subjectivities. With this character, FST has eliminated the impact of stereotyped theories that aim to understand the social and argued for a new understanding. This theory, which is

opposed to ethnocentrism and cultural relativism, focuses on multiplicity, multi-layeredness, and subjectivities in reaching reality.

The methodology of this theory is a powerful policy making tool. One of my aim is the transformation of sexual experience and transmission between mother and daughter into a knowledge-based women's politics. Harding (2004, p.1) claims that "standpoint theory is a critical theory about relations between the production of knowledge and practices of power". Power practices are directly related to political positioning. However, this point constitutes a new discussion. In what ways experiences are transformed into knowledge, and how do they constitute the feminist politics?

This research is at the heart of knowledge and power since the knowledge that women produce about their sexuality is a 'good' source of policy development. Sandra Harding claims that "good politics produces good science" (2004, p.6). Only an experience-driven politics makes it possible to produce a good science on femininity. Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002) suppose that a better knowledge can be accumulated explaining the connection between knowledge and power where FST is located.

2.3.4. Analyzing Everyday Experience

Analyzing everyday experience takes forward politics which is directly connected to marginalized lives' knowledge. As I mentioned before, this theory makes the combination of reality and everyday life experience possible. Institutions that are taken as the unit of analysis in modernity understanding such as family and motherhood are rooted in the standpoints. Even if the positions within the institutions are not questioned, every woman has divergent perspective towards these structures. Smith (2004, p.265) supposes that "experience is a method of talk". Social relations which are experience based are the source of understanding the position of the knowledge of the subject.

McClish and Bacon (2002, p.23) states that well defined feminist research is “grounded in women’s experiences”. Everyday life experiences and sexual knowledge are mutually dependent. Different subjects’ experiences make possible the change of socially established knowledge. Gender being a social relation, FST problematize feminist knowledge under the reality of gender (Ramazonoğlu & Holland, 2002).

For contemporary feminists, experience is a truth of the social. Their research serves women who do not have voice in order to talk about their reality, and women whose realities denied, their experiences have been covered, and they have been pushed to be silence (Brooks, 2006). The reality on relationships is revealed by women’s voice. Smith (2004, p.265) claims that method of talk is experience; the subject contributes to the construction of the social by taking, transferring and sharing. The lives of women are surrounded by “concrete experience” (Brooks, 2006, p.56). With their oppressed lives women should, therefore, be the focus of social research. Throughout this research, sexuality, sexual socialization and sexual knowledge are accepted as concrete experiences. The strong point of the study lies in the fact that concrete experiences reveal women-based knowledge.

Briefly, in this section it is tried to explain FST ant how and why the theory separated from other feminist theories and social theory. This theory is not only knowledge but also a method to explore sexual knowledge. Therefore, in the next chapter, methodology, FST is going to deeply discussed.

To sum up, I explain sexuality, sexual socialization, sexual knowledge and sexual experience by way of how social theory, feminist theory and FST. Although the study is conducted though the instrument of FST, I examined characteristics of other theories. In the first part of the Chapter 2, how different theoretical perspectives approach sexual knowledge is analyzed. In the most general sense, it is reached that social theory is analyzed the topic as gender based and institutional based. This is the modernity- based pillar of the theory. Social theory is not discussed oppression of women in social institutions. Moreover, sexuality is based on sexual drive and biological differences between sexes. Therefore, sexual knowledge is universal for

woman and man. In addition, methodology of dichotomy restricts conceptualize female sexuality which is defined over phallogentric understanding. During the examination of social theory, I discussed Sexual Script Theory under different approaches to sexual knowledge. The theory analyzes sexuality as a drive, but it is socially and cultural constructed by the way of created social meanings.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY: FEMINIST STANDPOINT METHODOLOGY

This chapter's objective is to examine the feminist methodology including its epistemological approach rested on FST which constitutes the theoretical framework of the research. Broadly, this is an inclusive cloud, using various specific methods and techniques that differ according to the position of their standpoint between modernity and post- modernity. The methodological and epistemological views have critical stands for the basic assumptions of modernity such as rationality, essentialism, universalism and their interconnected methodological features like dichotomy, causal, structural (institutional and objective) determine and central (unified and wholistic) character of the social relations.

Before going into details, I first want to distinguish between methodology and method. While method is a system of conducting a study, methodology is the intellectual thinking process of the academic query. In this chapter, the ground of the study, the importance of FST in doing research process, 'strong objectivity' and 'situated knowledge', how the theory promotes researcher's position finding, and qualitative research, profiles of samples, generation of data, design of the questionnaire and the research problem are thematically discussed.

3.1. The Ground of the Study: Rejecting Dichotomy and Basic Principles of Modernity

Social theory seeks to find reality through two main pillars. These are modernity and post-modernity. To explain the positions of the thesis on these two bases, I first need to explain the methodology of modernity. Modernity examines social relations through institutions such as family, religion, gender and class. These institutions are

considered as social structures and treat individuals as formable objects. On the other hand, structures are fixed categories and construct position of objects in the social order. Individuals treated as objects which are passive and subordinated. Modernity's dichotomy method supports the handling of structures and actors separately. Individual's experiences and knowledge of their actions are ignored within these structures. For instance, while a woman is regarded as a mother in the family, her characteristics other than motherhood are ignored.

The dichotomy method emerges from the dual distinction between mind and body. Under the influence of traditional male-dominated theories, the emphasis of "men are master of mind, culture and masculinity" (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002, p.29) is common in social theories. The basis for associating man with culture lies in ascribing the man with forming of mind-consciousness. It is based on the Cartesian thought: the duality of the mind (conscious being) and the matter (object of knowledge) (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p.27). The duality that begins with the structure-agent distinction of modernity and used with the distinction of women and men. Dichotomy strengthens the male stream structure of the conventional (modernist) social theory. Unlike men, women refer to nature, and body. In this case, it strengthens the oppressed, dependent position of women in society. The roles of women relate with in reproduction, child-care and reproduction of future generations. With these distinctions, woman is shaped like a passive object, while men as the creator of culture in the position of subject. Dichotomy legitimizes women's objectification in dominant institutions (Harding, 1993). Although modernity accepts the individual as the unit of analysis, it is the male considered as the individual subject. FST does not only reject dichotomy but also reveals the role of oppressed. The position of being a subject is attributed to the marginal groups, which have the knowledge of both the oppressor and the oppressed.

Women are oppressed and dominated, but not all women have the same experience, historical background and living conditions (Harding, 2004). One primary assumption of the FST is to investigate the specificities of subjective positions of the individuals, specifically the women. The latter being under the control of patriarchy

and androcentricity, the social relations that women experience are embedded in their 'otherness'.

On the other hand, post-modernity deconstructs the institutions in order to reach to the social, while it decentralizes the individual in the object position. In these methods, the reproductive role of institutions on individuals is ignored. Moreover, the basic principles of modernity, rationalism, essentialism and universalism were rejected, and subjectivity was put forward as an epistemological source.

In addition to methodology, epistemology should be included in order to explain the basis of the research. It is an establishing way of the relationship between knowledge and power. Depending on the position and status of subjects, epistemology, and science of knowledge can be varied. Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002, p.152) claim that various roles are suggested by diverse epistemologies to constitute 'authoritative knowledge'. But they accept the epistemology and methodology of neither modernity nor postmodernity. The general argument of FST is that knowledge generation and knowledge accumulation of individuals differ, although the goal of reaching reality behind the social is one.

As I mentioned previously, this study is constructed on the theoretical position of FST that focuses on the knowledge of sexuality produced by women's sexual experiences. Until the last 20-30 years, sexuality studies lack the sexuality of women due to phallogentric theories. The positions of women, being a subject and oppressed, strengthens the biased and male-centered theories. Feminist theories that reject the gender- biased structure of social theory enable women to gain a place in theory by focusing on gender inequality. The first argument of the feminists is the male-dominated ideology has been constructed socially and culturally; that is social reality is embedded in the constitution of equally significant features of social experiences including all possible subjectivities of the individual beyond hierarchical standings.

Feminist epistemology supports researchers to explain female sexuality where women are positioned at the center of the research. In order to analyze women's

standpoints in the study, the family and motherhood institutions are addressed as the sources of sexual knowledge of women. These institutions were deconstructed, and women were given the status of subjects. Women's consciousness about their sexuality, sexual knowledge and sexual experience transmission has been questioned. In addition, it is aimed to empower women in the all spheres and help them to empower within the patriarchal society. Through the research, not only the participants' but also the researcher's socially oppressed and dominated status is eliminated.

3.2. Doing Research by means of Feminist Standpoint Theory

This theory, whose main approach is to eliminate the essentialist, rationalistic and universalistic. The action begins in methodology, so the dichotomy is also completely dysfunctional for the FST. As Susan Hekman argues, "method is a feminist standpoint" (1997, p.341). This is a strong argument, because according to Hekman, the method is theory. She further argues that reality "women's unique standpoint in society that provides the justification for the truth claims of feminism while also providing in with a method with which to analyze reality" (Hekman, 1997, p.341).

One primary aim of the theory is to reach the reality of daily life experiences of marginalized women in the society through tackling the specific subjective positions, locations and conditions of women in society and social institutions. Because women are systematically oppressed, dominated and exploited by social structures (Harding, 1993). Depending on the conditions, each woman has variety of standpoints. Hekman (1997, p.342) argued that "knowledge is situated" and "knowledge is perspectival". These two characteristics of knowledge show that information is created by different standpoints. Moreover, Hekman (2004) stated that feminist standpoint is contrary to the male conceptualization of reality. Unlike authority of men, realities lean on the situations and locations of the subjects.

Standpoint theory is the method of fighting against the conventional assumptions of knowledge of the male-dominated truth trapped inside Western science (Hekman,

1997). In other words, FST is intensely objected conventional scientific methods and these methods understanding of objectivity (Harding, 1993). When this theory uses knowledge as a methodological tool, a new dilemma arises: whose knowledge is more important? The dilemma can only be overcome by the production of theory from the knowledge of the oppressed and the marginalized. The oppressed are unit of analysis of the research and they are collective agents (Harding, 2004). Mothers and daughters, who are the unit of analysis of the present research, are the collective subjects that are oppressed in the same family.

This theory gives us the chance to create the collective consciousness of women's exploitation in social relations. Emancipation can be only realized when women become the 'we'. When integrity and diversity come together, a knowledge-based politics can be produced. Considering the women who gain consciousness of the 'we' as a group/class bring about a new epistemological debate: Who are the members of epistemic community? A feminist epistemic community is reproducer of meaning of social orders and empowers knowers to talk about realities of the community (Ramazanoğlu and Holland, 2002). Women are the epistemic community since they are subject to the same pressure and have the consciousness to produce the sexual knowledge.

According to the study, mothers and daughters have different experiences and their accumulations of knowledge have equal importance. Sexuality, sexual knowledge, experience transmission for women's subjectivities will be analyzed in the analysis and interpretation Chapter 4. An important contribution of the theoretical framework and the corresponding methodology are that they make it possible to examine the experience-based socialization process. Most of the time, the sexuality of these women is ignored in the family and the women are marginalized by other family members. The position differences between an actor and the other individuals in society bring about the other and the transformation into the marginalized. By means of the adopted theory, this study focuses on women's sexual knowledge supporting the feminist awareness of experience transferred from mother to daughter.

3.3. Strong Objectivity and Situated Knowledge

'Objectivity' concept is criticized by this theory. As I asserted before, binary oppositions were deeply criticized. The embodied objectivity is replaced by feminist objectivity. This enlightening concept makes it possible for the researcher and participant to be in the same social position during the study. Haraway (2004) claims that only partial perspective promises objective vision. The definition of her objectivity understanding is the fact that the structure is deconstructed and reproduced with a partial perspective. A feminist can only analyze the social by her own position. Therefore, she conceptualized the situational knowledge by comprehending reality about social through "what we learn how to see" (Haraway, 2004, p.87). The concept of strong objectivity is thus the main element for situated knowledge.

Strong objectivity should not be associated with epistemological discussions. Harding (1993) supposes it requiring rejecting biased relativism which can be related to spheres of social, cultural, belief. In fact, this concept is a method of eliminating epistemological priority and explaining that information is partial and subjective forms.

In general, social theories other than feminist theory tend to use the doctrine of objectivity. Objectivity is the aim of doing research that is free from the values (Harding, 1993) by ignoring the social interest in the research process. This doctrine is understandable but at the same time ignores the exploitation of the oppressed group. In Harding's word, "strong objectivity as extending the notion of scientific research to include systematic examination of such powerful background beliefs should be utilized in order to be competent at maximizing objectivity" (1993, p.149). She sees strong objectivity as the tool for forming knowledge.

Harding in suggesting the term 'strong objectivity' instead of 'subjectivity' claims that the positional and situational knowledge is a source for "maximizing objectivity" (2004, p.136). Depending on their social positioning, standpoints are subject to change. In addition to Harding and Haraway, Brooks (2006) argues that

goal of this term is to demonstrate people who are subordinated status are competent to generate objective, precise, exhaustive assessment on social reality when compared to oppressors since conscious of them have been improved by prior situation which gives capability of comprehension others' realities.

In briefly, objectivity is an assumption of modernity; FST denies this assumption. Objectivity clarifies social relations within institution which means that social structure constructs individuals. Unlike objectivity, strong objectivity supports researcher to begin from experience. Researcher's reflexive is powerful position that discloses relations outside of institutions. By means of strong objectivity, constitution of knowledge can be analyzed.

3.4. Subjectivity

FST advocates subjectivity as one of its basic assumptions that "knowledge is situated" and "knowledge is partial" (Hekman, 1997, p.342). Subjects are active in structures and cannot be generalized. Each subject has different characteristics, which brings diversity. Each woman has different situation and experience (Harding, 2004) has been persistently repeated. This brings together the fact that actors are not unified and holistic subjects. Women are subjects who differ among themselves, and these subjects have various experiences in power relations. This diversity is the source of knowledge production. However, only when focusing on partial information, subjectivity becomes meaningful.

The goal of the research is to enable the collectivity of subjects. Since if a subject is centralized, then the subject can take place in intersectional locations. Characters such as race, social class, gender are the determinant of intersectionality. Addition to male supremacy, women are subordinated by intersectional determinants. The formations of various intersectional positions make possible the formation of femininity and its corresponding policies of femininity.

3.5. Researcher's Positions Finding in Feminist Standpoint Theory

A researcher is a research tool. A research is not only about academic interest but also depends on the ontological and epistemological position of the researcher. What the researcher knows, how she positions herself affect the process of the research. The epistemology of the researcher assists to create knowledge and endorsements on truth about social, sense, speech and behaviors (Mason, 2002). Deciding which and how data will be generated contingent upon reflexivity and positionality. Under the title of researcher's positions finding in FST, these two concepts are going to scrutinized.

3.5.1. Reflexivity

Reflexivity and positionality concepts are intertwined. At some points, they can be used interchangeably since positionality affects reflexivity, and these two concepts constitutes the method of the feminist research. Sikes (2004, p.19) states that one of the major apprehension of researchers is "paradigmatically and philosophically positioned" which cause to spend more times on thinking about them; and these concerns of researcher mainly influence contracting research findings and assumptions. A well-designed search combines findings and discussion by following partial knowledge of researcher's and unit of analysis of the study.

Reflexivity is a concept including continuity because the position of the researcher during the study is not constant and depends on different contents (Holmes, 2015). His argument is in parallel with the theoretical framework of the study. FST claims that positional differences of women contribute to the production of womanhood knowledge. The stage of learning gender roles, sexual development and sexuality are different in terms of social reality. As Harding (1993) underlines this theory gives opportunity to take advantages from positionality and reflexivity which also support a research's historically locational sources. For her, strong objectivity and reflexivity are inseparable.

3.5.2. Positionality

Each thesis is a journey of the researcher since the researcher aims to explain the issues that s/he is curious about. Positionality is a critical dilemma for the social sciences. The historical and cultural background of the researcher and her/his personal history during the study affects the researcher to find a position. Therefore, it is the position of the researcher in the work that should be defined first since it can be both the examiner and the examined actor. The term defines a researcher's vision of world and what researcher's position is when she constitutes an exclusive research mission (Foote and Bartell,2011). In addition, this concept refers to the information obtained from the field. This study is particularly experience based that alters interpretation proceeding. Besides, it means that not only respondents' but also researcher's experiences in fieldwork have influence on obtaining knowledge. On the other hand, positionality affected the decision- making mechanism: which data to use in the data collection process or/and which information is more important than the other. Researcher's positionality shapes interaction between knower and researcher in the fieldwork. As a feminist woman, doing research with women provided positive effect; because I knew that purport of being a woman. However, connecting with second generation was easier than communicating with mothers. Although I interviewed with dominated actors in Turkish society, and we shared similar oppressed positions; we were not equal for mothers' world of views. Some of them tried to maintain her authoritative position in mother and daughter relations with me. For instance, they wanted to learn how my relation is with my mother. Moreover, they waited for approval about generational relations. Also, they avoided from explaining sexual experiences, sometimes. These times, I tried to make them comfortable and implicitly asked questions. On the other hand, I conveniently found position in communication with daughters since my age is close to them that helped me to understand their troubles and to touch their sexual problems. We, I and second generation women have encountered similar problems. Age was significant determinant to protect equality among researcher and respondents and to be passed through close events. Overall, despite the fact that equal positions are constructed

with the two groups of women, as a researcher, I could easily protect equality with second generation.

3.6. Researcher's Experiences Before and After Fieldwork

Proceeding of thesis includes four main steps which are deciding what to study on, deciding with whom to study, deciding where to research, deciding research methodology and epistemology. Writing thesis is more than doing research, it means embarking on a journey for researcher. Just as a respondent, researcher participates field with her subjectivity. As a researcher, this study divided my comprehending of sexuality into two that are before and after the fieldwork. Before starting the research, I think that sexual socialization memories of all women are similar; and I suppose that we have similar sexual knowledge and same attitudes on sexuality. Notwithstanding, all of us have divergent sexual constitution due to our dissimilar experiences and positional knowledge. After the field work, I notice that each woman has unique perspective on sexuality. One's experience is not more important than other one. Patriarchy produces lots of rules through female body; however, women should have a say in their sexuality. Women have chance to enhance their understanding of sexuality rather than maintaining generated knowledge.

Throughout the interviews, I touched 20 stories that were totally related to women's realities about their lives. Interviews with two daughters, Özlem and Alara, were particularly affected my ideas on sexuality and emotions and feelings. Mothers of these two women have nearly the same educational status, year of birth and age of being a mother. Moreover, these mothers similarly explained their mothering, their communications with their daughters, and defined meaning of sexuality and necessities of reaching sexual knowledge for all of the women. On the other hand, educational status of these daughters is same. However, Özlem and Alara especially underlined difficulty of finding position in familial relations and seeking a social position in relations with mother. Özlem talked about her unwanted pregnancy in her beginning of 20's and abortion experiences. It was difficult for me to lead her to talk about her experiences during the interviews. Her age was too young for this experience and she talked about how she felt lonely and wanted to talk with her

mother, thus her eyes to brim with tears time to time. She also said that after the abortion, she had difficulty in sustaining connection with her mother. On the other hand, Alara accentuated her mother's attitudes against her changed after she learnt Alara's sexual lives. According to Alara, her mother abandoned their home for a week after this information. She underlined difficulties of finding position in familial relations many times. Therefore, it is challenging to maintain the flow of questions for me.

Beginning of the study, I mentioned about my initial interest in studying women's sexual knowledge. I explained that it comes from one of my childhood memories. I should be answer that "what change in my life?" and "can I find answer my questions?" with this study. First of all, I can say that all participants' women have similar childhood memories like me. They stated that they have many unanswered questions in their childhood, adolescents and adulthood. Questions about sexuality show alterations with considering their age. For instance, questions in childhood generally are related to how a baby born, and questions in adulthood generally are interested in a woman and a man gender equality and gender stereotypes. I should confess that, I sometimes blamed my mother why she does not openly talk about sexuality with me, and I thought that she was one of the reasons of my lack of sexual information and sexual inexperience. However, I should say that blaming another woman is a big mistake. Either my mother or I is not guilty. Since socially construction of sexuality enclosed all of us. Sexuality knowledge is more than a socially determined knowledge, it is a knowledge which can alter subjects' conceptualization of relations with other actors of society. As a feminist, I have discerned that we have too many areas to fight for women empowerment and against gender inequality. Women can only success elimination of patriarchy with using their knowledge rather than blaming us. This study helps me to find answer my questions. Not only I but also lots of women have questions about sexuality in their mind. We should perceive that we have comes from different social positions and conditions, and all our experiences have critical importance to shape our knowledge.

On the other hand, I distinguish that women have lots of experiences about sexuality. One's experience is not more significant or more superior than the others. Women does not have and cannot have one type of sexual socialization history. Realization of sexuality alters depending on conceptualization of sexuality. Although sexuality is tried to socially construct by patriarchal society, sexuality is constituted by women.

One of the other changing occurred in my understanding on relationship between mother and daughter. Throughout my childhood and adolescent, we did have close affiliation with my mothers, however, this relationship was not intimate, especially about sexuality. I was embarrassed to talk about my bodily development. Moreover, I was ashamed of talking about my romantic relationships. She always supports "mother is a mother" motto, and positional differences among generations. I cannot blame her now because she was brought up with these thoughts. Despite the fact that, she is a defender of gender equality, and open minded about sexual issues; she has felt pressure of motherhood on her shoulders. In addition, I realized that escaping from this pressure is nearly possible for women when they become speakers of their reality, point of views and meaning of being a woman in the course of continuation paternalistic order's existence.

3.7. Qualitative Research

Qualitative research methods are the most important way to understand human relations. Its methods are generally a way of understanding, interpreting and experiencing the social, and in addition, constructing and creating social world (Mason, 2002, p.3). This study uses the way to collect qualitative information because it is considered as the best way to find social reality. Jennifer Mason notes qualitative research as an exploration method for aspects of social world, involving its features and characteristic of everyday life, comprehending, experiences of social actors, various intuitions, social relations and discourses among the actors and importance of the content (2002).

The daily lives of women, their relations with other individuals and their connections which social institutions are important for the goals of the thesis. A carefully

prepared qualitative research contributes to the theoretical framework of the knowledge acquired from the participants. Comprehensive knowledge can be provided as “strategically conducted” by the research; moreover, instead of limiting what social reality is, this research technique attempts to define reality and produce arguments about reality (Mason, 2002, p.7).

The interview begins with the interaction of the participant and the researcher. Interviewing is a process of interaction and qualitative research cannot be conducted without an interview. The researcher has some expectations: to examine participants’ feelings, knowing, considering’s (Bechofer and Peterson, 2000). The latter, scholars (Bechofer and Peterson, 2000, p.169) also mentioned three basic features of interview as “having shared interactional rules, generally carried out between strategies and frequently one off affair”. In this study, participants were interviewed with in-depth interview technique.

3.8. The Profile of the Actors

It is important to define the characteristics of the participants. This study is carried out with 20 women: 10 mothers, and 10 daughters. The mothers of all of the first generation are alive and live in the same city. Daughters also live in Ankara. All participants come from middle-class families and have at least a high-school diploma.

Three of the first generation participants are currently working and two of them are retired. The remaining mothers are retired, receiving retirement pensions. Mothers' basic living incomes are salaries, pensions and rental income. While six of the first generation participants have a high school diploma, two are university graduates and two have a master's degree. On the other hand, all second-generation participants have at least university-level diplomas. Three of these women continue their master's degree and one doctorate. One of the assumptions of the thesis is that the level of education plays a decisive role in the transfer of sexual experience and accessing sexual knowledge. In addition, being a wage worker has the potential to affect the

sexual socialization process of the participants. While seven of the second generation participants are working; two of them are students; one of them is not working.

The most important determinant factor in the study is the age distribution. Age ranges were determined according to the reproductive age range of the demographic survey. However, the concepts of reproduction and sexuality are not used interchangeably. This study is conducted with ten mother and daughter dyads with one to one interview. When selecting mothers and daughters, “age” factor is considered as major criteria. Specifically, mothers older than 49 are selected, whereas ages of participant daughters are dispersed between 25-29. These ranges are decided by considering fertility age of women according to (TDHS, 2013). Additionally, when deciding range of daughters’ age as (25, 29) interval is especially chosen, since most of the daughters already have their bachelor’s degree education at those ages which contributes to acquiring sexual knowledge. Moreover, the daughters selected are single and have not got married before. Older generation was more than 49 years old because they also have sexual knowledge of maturity.

Table 3.1 Mothers’ Demographic Information

	Name	Year of Birth	Family Type	Marital Status	Source of Income	Educationa l Status	Occupational Status	Age of Marriage	Age of Being a Mother
1	Gül	1962	Nuclear Family	Married	Pension	High School	Housewife	21	22
2	Nurbanu	1961	Separated Family	Divorced	Pension, Property Income	University	Private sector	21	22
3	Mine	1958	Separated Family	Widow	Pension, Property Income	Graduate	Retired	30	31
4	Füsün	1965	Separated Family	Divorced	Pension, Property Income	College	Retired	25	26
5	Aysel	1961	Nuclear Family	Married	Pension, Property Income	High School	Housewife	22	24
6	Gülten	1958	Extended Family	Married	Pension	High School	Housewife	20	21
7	Ayşe	1965	Nuclear Family	Married	Pension	Graduate	Public Sector	24	25
8	Meltem	1960	Nuclear Family	Married	Pension	High School	Housewife	23	23
9	Emine	1961	Extended Family	Married	Pension, Property Income	High School	Retired	21	22
10	Fulden	1963	Nuclear Family	Married	Pension	High School	Housewife	24	25

In Table 3.1 and Table 3.2, respondents' information on birth of year, family type, source of income, educational status and occupational status are given. Numbers of daughters are written in a synchronized way with numbers of mothers. For instance, Gül is Zeynep's mother. The age of marriage of the first generation participants was 23.1 years. The youngest married mother was 20 years old and the oldest is 30 years old. The average age becoming a mother for the first time was 24. In other words, women became mothers within one to two years after marriage. Pre-arranged marriage among mother participants is common. 80 per cent of the second generation participants have a romantic relationship and two of the participant mothers were divorced and the husband of one of them was dead.

Table 3.2 Daughters' Demographic Information

	Name	Birth of Year	Family Type	Source of Income	Educational Status	Occupational Status
1	Zeynep	1991	Nuclear Family	Family	University	Not working
2	Deniz	1991	Separated Family	Salary	Graduate	Private Sector
3	Defne	1990	Separated Family	Family and Bursary	University	Student
4	Alara	1992	Separated Family	Salary	Graduate	Private Sector
5	Sena	1992	Nuclear Family	Salary	University	Private Sector
6	Arzu	1991	Extended Family	Salary	University	Private Sector
7	Özlem	1990	Nuclear Family	Bursary	Graduate, PhD Student	Student
8	Ceren	1992	Nuclear Family	Salary, Family	University	Private Sector
9	Filiz	1990	Extended Family	Salary	University	Public sector
10	Emel	1992	Nuclear Family	Salary	University	Private sector

Since the primary aim of the study is to understand how sexual experience and sexual information are transmitted, this transfer is important for producing knowledge of womanhood. Generally, the observed family form is nuclear family, but the participants continue to have relations with family members other than their nuclear family.

3.9. Process of Data Generation

Data generation is a long and compelling process. Data were collected between August and September 2018 by means of qualitative research techniques and feminist methodology. Participants are not the sample for this research but rather actors. Their different positions in family, locations in society and situations in their social lives constitute the strength of research. The individual experiences and subjectivities are aimed to be reached through in-depth interviews. Two semi structured questionnaire forms were applied to women. As the questions were directly related to the private sphere, during the interviews, the participants were taken permission and their voices were recorded and decoded. In the analysis and discussion section, the names of the participants were changed according to the wishes of the women.

Snowball techniques were used to reach realities of women. I began to reach women from my friends' social environments. I asked whether they knew any mother-daughter dyad in the study's age range. At the same time, I searched whether my neighborhood (Oran) has any two generations who are suitable the study's age dimension or not. First meeting was made in a café within my neighborhood, and questions were directed to the younger generation. After that, I went to the first mother's home in the same district. Following, the second meeting was arranged with this mother's female friends and her daughters. On the other hand, I reached more women with the help of my friends. Women groups who are living in Ankara, generally resided in Çankaya (Oran, Esat, Bahçelievler). Two group were living in Yenimahalle and one group dwelled in Keçiören. In addition to fieldwork, recordings were decoded in these two months. One woman only did not want to sound recording; therefore, I wrote her answers into my field notebook. Moreover, I

noted women's reactions towards questions, and how they looked while they were talking about their sexual experiences. These notes helped me to deeply think about their memories about sexual socialization. Before starting to the interview, I briefly introduced myself and the study in order to create a comfortable environment for women. I assured that if she did not want to continue, she can finish. All of them completed answering the questions.

3.10. The Design of Questionnaire

The questionnaire prepared for two groups of participants that includes demographic information in general, relationships with the participant's family, relationships with the participant's mother, and information about the participant's sexual socialization. The demographic information section is common for all participants. In this section, it is aimed to get general information on issues such as age, family forms, marital status, educational levels, and income sources. The interview form prepared for mothers consists of 46 questions in five parts. In addition to demographic questions, questions about the family relations of the participants, participant's relationship with their mother, participant's motherhood and social socialization, and sexual experience and knowledge they transferred to her daughters are asked. "How do you describe yourself?", "who is the closets individual you fell innocent in your family", "Do you have innocent and non-hierarchical relation with your mother, why?", "What is the meaning of sexuality for you?", "What is gender?", "Can you easily talk about sexuality, sexual intercourse with your daughter, why?" are some of the examples of questions used.

On the other hand, questions for young women consist of four parts and 49 questions. Similar to the questions the mothers, it includes family relations, relationships with mothers and sexual socialization. Although the titles for the questions in both formats are the same, the contents are different. To exemplify: "What do you share with your mother?; Which topics about are you talking?"; "How often do you share sexual experiences with your mother?"; "Can you tell me your first menstruation and also your mothers' reaction?"; "What do you think about sexual freedom?; What is your mother's opinion about it?"; "Where do you learn

birth control methods?"; "Do you speak with your mother?"; "Does she suggest any specific method?"; "Where and when do you learn knowledge about sexuality?".

Open-ended questions were directed to 20 women. The main objective is to examine the production of sexual experience and womanhood knowledge by focusing on the standpoints of different women. In order to increase reliability and validity of the data the interviews were carried out in women's homes or where they felt comfortable.

3.11. The Research Question and Sub- Questions

All mothers are productions of their mothers' ideologies. My basic assumption is that mothers and daughters do not interact directly on the issues of sexuality, sexual values and sexual identities, but sexual socialization occurs in some way. Moreover, the effect of the previous generation, sexual information is transmitted 'one-way or the other' to the next generations however they are mostly either wrong or incomplete.

Before I started my research, I asked myself, "Why am I doing this research?" The answer was simple because the reality of sexual socialization in Turkey has not been comprehensively questioned and there was a need to reach the reality behind the sexual experience and information transmitted from mother to daughter. In the light of my theoretical framework that I discussed in previous chapters, my main research question and its related sub-questions are as follows:

The transformation of sexual knowledge and sexual experience from mother to daughter in family and the acquisition of sexual knowledge necessitates the interactive analysis of motherhood, family, understanding and expectations of two generations, in which the related actions of them are shaped by partial, situational and locational knowledge.

Based on and related to this basic research problem, sub-research problems are listed as follows:

- The effective role of motherhood institution is limited.
- Expectations of second generation from the first generation are not clear and they are hardly realized.
- For these two groups the definition/description of themselves as subjects and their memories and understanding of sexuality, sexual socialization, sexual education, family and motherhood are subjectively constituted, and their related actions are politically embedded. That is their understanding and acts are not institutionally structured, unified, holistic, and singular but multiple, relative, reflexive, contextual, and constraining.

In brief, I tried to show details about the theoretical framework of the study throughout this chapter. FST is more than an epistemology, it is also accepted as an instrument to analyze and discuss women's sexual experience and sexual knowledge. This research supports the idea that "knowledge is situated" (Haraway, 1988). Moreover, sexual knowledge is not approved as unilateral and unchangeable. Therefore, knowledge of sexuality has multiple changing characteristics.

The main aim of Chapter 3 is to intensify methodology by using qualitative research. Thus, I firstly emphasized on defining what the ground of the study is by means of rejecting modernist methodology and then examined how I can do research by the methodology of the FST. Hence, I gave priority to concepts of "strong objectivity" and "situated, located, partial knowledge". In order to prioritize them I thought that I could explain my position as a researcher. In addition to these features of the research, I defined qualitative research, the profile of the sample, how I collected data, and designed the questionnaires. In the light of this Chapter, I determined a road map for interpreting and analyzing my findings.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF SEXUAL KNOWLEDGE AND SEXUAL EXPERIENCE THROUGH THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The information gathered from the interviews made with the mothers and daughters, observations made during the fieldwork and related literature, based on the research problem of the study are used to analyze and interpret. As mentioned in the previous chapters 3, the subject of this study is the sexual knowledge and experience that is transferred from mother to daughter, and two different forms of questionnaires, one for each group, have been designed for this purpose. The sample included 20 participants and mothers' ages are above 49 and daughters' range between 25 to 29. The semi-structured questionnaire for mothers includes demographic information, mother's familial relationship, her relations with her mother, questions about her motherhood and her experiences on sexual socialization. On the other hand, the questionnaire for daughters including the same sections expect questions about her motherhood. These two designed questionnaires' parts are not radically similar to each other. The content and timing of the questions changed and arranged according to the course of the interview. Interviews were conducted face-to-face at the participants' houses and the fictional names which were chosen by participants were used.

Throughout this chapter, it is aimed to position the sexual history and knowledge acquisition processes of different standpoints with the help of feminist theories, as well as to give new meanings to the knowledge production processes. The unit of analysis of the research was designated as women having secondary and oppressed positions because women, by itself, have more real knowledge and more real experience by means of locations that can be social, ideological and political (Wylie, 2003). In order to reach the reality behind sexuality, it is necessary to reach the

knowledge of the unique social positions of women. However, as the most effective method of the research, standpoints establish the query of how knowledge is transformed with influence of power relations (Wylie, 2003) as an implicit/closed subject of the study, since intergenerational relations also involve power relationship within. Both mothers and daughters struggle to prevent their sexuality considered as secondary and to find intergenerational positions for them. This chapter is gathered under main four sections: finding position in familial relations, seeking a social position in relations with mothers, women's point of view on sexual socialization and sexual education. The first section addresses the how participants conduct affiliations in family and how their contextual, reflexive, and situational experiences impress these affiliations. The second one scrutinizes situational discrepancies among women generations and these two generations knowledge production practices. In addition, knowledge on sexuality, experiencing sexual practices, women's sexual socialization periods, effects of experience on situational knowledge creation are problematized in third part of the analysis. The fourth and the last section is about discussions on sexual education.

4.1. Finding Position in Familial Relations

This section is based on general information gathered about the families of the participants. In particular, it is aimed to focus on and understand the views of the participants on familial relations, family institutions, and their understanding of family. For this purpose, women were asked to describe their families, family relations and the family members to mention the closest member(s) and to learn what they had shared and talked about with them in order to understand their views on how women locate their positions in the family and to be able to link the family with sexual socialization.

The family embedded within the patriarchal ideology highly legitimates male dominance and female subordination. In addition, it is based on the establishment and maintenance of hierarchical relations between generations. As Carter (2014) puts it, family is the major resource for information of norms and conducts. This perspective underlines that development of gender roles is possible and individuals

internalize their identity by observing gender identities throughout the generations (Carter, 2014). Furthermore, women are subject to conscious systematic repression in family relations. Therefore, in the first part of this chapter, how women are exposed to this systematic repression has been investigated and women's marginalized positions in the family are explained.

Contrary to other social rules, majority of them have been established by society about sexuality. These rules, which were later converted into social norms, are strict and almost unbreakable. The subjugation of women about sexuality begins in the family first and then continues at different spheres of society. In other words, female sexuality is manipulated and controlled by the family and within it.

As one of the first observations, living in a conservative family seems to be a desire to maintain the traditions rather than to be subject to religious values. One of the mother participants, Gül, who married when she was 21 years old and has a nuclear family described her family as:

My family is neither conservative nor modern. Each family member lives freely. We are not restrictive as parents and we respect our children's opinions. Therefore, I can say that we are modern. However, we also are still bound to traditions.¹

On the other hand, Gül also complained of the conservatism of her parents and stated that marriage was to gain freedom for her: After I got married, I realized that life was much better.²

As Bourdieu (1996) points out, the family is a power relation system in physical and symbolic forms. In this system, family members are positioned according to their gender, age and marital status. In the organization of social life, parents have

¹ Ailem aslında muhafazakar değil. Ama gerçekten de modern değil. Her aile üyesi bildiği gibi yaşar ve biz kısıtlayıcı ebeveynler değiliz. Çocuklarımızın fikirlerine saygı duyuyoruz. Bu yüzden moderniz diyebilirim. Ama diğer taraftan da geleneklere bağlıyız.

² Evlendikten sonra hayatın daha güzel olduğunu fark ettim.

authoritative knowledge, and this makes possible for parents to fulfill the duty of protecting the social order. Being a parent is one of the main reasons for Gül to realize her own life. With the changing conditions of her marital status, this new role has led her to gain authoritative position and made it possible to position herself higher in the hierarchy within the family. Demographic characteristics such as education, economic status, and social class affect the family structure and change the individual's perspective on the family.

Compared to their families, all women in the second generation define themselves as non-traditional and modern. They evaluate this as an understanding that social differentiation is required for positional knowledge formation and break stage of appeal. Mothers believe that their family understanding differs from the previous generations. They emphasized, in particular, that their worldviews and understandings are completely different from their parents and they are more adaptable to the social developments. However, they stated that they are more traditional especially in terms of child-care and child-rearing practices. This brings to mind the role of the family in socialization.

In order to understand the socialization processes of women, how they identify their own identities and differentiate them from their family members should be interpreted. Those who define their families as open-minded and modern consider themselves to be more open, non-traditional, non-conservative and thus far from reinforcing the gender roles of the society. All daughter participants argue that, in contrast to the convention, their value judgments are not old-fashioned. Contrary to the answers of their daughters, mothers argue that their views on social value judgments and norms are different from their parents. However, mothers' practices of maternity make it impossible to generalize questions about family relationships. In general, they believe that their parents' traditional value judgments play a critical role in the socialization process. Socialization is the orientation towards social order, and it is a learning process in which the structure, culture, norms and value judgments of the society are learned. The common assumption is that observing adults' behaviors helps to internalize and emulate these behaviors in society (Carter, 2014).

Fusun, another mother, who has graduate school diploma highlights the contradiction between her perspective and her family's opinions as:

My mother and especially my father are conservative, but I am not like them. Therefore, I am modern. Contrary to my parents, I raised my child through innovative thinking.³

Her daughter also describes Fusun as “highly trained, wise, and open to novelty and diversity”.⁴

When a woman perceives herself as a person of different lifestyles and being raised in a conservative family causes fears of being judged by other individuals in familial relations. This prevents them from voicing their opinions. Another daughter participant, Ceren, graduated from university and is working at private sector; she explains this situation as follows:

Both my family and my mother are extremely conservative, and I am under their influence. I feel like I am living two different lives. I share almost nothing about myself. This bothers me from time to time. I want to talk about my life, thoughts and feelings but there are a lot of things that are not talked about. My behaviors also differ when I am with my family. I am also not able to talk about my political view nor my romantic relationship.⁵

While this view ‘living two lives’ informative on the position of knowledge, differences in attitudes and behaviors that are associated with partial knowledge of women. As a field of struggle for the purpose of meeting their families' expectations, women ignore their own wishes and desires and avoid talking about romantic relationships. People, who are others, enhance knowledge on oppressors' having

³ Annem ve özellikle babam muhafazakar ama ben onlara benzemiyorum bu yüzden modernim. Onların aksine, çocuğumu yenilikçi fikirlerle yetiştirdim.

⁴ Yüksek eğitim, akil görüşlü olmak, değişik, yenilik ve farklılıklara hoş görülme olmak.

⁵ Hem ailem hem de annem aşırı muhafazakar ve ben de ailemin etkisi altındayım. Sanki 2 farklı hayat yaşıyor gibiyim. Neredeyse kendim hakkında hiç bir şey paylaşmıyorum. Bu zaman zaman canımı sıkıyor. Hayatım, düşüncelerim ve hissettiklerim hakkında konuşmak istiyorum ama konuşulmayan pek çok şey var. Bunun yanı sıra davranışlarım ailemin yanında farklılıklar gösteriyor. Politik düşüncelerim ya da romantik ilişkim hakkında da konuşmıyorum.

point of view on social life and they develop consciousness about being a member in oppressed group (Hartstock, 2008).

The fragile nature of familial relations causes differences in the behavior of women in family. The lives of women are divided into two parts: who they are and who they should be. The family institution imposes women to find obedient and silent status. Such expectations and demands of the institution actually cause differentiation in their standpoints. Diversified standpoints indicate the fluidity of the individual's position depending on the power relations. As Hekman (1997) focuses on, women's unique standpoints make it possible to reach reality and legitimize the questioning of the reality of social institutions. Standpoints include situated and perspectival information.

One of un-generalizable points is that mothers and their daughters differ in their way of understanding the family. For example, Mine and Defne are representatives of two generations. Defne, who is graduate student, stated that she saw her family as more modern compared to other families at similar social class and education levels.

My family members got their education and have lived in Europe and the U.S. They are definitely modern but can also be conventional in some areas, specifically regarding sexuality issues. Contrary to my family, I am a supporter of the LGBT communities, but my family members cannot abandon their social values regarding this issue. They are Turkish after all. Contrary to my family, I think in a contemporary manner and far from traditional. However, there still are areas where I cannot be as open-minded as Westerners. We are always together just like an Italian family. To be honest, each generation gets closer to the Western culture and more open-minded compared to the previous generations. To illustrate, my mother is more open-minded than my grandmother, I am more Westerner compared to my mother, and my child will be more modern than me.⁶

⁶ Aile üyelerim Avrupa'da ve Amerika'da eğitim almış ve yaşamışlar. Tamamıyla modernler fakat bazı konularda gelenekseller, özellikle de cinsellik konusunda. Ailemin aksine, ben LGBT savunucuyum ama aile üyelerim bu konuda sosyal değerlerinden ayrılmıyorlar. Sonuçta Türkler. Aileme göre çağdaş fikirlere sahibim ve geleneklerden uzağım. Fakat batılı biri kadar geniş birey olmadığım noktalar var... Bir İtalyan ailesi gibi sürekli birlikteyiz. Doğrusunu söylemek gerekirse, her jenerasyon bir öncekine göre Batı kültürüne daha yakın ve daha açık fikirli. Örneğin; annem

And Mine, similar to her daughter, thinks as:

Because of my family's educational level, we are more modern compared to other families in Turkey. Each generation at least owns a graduate degree. And our family relationships are intimate.⁷

According to these participants, the value judgment about sexuality is one of the factors that determine the traditionalist of a family. However, the educational level of the family is an important factor in determining to have non-conventional thoughts. According to them, coming from a Western-style family means to produce modern values, to be open-minded and to respect the views and practices about sexuality and gender roles of family members. However, the following examples change the direction of the discussion, making it possible to explain the differentiation of women from their existing families. Emel, who represents the second generation and is living with her nuclear family, indicated:

It does not change; as a matter of fact, I also pondered over this issue. When I observe other people in Turkey, their behaviors change when they are with their families. Girls are usually sweet and well-behaved when spending time with their families. Moreover, men who can readily smoke or swear in public become somewhat someone else when with their families. I, however, do not restrain myself when I am with my family. While other girls pretend to be sweet and innocent, I am the rebel. This may occur in respect to families' demands. My family does not expect such things from me.⁸

Another point that that demands an analysis on family is related to the answers that describe the closest family member and what they share with them. The most

anneanneme göre daha açık fikirli ben anneme göre daha batılıyım. Benim çocuğum da bana göre daha modern olacak.

⁷ Ailemin eğitim seviyesi sayesinde, Türkiye'deki diğer ailelerden daha moderniz. Her jenerasyon en az üniversite mezunu. Ve aile ilişkilerimiz içli dışlı.

⁸ Hiç değişmiyor, hatta bunu ben de sorguladım. Türkiye'deki diğer insanları gördüğümde, davranışları aile içinde değişiyor. Kızlar genellikle tatlı, terbiyeli davranıyorlar aileleri ile vakit geçirdikleri zaman. Dahası dışarıda rahatlıkla sigara içen, küfür eden erkekler, aileleri yanında gördüğümde sanki onlar onlar değil. Ama ben ailemin yanında kendimi dizginlemiyorum. Diğerleri tatlı kız portresi çizirken ben asi kızım. Belki aileden gelen bir taleple ilgilidir. Ailem, benden bu tarz şeyler beklemiyor.

common answer is same-age female cousins for those who do not have sisters. Only one of the young women stated that they had an intimate relationship with her mother and that she was the closest member in the family. I will interpret this finding in next section.

Gender and age play significant role in the debate because these factors demonstrate the similarity of experiences. In addition, common experiences of mothers and daughters in the process of positioning within the family facing similar situations change the level of what they share together. Gender stereotypes support the observation of hierarchy in family relations.

Meltem is one of the first generation participants, and she became a mother ten months later her marriage. She explains how she has established a sincere relationship with her sister through similar practices and positions in the institution. Accordingly, she states that

After getting married, my younger sister and I started sharing all our secrets with each other. We began to share our secrets, particularly regarding childrearing issues. I started to feel closer to her and to share my pains and worries. Similarly, she also shared her experiences with me. We thus had a reciprocal relationship. We strived to support each other while raising our children.⁹

Periodic changes diversify the practices and therefore made the accumulation of new knowledge possible. Meltem and her sister have had a sincere relationship around sharing common issues and practicing mothering. Unlike considering motherhood as an institution, it is a woman-based practice and reveals women's epistemic priorities. As Harding points out, “knowledge is always socially situated” and it “is supposed to be based on experience; thus, different experiences enable different perceptions of ourselves and our environments” (2004, p.7). The sharing of similar conditions or

⁹ Evlilikten sonra, küçük kız kardeşim ile bütün sırlarımızı paylaşmaya başladık. Özellikle çocuk yetiştirme konusunda sırdaş olduk. Ona karşı kendimi daha yakın hissetmeye başladım ve acılarım, üzüntülerim hakkında onunla konuştum. Aynı şekilde, o da deneyimlerini paylaştı. Karşılıklı devam eden bir ilişkimiz oldu. Çocuklarımızı büyütürken birbirimize destek olmaya çalıştık.

situations experienced not only strengthens womanhood and sisterhood but also supports the accumulation of knowledge of womanhood.

The following comment focuses on the close/intimate relationships of the second generation contributes for understanding issues related to sexuality:

My mother and I have a strong communication, but our topics of conversation are shaped by our mother-daughter relationship and vary depending on my age. It is impossible for me to talk about my sexual life. She knows that I have a boyfriend and even met him, but even if I told her that I have a sexual life, she would never believe me. However, she is willing to advise my friends regarding their sexual issues. That is why I can talk about personal matters with my sister and friends only.¹⁰

Sexuality is an issue that augments marginalization in finding a position in the family. Because despite the fact that the knowledge of femininity is a powerful solidarity prevailing power relation limit the struggle against patriarchy, thus gender roles in the family occasionally hinder the use of this knowledge to gain sexual consciousness. In addition, women, depending on their age, duties and positions marginalize each other within familial relations. This also disrupts the knowledge production of the oppressed group about both the oppressed and the oppressor.

At this point, the concept of 'situated knowledge' is revealing as Hekman (1997, p.363) puts it, "women speak from multiple standpoints, creating multiple knowledge". In spite of their differences, no woman's knowledge is superior or truer. In the above example, the young participant focuses on how the role of motherhood and aunthood changes the woman's position. According to Hekman, information varies at different experience levels. Perspective and situation cultivate knowledge

¹⁰ Annemle güçlü bir iletişimimiz var ama konuştuğumuz konular yaşıma göre farklılıklar gösteriyor onun kızı olduğum için değişiklikler gösteriyor. Cinsel hayatım hakkında konuşmak benim için imkansız bir şey. Tabi ki erkek arkadaşım olduğunu biliyor ve onunla tanıştı ama eğer ona cinsel yaşamım var desem bile, bana kesinlikle inanmaz. Ama arkadaşlarımın cinsel sorunları hakkında konuşsam ya da arkadaşlarım konuşsa, onlara yardımcı olmaya çalışır. Bu yüzden özellerim hakkında sadece ablam ve arkadaşlarımla konuşabiliyorum.

and these factors also conceive multiple standpoints for knowledge production (Hekman, 1997).

To sum up, I interpreted how participants identify their families and differentiate them from their family members in order to understand their socialization process. I examined similar, converse and contradictory points among these two generations on women's description about their familial relations. Despite their presence in the same family, mothers and daughters' opinions about their families, their perceptions and the ways they define their families differ depending on their position in the family. While the participants of the first generation separated their families as before and after they got married, this distinction also points to a conservative and modern family distinction. This is the case since mother participants argue that they form their own families with marriage, and they have structured themselves into family institution. In addition, both the first and the second generations all claimed that they saw themselves more modern compared to the first generation. First generation women are more likely to have multiple perspectives since they are both mothers and daughters at the same time. Moreover, young generation asserted that they have two lives that are out of family and within family. Although educational level affects characteristics of families, family culture also determines familial relations.

4.2. Seeking a Social Position in Relations with Mothers

The purpose of this section is to examine the relationship of the participants with their mother. For this reason, the similar questions were asked to mothers and daughters. The ideas of motherhood practices of women who are the subjects of the research, motherhood institution, intergenerational relations and the close relationship between mother and daughter and the forms of how these two generations position each other in the same family will be discussed under this sub-heading. It consists of two branches that are “the fear of resembling the previous generation” and “mother is a mother”. These discussion topics are determined according to interviews. The first part of the section is addressing constitution of female subjectivity by analyzing affiliations between mothers and daughters. In the

second one, how mothers' situational knowledge develops hierarchy in female generations. Power and knowledge affiliation are disputed in this section.

One point I encountered in the interviews was that mothers were curious about the answers of their daughters, and they had asked my approval, especially about their intergenerational relations. Given the answers gathered in the interviews, it is understood that mothers can identify their subjectivity as the dominant group and consider it to be the reproducer and protector of generally accepted knowledge. However, most of them provide the continuity of masculine-centered information about sexuality. The experiences of the oppressed group and women's standpoints remain to be a central issue. For example, one of the mothers, Gül, described her mother as: My mother is right as rain.¹¹ And continued:

She always listens to others' opinions. It may be due to her life conditions; I do not know. My father would be out of town for work. There were times when we could not see him for two weeks. My mother would live with her mother-in-law. She felt the need to protect us from others and this is why she raised us under pressure and according to others. She would always talk about her own difficulties and would never ask our problems.¹²

Zeynep is Gül's second daughter and although she was graduated from university, she has not been working. She gave almost opposite answers about their relationship with each other. While Gül mentions that she respects her daughters' ideas, Zeynep pointed out that she did everything according to his mother's expectations and wishes. Zeynep describes her mother as follows:

In panic, tense and wants everything to be done according to her. I cannot describe our relationship as intimate but can say that it does seem intimate from outside. I can see that we are not like other mothers and daughters. Other mothers protect their children from

¹¹ Annem bomba gibi bir kadın.

¹² Annem her zaman başkalarının düşüncelerini dinler. Bu belki de yaşam koşullarından dolayı, bilemiyorum. Babam şehir dışında çalışırdı. Bazen 2 hafta onu görmezdik. Annem de evde kayınvalidesiyle birlikte kalırdı. Bu yüzden bizi dışarıdan korumak için başkalarının düşünceleri ve baskı altında büyüttü. Her zaman kendi problemleri hakkında konuşurdu, bizim sorunlarımızı sormazdı.

everything and do everything for their children. Also, my mother does not have such a relationship with my grandmother.¹³

The fact that mothers see themselves as an authority creates hierarchy in the family and maintains the power of the family institution through a number of obligatory relations. Depending on the age and life experiences of women, knowledge provides control. The younger generation is also kept under control by previous generations. Partial positions of women affect the increase of sexual consciousness. Moreover, the hierarchy factor in seeking a position among generations leads to poor links and insufficient knowledge in the transmission of knowledge and experience. To understand sexual socialization, it seems essential to question the connection and intimate relationships between two women of the family.

For the intimate relationship within the family Giddens focuses on purity of the relationship. Giddens, who first explored the pure relationship between couples, emphasized the mutual disclosure and trust. Jamieson later added child dimension to his work, and specifically sought to understand the form of pure relationship between parent and child. According to him, rather than the father, mother is the one who is interested in the practical and emotional conditions of children (Jamieson, 1999). In familial relations, the mother is positioned as a buffer-zone between the father and children. The child's wishes and the events he/she experienced are softened by the mother and transferred to the father. However, it is almost impossible to establish a mutual bond of intimacy between different generations on certain issues or to maintain it even if it is established; sexuality is one of them. Unlike the upper generation, children tend not to establish close relations since “children require increasing silence on the part of parents rather than intense dialogue of mutual disclosure” (Jamieson, 1999, p. 489).

¹³ Panik ve stresli dahası her şeyin kendi istediğine göre olmasını istiyor. Annemle ilişkimizi direkt olarak samimi olarak tanımlayamam ama samimi görünen diyebilirim. Diğer anne ve kızlarına bakınca onlar gibi değiliz. Diğer anneler çocuklarını her şeyden koruyorlar ve çocukları için her şeyi yapıyorlar... Annemin anneannemle de böyle bir ilişkisi yok.

One point that interviews illustrated is that participant mothers, who define their mothers as conventional, stated that they started to talk more easily about sexuality after marriage. At the same time, interviewees argued that they had no difficulty sharing sexual experiences with other members in the family and outside. However, this is different for young women. Regardless of whether they come from a modern or conservative family, almost all of the younger participants argue that they have difficulty sharing with their mother about social and sexual issues. This discussion will be problematized as the fear of resembling the first generation in the next section.

Consequently, according to mothers, in general, there is an intimate relationship between their daughters, can talk about various subjects easily and are informed about almost everything of their daughter's lives. When I interviewed their daughters, an opposite picture is the case. According to the young participants, they indicated that they share limited information with their mothers. Trans-generational sharing is unidirectional; that is to say, that the mother connects with another mother, and the daughter establishes and maintains a closer relationship with her sister, or a same-age cousin or relative, or her friends. In addition, the use of social values and norms related to the reproduction of the next generation leads to the derivation of gender roles. Patriarchal codes that are embedded in family and maternity institution have made it impossible to be freed from gender roles.

4.2.1. The Fear of Resembling the Previous Generation

Within the scope of the questions about relations with the mother, one of the most important issues focused in the interviews with the interviewees is the expression of "I will never be like my mother". These and similar answers, given in both groups of women, will be problematized as a wish not to resemble the mother. Despite the struggle to differentiate and separate oneself from her mother's identity, the process of socialization is intensely dynamic. Gender practices and stereotypes continue to be transferred in some way or the other. Maternal influence in the family affects the development of sexual subjectivities. How mothers' self-descriptions become similar to their mothers can be explained by that unlike boys, girls continue relating with

their mothers in central life issues (Boyd, 1989). Despite the rejection of mothers, one of the critical claims of participating young women is that their mothers' general attitudes and behaviors are not different from their grandmothers and that the next generation always shows similarities with regard to the perspectives on sexuality, rather than on motherhood issues. This contradictory situation causes a significant disparity between t generations of women.

For example; Arzu and Gülten are two women who live in the same family and do not think in terms of resembling to the previous generation. Gülten has extended family and she married when she was 20 years old. She states that:

I do not see similarities with my mother, but my daughters sometimes remember me that I behave like my mother. They are sometimes acts outside of my consciousness. I say that when I act as your grandmother, please warn me. I do not want them to be like me. I want them to be more modern and open to new opinions and ideas.¹⁴

On the other hand, Arzu argues that:

She (my mother) is usually afraid of being like her mother but she becomes like her mother as grows older. ... I am crying right now ... because I do not want to be like my mother but I cannot escape it. Ultimately, she cared me; I learned to be a girl from her. I saw her manners and behaviors towards social life.¹⁵

The contradiction that although girls are reluctant but still cannot prevent themselves from acting like their mothers has been examined by the social learning theory. The reproduction and self-actualization obligations of maternity practices lead women to show contradictions within social relations. According to the theory, women are internalized sense of becoming a mother with imitating their previous female

¹⁴ Annemle benzerliklerimi görmüyorum ama kızlarım sürekli olarak annem gibi davrandığımı hatırlatıyorlar. Bunlar bilinçdışı yaptığım şeyler. Ben de anneanneme benzersem beni uyarın diyorum. Onların da benim gibi olmalarını istemem. Daha modern ve yeni fikir ve düşüncelere açık olmalarını isterim.

¹⁵ Annem, annesine benzemekten sürekli olarak korktu. Ama yaşlandıkça annesine benzedi... şu an ağlıyorum... Çünkü ben de anneme benzemek istemiyorum ama bundan kaçamam. Sonuçta beni o büyüttü, ondan öğrendim kız olmayı. Onun davranışlarını, hareketleri gördüm.

generations and their gendered practices (Weitzman, 1984 as cited in Boyd, 1989). In the process of socialization, the mother is the primary source in learning sexual roles, but daughters are limited by the desire to separate their identity from that of mothers. According to Boyd (1989), women's unconscious internalization of behaviors and identities that are socially attributed to them is a result of imitating the same gender and are realized through mothers. Unconscious internalization is the realization of sexual patterns and expectations through gender. In order to complete gender development, each individual needs to discover her sexual identity and acquire the identified gender patterns (Spanier, 1977).

When identity development and imitation of daughters associated with the FST, it can be argued that young generation desires to produce their standpoints and can be a speaker on their lives. However, motherhood is an effective institute making it harder to avoid social norms and values in daily life. In addition, socialization takes place under the influence of the discourses on family and gender. The subjects in this study are also shaped by the male dominant discourses. The knowledge of the social is also the basic curiosity of the FST in reaching to the realities of life. FST considers knowledge as partial, locational and situational rather than universal, rational and essential. Becoming a mother with the information produced in oneself is a central consideration of the FST. Hekman underscores that FST objects masculine culture and its truth description and the male-centric method that shaped essentialism (1997).

Throughout this chapter, the focus has been on each generation's desire to maintain their position and not to lose its information produced where none of the information produced from different experiences is superior to one another. In other words, the knowledge of all participant women about motherhood and sexual socialization is valid information.

4.2.2. Mother is a Mother

In this section, concepts of hierarchy, intergenerational difference, mutual disclosure, and reciprocity will be examined. The common belief among all mothers is that they have built an intimate relationship with their daughters, but the closeness in this way

brings about a balance of power and hierarchical differentiation. It is thought that as mothers get older and have more experience gave them the right to intervene into the knowledge of their children. One major issue is related to questioning of whether “a mother can be a friend of her daughter?” The only answer given by the two generations is “never and ever”. Mothers are the defenders of power differences in social relations. Mine is one of these mothers and she lost her husband very early ages. She underlined that:

I never promote friendship between a mother and a child. The older one can talk friendly, but mother is a mother, child is a child. I am a mother; Defne’s (her daughter) behaviors against me must have a border and also similar my attitudes towards her should be limited. She has lots of friends, but she has one mother.¹⁶

Mothering practice has its own reality with its situational and locational conditions. It makes possible to produce experience based knowledge influencing the reproduction of patriarchal ideology. Since motherhood is produced by this ideology, how egalitarian is the information produced in women's liberation? FST is a powerful tool in analyzing and interpreting the knowledge of the experience of the marginalized and oppressed subjects within the patriarchal ideology and emancipated from being in a secondary status. As Harding (2004) points out, FST is critical in grasping the relationship between knowledge production and power practices. If the systematic oppressed experience that the mother is exposed to started to be used outside the protection of the family order and is seen as knowledge of the consciousness, a position-based feminist knowledge may be created.

A similar thought to Mine's response was expressed by Defne. According to Defne:

Our relation is a little bit of friendship but not hundred percent. I think, she must agree with my ideas. For example, some families say that I am friend of my children. My mother’s opinion is “no, she has

¹⁶ Anne- çocuk arasındaki arkadaşça bir ilişkiyi hiç bir zaman desteklemedim. Arkadaşça konuşabilirler ama anne annedir, çocuk çocuktur. Ben bir anneyim. Defne’nin bana karşı olan davranışlarının bir sınırının olması lazım ve aynı şekilde benim ona karşı olan tutumumun da bir limiti olmalı. Onun bir çok arkadaşı var ama bir tane annesi var.

many friends, I am her mother. I hold the line.” She agrees with this idea but if you ask me, I cross the border. I can say that my mother commonly emphasizes her motherhood position.¹⁷

Motherhood relations survive on the basis of a sexist division of labor and cultural practices. The view that sees the social value of motherhood as specified “by males and manipulated by masculinity” (O’Reilly, 2014, p. 7), causes the system to be analyzed as an instinctive impulse. The realization of the patriarchal coded practice varies from woman to woman. Feminists examined the task of reproduction of the motherhood institution under three sub-headings as reproduction of next generation, day to day reproduction and reproduction of the labor power where who the women and who they should be are identified. However, the fact that women have multiple standpoints cannot be ignored. The friendship relation between mother and child thus negatively affects the power of motherhood.

From this point of view, it is essential to discuss the point Füsün focuses on in which she explained how the non-hierarchical relationship adversely affected her status. Füsün divorced when her daughter was 4 years old. She said that

We are more than mother and daughter. However, you do not become a friend with your daughter in the future. We always get into trouble. For example, my daughter thinks that we are equal and she says that if you drink alcohol, I can also drink; if you have a boyfriend, I also can have one.¹⁸

The bond between mother and daughter is more unique than the other relationships in the family since the mother is the actor who directly contributes to her daughter's personality development and to her subjectivity, and the daughter also makes it possible for the mother to discover herself. The mother and daughter build each other

¹⁷ Bizim ilişkimiz arkadaşlık gibi ama yüzde yüz değil. Bence o da bu fikrime katılır. Örneğin; bazı aileler çocuğumun arkadaşım der. Annemin düşüncesi ise; “hayır onun çok fazla arkadaşı var ben onun annesiyim. Sınırı koyarım.” O bu düşünceye katılır ama bana sorarsan ben sınırı aşıyorum. Söyleyebilirim ki annem genellikle konumuna odaklanır.

¹⁸ Anne kızdan daha çok arkadaş gibiyiz. Ama ileride asla kızınla arkadaş olma. Biz her zaman sorun yaşadık. Örneğin; kızım bizim eşit olduğumuzu düşünüyor ve şöyle söyler eğer sen içki içiyorsan ben de içebilirim, senin erkek arkadaşın varsa benim de olabilir.

mutually without abandoning the differences in positional power relations. Just as Harding pointed out (1993, p.123) in the social construction of gender roles, “mother, daughter, poor women, and racially oppressed women” have practices depending on their situations which constitutes social meanings. The roles of being mother and daughter give active status to women and they are not achieved, but ascribed status. Status should be used as experiences of different locations to be used as a source of information.

In summary, under the Seeking a Social Position in Relations with Mothers title, I analyzed that both mother and daughter fear of resembling their previous generations. In the generational relations, previous one think that her social position is higher than the younger one in family. This brings along "mother is a mother" motto. It is adopted by the first generation, implying that of the system of seniority. Depending on adopted mothering practices, mothers fictionalize their daughters' social identities (Chodorow, 1999); besides, depending on the hierarchy between the two generations, the younger generation does not feel close to their mothers. In general, issues about the problems of social life and schooling are shared. On the other hand, they are reluctant to share emotional and romantic relationships. One of the conclusions derived from the interviews was that the relations continue with mothers being in the speaker and daughters in the listener positions.

4.3. Women's Points of View on Sexual Socialization

The sexual experience and sexual knowledge transferred from mother to daughter analyzed through the theoretical framework of FST will be interpreted in this section. In order to advance discussion, this section is scrutinized with six fundamental headings. The first is “knower's knowledge ‘distorts’ the transmission”, which is particularly emphasized on situated knowledge and its influence on conveyance of sexual knowledge. “Situated knowledge about birth control and abortion” title addresses women's knowledge about birth control methods, their abortion experiences and how their positions affect their decision- making process. Furthermore, menstruation experience, bodily changes and unequal gender relations are discussed in “remembering first menstruation” part. The fourth one is “situation

creates knowledge: sisterhood among peers”. Non-hierarchical relations, reciprocity and solidarity between same generations and their effects on sexual knowledge production are probed in this section. Moreover, how gender stereotypes penetrate sexual experience and sexual knowledge transmission are analyzed in “expectations from women and gender stereotypes”. In the last one that is “ignorance of reality of sexuality” concentrates on why mothers adopt ignorance as a strategy.

As a lifelong process, sexual socialization includes personal social identity development, gender patterns, gender roles, sexual behaviors, sexual attitudes and norms. In addition, femininity, sexuality, and sexual identity learning are examined under sexual socialization within the process of domestic familial orientation. In general, the process includes childhood, adolescence and adulthood. Every woman, through the same processes, gains her social status. While social theory treats sexual socialization as a process that ends in adolescence, it encompasses the whole life of the individual for feminist understanding.

Regardless of whether they come from traditional or modern families, sexuality and sexual socialization are ignored and avoided by families. On a societal level, sexuality is considered to be a subject associated with the private sphere. The process of sexual socialization is shown in connection with shame, in an effort to protect the privacy of the family and the individual. The process begins at an early age and the child becomes the main subject of gender-specific issues (Shtrakshall, Santell & Hirsch, 2017).

‘Sexuality’ is a double-sided concept. Not only society shapes sexuality but sexuality also shapes the social relations. Moreover, in the broadest sense, sexuality includes concepts of reproduction, identity, knowledge, consciousness, experience, and subjectivity. “Sexuality is a combination of concepts of intimacy, sensuality, sexual health, sexual behavior and sexualization.” (Zeglin & Mitchell, 2014, p. 276) Mothers have tremendous influence on their daughters’ sexual socialization process. Because, they have gone through similar bodily changes with their daughter, like birth, menstruation, and menopause revealing the fact that mothers are important source for the next generation’s sexual knowledge. But it would be wrong to reduce

the communication of mother and daughter experiences on sexual life experiences only to health and bodily developments. Social development is equally important with regard to sexuality. Fox (1980, p.21) argues that sexual issues, practices and attitudes are "unspoken, indirect and nonverbal". If so, the question of how women undergo sexual socialization by their mothers is of great importance. As the young participant Sena puts it:

Sexuality and shame are the same for my mother. Talking about sexuality is shameful for her. Although she says that she is a modern woman, but she does not talk about sexuality. She only explained what will happen when my menstruation starts; however, I lived and learned the rest from my own experiences.¹⁹

According to this example, mother tends to transfer their past and present experiences on sexuality. Sexual experience transmission is a combination of interaction with institutions and social meanings, and discourses that surrounds female sexuality. Speech, symbols, gestures play significant roles in the social construction of sexuality. The language used between the generations and the peers, the behavior of the parents and their conversations, the meaning given to the symbols by the parents or friends are all influenced by their understanding of what shame is. Shame creates double standards applied to women by the social system has strong effects, especially on sexuality and it is gender inequality based. Social and cultural specificities of gender inequality dictates that sexuality should not be a spoken issue. Contrary to Sena, her mother pointed out that:

In order to prevent deficient knowledge and misinformation, I told everything about female sexual development, making a baby, procreation, and menstruation but I do not assert that I am an expert about sexual knowledge.²⁰

¹⁹ Cinsellik ve utanmak annem için aynı şeyler. Cinsellik hakkında konuşmak onun için utandırıcı bir şey. Aslında kendini modern bir kadın olarak tanımlıyor ama cinsellik hakkında konuşmaz. Regli olmaya başlayınca ne olacağını anlattı ama geri kalanını ben yaşadıkça öğrendim.

²⁰ Eksik ve yanlış bilginin önüne geçmek için kadının cinsel gelişimi, bebek yapımı, üreme ve regli ile ilgi bildiğim her şeyi anlattım ama cinsellik bilgi ile ilgili uzman olduğumu iddia edemem.

Another important point that is noticed in the interviews is that the memories of the mother and the daughters about the sexual knowledge establishment processes do not overlap. The status of mothers and daughters thus should be discussed as the two different oppressed groups and their consciousness on their secondary statuses problematized at different levels. A subject can have multiple standpoints. Hegemonic culture affects these different positions differently. Being located in the family's decision-making mechanism for mothers creates a difference in knowledge among the oppressed. As Harding emphasizes the others are heterogeneous group of subjects (2004). She also adds that each woman's situation is unique; hence a woman is not relatively superior to the other woman (2004). This theory also emphasizes that different positions bring out diverging realities. In the context of this relationship, the hegemonic-male sexual information has left its place to the knowledge of women's experiences. This theory, as Harding (2004) argues, is a history inherent in the marginalized group given the creation of the history of the subject under the dominant teachings of society in sexual socialization.

One other interpretation derived from the interviews is that the mothers are more comfortable and open-minded in talking about sexuality with their female nephews rather than with their daughters. This also brings to mind that it is because of the task of maintaining the role of motherhood in the family; that is mothers become more protective of her daughters when one is a mother while in the role of being an aunt, the protective role leaves its place to the role of a consultant. There thus seems to exist two different perspectives regarding sexual knowledge transmission: the first source to learn sexual knowledge and experience is the mother and others from sources such as school, friends, internet and books. It is almost impossible to find a common ground for both sources.

In the following sections, "sexual socialization" is examined under five issues: sexual experience and sexual knowledge transmission; birth control and abortion; the first menstruation; sisterhood; and expectations and gender stereotypes.

4.3.1. Knowers' Knowledge 'Distorts' the Transmission

As acknowledged by this study, the reality about sexual knowledge is hidden within the subjective experiences of womanhood in everyday life. In order to understand how women are socialized about sexuality in the family, it is essential to deeply examine the characteristics of such a transmission. Both mother and daughter groups were treated as knowers and their situatedness in the family was diversified with feminist knowledge. In addition, women's partial knowledge strengthens the feminist knowledge. Contrary to the generally accepted assumption of conventional social theory, the experiences of the group have been accepted as the primary source of valid knowledge, and the subjectivities of the relations between researcher and the interviewees is undermined. In one sense, the assumption that information can and should be produced by the subjectivities of the oppressed is essential. The knowledge of daily life thus considered as problematically. If knowledge depends on multiple experiences, people can diversely sense themselves and their spheres (Harding, 2004). Their experiences of women who are knowers differ depending on their differentiated living conditions. For the FST the point where the study is based on the FST is that sexual experiences are not the same since sexuality is a dynamic and multi-layered relation.

Considering the research on sexual socialization in Turkey, according to the research on the Research on Adolescent Profile in Türkiye (TEPA, 2013), the first source of sexual information is derived from mothers. 24 per cent of adolescent girls stated that they got their first sexual knowledge from their mothers. The average age at which sexual information is given is 12 years. Moreover, only 41 per cent of young girls mentioned that the knowledge they were given was sufficient (TEPA, 2013, p.34). Another result of the research showed that young girls can talk about their sexuality easily with their mothers and that mothers feel responsible for their daughters. I do not completely agree with the results of this research. Although my sample is small and generalization are hardly possible my findings considerably contradict the findings of this report.

Moreover, reviewing the literature discussing the mother and daughter relationship, it is evident that the girls knowingly or unknowingly reproduce their mothers' point of view on sexuality (Chodorow, 2000, p.339). While the knowledge is transferred between generations, the previous generation transmits their own sexual and gender stereotypes as they produce the coming generations. Thus, the next generation not only reproduces her mother's knowledge, but she also pursues them.

In my study, interviewees informed standing on two different sides. According to the first group, transfer of sexual experience is essential and should be supported. The opinions of the second group was that sexuality is a special experience and should not be spoken. During the interactions between mothers and daughters expected to be an enlightenment process, incorrect and incomplete sexual information and lack of accurate information is assumed to increase the pressure on women that are surrounded by male-dominated sexist ideology in influencing the gender inequality.

The fact that unconscious experiences turned into misinformation was emphasized by Defne, who has a separated family, states that

Sexual experience transmission is significant, but it is dangerous. I do not know the conditions of other societies, but I think transmission is unconsciously done in here. It has to be handled by professionals, doctors and others. But there is lots of misinformation about sexual experience. To illustrate, marital rape and violence are common in Turkey. A mother can explain marital rape experience, saying that he is your husband, and he has the right to do everything, and her daughter may think he has the right to do everything. Experience transmission is important, but it has to be given by well educated people.²¹

Just like her daughter, Mine informed that she found the sexual transmission dangerous. She argued that unconsciously conducted transmission could adversely

²¹ Cinsel deneyim aktarım önemli ama tehlikeli. Diğer toplumlarının durumunu bilmiyorum ama bence burada bilinçsizce yapılıyor. Profesyoneller, doktorlar tarafından anlatılmalı. Fakat cinsel deneyim ile ilgili birçok yanlış fikir var. Örneğin; evlilik içi şiddet ve evlilik içi tecavüz Türkiye’de yaygın. Anne, kızına evlilik içi tecavüz deneyimini anlatabilir, o senin kocan her şeyi yapmaya hakkı var gibi. Kızı da evet her şeyi yapabilir gibi düşünebilir. Deneyim paylaşımı önemli ama iyi eğitilmiş insanlar tarafından verilmeli.

affect practices and cause moral damage. When I asked Mine if she thought that her idea was based on her own educational situation, family structure, and social class, she argued that uneducated individuals from lower class families had mixed the concepts of sexuality and infamy, and that, unlike them, middle-class families protected moral values. The point underlined by the participant brought up the question "How should I look at the issue of the social construction of sexual values?" Sexual script theory also allowed me to understand and explain the issue. According to this theory, the scenarios are organized by social institutions around socio-cultural characteristics and serve as a kind of guide to keep sexual attitudes and behaviors under control. As Plummer puts it, sexuality is "a socially constructed motive"; it should not be approached "as a powerful drive"; and concept of 'sexual scripts' is the metaphor in examining constituted social meanings that affect sexuality (1982, p. 226). Sexual scenarios accepted by families give parents the chance to shape their child's gender roles.

Scripts ensure perceptions of individuals to foresee their partners' expectations (Wiederman, 2005). Another focus related to the above examples is that the different sexual scenarios adopted by different classes indicate what the sexual partner's duties and expectations should be. The unequal sexual meanings reinforced by the scenarios prevent women from knowing about their sexual and physical rights. However, the issue that should not be ignored is that the mother of the lower class is considered as both the speaker and the knower. She produces situational knowledge depending on her class position and the doctrines of her social environment. Of course, if a woman comes from a different social reality, her attitude and perspective towards sexual violence may be different because she is oppressed not only by her family but also by her class position. What the feminists should not miss is that every woman has knowledge of her reality. What needs to be questioned is the accuracy of this information and the gender gap accepted by the motherhood institution. I had the opportunity to discuss the transfer of sexual knowledge and experience with the participants who were both carry negative and positive views. According to Deniz, having master's degree and is working at private sector. She is one of the supporters

of conventional transmission practices, sees experience and knowledge as having equal effects.

Transmitting sexual experiences and knowledge have critical importance for healthy sexual life. Because experience means knowing what good or bad is, what wrong or right is.²²

Parsons' (1983) argument is that sexuality is directed by central information, perspective, and scenarios. According to the point of view of young women who cannot speak easily with their mothers, sexuality is a special issue for their mothers and sexuality should only be experienced and talked to with their husband. In addition, another issue that the second generation believes is that mothers do not already have any thoughts about the existence of sexual life of their daughters.

According to Gagnon and Simon, individuals find out actions with their performance in scripts (as cited in Spanier, 1977). Füsün, one of the first generation interviewees, explained her mother's advice on sexual intercourse as:

My mother had strict rules about anal sex. She always talked about this position. She underlined that men want it but you should never do it. Because her neighbor had bad experiences about anal sex and that woman was usually talking about that issue. I am not sure but may be her advices affected me and I have never tried this kind of sexual intercourse.²³

Füsün continued her discussion with incomparable views such as:

Like my mother, I started to talk to my daughter openly. I know when and with whom she lost her virginity. I just could ask her “are you happy with your boyfriend?”. My daughter said “ugh!... Mom...”. Later, when I caught them in the bed, she asked me “do you think I am a prostitute?”. She argues she is an open minded person but I do not think so. Moreover, I did not give her any advice about anal sex,

²² Cinsel deneyim ve bilgi aktarımı sağlıklı bir cinsel yaşam için kritik bir öneme sahip. Çünkü deneyim demek neyin iyi ya da kötü, doğru ya da yanlış olduğunu bilmek demek.

²³ Annemin anal seks konusunda katı kuralları vardı. Sürekli bu pozisyon hakkında konuşurdu. Erkekler ister ama benim yapmamanın altını çizirdi. Çünkü komşusunun anal seks hakkında kötü deneyimi vardı ve genellikle annemle bu konu hakkında konuşuyordu. Emin değilim ama belki de annemin tavsiyeleri beni etkiledi ve bu tarz bir cinsel ilişkiyi hiç bir zaman yaşamadım.

as my mother. After she broke up with this boy, she started to cry because of losing her virginity. I soothed her, saying it is not a problem. I said if you think so, we could make it stitched.²⁴

Unlike Füsün's perspective on sexuality and sexual experience, her daughter, Alara, thinks her mother has a conservative attitude:

Premarital sex is not pleasant for my mother since if I have a child without being married, our social circle will judge me. Despite knowing my sexual experiences, they are traumas for her. When I told her for the first time, she cried. And then, she left the house. She got into depression for almost one week. It was a bad time for me.²⁵

Nearly all of the interviews show that a mother and a daughter had experienced dyadic conversations on sexual experiences that are not similar. Unlike second generation, mothers argue that they freely brought up their children using relevant social codes to ensure continuity of social order. Premarital sex is not approved by adults in paternalistic societies. As Baumeister and Twenge (2002) underline that adult women advocate social repression of female sexuality with sustentation of sexual morality.

On the other hand, many women have difficulty in acquiring sexual knowledge since sexuality is directly associated with private sphere and neither “formal education system” nor “informal one” are address sexuality, and they suppose when women accessed restricted information, this knowledge depends upon “misinformation and social myths”, which administer to promote the common social conducts and confine women’s sexual experiences by and large (İlkkaracan & Seral, 2010, p.187). Moreover, the misinformation and myths serve to ignore sexual knowledge in

²⁴ Annem gibi ben de kızımınla açık anlaşılır bir şekilde konuşmaya başladım. Ne zaman ve kiminle bekaretini kaybettiğini biliyorum. Kızıma sadece “erkek arkadaşınla mutlu musun?” diye sorabildim. O da “off anne” dedi. Onları yatakta yakaladıktan sonra “benim fahişe olduğumu mu düşünüyorsun” dedi. Açık fikirli olduğunu söylese de bence değil. Dahası annem gibi anal seks hakkında hiç bir tavsiye de bulunmadım. O çocuktan ayrıldıktan sonra bekaretimi kaybettim diye ağlamaya başladı. Ben de bunun bir sorun olmadığı konusunda onu telkin ettim. Dedim ki eğer öyle düşünüyorsan gider diktiririz.

²⁵ Evlilik dışı cinsel ilişki annemin hoş karşılayabileceği bir şey değil çünkü evlilik dışı çocuk sahibi olursam çevrem tarafından yargılanabilirim diye. Cinsel deneyimlerimi bilmesine rağmen annem için birer travma. İlk kez söylediğim zaman ağlamıştı ve sonrasında arabaya atlayıp evi terk etti. Neredeyse bir hafta boyunca bunalımdaydı. Benim için kötü bir dönemdi.

Turkey (2010, p. 191). Emel underscored difficulty of accessing sexual knowledge in Turkey as:

There is much incorrect information about sexuality. Lots of young women wrongly understand what sexuality is. They see satisfying their boyfriends or husband as a duty and a sexual achievement.²⁶

Much of the arguments of the second generation of interviewees are that they did not get any information from their mothers about what is sexuality, birth control method and sexual health. In most the families, the task of supporting the emotions of the child was given to the mother and this one of the reasons behind woman being the central figure in the socialization process. Fox and Inazu (1982) indicate that gendered behaviors in familial relations dictated by sexual socialization, women are liable to transformed their knowledge on gender. In its simplest definition, socialization refers to that the older generation transfers what they learned to the younger generation. But the learning process that begins with the transfer/sharing may be two-way. Nurbanu, identifying herself as a feminist and divorced her husband a decade ago, mentions an example of a two-way learning process as:

When I first heard orgasm happening in two different points; I was shocked. And I learned it from my daughter.²⁷

In summary, sexual socialization is a process that begins with the discovery of gender identity and ends with the practice of sexual behavior. The process, which I am trying to understand with the help of FST is a way of understanding the daily knowledge related to daily life. Conventional feminist knowledge, however, problematizes the way social theory perceives women. A theory that can be developed on women's reality should be produced by women. One of the fundamental and stable arguments of this thesis is that feminist epistemology does

²⁶ Cinsellik hakkında çok fazla doğru olmayan bilgi var. Çoğu kadın, cinselliğin ne olduğunu yanlış anlıyor. Erkek arkadaşlarını ya da kocalarını tatmin etmeyi görev ve cinsel başarı olarak görüyor.

²⁷ Orgazmın iki farklı noktada olduğunu duyduğumda şoka girdim ve bunu kızımdan öğrenmişim.

not only create the knowledge of women but also creates the knowledge of the social.

4.3.2. Situated Knowledge about Birth Control and Abortion

Another issue that I would like to carry on the interpretation of the analyzed data related to sexual socialization is the knowledge of women on birth control methods and abortion. Three of the interviewees had an abortion experience. Two of them are second generation participants. The preferences of contraceptive methods vary from person to person. Half of the mothers argue that these methods are essential and that women should be educated on birth control methods, while the other group believes that birth control pills, in particular, prevent pregnancy. In addition, a significant number of interviewees think that eliminating the risk of pregnancy could be done only by using the contraceptive method. The issue of sexually transmitted diseases has not been discussed and it has been argued that these methods are solely the responsibility of the male partner.

It was determined that six of the participating young women had sexual lives and half of these women considered withdrawal as a method of birth control. The point to be discussed here is whether the withdrawal method is preferred by women or by their partners. Unfortunately, it has been discovered that young women are under pressures of their partners in decisions about sexual intercourse and that withdrawing is a method that men prefer. The remaining women's preference for condoms as the birth control method indicates that they are guided by the decisions of their partners. When I asked why they did not adopt other methods such as pills, needles or spirals, the common answer was that they did not want to be labeled when they went to a health center such as a hospital or a pharmacy.

When I asked questions about birth control preferences of mothers who came to the end of their reproductive periods, they mentioned that the withdrawal was widespread in line with their preferences and that none of the other methods were used. In line with these preferences, I argue that women entering menopause completely rule out sexually transmitted diseases and have more to say about their

bodies than younger generations. A process that needs to be shaped and maintained under the control of women as a whole, in fact, is directed by men in the relationship is a field that requires the fight against sexual inequality. However, insufficient information on body and sexual rights prevents women from getting free from their secondary place in sexuality. Another conclusion that I reached based on the analysis of interview data is that I cannot relate choices of mothers' and daughters' contraceptive methods since majority of mothers do not even think that their daughters have a sexual life. This is due to the fact that the right to sexual liberty is regarded as a right granted to women by marriage is widely accepted for most of the participating mothers.

Sexuality is socially dependent on power relations that the individual is embedded in. Power relations are constituted within prevailing sexual pressures on women given differentiated socioeconomic factors and different levels of education. The withdrawal method, which is an unreliable method, prevents the control and domination of women on their own sexuality. According to Erfani and Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu (2012), 26 per cent of married women and 32 per cent of women in Turkey choose withdrawal ('coitus interreptus'). Although citizens, in Turkey, have chances to conveniently reaching the birth control methods, withdrawal has been a primary contraceptive method among married women (2012). Previous experiences about choices of birth control methods affects taking a decision. (Erfani and Yüksel-Kaptanoğlu, 2012). I think that this method provides male partner to exercise authority in taking decisions on the number of children and the time spent on children. Studies in Turkey show that method of coitus interreptus is a decision of the husband (Myntti et al. 2002; Cindoğlu, Sirkeci and Sirkeci 2008; Yüksel, Yıldız and Eryurt 2010 cited in Erfani and Yüksel 2012). In addition, Sirkeci and Cindoğlu note that birth control choices are under influence of where individual comes from and in which gendered history she has. Social class, educational status and occupational status accepted withdrawal whether it is a birth control method or not (2012).

In addition to birth control methods, another issue that I would like to discuss in this section is the issue of abortion. As I mentioned before, three of the participating women have had an abortion experience. Two of these women got pregnant with extramarital relations. What I want to discuss on this issue is why women prefer abortion and how they choose the institution where the operation will take place. Özlem, who is one of the second generation interviewees, is a Phd student. She had an abortion experience only at the age of 20.

I got pregnant during the last day of my menstruation. I was living in dormitory and my boyfriend was nine years older than me. He was the first man with whom I had a sexual intercourse. Now, I think that I did not know anything about sexuality. We were not protected; actually, he wanted unprotected sexual intercourse. After I got pregnant, we found a gynecologist from the internet and I had an operation. We got separated five months after this experience. After him, I had four more boyfriends and I did not say anything to them about my abortion.²⁸

Sex partners should have equal rights to determine contraceptive methods. Özlem explained how the operation had affected a woman's sexual life. The lack of sexual information and the pressure of partners have made abortion mandatory. Özlem continued with a friend's abortion experience as:

My friend does not realize that one-night stand ejaculated her inside. And she got pregnant from this man. We went to the doctor together and the man did not come with us and did not pay the cost of the operation. She might have not enough money for the operation. Moreover, this man did not ask anything about whether my friend needed help or not.²⁹

²⁸ Reglimin son gününde hamile kaldım. Yurtta yaşıyordum ve erkek arkadaşım benden dokuz yaş daha büyüktü. Cinsel ilişki yaşadığım ilk erkek oydu. Şimdi düşünüyorumda cinsellik hakkında hiç bir şey bilmiyordum. Korunmuyorduk, aslında o korunmak istemiyordu. Hamile kaldıktan sonra internette jinekolog bulduk ve kürtaj oldum. Bu deneyimden beş ay sonra ayrıldık. Ondan sonra dört erkek arkadaşım daha oldu ve onlara kürtaj geçmişimden bahsetmedim.

²⁹ Bir arkadaşım tek gecelik ilişkiden hamile kaldı, çünkü o kişinin içine boşaldığını fark etmemiş. Doktora birlikte gittik, o adam bizimle birlikte gelmedi ve operasyon ücretini ödemedi. Arkadaşımın yanında yeteri kadar para olmayabilirdi. Dahası, arkadaşımın yardıma ihtiyacı olup olmadığına dair hiç bir şey sormadı.

When withdrawal does not serve abortion is used for unwanted pregnancy. Although both women in these cases are well educated and are expected to reach sexual education more easily than other women, they also see withdrawal as a method of birth control. Common misinformation about birth control methods is widespread among women, being educated or not. Women are not aware that birth control is not only intended to prevent unexpected pregnancies but is also a preferred method of prevention from sexually transmitted diseases. The main reason for unwanted pregnancies is that the use of condoms is monopolized by men and it is a male-based practice. In sexual practices, women are pushed to a secondary position by both patriarchal ideology and by themselves, because they avoid compulsory registration mandates of health institutions.

According to research conducted by HUIPS (Institute of Population Studies of Hacettepe University) from 1998 to 2008, the abortion rate decreased by 14 per cent in Turkey (2009, p.98). According to TDHS (Turkey Demographic and Health Survey) -2008 data, 70 per cent of women who had an abortion experience preferred health centers (HUIPS, 2009, p. 101). In the latter study that did not find any socioeconomic differences between the women who had an abortion experience and those who did not, it was found that religion, fate and rumors were the determining factors in abortion (Çavlin, Tezcan & Ergöçmen, 2012, pp. 53-56). Women's desires, attitudes and behaviors related to reproduction are contradictory in Turkey (Bozbeyoğlu, 2011 as cited in Çavlin, Tezcan & Ergöçmen, 2012, p.56). According to the research conducted by Çavlin, Tezcan and Ergöçmen (2012), the pregnant woman's decision to make a miscarriage is under the influence of other women who have an abortion experience have similar economic status. A married woman's thoughts on pregnancy are suppressed by her mother, mother-in-law or sister-in-law.

To summarize, being married or not is the main reason affecting birth control decisions. It is more likely for a woman who gets pregnant if unmarried, chooses abortion as a method of birth control than a married woman. As a result of my interview data, the two women who had been pregnant with extramarital relationships had not given information about their abortion experiences to any of

their family members including their sisters and cousins. Since the society considers sexuality in and outside familial relations as a taboo, it has been concluded that no information about birth control methods is transferred from the mother to her daughter and that young women determine their preferences under the influence of their sex partners. In addition, it was determined that mothers did not share anything about this issue due to the fact that they wanted to protect their motherhood status in the family and did not want to lose their authority.

4.3.3. Remembering the First Menstruation

Menstruation leads to a new period in which women's childhood ends and the right to enter adulthood with adolescence begins. With puberty, changes occur on the female body such as the growth of chests, pilosity, and menstruation. In addition to such bodily changes, differences occur in the social position of women. Female subjectivity, which is trapped under the pressure of gender stereotypes and unequal gender relations, completes sexual development in this period. As I have observed, all participants from both generations easily remembered and expressed their memories of their first 'period'. In this section under the heading of sexual socialization, the focus is on the memories of the participants about their puberty and their first menstruation, and the attitudes and behaviors of mothers towards them are analyzed.

In this section where the focuses on mothers' memories, the participants have expressed many of their experiences in positive and negative terms. It has been found that the menstruation enables the sharing of sexual knowledge and sexual experience. Many women have indicated that they see it as the first step for sexuality since it is a time when they discover themselves, their bodies and femininity.

Aysel, one of the first generation participants and she is a housewife, argued that the first menstruation experience had negative effects on her subjectivity.

My mother said nothing about it. I am contented with what I heard from my personal circles and my friends. I have two sisters, one is older and the other is younger than me. I also talked nothing with

them when I entered puberty, after I got married and went through menopause. I learned everything with experiencing. When I first experienced menarche, we were at our village. There was no grocer to buy cotton. In past, we did not have the change to find Orkid (panty liner). I was 12 and I did not know what I should do. I asked my mother and she behaved like not heard anything. Then, I remembered my friend's words about using cotton. I separated pillows from its cotton and put some pieces into textile matt.

Also, I remember my mother not letting us to go to the grocer to buy cotton. If we went, it meant that we were grown and mature. Therefore, my younger brother generally went to buy cotton. Also, he thought that using cotton is something to shame off.³⁰

Women, whose adolescence are scripted by an authority, first face the authority of motherhood institution in shaping their sexual experiences. In contrast to the theory of sexual scripts focusing on sexual behaviors, I will emphasize how these scripts attempt to construct sexuality in physical changes. Because I see sexual scripts as a practice that involve all cultural scenarios, including adolescence and adulthood, in the social construction of sexual knowledge. Sexual scripts can be emphasized on “nonsexual aspects of life”, but they are “specifically with sexual experiences” (Gagnon and Simon, 1973, p. 17 as cited in Wiederman, 2015, p.7). Sexual information about femininity begins to be accumulated in the process starting with menstruation. Both the mother and the female peers are the first source of information. The knowledge of womanhood restricted by the scripts causes them to be alienated from their own bodies since the quote suggests that bodily change must be experienced behind closed doors.

³⁰ Annem bana regli hakkında hiç bir şey söylemedi. Genellikle çevremden ve arkadaşlarımdan duyduğumla yetindim. 2 kız kardeşim var; biri küçük biri büyük. Onlarla da ergenliğe girdiğimde, ilk regli olduğumda ve evlendiğimde hiç bir şey konuşmadım. Her şeyi deneyimleyerek öğrendim. İlk defa adet olduğumda köydeydik. Pamuk almak için bakkal yoktu. O zamanlar Orkid bulumuzdık. 12 yaşındaydım ve ne yapmam gerektiğini bilmiyordum. Anneme sordum ve hiç bir şey duymamış gibi davrandı. Sonradan, arkadaşımın pamuk kullanmakla ilgili dediği bir şeyi hatırladım. Yastığı pamuğundan ayırdım ve pamuğu biraz kumaş bezin arasına koydum.

Annemin, bizi bakalla pamuk almaya göndermediğini hatırlıyorum. Eğer biz gidersek, bu büyüdüğümüz ve olgunlaştığımız anlamına gelirdi. Bu yüzden küçük erkek kardeşim genellikle pamuk almaya giderdi. Onun göre pamuk kullanmamız utanılacak bir şeydi.

In contrast to the above quotation, Defne mentions the positive impact of the motherhood institution and formal education at school on the first menstruation.

In my first 'period', my mother was at work. I immediately called her and asked what happened. After she came from work, she told everything about menstruation, for example, how to use pads, how many times should I change it in a day, as well as how my body would change, what I would feel in my body. I learned everything from school before reaching puberty. I had talked with my mother about sex education at school. Therefore, I was not shocked. My mother was informative and efficient, but I had already learned everything in biology class.³¹

The creation of women's sexuality by social institutions reinforces gender inequality. The mother's attitude towards her daughter's 'period' affects her daughter's sexual development and her daughter's standpoint. The young woman begins to accuse herself by seeing the menstruation period as an experience to be ashamed of when she encounters negative view of her mother. In the case of Defne, it was seen how sexual education in the school and the family's sexual socialization role had a positive impact on how she developed her sexuality. However, Defne produces her own partial knowledge and this is one of the rare examples of positive effects.

In addition to physical, social changes begin to take place in the life of the woman entering puberty. Subjects try to cope with the norms of gender patterns and begin to find a place in the public sphere given the effects of these norms. At this point, Alara commented on gender stereotypes as:

Buying the first sanitary pad was an unforgettable moment. The store owner covered the pad with newspaper. It was really dramatic, and I did not understand yet why he did this.³²

³¹ İlk regli olduğumda annem isteydi. Hemen annemi aradım ve ne olduğunu anlattım. İşten geldikten sonra her şeyi anlattı. Mesela ped nasıl kullanılır, günde kaç defa değiştirilmesi gerekir. Dahası vücudumun nasıl değişeceğini ve neler hissedeceğimi anlattı. Zaten her şeyi ergenliğe girmeden önce okulda öğrenmişim. Annemle okuldaki cinsel eğitimi konuşmuşum. Şok falan da olmadım. Annem yeterli ve açıklayıcıydı ama her şeyi biyoloji dersinde öğrenmişim.

³² İlk pedimi satın almak unutulmaz bir andı. Bakkal pedi gazeteye sarmıştı. Gerçekten dramatikti ve neden böyle yaptığını hala daha anlamadım.

Such partial knowledge shows how degrading women into a secondary position is not case only in the family but also in society. While woman's sexual development should only be an interest of woman, this also shows how woman starts to be controlled and governed by other actors in society as she enters into adolescence. The stratification of sexuality continues to maintain inequality under the discourse of protecting women. This important period in the life of the woman, whose position becomes visible with adolescence, affects the perception of other actors towards women in society. Recommendations for bodily development usually involve the use of pads, menstruation and breast growth. But sexual socialization is a social production where the position and knowledge of the mother contribute to the production of her daughter's standpoint.

During the interviews, for the question "circumcision is celebrated, why we are not celebrating the period" Nurbanu mentioned that she is more open-minded and objective than her mother and defines herself as a feminist mother and commented on the celebration which she prepared for her daughter's first period as follows:

When Deniz had her first period, I bought a gift for her and celebrated this event with her friends. I tried to show her that menstruation is a natural, not a humiliating event. Actually, I think that menstruation is more natural than the circumcision but when a girl's bleeding starts or her breasts develops, she thinks that she should hide them from men. In contrast, when a boy is circumcised, people want to see his penis and pin gold coin.³³

Sexuality refers to "becoming sexual, taking on a gender identity... and generally learning the knowledge, skills and dispositions" (Spanier, 1977, p. 90) is a learning process and considered as individuals to become a member of the society. Female and male subjectivity are exposed in double standards, which is taken hold in "gender- based discrimination" (Baumesister & Twenge, 2002, 181). Double

³³ Deniz'in ilk reglisinde onun için bir hediye aldım ve arkadaşlarıyla kutladık. Ona reglinin doğal, aşağılanmayacak bir şey olduğunu göstermeye çalıştım. Aslında bence regli, sünnetten daha doğal bir şey ama bir kızın kanaması başladığında ve göğüsleri büyüdüğünde, o bunun erkeklerden gizlenmesi gereken bir şey olduğunu düşünüyor. Aksine, bir erkek sünnet olduğunda ise, çoğu insan penisini görmek ve altın takmak istiyor.

standards suppress becoming a sexual being and sexual activity choices (Baumesister & Twenge, 2002). Thus, the fact that each individual does not experience equal conditions in this learning process leads to differences in practices of sexuality. Social Learning Theory explains this double standard which penalizes women but reinforces men (Oliver & Hyde, 1993). Celebrating menstrual bleeding given the patriarchal ideology is not common. Nurbanu's example shows how feminist understanding makes her more conscious. Nurbanu commented on a ritual common in only practiced in certain regions of Turkey. According to a tradition called 'aunt flow', when a girl enters puberty, she is slapped by female members in the family. Nurbanu had her share from this tradition.

I did not face difficulty in my first period since I was staying at the dormitory of my school and I was living together with 15 girls. We were talking about our adolescences. After a few weeks later, I went home, and I said to my aunt that I entered puberty, and then she slapped me from my cheeks.³⁴

If mother gain feminist consciousness, they can raise their children based on gender equality. Partial knowledge that is produced by the mother's experiences played a supporting role in the acquisition of her daughter's sexual identity. In everyday experiences, mutually reinforcing reality and knowledge are integral parts of the feminist transformation.

I tried to explain two different experiences related to the menstrual period in this section where I have included the experiences of women who are under the pressure that the menstruation is a process that should be ashamed. In the second part, I gave an example to the idea that if manhood is celebrated womanhood should also be celebrated. The fact that the mother was suppressed within the system of traditions, norms and values and not able to recognize this suppression highly influences the formation of female knowledge. I came to the conclusion that mother's thoughts and

³⁴ İlk reglimde hiç bir zorluk yaşamadım çünkü okulun yurdunda kalıyordum ve 15 kızla yaşıyordum. Biz ergenliğimizle ilgili konuşurduk. Bir kaç hafta sonra eve gittim ve teyzeme ergenliğe girdiğimi söyledim, o da sonrasında yanağımdan tokat attı.

behaviors about gender inequality play an important role in the empowerment of women.

4.3.4. Situation Creates Knowledge: Sisterhood among Peers

The interview data gave me the chance to analyze the solidarity between female peers and the spirit of sisterhood. In this sub-section, I will examine the extent to which women's solidarity, especially in sexuality, with their fellow peers, strengthens the bond of sisterhood between them. A common view of the participants is that they can talk more easily about their sexual life with their peers. One of the main arguments adopted during the study is that sexual knowledge about femininity will develop through sharing of sexual experiences. In fact, women in peer groups are marginalized but have various views about their social positions.

Non-hierarchical mutual solidarity has made it possible for the oppressed women to strengthen their feminist consciousness through sisterhood. In the constitution of the individual self, sisterhood strengthens women. Empowered actors are skilled to withstand suppression by way of conceptualizing dynamics among dominated and dominant in terms of sexuality (Sirkeci & Cindođlu, 2012) as one of the mother participants puts it:

There were many women around me and our ages were close. We have gone through similar processes and could easily find chances to talk about our sexual developments. All of us knew about our first kisses, first hugs, and first sex. We talked about similar experiences not only in maturity period but also in adolescence.³⁵

It is widely accepted to consider friends as a member of the family or to replace family relations with friendships. But the line between who is family and who is a friend is blurred (Alan, 2008). For me, this confusion actually creates the solidarity formed by the sisterhood. In addition to their contributions to feminist consciousness

³⁵ Etrafımda benzer yařlarda olan birok kadın vardı. Aynı srelerden geiyorduk ve cinsel geliřimimiz hakkında kolaylıkla konuřma řansı buluyorduk. Hepimiz, birbirimizin ilk pcğnden, ilk sarılıřından ve ilk seksinden haberdardık. Sadece ergenlikte deđil yetiřkinlik dnemimizde de benzer deneyimler hakkında konuřtuk.

and knowledge production, it enables women to recognize their own power. Contrary to the ties that are not involved in the relationship between mother and daughter, sisterhood is a combination of mutual sharing and equality. In the second generation participants, attachment with the peer group was related to sexuality issues.

What most women agree with is that they did not learn sexuality from their mothers. While women are expected to unite around the similar experiences, the motherhood role over stands her femininity and the hierarchy among women of different age groups that is why friends seen as the primary sources of informal sexual knowledge and a domain in the transfer of sexual experiences. Women are thus constituted within their relationships based on their intimacy and confidentiality on sexual issues with their gender peers.

Emel, a second generation participant, explained how the family left its place to friends:

It is certain that I did not talk with my mother. I first talked with my close friends about how it happens. We, I and my friend, lived our first sex experiences at similar times. I talked with my female cousin with the aim that one member from my family should also know. Within my friends everybody knows everything about each other. There is an intimate atmosphere. Actually, we are two to three close friends and we are tightly attached to each other. They are like my family.³⁶

In accessing sexual information, friends play a family function in the daily life of women. This knowledge from friends gives women a chance to produce their own sexual behaviors and attitudes towards their experiences. The task of the mother in sexual orientation, preventative role and restoring the social order passes to friends where the latter are not the primary priorities of friends. The problem that needs to be discussed is to what extent friends are able to provide the right information. The

³⁶ Kesin olan şey annemle konuşmadım. İlk yakın arkadaşım ile nasıl oluyor gibilerinden konuştuk. Biz, ben ve arkadaşım, ilk seks deneyimlerimizi benzer zamanlarda yaşadık. Ailemden biri de bilsin diye kadın kuzenimle konuştum. Arkadaş grubumda herkes birbiri hakkında her şeyi bilir. Samimi bir ortam var. Aslında 2-3 yakın arkadaşız ve birbirimize sıkı sıkıya bağlıyız. Ailem gibiler.

answer derived from the interview data is that the sexual knowledge level of the peers is not completely trusted. However, women are not judged by their peers since they share issues that they cannot share with their mothers. The fact that women have unique conditions causes experiences to multiply and thus increase the knowledge they accumulate.

Looking at the relations between generations, it was observed that they did not have an egalitarian character. Although mother and daughter influence each other's identities, mother's inability to abandon social codes and norms directly affects the socialization process. The mother's partial knowledge is directly related to her daughter's sexual development process. When we look at the literature on sexual orientation process, it is revealed that mothers have a perspective based on gender inequality in order to maintain the social order. Therefore, there is increased need for a sisterhood bond on sexual socialization, since it is essential to gain feminist consciousness to understand sexuality.

4.3.5. Expectations from Women and Gender Stereotypes

The perception of sexuality, depending on the positions of women and men, brings unequal positions of the subjects. These stereotypes, which are one of the main reasons why sexual experiences are ignored, are first learned in the family. As Millet (1971, p. 31) argues "gender is the sum of the parents', peers' and the culture's notions of what is appropriate to each gender by the way of temperament, character, interests, status, worth, gestures and expression".

When I asked the participants questions about their learning process regarding sexuality, I realized that the answers were generally related to the mothers' commitment to sexist norms and value judgments. Chodorow considers motherhood has been served to social order (1999, p. 34). According to this organization, two women who have an effect on the identity of each other in the same house produce each other. Gender is an attributed identity.

Same-sex parents teach gender roles that are expected from the individual. These roles dictated to protect social order are hidden in the mother's discourse. Filiz, has extended family, she explained how she adopted these roles:

My mother always advises about domestic work. One day she said that do not exhaust yourself, devote some time to your husband. I told her you are not different from your mother and I am not different from you. You did what you saw from your mother, and I am doing what I am seeing from you. As if I am like you. I do what I learn. I am neither more nor less than her.³⁷

West and Zimmermann (1987) underline that the individual realizes gender roles through production and reproduction of daily life. These roles are hidden in everyday life interactions. The researchers who suggest the concept of 'doing gender' argue that there is an unequal power relation shaped between men and women.

We encounter gender stereotypes not only in domestic work but also in our sexual development. In the transfer of sexual experiences, the right sexual information is replaced by sexist norms and conventional gender roles. Sexual stories narrated through discourse suggest women's oppression. Aysel, got married when she was 22, she made the following statement about sexist narratives:

My mother was used to be passive and silent. One day before my wedding, she warned me about not being a headstrong, and not to resist him. She said he is a man; you should be nice to him.³⁸

The parent adopts sexist rhetoric, it affects the role of women. As mentioned in the above comment, the mother is suggestive about gender patterns specific to marital relations. The tasks ascribed to men and women in Turkey brings inequality that is based on domestic tasks. Women who are marginalized in their unique standpoints are dominated and this affects the social perceptions and interpretations of women

³⁷ Annem, sürekli ev işleri hakkında tavsiye verir. Bir gün kendini yorma, eşine biraz zaman ayır dedi. Ben de ona sen annenden farklı değilsin, ben de senden farklı değilim dedim. Sen annenden ne gördüyse onu yaptın ve ben de senden ne gördüysem onu. Ne ondan fazlayım ne ondan azım.

³⁸ Annem sessiz ve pasif olmaya alışkındı. Evlenmeden bir gün önce, dik başlılık etmemem ve eşime karşı gelmemem için beni uyardı. Erkektir, suyuna git dedi.

(Krane, 2001). The transformation into the ‘other-ness’ position and the marginalization depends on the position of the subject. According to Hartsock (1990, p. 169), “the other is always seen as “not”, as a lack, a void, as lacking, the value qualities in society, whatever those qualities may be” (as cited in Krane, 2001). Besides, women cannot live their sexuality freely compared to men. The social class, educational level and culture suppress female sexuality and the male-centered concept of honor subordinates the female body. The social role attributed to women and the standpoints of the woman are not parallel to each other.

One of the participating young women explained how women's sexuality is suppressed through the Tinder application by men who argue that they believe in gender equality.

Within my social environment, men and women are expected to be equal, but it is not the case. I can explain this with an example. You know “Tinder” application; some of my friends are using it. My male friends feel very comfortable while they talk about this application. They easily say they met a girl on Tinder last night and had sex. On the contrary, when my female friends are talking about it, they are dominated and are judged by men who label the girl as falling into Tinder. The important point here is that these men always say they support women’s sexual freedom. Therefore, social class and education are not critical for women’s freedom. Even men do not believe women are equal with them.³⁹

And she continued:

My mother’s thoughts on sexual freedom are not restrictive and it is not like ‘waiting for and keeping yourself for your husband’. She

³⁹ Benim sosyal çevremde, erkekler ve kadınların birbirine eşit olması beklenir ama değil. Bunu bir örnek ile açıklayabilirim. Tinder isimli uygulamasını biliyorsunuz, bazı arkadaşlarım kullanıyor. Erkek arkadaşlarım o uygulama hakkında konuşurken rahatlar. Kolaylıkla, dün akşam Tinder’da bir kız ile tanıştım ve seks yaptım diyebilirler. Aksine kadın arkadaşlarım konuştuklarında erkekler tarafından domine ediliyorlar. O kız Tinder’a düşmüş diye konuşuyorlar. Buradaki önemli nokta bu konuşan erkekler her zaman kadınların cinsel özgürlüğü konusunda destekleyiciyiz diyorlar. Bu yüzden sınıf ve eğitim kadınların özgürlüğü için kritik nokta değil. Erkekler bile kadınların kendilerine eşit olduğunu inanmıyorlar.

thinks we must protect ourselves from men's reactionary thoughts. I think my example justifies her claim.⁴⁰

Women and men are differently learnt sexuality under the influence of sexual scenarios. Gender and sexual scenarios constitute subject's sexuality on family based (Rossetto & Tollison, 2017, p.62). These scripts urge upon that young men become more sexual experienced; however, women gain experience after they get marry. This kind of scenarios enable to empower paternalistic character of family. Oliver and Hyde (1993) states that because of their sexual behaviours and sexual thoughts, women are fined. On the other hand, men are supported instead of having same desires with women. Therefore, gendered behaviours restrict women's sexual freedom. This fact displays sexuality is not an instinct, but it is constituted around social system. Almost all participants remember stories about sexuality. The sexual scripts used to make sense of the social world include stories about behaviors both accepted and not. Some stories seem to be under the influence of Turkish films. According to one participant from the first generation, her mother did not allow her going to places such as cafes, bakeries. According to his mother's opinion, the waiters might put medicine in her drink. The other story of the participant is about a man who abuses his sister's friend.

My mother is a very creative woman. She did not allow me and my sisters to visit our friends' homes if they have brothers. Many times, she said boys might touch you or soil you. When they visit neighbors, they did not allow us to go with them. On the other hand, my boyfriend often went outside with his friends and stayed at friends' homes.⁴¹

Exposure to gender inequality begins in childhood. "Women's negative associations with sexuality men are allowed, even encouraged having sexual encounters prior to

⁴⁰ Annemin cinsel özgürlük konusundaki düşüncesi kısıtlayıcı değil ve kocana sakla kendini, kocanı bekle gibi değil. Erkeklerin yobaz düşüncelerinden kendini korumalısın şeklinde. Bence benim örneğim onun iddiasını haklı çıkartıyor.

⁴¹ Annem çok yaratıcı bir kadındır. Benim ve kız kardeşlerimin arkadaşlarımızın evine gitmemize izin vermezdi eğer onların erkek kardeşi varsa. Çoğu zaman erkekler seni eller, kirletir derdi. Komşu ziyaretine gittiklerinde bizim de gitmemize izin vermezlerdi. Diğer taraftan, erkek kardeşim arkadaşlarıyla birlikte dışarı çıkar, onların evinde kalırdı.

marriage and sexual experience in perceived as proof of manhood” (İlkkaracan & Seral, 2000, p.187). The double standard between male and female begins in childhood and continues during adolescence and maturity periods. Stories used to keep female sexuality under control reinforce gender norms.

During my field study, I had the opportunity to hear various stories about the roles of womanhood and masculinity. For me, the most impressive was the metaphor of yogurt. One participant told his grandmother's analogy of yogurt as: The girl is like a yogurt. If a fly falls into it, the yogurt is inedible.⁴²

Participants clearly underlined the point that the men in Turkey have more sexual knowledge than women. Men who are supported by family members from an early age have more experience-based knowledge than women. Some mothers, even though they advocate sexual liberty of women, fear the oppression that society may have on their daughters. For example, according to Mine who lived in USA in order to study for master’s degree. She talked about her memories in that times.

Couples live together before marriage in the US. Actually, it is a very good method because being a couple is different than sharing the same home. Therefore, I think that this system in America is really good. However, I do not want my daughter to live in the same place with her boyfriend in Turkey. If she lived in America, it was not a problem since there is not a community pressure as in Turkey.⁴³

According to the standpoint theory, “knowledge is always mediated by host factors related to an individual’s particular position” (Hawkesworth, 2014, p. 24). As Hawkesworth puts it, feminist knowledge makes possible emancipation of all subjects wherethrough patriarchal liberation, and different dominations types. Therefore, the conception of truth embedded in FST links social relations and empowered people (2014). Depending on where the mother is located, her point of

⁴² Kız çocuğu yoğurda benzer. Eğer içine sinek düşerse, o yoğurt yenmez.

⁴³ Amerika’da çiftler evlenmeden önce birlikte yaşıyorlar. Aslında, bence müthiş bir metot çünkü sevgili olmak ile aynı evi paylaşmak birbirinden farklı. Bu yüzden bence Amerika’daki bu sistem gerçekten güzel. Ama kızım Türkiye’de erkek arkadaşı ile aynı evde yaşasın isteme. Eğer Amerika’da yaşıyorsa benim için sorun olmaz çünkü Türkiye’deki gibi mahalle baskısı yok.

view of sexuality may also change. The idea of unmediated truth is rejected by this theory since the area that the individual is located between different cross-sections affects the individual's access to reality (Hawkesworth, 2014). Some groups are systematically being limited to reach reality (Hawkesworth, 2014), and girls are prevented from accessing real sexual information by their mothers. In these two generations, both mothers and girls are exposed to sexual discrimination regardless of age, class and educational differences in the socialization process of women. In addition, another common feature of the two generations is that they tend to maintain gender perspectives of their mothers unconsciously. On the other hand, the tasks attributed to the motherhood institution cause mothers to marginalize their daughters depending on their authority in the family.

4.3.6. Ignorance of Reality of Sexuality

Sexuality is a reality that is ignored in general in women's lives. In this section, I will try to answer the question of why the sexual reality of the young generation is ignored by mothers. Although the sexual life of women starts at an early age, mothers tend to ignore this situation. I have come across different issues such as ignoring the existence of the boyfriend/sexual partner, rejecting the sexual needs of the daughter; thus, ignoring the daughter's sexual experiences in the rejection strategy.

One of the participating mothers caught her daughter in bed with her boyfriend. Describing this as a bad memory, the mother stated that she not only acted as if she had forgotten about the incident but also refused to talk to her daughter about it. Unlike her mother, her daughter recalled this event with great embarrassment. According to the mother, refusing to confront the existence of her daughter's sexual life contained a similarity to the motto "mother is a mother". The rejection of the participant who advocates that mother and daughter will never be friends is to maintain her power emerging from her position.

Nurbanu's daughter Deniz described the strategy of rejection through the example of a vacation:

I inform my mother when I go to vacation with my boyfriend. I cannot hide it but I change it a little bit. For instance, I do not say we will stay in the same room. I am sure that she foresees but does not talk about it.⁴⁴

One of the second generation participants, Deniz, commented that:

You can live your boyfriend and you can make love with him but I do not want to know. ... I cannot explain it sociologically whether it is a common situation within my environment or not, or is related with my social class. But people are inclined to ignore sexual issues. Families seem modern and relaxed. They are not concerned about who lives with whom, but they ignore it and find unsuitable.⁴⁵

Examples vary since almost all participants have a memory about such ignoring/rejecting. But most of these examples were given by young women. For example, Alara described sexuality as a matter of rejection:

We talk about physical changes with my mother, but not in term of sexuality. Issues such as birth control methods are totally ignored. I talked about it with one of my teachers. She observed that modern families ignore the topics of sexuality. You can live your sexuality and you can stay with your partner; however, parents do not want to hear about it. They ignore...⁴⁶

Her mother, Füsün, stated that this is so because of the social structure.

Premarital sex can happen, but I do not know what I would do if my daughter experiences this. One side of me says she is an adult woman

⁴⁴ Anneme, erkek arkadaşım ile tatile gideceğimi söylerim. Saklamam ama biraz değiştirerek söylerim. Örneğin; aynı odada kalacağımızı söylemem. Eminim tahmin ediyordur ama bunun hakkında konuşmuyordur.

⁴⁵ Erkek arkadaşınla yaşayabilir ve birlikte olabilirsiniz ama ben bilmeyeyim. Bunu sosyolojik olarak açıklayamam benim çevremde yaygın ya da benim sosyal sınıfımla ilişkili diye ama insanlar cinsel konuları görmezden gelmeye yatkınlara. Aileler modern ve rahat. Kim kiminle yaşıyor karışmıyorlar ama kendilerine uygun olmayan bu şeyi görmezden gelerek reddediyorlar.

⁴⁶ Annemle bedensel değişiklikler hakkında konuşuyoruz ama cinsellik boyutunda değil. Mesela doğum kontrol yöntemleri tamamen yok sayılıyor. Bir hocamla bunun hakkında konuşmuştuk. Modern ailelerin cinsellik hakkındaki konuları yok saydığının gözlemlemiş. Cinselliğini yaşayabilirsin ve sevgilinle yaşayabilirsin ama bir ebeveyn olarak ben duymayayım. Görmezden geliyorlar...

and she can do whatever she wants; however, my other side thinks that Turkish society is not open to the idea of sexual freedom.⁴⁷

Such rejections originate from the underlying social structure and it is a form of “bargaining with patriarchy” (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 274). For Kandiyoti (1988, p.286), this form is “intended to indicate the existence of set of rules and scripts regulating gender relations, to which both genders accommodate and acquiesce, yet which may nonetheless be contested, redefined and renegotiated” (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 286). In reacting against sexual inequality, the rejection of sexuality expectations surrounded by male-dominated borders makes it possible for the female class to determine their own strategies.

4.4. Formal Education of Women about Sexuality

The fact that the current curriculum does not include sexual education has limited the knowledge that I have acquired in my field-study. Sexual socialization and sexual education should be handled separately where knowledge of sexuality “is rarely given extensive treatment at home and cannot be learned entirely through imitation of models” (Spanier, 1977, p. 97). While socialization involves the transfer of informal knowledge, education is to teach formal knowledge. The task of the education system is to teach individuals cultural values and belief systems. Sexuality education, unlike sexual socialization, includes anatomy, sexual harassment, sexually transmitted diseases, sexual behaviors and sexual identity. One of the most important aspects of sexual education is to empower women regarding sexual rights and to raise awareness about sexually transmitted diseases, birth control methods, reproductive health, and sexual violence.

In order to question the sexual experience and sexual information transmitted from mother to daughter, I asked women if they had received any sexual education in the school-based formal education system. Assuming that there will be no sexual

⁴⁷ Evlilik dışı cinsellik yaşanabilir ama benim kızım yaşıyorsa ne yaparım bilmiyorum. Bir tarafım diyor ki I yetişkin bir kadın ama diğer tarafımda şöyle düşünüyor Türkiye toplumu cinsel özgürlük fikrine olumlu bakmıyor.

education backgrounds of the first generation participants, I directed my questions to the second generation. I found that only two out of ten women had sexual education. For instance, Defne acquired his sexual education in the secondary school.

Sexual education was a course for both boys and girls. This course was not a sex class, but it was like a chapter of the course. The class included information about reproduction, ovulation, and healthy sexual intercourse. Actually, it was not like a class, it was explanatory. ... I was at an American school and not living in Turkey. For that reason, I got sexual education, and there was not separation between girls and boys. I was at secondary school. I heard that the course was continuing at high school level under the name of health class. I think birth control methods, using condoms were taught in high school. However, I came back to Turkey and in high school I did not take sexual education.⁴⁸

Just like Defne, her mother stated that sex education should be included in the curriculum. She also underlined that sexual education should be given by teachers defending gender equality. In order to strengthen women's life skills and to increase their knowledge of sexual rights, it is essential to move away from gender stereotypes completely. Only such an education can help to be freed from gender myths and inadequate sexual knowledge.

The fact that sexual education is not included in the curriculum in Turkey has led it being carried out by civil society organizations under certain projects and for certain limited periods. One of the participating women, Emel talked about her experiences about this educational project as:

I am not sure, but I guess I was 12-13 years old in secondary school. I was educated about sexuality for the first time. It included how to use panty liner, how long menstruation takes and general information about adolescence. And then, when I was in high school's first year, two women doctors came to our class to inform us about sexually

⁴⁸ Cinsel eğitim dersi kızlar ve erkekler için karışıktı. Seks dersi gibi değil ama dersin bir ünitesi gibiydi. Üreme, yumurtlama, sağlıklı cinsel ilişki hakkında bilgileri içeriyordu. Aslında bir ders gibi değildi de bir eğitim gibiydi... Amerikan okuluna gidiyordum ve Türkiye’de değildim. Bu yüzden de cinsel eğitim aldım ve sınıflarda kızlar ve erkekler bir aradaydı. Ortaokuldayım. Duyduğumu göre ders lisede de sağlık dersi adı altında devam ediyormuş. Bence doğum kontrol yöntemleri, prezervatif kullanımı falan lise de öğretilmiştir. Ama lisede Türkiye’ye geri döndüm ve cinsel eğitim almadım.

transmitted diseases. I remembered that the class was only for female students, male students did not attend the course. These doctors told that women could be carriers of AIDS described by using some pictures. Now, I am thinking why they did not inform male students. I think that when a woman becomes a mother, she transmits her diseases, but a man also has an effect on these diseases.⁴⁹

Not only women but also men need to benefit from sexual education since there are too many inadequate, false knowledge and myths about sexuality. Especially the point concerning women is that they gain sexual consciousness and learn how to protect their own body rights through this education. Sexual information transmission should not be left to socialization only. An education where sexual experiences are not shared is also not complete. For this reason, women's empowerment can only be achieved by combining sexual education with sexual socialization.

4.5. Concluding Remarks

To summarize the analysis and interpretation section briefly, the study obtains twenty different women stories. I tried to discuss the sexuality and the experience of femininity in women who were marginalized under the titles of finding position in familial relations, seeking a social position in relations with mothers, women's point of view on sexual socialization and formal education of women about sexuality. The subject of sexuality, which is based on the relationship between mothers and daughters, was examined with the help of the theoretical framework of FST. In addition to FST, theories on motherhood institution, sexual socialization and sexual script were also used. In this study, which focused on the sexual experiences of two different generations, it was examined how socialization took place between generations. The common point in the answers of the two generations is that sexual

⁴⁹ Emin değilim ama sanırım 12-13 yaşındaydım ve ortaokula gidiyordum. İlk kez cinsellik hakkında eğitim almıştım. Ped nasıl kullanılır, regli ne kadar sürer ve ergenlik hakkında genel bilgileri içeriyordu. Sonrasında, lisenin ilk yılında 2 doktor kadın sınıfımıza cinsel yolla bulaşan hastalıklar hakkında bilgilendirmek için geldi. Hatırladığım kadarıyla ders sadece kız öğrenciler içindi, erkekler derse katılmamışlardı. Doktorlar kadınların AIDS'in taşıyıcısı olabileceklerini resimler üzerinden anlattılar. Şimdi düşünüyorum da neden erkek öğrencileri de bilgilendirmediler. Sanırım, bir kadın anne olduğunda hastalığının bulaştırıyor ama erkeklerinde cinsel yolla bulaşan hastalıklarda etkisi var.

information is not transmitted. Another one is that women avoid being similar to mothers, but this seems almost impossible, since mother and daughter are mutually influential on each other's identity formation. The most important factor affecting sexual socialization process are family and motherhood institutions. The character of institutions, such as being modern, traditional, conservative and innovative have significant influence on these processes. According to the interviews, all participants are influenced by and reproduce sexual behaviors, attitudes, and practices of the previous generation. A woman's conceptualization of sexuality is shape by other woman in the family. Women's build sexual selves through similar process. Although sexual experiences of mother and daughter were similar, such as sexual development, body development, menstruation, birth, sexual intercourse, gender roles, there was no intimate relationship between them. Mothers are not the primary source of sexual knowledge. According to mothers, the desire not to lose the authoritarian power in the family limits sharing. The mother in the eyes of the daughter is thought to regulate the relationship between the male actors in the family. The role of the mother in sexual socialization is mostly transferred to other women, such as the sister, cousin, and aunt in the family. Ideological knowledge is dictated but experience cannot be dictated. Womanhood knowledge comes from experience that is reflexive, relative, constitute and contextual. This knowledge has power to re-constitute sexual knowledge.

At the beginning of my field-study one of my assumptions was that women with modern or non-traditional families would talk about sexuality and sexual behavior more easily than other women. However, my expectations and my findings did not substantiate this assumption. The characteristics of the family structure during the transmission of sexual knowledge are not determinative. On the other hand, mother has a critical role in the reproduction of the female individuals in the family at the social level. Where the mother positions herself in the motherhood institution changes the perception of sexuality of new generations shaped by transmission. If the mother undertakes the task of maintaining gender stereotypes in a male-dominated institution, it is almost impossible for the new generation to have gender equality

consciousness. The transfer of knowledge and experience by the older generation also changes the level of importance given to socialization.

Six mother participants have argued that they are the first sources of sexual knowledge and experience sharing. But they claim that the mother knows what is true about everything. In addition, two mothers said that sexual transmission might damage the relationship between mother and the daughter. The marital status of the mother is one of the most important factors affecting sexual socialization. In this study, it was understood that divorced mothers from whose knowledge and information, have intimate relationships with their mothers and tend to maintain it. Social pressure on divorced women increases the responsibilities of these women because of their increased and differentiated motherhood responsibilities. To raise girls who are obedient and have high moral values is perhaps more likely to influence divorced or widowed women than married ones. The pressure of raising a girl without a father and the patriarchal characteristics of the motherhood affect the transmission of sexual knowledge from mother to daughter. The education level of the mother however does not affect the transfer of sexual experience.

The suppression and subordination of women starting at the family continue in line with the relationship between mother and daughter. The argument of some of the interviewed young women is that their sexual life is ignored by their mothers. This is explained by the fact that the power based on location is not intended to be lost since one of the main tasks of the motherhood institution is to protect all patriarchal institutions, including the family. The mother who wants to maintain her power in the family completely ignores sexual issues. I assumed that avoiding sexual transmission was to ignore the production of knowledge, but the main reason for the rejection was to maintain a partial position.

During the interviews, I got answers about sexual education from only two young women. It is obvious that the size of the sample used in this study is not sufficient to compare sexual education and sexual socialization in detail however the data of the fieldwork is informative on several important issues specific to the research problem designed. In the acquisition of sexual knowledge and skills, mothers have been

replaced by peers because the relations in peer groups are far from hierarchy and include solidarity. Sharing of sexual problems and finding solutions for them are sought to be realized in peers.

In addition, one of the problems of young female participants is that they are surrounded by various false and incomplete sexual information. Due to lack of information, especially in the second generation of women, using birth control methods change according to the choices of the partners. One of the common information obtained from the interviews is that all women remember the memories of their first menstruation period. First generation mothers' experiences about their periods are negative compared to their daughters. As a result, they were informative in their daughters' menstrual bleeding. In contrast to the menstruation, experiences about menopause are easier to talk with mothers. The main reason for this is that the loss of the hierarchical difference between women who lost their reproductivity with menopause.

I met women who had chances to talk about their social realities on issues of sexuality in the field study. Sexual experiences are diversified by different realities. What should be kept in mind about experiences is how women gain knowledge of femininity under patriarchal ideologies. Sexual transmission can take place not only from the mother to her daughter but also from her daughter to mother. What is important is to awaken feminist consciousness and to bring the experiences of the oppressed to the knowledge of women for empowerment. The mothers and daughters are two actors who prepare each other for the social order within the same house. These two subjects have been confined to reproduce the motherhood institution under the pressure of gender inequalities. The only way for women under the same roof to acquire feminist consciousness is to use their oppressed situational and locational position freed from prevailing power relations.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, after giving a general overview, I will provide a discussion on theoretical, methodological and practical contributions of the research, and then summarize the limitations of the study, and finally make recommendations for future studies.

5.1. General Overview

This thesis focuses on the issue of sexual socialization in Turkey. The main issue examined in the study is transmission of sexual knowledge and sexual experience from mother to daughter in family and the acquisition of sexual knowledge necessitates the interactive analysis of motherhood, family, understanding and expectations of two generations, in which related actions of them are shaped by partial, situational and locational knowledge. In line with the research problem and benefiting from the related literature motherhood, family, sexuality, sexual education and sexual socialization have been examined. Rather than questioning the mother's impact on sexual socialization of her daughter, it is questioned how mother affects indirectly or explicitly her daughter's sexual socialization. The study basically examined the subjectivity of two women in the family through sexual socialization. The formation of women's subjectivity given the social institutions the transformation has been analyzed. These two women as subjects although having similar interactions with the social institutions in childhood, adolescence and adulthood, have experienced differentiated subjectivity. The mother is an important actor in the constitution of the social relations and the formation of the patriarchal culture. Although ideological pressures are faces as concrete realities, interaction with other actors in the society, friends - peers, contribute to the production and

internalisation of heterogeneous sexual knowledge. The study comprises five chapters which are *Introduction; Theoretical Framework: Social Theory, Feminist Theory and FST; Methodology of the Study: Feminist Standpoint Methodology; Analysis of Sexual Knowledge and Sexual Experience Through the Theoretical Framework; and Conclusion.*

This study is conducted with ten mother and daughter dyads with one to one interview. When selecting mothers and daughters, “age” factor is considered as major criteria. Specifically, mothers older than 49 are selected, whereas ages of participant daughters are dispersed between 25-29. These ranges are decided by considering fertility age of women according to (TDHS, 2013). Additionally, when deciding range of daughters’ age as (25, 29) interval is especially chosen, since most of the daughters already have their bachelor’s degree education at those ages which contributes to acquiring sexual knowledge. Moreover, the daughters selected are single and have not got married before. Older generation was more than 49 years old because they also have sexual knowledge of maturity. Hereby, I could access their knowledge of menopause, and bodily changes. Semi structured interview was designed, and two types of questionnaire were prepared for these two groups. In order to protect right of privacy, women’s real names are changed with the names they have chosen during interviews.

FST have been used as a theoretical and methodological instrument for analysing sexual knowledge. This theory promotes production differential and opposed consciousness, and it converts exploited people to be members of collective group (Harding, 2004). The information obtained from the interviews interrelated with the relevant literature are used in the analysis and interpretation of the research problem. Feminist methodology allows feminist theoreticians “to connect everyday life with the analysis of the social institutions that shape” (Hekman, 1997, p. 342) women’s daily experiences. The fact that women’s positions taken as subjects are not in the same situation and condition has diversified the discussion. Socialization is the acquisition of knowledge and knowledge production. This theory supports the idea that every woman has a subjective position, this position contributes woman to

establishes a standpoint based on her experiences. The main argument of the theory is that “knowledge is always socially situated” (Harding, 2004). Marginalized group’s situated position provides an opportunity for revealing social reality. Women’s lives practices and experiences are influenced by her condition. Therefore, I did not find out one socialization experience. As Harding (2004) claims that FST criticizes connection between power practices and knowledge production. Subjects’ experiences can change the socially established knowledge. Smith (2004, p.265) notes that “experience is a method to talk” which statement at the core of the study since covered, ignored and hidden truth are revealed by giving voice to women’s experiences. This truth gains knowledge status when its knower begins talking about it.

Methodology of FST depends on denying dichotomy in order to empower marginalized. As Hekman notes that truth should be particularly analysed in standpoint (1997) which means FST is not only a theory but also a method. Despite the fact that women are dominated in socially constructed social life, however, all women have different conditions. Therefore, each woman has a unique standpoint. Social structure and social institutions consistently subordinate, and exploit marginalized who are also secondary position in constructed social life. However, FST reveals how women are constituted within their situated location. Subordinated status of women gives them capacity to have double consciousness (Brooks, 2007, p.66). This study emphasized on socially constitution of female sexuality in familial relations; hence, mothers and daughters have different experiences and their accumulation of knowledge have equal importance. By using this theory, it was seen that two group of women did not have equal and similar sexual knowledge since each subject has a unique standpoint and is located in a certain place. When daily life experiences of women and their positions in the family are combined, it is possible to reach to the relevant information of social relations. A woman has two standpoints which are being a mother and a daughter in her familial relations. Within these standpoints, women are systematically suppressed by the male-dominated system. The fact that such knowledge is situated (Hekman, 1997) makes it possible for women in the marginal position to be accepted as knowledgeable. Therefore, women

who are accepted as the unit of analysis are multiple. The sexual experiences of all participants include accurate and valid information about their situation.

The concepts of sexuality, sexual socialization, sexual education, motherhood and family were discussed in the Chapter 2. Moreover, gender, gender stereotypes, intimacy and sexual scripts were also examined. Firstly, I distinguish sexual socialization and sexual education. I view socialization is a process of becoming sexual. It is not analysed as a structured system, but it is embraced as constituted process. Sexual socialization is approached as “the process of becoming sexual, taking on gender identity, understanding and relation to the variety of sexual behaviour, and generally learning knowledge, skills and dispositions” (Spanier,1977, p.90). The study broadly covered childhood, adolescence and adulthood. The social construction of female sexuality was focused on how it was produced through the motherhood and family institutions. In addition to the theoretical framework provided by FST, the sexual script theory examines social interactions among individuals within institutions. This theory gave the opportunity to question the impact of social institutions on female sexuality. Sexual knowledge of individuals is dictated by institutions. However, women’s standpoints in and against these institutions influence constitution on their sexuality. In addition, FST contribute to understand these standpoints’ the sexual histories and knowledge acquisition processes. It is accepted that women know more and better on their gender constitution process by virtue of the fact that their sexual subordination (Wylie, 2003). Differences in power due to the system of gender and gender inequality affect mothers' transfer of their sexual knowledge and experience. Sexual experiences of them are not fixed, absolute and single. Being suppressed by institutions such as family, motherhood and education forces the participants from both generations to be in the marginal group. On the other hand, first and second generation women form two different groups have different levels of consciousness at the level of sexual identity, gender patterns and sexual knowledge. Throughout Chapter 4, I have found that different social positions have access to a variety of sexual information, and this has led to the conclusion that female sexuality cannot be reduced to a single reality.

It is underscored that knower's familial relations, her connections to family institution and her conceptualization of family impact on her gender orientation and sexual socialization. Participants find positions in family accordingly their roles in family because Family is constructed by power relations. It is noticed that first generation divides family into two that are before getting married and after getting married. This is caused by changing in locations in the familial power relations. For example, if a woman is a mother, she has authority and higher position than her children in the family. On the other hand, compared to their families, daughters claim that they define themselves non-conventional and more modern than previous generation. This situation is also same for the mothers but they suppose that they became traditional after they had children. Moreover, they argue that their perspectives of sexual values and norms different from their parents. The fragile nature of familial relations affects finding position in family. Diversified standpoints indicate the fluidity of the woman's position based on the power relations. This fact pushes women, especially young generation, to live two lives. Although women are subordinated by paternalistic characteristics of family, they establish dominancy in their second lives. This life is constituted by women's situated knowledge without family pressure. Furthermore, I asked participants to who the closest family member is. The common answer is younger or older sister for second generation. If a participant does not have sister(s), she constitutes close relationship with her same-age female cousin or aunt. Mothers also give similar answer. Sometimes, similar experiences; such as marriage, being a mother, having a trouble within romantic relationship, connect women to each other.

Furthermore, I analysed mother and daughter dyads relations in seeking a social position in relations with mother part. It is found that mothers are the reproducers and protectors of social order. Most of the mothers' answers show that they provide the continuity of masculine understandings of female sexuality since they are in tendency to sustain a number of obligatory relations. Age and motherhood institutions bring knowledge for controlling younger generations. Although daughters usually do not want to have sexual knowledge similar to their mothers, they still tend to imitate their mothers' identities. Since, sexual knowledge is

transmitted with one message that is each woman is a product of past generation and she produces next generation on the basis of her situated knowledge. Sexual knowledge is achieved through sexual socialization and it constitutes sexual identity. This condition interrupts reciprocal and solidarity among participant groups.

During the field, I had chance to meet with two divorced women and one widow woman. They claim that they do not have hierarchical differences with their daughter. However, they are not happy about this situation. They state that when relationship among generation becomes blurred, mother's authoritative position is damaged. Moreover, they decide about their own sexual values. On the other hand, one of the common answers is that women started to talk more easily about their sexual experiences after they got married. Interviews show that each generation fears to resemble their previous generation. To illustrate, daughters say that their mothers' general attitudes and behaviours are not different from their grandmothers which cause fearing of resembling the previous generation. This is also a fear for sustain male-stream character of women's self-realization. Since the bond between mother and daughter is more unique than the other relationships in the family since the mother is the actor who directly contributes to her daughter's personality development and to her subjectivity, and the daughter also makes it possible for the mother to discover herself.

In the analysis part, women's points of view on sexual socialization is discussed under *knowers' knowledge 'distorts' the transmission, situated knowledge about birth control and abortion, remembering the first menstruation, situation creates knowledge: sisterhood among peers, expectations from women and gender stereotypes and ignorance of reality of sexuality* sub- titles. It is assumed that sexual socialization includes social identity development, gender patterns, gender roles, sexual behaviours, sexual attitudes and social norms. Moreover, sexuality is accepted as a double-sided concept which means not only society shapes sexuality, but sexuality also shapes the social relations. Sexual knowledge is hidden within the everyday experience of subjects. As mentioned above, these two groups are marginalized by patriarchal culture and they are knowers of the sexual knowledge.

Knowers' experiences of sexual knowledge are diversified depending on their situated positions. Standpoints of mothers limitedly reproduce daughter's sexual knowledge. Mothers are divided into two groups on their ideas about sexual socialization. One group supposes that transfer of sexual experience is essential and should be supported because they seem themselves as the first source of sexual knowledge. Second group argues that sexuality is a special experience and should not be spoken which differences causes due to their constitution within motherhood.

Despite the fact that sexual experiences of these two groups show similarities, these groups do not conduct intimate relationship depending on their sexual experiences. Contrary to them, daughters say that their sexual knowledge is constituted within peers' group, and the other source of sexual knowledge, which is their sexual experiences. Sexual experiences of daughters are ignored by mothers who want to maintain their position of higher than daughter. Ignorance carries with avoiding sexual knowledge transmission and silence on talking about sexual experience which interrupts experience based knowledge. In the acquisition of sexual knowledge, female friends and peers fill in for mothers. Because the relationship with friends is non-hierarchal, including solidarity and reciprocity. This fact causes choosing interaction with friends rather than interaction with mother on sexuality. Throughout the interviews, it is reached that sexual scenarios in the Turkey's culture depends on myths and misinformation. In order to reduce negative influence of the scripts, daughter rejects the sexual knowledge come from their mothers. Turkey's formal education curriculum does not have any sexual education courses, this also causes to access limited sexual knowledge.

Sexual constitution of subjects in Turkey covers cultural characteristics of society, demography, family, education levels of family, education level of individuals, gender stereotypes, female and male sexuality, and sexual division of labor in family and ideological characteristics. Fictionalization of sexuality and regulations of sexual behaviors show alterations accordingly political, socio- economic, culture and religion rules (İlkkaracan, 2015). Turkey is a paternalistic society; this feature of society supports sexual segregation in family. The basic principle of sexual

segregation is male domination and female subordination in public and private spheres. Traditional and religious rules and practices are mostly used for controlling female sexuality and maintaining unbalanced power relations in sexual relations (İllkaracan, 2015).

Characteristics of sexual experience are diversified accordingly perspectives and situations of knowers. Each knower has different realities; thus, sexual transmission can take place n from the mother to daughter; daughter to mother; and friends to friends, and sister to sister. The mother and daughter are two subjects who prepare each other for the social order. Women's sexual empowerment is possible when awaken feminist consciousness on sexuality; and when oppressed women start to use their situational experiences to accumulate sexual knowledge. These two women's sexualities are constructed by patriarchal institutions; however, we have chance to constitute our sexuality by our standpoints.

In this study mothers and daughters are speakers about their reality. The knowledge of femininity is hidden in daily life practices. Transmission is not realized in one-way since both the mother and daughter construct each other mutually. But the mother's position in the hierarchy affects the proximity in relations. The empowerment of women's knowledge is only possible through the elimination of hierarchical differences between women and the rejection of the ideology of patriarchal institutions. As a result, there is no absolute practice on sexual socialization in the case of Turkey. Partial and situational experiences of women make it possible for the knowledge of sexuality to be diversified. Sexual knowledge can be produced if the use of knowledge based on position as oppressive power leaves its place to the use of unique knowledge of femininity.

5.2. Contributions of the Research

5.2.1. Theoretical Contributions

The aim of benefiting from the theoretical framework of the FST is to transform the experiences of all participating women into useful knowledge for analysis and

interpretation specific to the research problem of the Thesis. Brooks (2007, p.56) argues that “women’s concrete experiences provide the starting point from which to build knowledge”. In this study, the assumptions of essentialism and universality of modernism were deeply criticized. It is concluded that sexual socialization is not a linear process. The life of women has multiple realities, unlike the unified reality. In addition, the effect of daily experiences on sexual knowledge and the effect of unique standpoints on knowledge of different levels of knowledge accumulation were examined. The social position of the knowledge of subjects depicts their plurality. In addition, the information obtained in the study seen as central to understand how all marginal groups produce information about a specific subject. This study’s theoretical framework helps to understand that female sexuality is debatable issue in social theory. In addition, it problematizes social institutions within contemporary modernism. Social theory analyzes female sexuality to control women’s body, to restrict women’s sexual freedom. According to social theory in general, sexuality is socially constructed which is determined by interactions with institutions and constructed selves. However, women have their own knowledge accumulation on their sexuality. This study mostly emphasized on situational knowledge, however, locational and partial knowledge are kept in the background. Women’s understandings on their sexualities are dictated to sustain their exploitation. Sexuality is not drive and knowledge about it is not conceptualized with essentialism. Subjects internalize sexual knowledge by observing other subjects. Before the starting the study, I assumed that internalization is unconsciously occurred. However, internalization is shaped under the influence of situated perspectives of subject who is observed. Sexual stereotypes are constituted in reproduction of sexual knowledge. Female sexuality links mother and daughter by way of experiences of menarche, menstruation, menopause, birth, and fertility. This study gives voice to women to freely talk about their sexual experiences. Daughters tend to differentiate themselves from their mothers; in fact, it is separation of standpoints. The significant theoretical contribution of the study is connection of knowledge and experience.

5.2.2. Methodological Contributions

During the research, the epistemic priorities of women who have knowledge of the oppressor and the oppressed are examined by combining feminist methodology and qualitative research techniques. For the purpose of the study, 20 women representing two different generations were interviewed. Given the conventional feminist theory that treats women as objects is rejected. In addition, dichotomy, the basic methodology of modernism, was also rejected and left its place to women's dynamic standpoints. Another methodological contribution is that women acquire the status of the subject of the study as "the person who knows" in questioning of sexual knowledge and sexual experience.

In addition to this, the objectivity, which is another methodological argument of modernism, has been refuted because the doctrine of objectivity is seen "as a potent agent for maintaining current power relationships and women's subordination" (Berman, 1989 as cited in Hawkesworth, 2014, p. 14). The subjectivity that replaced the objectivity in the research also influenced the researcher's position-finding during the interrogation. During the interviews, one of the aims of the researcher is to be in an equal position with the participant. For this purpose, the concept of reflexivity was underlined, and the researcher and the participant were in an equal position which means connection knower and known. The subject of knowledge is women and the knowledge of femininity is possible with strong objectivity.

5.2.3. Practical Contributions

It is one of the main aims of this thesis is to reach a 'better' knowledge of femininity which is central for the empowerment of women. Every feminist study has an important contribution to feminist literature. The importance of this study is that it focuses on the sexual socialization within the context of family relations in Turkey. It is one of the most important contributions of the study to reach to the knowledge arising from the experience with the help of FST. The unique position of the thesis between modernism and postmodernism has made it possible to discuss subjectivity as one of the critical epistemologies of postmodernism. Sexuality, sexual

socialization, motherhood, and family literature under the scope of social theory have laid the ground for discussion within the theoretical framework. In addition, the idea that a specific subject could be examined by standpoint theory was revealed within the scope of the study. Sexuality is denied issue in Turkey, and patriarchal ideology under influences sexual politics over female body, which cause ignorance of importance of sexual socialization. Because stream ideology does not support to reveal women's sexual knowledge. Moreover, communication about sexual experiences and sexual knowledge is problematic issue. This study contributes to be talked on sexuality by women.

5.3. Limitations of the Research

Like other studies, this study has several limitations. FST stay on between modernism and post- modernism. Thus, it does not reject assumptions on modernity and not accept post-modernity. This affect finding position in theory. I emphasized on basic institutions of modernity but denied these institutions' construction effect over subjects. Instead of 'construction', I used the word 'constitution' that causes confusion for me for finding position. In addition, this study is mostly focused on situational knowledge. However, discussions of feminist standpoint include locational and partial knowledge. Lacking them is another limitation of the research.

Moreover, when the literature on sexuality and sexual socialization was examined, a significant influence of the science of psychology was observed. Literature of psychology, which is mostly androcentric, feminist literature hardly intertwines in several points. This situation made it difficult for the thesis to find its own position. The fact that the FST is not widely used and has not been studied in the context of sexuality has affected the formation of the thesis around the concept of sexual socialization.

That the questions related to mother's family relationships and sexual experiences are directly related to the private lives of the participants. This situation directly affects the relationship between the participant and the researcher during the interviews. This is also one of the limitations of the research. In addition to these, I

faced with some methodological limitations during the study. I reached twenty women to have interview. This may limit extent of the study. However, I learned many things on women's sexual socialization recollections. Besides, I did not use some knowledge which I obtained from questionnaire since I did not want to disorder of the study.

5.4. Recommendations for Future Studies

Making suggestions to future studies as a researcher, I have some recommendations for the future studies. First of all, being member of Gender and Women's Studies extend my perspectives to research on social reality. Interdisciplinary character of the program increases researcher's vision on social studies. In addition, FST's the theoretical and methodological contribution is to link knower and known and non-hierarchy among knower and researcher which helped me to conduct research.

In order to do research, studying sexuality is a difficult topic. Literature has various approaches; each one has diverging views on sexuality. Therefore, the other recommendation is that researcher should find a position in the prevailing theoretical standpoints, because your theoretical position directs your analysis and interpretations. In addition, future studies can be conducted with larger sample, and can be analyzed urban and rural differences in sexual knowledge and sexual experience transmission.

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APPENDICES

A: APPROVAL OF METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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08 AĞUSTOS 2018

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Mehmet Cihan ECEVİT

Danışmanlığını yaptığımız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Nur ÇÖLLÜ'nün "*One Home Two Women: Sexual Knowledge and Sexual Experience Transmission From Mother to Daughter in Turkey*" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2018-SOS-157 protokol numarası ile 08.08.2018 - 30.12.2018 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.


Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

Üye


Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN
Başkan V


Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gülbüz DEMİR

Üye


Doç. Dr. Yeşar KONDAKÇI

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Üye


Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye


Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR MOTHERS

Participant's Demographic Information

- 1- Place of birth:
- 2- Year of birth:
- 3- Marital status:
- 4- Educational status:
- 5- Source of income:
- 6- Family type:
- 7- Age of marriage:
- 8- Age of being a mother:

Questions about Participant's Family Structure and Family Relations

- 9- How many people are there in your family and how many people do you share your household with?
- 10- How would you define your family (conservative, modern, secular, religionist)?
- 11- Explain the place and importance of your family in your life. (Mothers will explain their families before and after got married.)
- 12- How would you define yourself (conservative, modern, secular, religionist)? Why?
- 13- Is the definition of yourself similar to the definition of your family?
- 14- Who is the person you feel closest to in your family? And what do you share with this person?

Questions about Participant's Mother and Her Relation with Her Mother

- 15- How would you define your mother?

- 16- What do you share with your mother? Which topics do you talk about with your mother?
- 17- Do you have an intimate relationship with your mother? Please explain.
- 18- Did your shares with your mother show differences depending on your age? Please explain.
- 19- Did your shares with your mother differ after marriage and after becoming a mother? (These two period will separately talk.)
- 20- Did you get information any information from your mother about marriage life? Please explain with examples.
- 21- Did your mother talk about sexuality, sexual life before you got married? If yes; were these in forms of advice? And do they reinforce gender stereotypes or not?
- 22- Did you talk to your mother about sexual experiences such as menstruation, contraceptive methods, birth, abortion, menopause during and after your puberty?
- 23- Have you heard stories or advices by your mother (or other females in your family) during your childhood, adolescence or later periods that include sexual knowledge and sexual experience?
- 24- What have you learned from your mother about knowledge and experience of female sexuality?
- 25- What does your mother think about extramarital sex? What do you think about this issue? Do you think there are differences between extramarital sexuality for women and men? Please explain.

Questions About Participant's Mothering

- 26- How would you define your mothering (e.g. conservative, depending on traditions, restrictive, protective etc.) Are you protective over your daughter? Please explain.
- 27- Do you see your motherhood similar to your mother's motherhood? Please explain it with reasons.

28- Should there be an intimate relationship between mother and daughter?

Please explain.

29- Is there difference of power and hierarchy between mother and daughter depending on their positions in the family?

Questions About Participant's Sexual Socialization

30- What is the meaning of sexuality for you? When and how does sexuality begin? Please explain.

31- What is the meaning of sexual knowledge, sexual experience for you? Please explain.

32- How and where do women obtain sexual knowledge and sexual experience?

33- Have you had sexual education in your childhood and/or adolescence? Please explain.

34- Is transmission of experience and knowledge important in female sexuality?

Do you think your sexual identity is shaped by these experiences and knowledge?

35- How women and men obtain sexual knowledge?

36- Is there any difference between obtaining sexual knowledge for mother and daughter? Please explain.

37- Is marriage necessary for sexuality?

38- Do you think your mother, other women in your family and your friends have an impact on your sexual knowledge and experience? If yes; explain how?

39- How has your mother affected your sexual identity development? Please explain.

40- Can you easily talk to your daughter about sexuality? What kind of sexual knowledge did you transfer to your daughter during her childhood, adolescence and adulthood?

- 41- Do you think your daughter's views on sexuality are different from you? Do you think your daughter has had enough sexual knowledge from you? Is there any information you get from your daughter on sexuality? Please explain.
- 42- What is gender? Please explain who is woman, girl and 'bayan'? Is sexuality a must for being a woman?
- 43- Do you think that you raised your daughter according to gender roles?
- 44- Do you think that your family structure, your educational background, and your cultural values affect your views on sexuality, sexual knowledge and sexual experience?
- 45- Would you like your daughter to get sexual information from her father? Do you think your daughter's perspective on female sexuality has been influenced by her father?
- 46- Is there anything you want to add or want to share?

C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR DAUGHTERS

Participant's Demographic Information

- 1- Place of birth:
- 2- Year of birth:
- 3- Educational status:
- 4- Source of income:
- 5- Family type:

Questions about Participant's Family Structure and Family Relations

- 6- How many people are there in your family and how many people do you share your household with?
- 7- How would you define your family (conservative, modern, secular, religionist)?
- 8- Explain the place and importance of your family in your life.
- 9- How would you define yourself (conservative, modern, secular, religionist)? Why?
- 10- Is the definition of yourself similar to the definition of your family?
- 11- Who is the person you feel closest in your family? And what do you share with this person?
- 12- Is there any head of your family? If yes, who is this person?
- 13- Within your family, how is your dressing style, behaviors and attitudes? Do you think your behaviors, dressing styles, attitudes, your way of speaking show difference when you are with your family?

Questions about Participant's Mother and Her Relation with Her Mother

- 14- How would you define your mother?

- 15- Do you have an intimate relationship with your mother? Please explain.
- 16- What do you share with your mother? Which topics do you talk about with your mother?
- 17- What kind of issues can you not talk about your mother?
- 18- Does the definition you made for your mother play any role in making you hide something from her? Please explain.
- 19- Do you think you have an honest attitude towards your mother? If not, please explain with reasons.
- 20- How often do you talk about your lived experiences to your mother?
- 21- Do you think your views on social events and situations are similar to your mother's?
- 22- According your mother, what is gender? Do you think your mother raised you according to gender roles?
- 23- Do you think there is a hierarchical difference between you and your mother? Please explain.
- 24- What did you learn from your mother about sexual experiences such as menstruation, contraceptive methods, birth, abortion, menopause, first sexual intercourse and etc. during and after your puberty?
- 25- What have you learned from your mother about knowledge and experience of female sexuality? Have you heard stories or advices from your mother during your childhood, adolescence or later periods that include sexual knowledge and sexual experience?
- 26- Did your shares with your mother show differences depending on your age? Please explain.
- 27- How often do you talk about sexuality with your mother?
- 28- Do you think that your mother raised you through concepts such as shame and honor? Please explain.
- 29- What does your mother think about extramarital sex? What do you think about this issue? Do you think there are differences on extramarital sexuality for women and men? Please explain.
- 30- Are your mother's views about male and female sexuality different?

31- According to your mother, could you have had any experience of extramarital sex?

Questions About Participant's Sexual Socialization

32- What is the meaning of sexuality for you? When and how does sexuality begin? Please explain.

33- What is the meaning of sexual knowledge, sexual experience for you? Please explain.

34- Have you had sexual education in your childhood and/or adolescence? Please explain.

35- How and where do women and men obtain sexual knowledge and sexual experience?

36- How and where do individuals obtain sexual knowledge and sexual experience?

37- According to you, what is gender? Please explain who is woman, girl and 'bayan'? Is sexuality a must for being a woman?

38- Are there any differences in learning about sexuality, sexual knowledge and sexual experience of men and women? Please explain.

39- What is sexual freedom? Please explain.

40- Do you think sexuality is an issue that should be easily discussed? Please explain. Can you easily talk to your mother and other women in your family or friends about your sexual knowledge and sexual experience?

41- How did you obtain sexual information about birth control methods? Which birth control methods do you prefer?

42- Do you think that your mother, your family structure, and your cultural values affect your views on sexuality, sexual knowledge and sexual experience? Please explain.

43- Do you think your educational background affects your views on sexuality? Please explain.

44- Is the transfer of knowledge and experience important in sexuality? Do you think your sexual identity is shaped by these knowledge and experiences?

Please explain.

45- What effect does your mother have on the development of your sexual identity?

46- Is there anything you want to add or want to share?

D: TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışmanın amacı kadınların cinsel bilgiye ulaşmaları ve kuşaklar arası aktarılan cinsel bilgi üzerine yeni bir bakış açısı getirmektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, bu tezde, aynı aile mensubu iki kadın jenerasyonu arasındaki ilişkiye odaklanılmıştır. Çalışmanın teorik çerçevesi Feminist Duruş Kuramı (FDK)'na dayanmaktadır ve bu kuramın sağladığı teorik çerçeve çalışmayı özgünleştirmektedir. Araştırma “Giriş, Teorik Çerçeve: Sosyal Teori, Feminist Teori Ve Feminist Duruş Kuramı, Araştırmanın Metodolojisi: Feminist Duruş Metodolojisi, Teorik Çerçevenin Ekseninde Cinsel Bilgi ve Cinsel Bilginin Analiz Edilmesi ve Sonuç” olmak üzere beş temel bölümden oluşmaktadır.

Cinsellik, günlük ilişkiler içerisinde görmezden gelinen ve zaman zaman toplumsal ilişkiler ve aile dinamikleri içerisinde reddedilen bir gerçekliktir. Kimlik üretiminin desteklendiği ve bireylere atfedilen toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin pekiştirildiği bir alan olmasının yanısıra; feminist bilgi üretimi için de önemli bir tartışma alanıdır. Kadınlar cinsellik hakkındaki bilgilerini hangi sosyal ilişkiler doğrultusunda edinirler, cinselliklerinin oluşumundaki kendi pozisyonları nelerdir, anne- kız arasındaki ilişkinin cinsel bilgi edinimindeki etkisi nedir gibi sorular feminist teorinin merkezinde yer almaktadır. Bireyin çocukluk, ergenlik ve yetişkinlik dönemleri boyunca devam eden cinsel deneyim aktarımı cinsel kimliğin keşfedilmesi ile başlayan ve cinsel davranışların pekiştirilmesiyle devam eden bir süreçtir. Süreçle birlikte cinsel davranış ve tavırlar toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine bağlı olarak aktöre aktarılır.

Kuşaklar arası cinsel bilgi aktarımını anlamlandırmak için öncelikle sosyalizasyon ile eğitim kavramlarını birbirinden ayırmak gerekmektedir. Sosyalizasyon; bireylerin sosyal bilgi ve sosyal becerilerini parçası oldukları toplumun üyeleri tarafından edinmeleridir (Spanier, 1977). Toplumun kültürel özelliği, sosyal yapısı, bireylerden beklentileri ve sahip olduğu gelenekler bu süreci belirleyen etmenlerdir. Eğitim ise; bireylere bilgi ve beceri kazandırılan temel ve yapısal bir süreçtir (Shtarsthall,

Santelli & Hirsch, 2017) ve bu sürecin sorumluluğu eğitim kurumlarındadır. Bu noktada cinsel sosyaliasyon ve cinsel eğitimi tanımlamak çalışmanın perspektifini sunmaya yardımcı olacaktır. Cinsel sosyalizasyon; toplumsal cinsiyet kimliklerine bağlı olarak bir cinselleşme sürecidir; ve genel olarak edinilen bilgi belirli bir toplumun sosyo-kültürel özelliklerine bağlıdır (Spanier, 1977). Diğer taraftan cinsel eğitim ise; cinsel sağlık, doğum kontrol yöntemleri, zührevi hastalıklar, cinsel yaşam, doğurganlık, bedensel değişiklikler gibi bilgilerin resmi kurumlarca bireylere aktarılmasıdır.

Araştırmada cinsel sosyalizasyon aynı aile üyesi iki farklı kadın kuşağının deneyim temelli bilgi aktarımı olarak ele alınmaktadır. Cinsel sosyalizasyon süreci öznenin bütün hayatını kapsamaktadır çünkü öznenin sabit ve kesin bir konumu, mevkii ve pozisyonu yoktur. Bunun yanı sıra, her kadının günlük deneyimi eşit öneme sahiptir. Çalışmanın teorik dayanağına işaret eden bu nokta sosyal teorinin dikotomi metodunun reddedilmesiyle güçlendirilmektedir. Çalışmada, kadınların sosyal pozisyonlarına ve bunlara bağlı olarak geliştirdikleri bir kolektif bilinçlerinin sosyal oluşumunun arkasında yatan gerçekliğe kadınlar ses vererek ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Kadınların cinsellik, cinsel bilgi, aile, annelik pratiklerinin ardında yatan gerçekliklerine nitel araştırma yöntemi kullanılarak ulaşılmaya çalışılmıştır. Feminist Duruş Kuramı ile desteklenen bu araştırma yöntemiyle kadınlar araştırmanın katılımcısıdır değil öznesi konumu kazanmıştır.

Teorik çerçeve bölümü kapsamında cinsellik, cinsel bilgi ve cinsel sosyalizasyon gibi kavramlar sosyal teori, feminist teori ve FDK çevresinde ele alınmıştır. Ve bu üç paradigmatik pozisyona odaklanılarak cinsel bilgi sorunsallaştırılmıştır. Annelik ve aile kurumu da bu üç farklı pozisyon üzerinden incelenmiştir. Teorik çerçeve bölümünün temel amacı; cinsel bilgi ile cinsel deneyim aktarımı arasında bir köprü kurmak ve deneyim ile bilginin ilişkiselliğini literatüre bakarak ortaya koymaktır.

Sosyal teori başlığı altında farklı perspektiklerin cinsellik, cinsel bilgi, cinsel eğitim, cinsel sosyalizasyon gibi kavramların nasıl tartışıldıklarına odaklanılmıştır. Cinsel bilginin ne olduğu felsefeden psikolojiye, sosyolojiden feminizme kadar pek çok disiplin tarafından sorgulanır. Özcülük, evrenselcilik ve rasyonellik sosyal teorinin

temel varsayımlarıdır. Bu yüzden, sosyal teoriye göre kadın cinselliğinin ikincil olmasını ve cinselliğin kadınların sömürüldüğü bir alan olmadığını tabiatın gereği olarak kabul eder. Literatüre taraması esnasında sosyal teori içerisindeki pek çok disiplininin cinsel eğitime de odaklandığı keşfedilmiştir. Sosyaliizasyon neden olduğu cinsel mit ve yanlış bilgilerin eğitim ile nasıl engellenebileceğine cevap bulma çalışan çalışmaların genellikle toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini göz ardı ettiği ve toplumsal cinsiyet temelli bir eğitimi görmezden geldiği fark edilmiştir.

Teorik çerçeve bölümünce odaklanan bir başka alt başlık ise feminist teoridir. Bu başlık toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinsellik, kimlik teorisi ve kimlik kontrol teorisi, feminist teori ve aile, feminist teori ve annelik, feminist teori ve cinsel bilgi temelli sosyalizasyon, ve anneler, kızlarını sosyalleştirir bölümlerini içermektedir. Feminist Teoriye göre cinsellik; üreme, yeniden üretim, bilgi, deneyim, tavır ve davranış, kimlik ve politikayı kapsamaktadır. Kadın ve erkek arasındaki sosyal ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğinin sürdürülmesinde etkindir. Bunun yanı sıra, cinsellik ve toplumsal cinsiyet karşılıklı olarak birbirlerini oluşturdukları için birbirlerinden ayırmak neredeyse imkansızdır. Tıpkı cinsellik gibi toplumsal cinsiyet de sosyal düzen içinde toplumsal olarak inşa edilmiştir (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Cinsellik, erkek egemenliğin pratik edildiği bir alandır. Farklı teori ve perspektifler literatüre cinsellik tartışmalarında büyük katkıda bulunmuşlardır. Feminist teori, cinselliğin içgüdü olarak kabul edilmesini reddetmiştir. Regli, doğum, hamilelik, menopoz gibi bedensel değişikliklerin yanı sıra toplumun bireyden beklentilerinin de bireye aktarılmasıdır.

Feminist teorinin güçlü bir şekilde vurguladığı nokta erkek egemenliğin cinsel olmasıdır (MacKinnon, 1985) ve kadınların cinsellik hakkındaki fikirleri kendilerine ait değildir tam aksine baskın olan grubun sürdürmek istediği ideolojinin beklentilerini yansıtmaktadır (Myerson, 1986).). Feminist teori, cinsellik ve cinsel bilgi kavramlarını sosyal kurumlar üzerinden açıklamaktadır. Kadınların cinsellik hakkındaki bilgisinin ne olduğunu ve ne olması gerektiğini şekillendiren ataerkil aile toplumun bir gerçekliğidir. Özel alan içinde değerlendirilen aile toplumsal değer ve normların aktörlere aktarıldı ve ataerkil toplumun devamlılığına en büyük katkıda

bulunan bir kurumdur. Bir diğerk kritik kurum ise anneliktir. Ataerkil ideoloji tarafından tanımlanan annelik kurumu erkek egemen toplum tarafından manipüle edilmektedir (O'Reilly, 2014, p.7). Feminist teorinin yardımıyla kadının özel alan içinde annelik rolü tarafından ezilmesine ve ötekileştirilmesine yeni bir bakış açısı geliştirilmiştir. Anneliğe dair en kritik araştırmalardan biri Nancy Chodorow tarafından yapılmıştır. Ona göre (2000); annenin toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplarını nasıl içselleştirdiği, eşitsizlik üzerine bilinci ve cinsiyet kalıplarını yeniden üretilmesi kızlar tarafından içselleştirilir. Erkeğin değil kadının anne ile olan öncelikli ilişkisini sürdürmesi (Boyd, 1989); kadınların kimliklerinin annelerine bağlı özdeşleşmesindeki temeldir. Anne ile çocuk kimliklerinin oluşumu esnasında karşılıklı olarak birbirlerini inşa ederler (Dedeoğlu, 2010). Bu tartışmalara ek olarak, Adrienne Rich (1986) annelik kurumunu irdeleyen feministlerden bir diğerk önemli isimdir. Ona göre (1986), ataerkil düzen annelik kurumu ve heteroseksüel kalıplar olmaksızın varlığını sürdüremez.

Teorik çerçevenin son bölümü olan FDK; FDK'nın epistemolojisi, FDK'nın Cinsel Bilgi ve Annelik Kurumu ile İlişkiselliği, Bilgi ve Politika ile Günlük Yaşam Deneyimlerinin Analizi başlıkları altında incelenmiştir. En genel ayrımı ile sosyal teori modernite ve postmodernite olmak üzere iki paradigmatik pozisyondan oluşmaktadır. Çalışmada modernitenin evrensel, özcü, rasyonel ve erkek merkezli yapısını reddeden aynı zamanda da tamamiyle postmodernitenin bütün varsayımlarını kabul etmeyen FDK'den yararlanılmıştır. Kritik pozisyonu sayesinde FDK ötekileştirilmiş gruplar hakkındaki hakikat ve gerçekliğe ulaşmak için güvenilir bir konumdadır. Sosyal teorinin yanlı ve dominant grup tarafından yönetildiğini düşünen bu teori özellikle ezilen ve hüküm altına alınmış kadınların durumunu anlamak ve bu kadınların bilgileri feminist duruş kuramı için doğru olarak kabul edilmektedir. Peşin hükümlü görelilik ve konvansiyonel epistemolojiyi işlevsiz hale getiren teori metodolojik olarak da geleneksel teorilerden farklıdır. Öncelikli olarak dikotomi (ikililik) metodunu işlevsiz kılarak bireyi obje pozisyonundan kurtarır. Bununla birlikte ezilen ve ikincil konumdaki sınıf olarak kadın yalnızca hükmedilenin değil hükmedenin de pozisyonunu bildiği için çalışmanın analiz birimidir.

FDK'nın öncü isimlerinden Harding (1993) kadınların toplum tarafından sistematik olarak baskılanmaya, domine edilmeye ve sömürülmeye maruz bırakıldığını kadınların epistemolojik bilgileri üzerinden açıklamaktadır. Feminist duruş kuramı epistemolojik olarak kadın deneyimini bilginin kaynağı olarak görür çünkü kadınların eşsiz konumları ve durumlarıyla birlikte deneyimleri doğru bilgiye sahiplerdir. Toplum içinde kadınların eşsiz duruşu, pozisyonu ve konumu; doğrunun meşrulaştırılması ve gerçekliğin analiz edilebilmesini sağlamaktadır (Hekman, 1997).

Bilginin öneminin yanı sıra güç ve toplumsalın güç ilişkileri etrafında şekillendirilmesi FDK için kritik tartışma alanlarından bir başkasıdır. Bilgi ve güç arasındaki güçlü ilişkiselliği keşfetmeye ötekileştirilenler üzerinden inceleyen teori bilgiyi tek, eşsiz ve sabit bir gerçeklik olarak ele almaz.

Kadınların toplumsal konum ve koşullarından ötürü sahip oldukları bilgiyi doğru bilgi olarak ele almalıyız. Günlük hayat deneyimini, bilginin güvenilirliği üzerinden tanımlayan FDK, kadınların toplum içinde farklı duruşlarının olduğunu ve bu duruşların farklı bilgiler ürettiğini savunmaktadır. Tam da bu nokta çalışmanın neden FDK'yı teorik çerçeve olarak seçtiğini meşrulaştırmaktadır. Bu araştırmada toplumsal cinsiyet rollerine bağlı olarak kadınların ailedeki rollerinden olan annelik ve çocuk olma durumu ele alınmıştır. Bir kadın çocuk olduğu aile ve anne olduğu aile de farklı deneyimleri yaşayabilmesine rağmen birbirinden farklı gerçek bilgiler üretebilir. Ya da aynı aile mensubu hem anne hem de kızı benzer deneyimler yaşamasına rağmen birbirlerinden tamamen farklı bilgiler üretebilir. Hangi bilgi daha doğru ve gerçektir yerine iki bilginin de doğru olduğu kabul edilmelidir. Çünkü bilgi, üreticisinin konumuna bağlıdır.

FDK hakkındaki en tartışmalı konulardan bir diğeri ise nesnelliktir. Nesnellik sosyal değeri bertaraf etme, araştırma sürecindeki ve sonucundaki bilgiyi yok saymayı gerektirmektedir. Fakat feminist bir araştırmacının nesnel olması hem teorinin gelişimine hem de katılımcılarının ürettikleri bilgiye ulaşmayı zorlaştırmaktadır. Harding (1993) sosyal teorinin nesnellik anlayışına karşıt 'güçlü nesnellik' kavramını ortaya atmıştır. Güçlü nesnellik Harding'e göre bilgi kısmi ve yanlı

olduğu için her deneyimin tarihsel karakterini düşünüp bu tarihsellik altında yatan kültürel, sosyolojik ve tarihsel yapıyı göz ardı etmeksizin peşin hükümlü ve epistemolojik göreliliği reddetmektir.

Teorik çerçeve özelinde belirttiğin FDK, yenilikçi ve reddedici bakış açısından dolayı bu teorinin aile içinde anneden kıza aktarılan cinsel bilgi ve cinsel deneyime yenilikçi bir inceleme sağladığını düşünmekteyim. Sosyal kurumlar aracılığıyla inşa edilmiş kadın cinselliğini kabul edilen kabul edilmeyen ikililik metodu yerine her bilgi ve deneyimin kabul edildiği kadın gerçekliği olduğunu kabul etmekteyim. Ayrıca teorin çoklu kadın bilincinin cinsel sosyalizasyonu açıklamak ve kavramlaştırmak için epistemolojik ve metodolojik olarak güçlü olduğunu savunuyorum. Sosyal teorinin aksine, feminist duruş kuramı evrensellik ve özcülük şiddetle karşı çıkmaktadır. Kadınların sosyal ilişkiler içerisindeki nesnel pozisyonundan kurtarmayı hedefleyen teori; ötekileştirilen bir grup olarak ele aldığı kadınlara özne pozisyonu atfeder. Günlük yaşam deneyimleri üzerinden gerçek bilgi üretimi gerçekleşebilir. Fakat diğer teorilerin aksine bu özne konumu çoklu, heterojen, tektir (Harding, 2004). Tam da bu sebepten deneyim temelli cinsel bilgi tektir ve genellenemez. Kadınların sosyal kurumlar içerisindeki benzersiz konumları ve duruşları doğru bilgiye ulaşmanın anahtarıdır. Bu yüzden de ezilen ve ikincilleştirilen hiç bir kadının pozisyonu bir diğerinde üstün değildir. Genel bir kadınlık bilgisinden söz edilemeyeceği için genel bir annelik pratiğinden söz edilemez.

Çalışmanın metodolojisi, feminist duruş metodolojisidir. Bir başka deyişle; araştırmanın temeli modernitenin temel varsayımlarının ve dikotomi metodunun reddedilmesine dayanmaktadır. Metod olarak kabul edilen feminist duruş kadınların toplumdaki eşsiz duruşlarının oluşturduğu feminist gerçekliğin savunulmasına ötekileştirilenlerin analiz edilmesiyle ulaşılır. Bu metod, kadınların sosyal kurumların baskısı altında nesnelleştirilmesini meşrulaştırır. Kadınlar, dominant kurumlar tarafından, örneğin; aile, devlet, eğitim, annelik, ikincilleştirilir. Fakat her kadının bu kurumlar içersindeli deneyim ve konumu aynı değildir. Araştırmanın teorik çerçevesi ve metodolojisini güçlendiren bu kuram ötekileştirilen kadınların

günlük deneyimlerinin gerçekliğinin kadınların sosyal kurumların içerisinde aldıkları öznel pozisyon, öznel konum ve durumları bağlamında incelenebileceğini öne sürmektedir.

Çalışmanın amacı doğrultusunda aynı aile mensubu ve aynı haneyi paylaşan iki kadın kuşağının (anne ve kız) araştırmanın analiz birimi olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu iki kadın grubunun bilgiye ulaşmaları eşit öneme sahiptir. Araştırma da analiz birimi kadınlara niteliksel araştırma tekniği ile ulaşılmıştır çünkü sosyal dünyayı deneyimleme, anlama, yorumlamayı sağlamaktadır. Katılımcı anneler 49 yaş ve üzeri iken; katılımcı genç kadınlar ise 25- 29 yaş aralığındadır ve bekarlardır. Kadınların yaş aralıkları demografik araştırmaların uyguladığı doğurganlık yaş aralıklarına göre belirlenmiştir (TDHS, 2013). Anne katılımcıların yaşları doğurganlık dönemlerinin sonlanması ile edindikleri yeni konum ve bunun bilgisine de ulaşmak amacıyla 49 ve sonrası olarak ele alınmıştır. Genç kadınların yaş aralığı ise; THDS- 2013 araştırmasında doğurganlık oranı en fazla olan yaş aralığı saptanarak belirlenmiştir. Bilen konumunda olan 10 anne, 10 kız ile yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir. Hazırlanan görüşme soruları anneler ve kızlar için ayrı olarak hazırlanmış ve mülakatlar sırasında katılımcı ile araştırmacı yalnız olarak görüşmeyi gerçekleştirmiştir. Veri toplanması süreci Ağustos- Eylül 2018 arasında gerçekleşmiştir.

Birbirinden değerli yirmi farklı kadın hikayesine ulaşma şansı yakaladığım görüşmelerimde kadınlardan edindiğim demografik verilere göre bilen konumundaki kadınların üç tanesi dağılmış aile mensubudur. Bu kadınların ikisi genç yaşlarında eşlerinden boşanmış, 1 tanesi ise eşini erken yaşta kaybetmiştir. Ayrıca bu kadınların ikisi üniversite mezunu, biri ise yüksek lisans derecesine sahiptir. Katılımcı kadın gruplarından ikisi geniş aileye, beşi ise çekirdek aileye sahiptir. Annelerin altısı lise düzeyinde bir eğitime sahiptir. İlk kuşak kadınlardan en erken evlilik yaşı 20, en geç evlilik yaşı 30'dur. Dahası kadınların en erken 21 en geç ise 31 yaşında anne olmuşlardır. Demografik bilgiler özelinde söylenebilecek bir diğer şey ise; kadınların evlendikten bir ile iki yıl içinde ilk defa annelik deneyimlerini kazandıklarıdır. Annelerin en büyüğü 1958, en küçüğü ise 1965 doğumludur. Diğer bir taraftan, genç

kadınların hepsi en az lisans mezunudur. İki yüksek lisans mezunu, biri yüksek lisans öğrencisi, bir diğeri ise doktora öğrencisidir. İkinci nesil olan kadınların bir bölümü ekonomik özgürlüklerini kazanmış iken bir bölümü ise düzenli olarak gelir getiren bir işte çalışmadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Yalnızca bir kadın kamuda çalışmakta, geri kalan çalışan kadınlardan sekizi de özel sektörde çalışmaktadır. Farklı disiplinlerden mezun olan on kadın ile görüşülmüştür. Annelerle karşılaştırıldığında genç kadınların yaşlarının birbirine daha yakın olduğu fark edilmiştir. Doğum tarihleri 1990- 1992 yılları arasındadır.

Sosyal bilimlerde yürütülen bir araştırma yapmak sadece akademik ilgi ile alakalı değildir, aynı zaman da araştırmacının epistemolojik pozisyonu araştırmanın yürütülmesinde etkilidir. Çünkü araştırmacı araştırmanın enstrümanıdır. Araştırmanın sosyal ve kültürel geçmişi, sosyal ilişkileri yorumlayış şekli, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerine karşı pozisyonu araştırmanın kurgulanmasını etkiler. Bu çalışmanın güçlü yanlarından bir diğeri ise; hem araştırmacının hem de özne konumundaki katılımcıların kadın olması ve benzer bilgi- deneyim aktarımlarını yaşamalarıdır. Bir başka deyişle, hem katılımcı hem de araştırmacı toplumsal ilişkilere ezilenler, baskılananlar ve ötekileştirilenler gözünden görme yetkinliğine sahiplerdir. Epistemolojik ve metodolojik amaçlar doğrultusunda çalışmanın araştırma sorusu: “anneden kızına iletilen günlük deneyim temelli cinsel bilgi; annelik, aile gibi kurumların analiz edilerek bu kurumların cinsel bilgi edinimindeki etkileşiminin gerekliliğinin iki jenerasyonun birbirini anlaması ve birbirinden beklentilerinin konumsal, pozisyonel ve kısmi bilgileri doğrultusunda şekillenmesi” dir.

Tezin tartışma bölümü “cinsel bilgi ve cinsel deneyimin teorik çerçeve üzerinden analizi” başlığı altında toplanmıştır. Bu bölümde sahada elde edilen bilgi, teori ile sorunsallaştırılmıştır. “Aile İlişkilerinde Pozisyon Bulma, Anne ile İlişkilerde Sosyal Bir Pozisyon Aramak, Kadınların Pozisyonlarından Cinsel Sosyalizasyona Bakış, Kadınların Cinsellik Hakkındaki Eğitimleri” olmak üzere dört alt başlıktan oluşmaktadır.

Aile ilişkilerinde pozisyon bulma tartışmasında ilk kuşak katılımcıların ailelerini evlenmeden önce ve evlendikten sonra olarak ikiye ayırdıkları tespit edilmiştir. Evli olma durumunun kadınlara yeni bir konum sağladığının ve bu yeni konumun annelik üzerinden otoriterleştirildiği keşfedilmiştir. Annelerin cevaplarına göre; gelenekselliğin genel olarak reddedildiği yalnızca çocuk bakımı, çocuk yetiştirme konularında gelenekselliği sürdürmeye kararlılıkları vardır. Fakat çocuk bakımı gibi konuların ev içi ücretsiz aile emeğine bağdaştırılması ve cinsiyet temelli iş bölümün kadınların üzerlerinde yarattığı ikincilleştirme gerçekliği annelerce güçlü bir otorite kurma hayali ile görmezden gelinmektedir. Çoğu katılımcı, ailelerinde kendilerini en yakın hissettikleri birey olarak kız kardeşlerini, kadın kuzenlerini ya da yaşça daha yakın olan teyze, yenge gibi kadın akrabalarının olduğunu söylemişleridir. . Bu bireylerle yakın yaşlarda olmaları benzer deneyimlerden geçtiklerini işaret etmektedir. Bunun yanı sıra, aile içi hemcins yakın bireyle hiyerarşik olmayan karşılıklı bir ilişki geliştirdikleri ve sürdürdükleri araştırmanın bulguları arasındadır. Kadınların ailelerini tanımlayış biçimleri o ailedeki konumlarına bağlı olarak değişmektedir. Yaşlarına bağlı olarak kadınların ailevi ilişkilerde birbirlerini ötekileştirdiği ve bunu sürdürme taraftarı oldukları gözlemlenmiştir. Bütün kadınlar, hangi grupta oldukları farketmezsiniz, kendilerini ailelerinin sosyal değer yargılarından ve sürdürmek istedikleri sistem düzeninden uzaklaştırmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu da ailede pozisyon bulmanın kadınlar için ne kadar zorlu bir süreç olduğunu gözler önüne sermektedir.

Analiz bölümünün ikinci alt başlığı ise; anne ile ilişkilerde sosyal bir pozisyon aramak sorunsalı tartışılmıştır. Görüşmelerde ulaşılan önemli bir nokta kadınların bir üst kuşaklarındaki kadınlara benzeme korkularıdır. Bu fiziksel şekilde bir benzeme değil; aksine yaşanan olay ve deneyimlere gerici bir bakış açısına sahip olmama korkudur. Anneler, annelerine benzeme korkusunu yaşları doğrultusunda ve çocuk sahibi olmaları nedeniyle daha fazla yaşamaktadırlar. Cinsellik ve cinsel sosyalizasyon özelinde annelerin vurguladıkları nokta “anne, annedir” ‘dir. Kızları ile cinsellik üzerine hiyerarşik bir farklılık yaratmayı hedefleyen anneler cinsel deneyimlerini kızları ile paylaştıklarında samimi/ arkadaşça bir ilişkiye sahip olmak yerine yüz göz olmama düşüncesini sürdürmeyi tercih etmektedirler.

Bir başka alt başlık olan kadınların pozisyonlarından cinsel sosyalizasyona bakış bölümü altı bölümde incelenmiştir. Bunlar; “Aktarım ile Bilenin Bilgisinin Saptırılması, Doğum Kontrol ve Kürtaj Hakkındaki Konumsal Bilgi, Durum Bilgiyi Yaratır: Akran Grupları Arasında Kız Kardeşlik, İlk Regliyi Hatırlama, Cinselliğin Gerçekliğini Görmezden Gelme, ve Kadınlardan ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kalıplarından Beklentiler”. Aktarım sadece üstten altta doğru değil; ikinci kuşaktan birinciye doğru da gerçekleşebilir. Katılımcı annelerin cinsel sosyalizasyon üzerine düşünceleri ikiye ayrılmıştır. Bir kısım katılımcı cinsel bilgi iletilmesi konusunda cinsel deneyimin konulmasını şart olarak görürken; diğer bir bölüm anne ise cinsellik hakkında konuşulmaması gereken bir konudur savını öne sürmüştür. Dahası, anne ve kızlar arasında doğum kontrol metotları üzerine hiç bir bilgi alışverişi yoktur. Yaşları fark etmeksizin iki grup kadın da geri çekilme yöntemini, bir doğum kontrol metodu olarak kabul etmektedir. Ve yine bu iki grup içinde metod seçimi eril partnerin sorumluluğu altındadır. Evli ya da bekar olma durumu kadınların yöntem tercihlerini etkilemektedir. Bekar kadınlar, devlet ve sağlık kurumları tarafından etiketlenmemek için partnerlerinin tercih ettiği yöntemi güvenilir bulmaktadır.

Bütün bilenler, ilk reglilerini ve o zamana ait anılarını hatırlamaktadırlar. Ergenliğe girdikleri bu dönemi kendi kimliklerini, bedenlerini keşfettikleri bir dönem olarak düşünmektedirler. Kadınların benzer durumları paylaşıyor olmaları hemcins akran gruplarında cinsellik üzerinden oluşturulan bir kız kardeşliğe işaret etmektedir. Akran grupta bulunan kadınların paylaştığı benzer sosyal pozisyon aralarında bir eşitlikçi ilişkiden doğan bir dayanışma olmasına, hiyerarşik olmayan bir ilişki yaratılmasına katkı sağlar. Böylece arkadaşlar aile üyesinin yerini almaya başlar. Beşinci alt başlıkta anneler için kızlarının cinselliğini reddetme stratejileri üzerinde durulmuştur. Sonraki kuşağın cinselliğini reddetme ataerkil düzeninin sürdürülmesi, ve annelik ideolojisinin sürdürülmesi için benimsenmektedir. Böylelikle kızların cinsel bilgileri yok sayılarak kuşak arasındaki güç ilişkilerinin güçlendirilmesi hedeflenmektedir. Kadınlardan ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kalıplarından Beklentiler bölümünde ise kadın ve erkeğe uygulanan çifte standartlara odaklanılmıştır. Katılımcılar açık bir şekilde erkeklerin kadınlardan daha fazla cinsel deneyim ve bilgiye sahip olduğunu ve bunun aileleri tarafından desteklendiğinin altını

çizmişlerdir. Analiz bölümünün son ana başlığı olan kadınların cinsellik hakkındaki eğitimleri kısmında kadınların cinsel eğitim deneyimleri hakkında sorular yöneltilmiştir. Fakat yalnızca iki genç kadın katılımcının okul ya da diğer eğitim kurumlarından almış olduğu cinsel eğitiminin olması analizin genişletilmesini engellemiştir. Buna ek olarak annelerinin hiç bir resmi cinsel eğitim deneyimine sahip olmaması kuşak arası aktarımın sorgulanmasını güçleştirmiştir.

Sonuç olarak, araştırmanın amacı kadınların cinsel bilgiye ulaşımına ve jenerasyonlar arası cinsel bilgi aktarımına yeni bir bakış açısı geliştirmektir. Bu amaç doğrultusunda anne ve kızların ötekileştirilen pozisyonlarına odaklanılmıştır. Bilen konumundaki kadınlar kendi gerçeklikleri üzerine konuşan özne konumundadır. Cinsel ikincilleştirilme ve sömürülme ailede başlamaktadır ve annelik kurumunun ataerkil düzeni sürdürme pratiği üzerinden sürdürülmektedir. İlk kuşak, ikinci kuşağı cinsel davranışlar, tutumlar ve pratikler üzerinden etki altına almaya çalıştığı saptanmıştır. Fakat, her kadının öznel olan deneyimleri, konumsal cinsel bilgilerini üretmelerinde etkilidir. Bu nedenle, her kadının birbirinden farklı cinsel deneyime sahip olduğu saptanmıştır. Kuşaklar arası aktarım, güç ilişkilerine bağlı olarak şekillenmektedir. Farklı gerçekliklerin, farklı bilgi ürettiği bulunmuştur. Kızlara göre; cinsel bilgilerinin temel kaynağı akran gruplarıdır. Kendilerini annelerinin öznelliğinden koparmaya çalışan ikinci kuşak, önceki kuşaklarından gelen cinsel bilgiyi yanlı ve yanlış olarak kabul etmekte ve bu bilgiyi reddetmektedir. Anneler ise; aile içindeki otoriter pozisyonlarını kaybetmemek ve bu konumlarının sağladığı bilgilerini sorgulamamak için cinsel bilgi paylaşımını sınırlandırmaktadır. Çünkü, anneler eril toplumun oluşumunun temel aktörleridir. Tam da bu sebepten ötürü, annelerin cinsel sosyalizasyondaki rollerini kız kardeş, kuzen, teyze gibi ailedeki diğer kadınlara bıraktığı saptanmıştır.

Teorik, metodolojik ve pratik olmak üzere tezin üç temel katkısı bulunmaktadır. En önemli teorik katkı güncel modernite tartışmalarında konumlanan teorik çerçevenin sosyal kurumları cinsellik üzerinden sorunsallaştırmasıdır. Bunun yanı sıra, çalışmada deneyim ile bilgi arasındaki ilişkiyi somut bir konu üzerinden desteklenmiştir. Diğer bir katkı olarak tezin literatüre metodolojik katkısı bilen ile

bilinenin arasındaki güçlü bağı dikotimiye reddederek ortaya çıkarmasıdır. Çalışmada araştırmacı ile bilen arasındaki hiyerarşik olmayan bir ilişki kurulmaya çalışılmıştır. Böylelikle cinsel bilginin gerçekliğine ulaşılmıştır. Pratik katkı olarak ise araştırma anne ve kız arasındaki eşsiz ilişkiyi Feminist Duruş Kuramı üzerinden tartışmıştır.

Diğer bir taraftan her araştırmada olduğu gibi bu çalışmanın da bazı kısıtları vardır. Çalışmanın teorik çerçevesinin Duruş Kuramı üzerinden kurgulanması araştırmacının modernite ile post-modernite arasında konumlanmasını güçleştirmiştir. Yoğunlukta olarak konumsal bilgiye odaklanması kısmi ve mevkiisel bilgiye yeteri kadar önem verilmemesine neden olmuştur. Araştırma yalnızca kentli kadının cinsel deneyim ve bilgi aktarımına odaklanmıştır. Gelecek çalışmalara yapılabilecek önerilerden birincisi cinsel bilgi üzerinde yapılacak bir başka çalışma kırdaki kadının cinsel sosyalizasyonuna odaklanabilir. Ve gelecekte daha büyük bir örneklem üzerinden böyle bir çalışmanın yürütülmesi kadınlık bilgisinin çeşitlenmesine katkı sağlayabilir.

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