

THE RHETORIC OF ONLINE MOTHERHOOD IN TURKEY

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BY

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PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date : 22 September 2021

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ABSTRACT

Throughout history, perceptions and roles of motherhood have changed according to culture, geography, social and economic circumstances. These changes had always been introduced through socialization on the physical ground. Nowadays, social media has started to replace this and becomes the social space where each one can have a word no matter her geographical location, socio-economic and intellectual level. Some even acquire a leading role, followed by thousands and they influence other mothers in a certain way. Instagram is the most favored social media platform by young people who are the subjects of changing motherhood. As a result of Covid-19 lockdowns social media behaviors have been altered and enhanced its place in daily lives both commercially and socially. The focal point of this dissertation is to understand how motherhood is represented in Turkey, in social media and what are the common characteristics promoting their success. Clashing representations of ideal and actual mother are discussed in the light of the qualitative data gathered through Instagram by netnography, as well as the data coming from the semi-structured interviews made with popular Instagram mothers, “Instamoms” in Turkey. Followers and haters are discussed whose feedbacks are constantly shaping social attitudes and perceptions. In social media, living 7/24, they can reach somebody awake and experienced to help them, in return they would help others. This dissertation revealed significantly the differences between the discourses of academic feminists and online mothers.

Keywords: Motherhood, Mothering, Mother, Instagram, Social Media, Internet, Representation, Performance, Feminism, Netnography, Covid-19, Pandemic.

ÖZET

Tarih boyunca annelik algısı ve annenin rolü kültüre, coğrafyaya, sosyal ve ekonomik duruma göre değişiklik göstermiştir. Bu değişimler sosyalleşme sırasında fiziksel beraberliklerle gerçekleşmekte iken, içinde yaşadığımız dönemde sosyal medya bu alanın yerini almaya başlamıştır. Sosyo-ekonomik ve entellektüel seviyesi ne olursa olsun, sosyal medya herkesin söz sahibi olabildiği, hatta lider rolü üstlenerek, binlerce kişi tarafından takip edildiği ve kitleleri belli bir ideale doğru yönlendirebildiği bir mecra haline gelmiştir. Covid-19 karantinalarının tüm dünyayı kapatmasıyla da sosyal medyanın gündelik hayatta hem ticari, hem de sosyal olarak etkisi artmıştır. Bu tezin ana odağı sosyal medyada anneliğin Türkiye’de nasıl temsil edildiğini ve annelerin hangi özelliklerinin ön plana çıkmalarına yardımcı olduğunu anlamaktır. Instagram değişmekte olan anneliğin yeni neferleri olan genç kadınlar tarafından, Türkiye’de en çok tercih edilen sosyal medya platformudur. Çatışmakta olan ideal anne ve gerçek anne temsilleri, hem netnografik araştırma yöntemleri ile, hem de popüler Instagram anneleri yani “Instamom’larla,” yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmelerden elde edilen veri ile tartışılmaktadır. Sürekli geri dönüt vererek, sosyal davranışları ve algıyı biçimlendiren takipçiler ve linççiler de tartışılmıştır. 7/24 yaşayan sosyal medya, her ihtiyaçları olduğunda seslerini duyacak, tecrübeli insanlara ve kendileri gibi hisseden diğer tüm annelere ulaştıkları bir mecra halini almıştır. Bu tez özellikle, akademik feministlerin ve çevirim içi annelerin feminist söylemlerinin ne kadar farklı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Annelik, Anne, Instagram, Facebook, Sosyal Medya, Internet, Temsil, Performans, Feminizm, Netnografi, Covid-19, Pandemi.

To my dear daughters Elinur and Alina

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1. INTRODUCTION

As a woman of 40 something with a very wide array of job experiences both in the academy and within the industry, I should admit that nothing was any harder than having my Ph.D. Except motherhood...

I tried to keep myself into equilibrium during both pregnancies, labors and afterwards in postpartum. Trying to make 2 different babies, 2 totally different characters, self-content individuals was very hard while trying to improve myself in my career as well. Even Serena Williams's—world tennis champion—Instagram bio is made only by a brief sentence: "I'm Olympia's (her little daughter who frequently features in her posts) mom." (Serena Williams, n.d.). Among her other very striking identities where her success grows bigger, she picks up her being mother. She will not be the tennis champion but she will remain as Olympia's mom forever.

Making research via Instagram, stalking different mothers, observing other mothering styles physically and virtually, reading comments on a photograph or a text was my lifestyle in the first years of my mothering then it became the main question of my Ph.D. dissertation.

I realized how essential social media is in our lives as mothers, like a friend being on your side whenever it is needed. I was feeling like breastfed by Facebook—because there was no Instagram yet—when I was breastfeeding my daughters at night.

Social media was both nurturing and pacifying us. Some women were willingly answering any questions asked, from health issues to simplest baby caring hints, from computer software to the best stroller brand. Also it was a precious place of distraction filled with clusters of photos, funny animal videos, texts and comments endlessly scrolling down. You were alone with your baby but you were never alone! Social media was new mother's best friend when you are each time questioning the meaning of "mother" and your being yourself.

1.1. Research Question

The main question of this dissertation is: How Instamoms in Turkey represent themselves and what are the common characteristics promoting their success in social media?

Considering that the research was made in Turkey, among Instamoms followed by Turkish mothers, further questions can be asked are as follows:

- How Instamom behaviours changed over pandemic?
- Why Instamoms first start their accounts in Instagram?
- How mothers define motherhood?
- How Instamoms experience Instagram?
- What is the relationship between motherhood and Instagram?
- What is the role of Instamoms in Instagram?
- What is the impact of Instamoms on Instagram?
- How do Instamoms influence others?

- What are the advantages and disadvantages of Instagram?
- How effective is Instamoms in Turkey?
- How can being an Instamom is achieved in Turkey?
- How can Instamoms reconstruct feminism in Instagram?
- How Instamoms are differing from their predecessors?

The main question of this thesis tries to answer how mothers in Instagram are representing themselves and which characteristics make them popular. It was important for me to find out whether they were sincere in their representations or fake and why especially they became popular but not the others who deadly want the same, what the audience look for in an ideal mother character.

Before social media, motherhood was represented through socialization, observation, political and economic manipulation as Elizabeth Badinter discusses in her entire book *The Conflict: How Modern Motherhood Undermines the Status of Women* (2020). Mothering styles were deliberately created and recreated throughout centuries in order to keep the control of gender roles, social life and at the very end, politics accordingly. However with the rise of social media and pandemic coming afterwards, some individuals started to gain power over masses. Now some individuals are becoming able to govern different groups, bringing thousands of people from all over the world thanks to social media and interestingly people are forming strong bonds over these accounts. Considering that some very drastic public reactions were first fired in social media like Gezi and Arab Spring, one can not deny its potency on crowds (Zafer & Vardarlier, 2019, p. 278).

1.2. Aim of this Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to understand how mothers in Instagram in Turkey represent themselves and what are the common characteristics promoting their success. While trying to figure it out, why women open social media accounts and talk about their ways of mothering publicly is asked. Because it was turning out into a powerful tool capable of giving way to masses and who was chosen to lead according to what qualities should be asked. There are also very clear results like all mothers' marital status, educational background, taking care of their children on their own and having more or less a modest life, very much like their followers.

Consistency between mother representations on their online accounts versus their real "persona" is observed for at least 2 years closely. It was not just 20 hours of interview but these mothers' behaviors are constantly monitored through Instagram: "What makes this person or post more popular than the others? What are their concerns about feedbacks they get through the comments? How do they construct their messages through visual and textual discourses?" were the questions in my mind while checking particular accounts each day. As a result of this regular observation, it can be said that there is a consistency both in Instamoms interviewed and those who are not interviewed but followed closely. These personae are quite close to their real characters, with a bit more self esteem on the net, since they have crowds at their back.

If one is not a mother herself, everyone has a mother and for many, mother means life personally: according to one very popular Instamom, Hatice Kübra Tongar (2020, p. 21), who is a psychologist and has books on mothering, we read the world through our mothers' eyes because she is the one who teaches us first.

Throughout history women learned how to mother both from their instincts and from their social surroundings. Lately, with urbanization and especially Covid-19 pandemic, social media became the very platform where identities were constructed for socialization. People being physically away from their friends and family made them to socialize via social media. Social media platforms improved their software and visual graphics during the pandemic.

When I first started to make this research, almost all mothers I interviewed were complaining about the insincerity created by the ads, how they regret those who are using links directing Instagram to online shopping platforms but throughout the 2 years passed that I kept constantly checking them and many others, almost all started to use these tools and take more advertisements. Because neither them, nor their followers were able to go out shopping, the scheme was totally changed during the lock downs, everybody was now used to shop online. This proves how everything changed very quickly within the crisis—Covid-19 pandemic.

During the pandemic, each mother followed produced more content and during this time followers became more demanding. Followers who were quite manipulative already before the lock-down, started to act much more assertive, openly

telling what to do, on what topic these women are expected to share, even how to think on politics, on social affairs, commerce and lastly on mothering. Throughout this time Instamoms' attitudes also changed towards their followers, they started to raise their voice against manipulative attitudes than before.

Media habits in general had a drastic change with the pandemic as well: 61% of increase in social media use overall and 40% of increase in Instagram, Facebook and Whatsapp use by under 35 year old age group as recorded in the beginning of the pandemic, around April 2020 (Kantar, 2020). People started to spend twice as much time on social media after the pandemic imprisonment interrupted daily lives. Including children who were taught online during this period, everyone were lead towards their screen both in order to keep on performing their daily routines and both to socialize (Erdoğan, 2020).

Motherhood was one of the first identities subject to change during the lockdowns because whole family was at home. Children were not attending school in Turkey, education was online for 2 years and mothers eventually turned out to become the cook, cleaning lady, school teacher, play buddy and if they are working, they were running their profession as well. Therefore this was a very precious time to write on such a topic covering mothering and Instagram in Turkey and . It was also important to note that dynamics were under my gaze thanks to netnography, that is I started to follow the mothers I interviewed in advance and after their interviews.

Instagram was chosen as the right platform which is preferred because of its user friendliness both as an account owner and follower, easy to upload, filter photographs, write captions, crowded and also it is the social media platform where all monologues going on, turning into dialogues and even into public discussions, with the contribution of followers. Interaction in Instagram eases collaborative work which mimics sociality in a village and therefore a reconstruction through negotiation. Because Instagram was easier, user friendly, politics free and crowded.

This dissertation is a qualitative research also adopted a very recent method called as Netnography which was originally developed for marketing to trace back consumer behavior online. I used it in order to follow behaviors of Instamoms, as well as their followers' to answer the question: Social media becoming the tool for reconstruction of mothering in Turkey. Also since I am a mother of two, my curiosity and experience started in advance towards the subject, making the thesis auto-ethnographical. I was suffering from same attitudes, trying to keep mothering and being an individual in equilibrium, save money, struggle with schedules of each one in the house and my own.

Cyber-anthropology should be mentioned as well as a sub-field that this dissertation is in touch with. Cyber-anthropology is an interdisciplinary field which is using technology to detect cultural changes (Libin & Libin, 2005, p. 147-148). Therefore the contribution of the dissertation to the field is quite innovative and important since it kept the record of the transition period during the Covid-19 period

and its technological improvements followed by social changes in mothering and in life styles adjusted to the conditions of lock-downs.

Findings tell that motherhood is reconstructed in social media especially with pandemic, when people started to spend more time to socialize. Definitely, social media seems to provide a democratic platform where each one has a voice or at least support those whose ideas are appreciated. Therefore, although mothering is a historical issue, in this thesis newest trends and discourses are in the focal point because of the dependence of the subject to social media.

1.3. Contribution of this Dissertation to the Field

While I was trying to figure out how to conduct the thesis and making research accordingly, there was no such terms which are quite familiar to all of us, no matter where is dwelled like Corona, Covid-19, Pandemic, Intubation, PCR, Biontech, Sinovac. Welcoming these terms in our languages, we also welcomed different video conferencing methods in daily life very quickly to continue running lectures, business, meetings and even family gatherings. For this reason, in this thesis video conferencing platforms for the field research are used. Except the first participant, remaining 14 participants were interviewed via different online platforms. It started very skeptically on how it would work and turned out to be very effective, time and cost conscious, easy to record, easy to be transcribed, easy to persuade participants to be interviewed via cellphone from where they are.

This dissertation is among the pioneers whose methodology adopts video conferencing platforms for the ethnographical research (Thunberg & Arnell, 2021, p. 5). Thematically the thesis itself is falling into the subfield, cyber anthropology and the methodology also matched the field in this way as well. Anthropologically speaking, we are trying to understand why people behave in certain ways and how they evolve with the help of archaeology and ethnographical method (Libin & Libin, 2005, p. 147). With a master's degree in communications, social media or the cyber part of this dissertation is the very field that is considered to play a crucial role towards the future evolution of human interaction. Knowing past and present better would enable us to predict future better, "for analyzing the optimizing possibilities of technology based processes." (Libin & Libin, 2005, p. 147).

Covid-19 pandemic opened the way to novelties in technology as well as in communications, it quickened some developments, therefore cyber-anthropology will be attracting much more attention than before. Although it is told to have a risk of forgetting that human being can be turned into a thing doing the analysis, keeping in mind that the material analyzed is a living being, analyses will be consistent. In this dissertation this risk is eliminated by the usage of psychoanalysis through communicative discussions as well as the it is being auto-ethnographical: Data was mostly collected via Instagram, interviews were made thanks to digital platforms because we were unable to go out of their homes but the discursive data was analyzed in an analogous way. The research for this dissertation was much more than the world between me, the researcher, and others (Instamoms) but rather I was one of these followers some years ago, I was one in the crowds and with this side it is auto-

ethnographical (Okely, 1992, p. 1). I am a mother with 2 children, who brought them up checking such mother accounts and even made a blog to inform physically far friends and family about me, pregnancy and afterwards about my baby.

Netnography the new method rising for online ethnography is used in a great extent throughout the dissertation and its application is shown with tables as well. The inventor of Netnography, Robert V. Kozinets personally contributed with his comments for improvement to the thesis by becoming one of the defense committee members. The dissertation also will lead methodologically those who are conducting a netnographic research in any fields, not just necessarily anthropology.

As it is told throughout the thesis, mothering is one of the prominent elements that is easily effected and changed in times of crisis. The research for the thesis and writing process was held just before the start of lock-downs, insecure economic and sociological factors that were causing drastic changes in people's lives, so that, right in the transition period to a newer life style, reconstruction of mothering again. This dissertation will mostly be conveying the reconstruction took place during Covid-19, before everything settles down back. Therefore it will provide a foundation for further researches that will be made in the following years on this subject.

Another contribution of this thesis to the field is, it cleared how the qualities of ideal mother in Turkey, not just by looking at favored mothers but also tracing expectations from them by their public. As it is told, social media is a very democratic and "organic" ground where everyone can have voice and not afraid of breaking

people whenever they unappreciate or praise when they appreciate. Therefore the ideal mother should be married, well educated, taking care of her children on her own and good looking.

This dissertation is also taking feminism into account especially after considering that Instamoms are producing feminist contents, not just motherhood is a feminine issue. Those who are producing such contents brought a very distinct style to defend it: they are being sarcastic. With sarcasm they are telling whatever they want and they do not fight at the end unlike their predecessors who were, although some keep doing this, quite aggressive and offensive, these women look more powerful with their attitudes. They are trying to be given what they want through persuasion rather than seizing it by force as Deleuze and Guattari (1972, p. 11) stated "...black humor does not attempt to resolve contradictions, but make it so that there are none, and never were any."

Although the debate over, whether nature is the opposite of culture, woman is nature and man is culture (Ortner, 1974, p. 71) still continues, the equation was already made as "Nature=Industry, Nature=History" in cases where we have production and consumption (Deleuze & Guattari, 1972, p. 24, 25). With Instamoms what we see is the clear effort to produce a new, desired representation of mother in the public eye, in Instagram, which is consumed, hence taken into account by followers in their each post. Here we have an idealistically produced type of motherhood by mothers who are now using technology as their tool, leading others to support their feminist ideologies, thus forming a culture on their own.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

For this research a new method, Netnography (Kozinets, 2006; 2014; 2015; 2020; Costello, McDermott & Wallace, 2017) is used to detect and analyze online data, on social media.

Ethnographer's gender and identity deeply effects the process of research as it is considered during the semi-structured interviews with 15 interviewees and also in terms of general stylistic ideas as an ethnographical dissertation (Abu-Lugod, 1986; Hoffman, 2007; Erdoğan, 2020). The question of motherhood being constructed in social media in Turkey is discussed throughout the thesis (Scheper-Huges, 1992; Elçi, 2011).

With the changing social, economic and cultural conditions (Welzel and Inglehart, 2010; Ross, 2016), change in mothering styles and perception is also observed throughout the time (Ortner, 1974; Strathern, 1980; Badinter, 1992a; 1992b; 2010; Irigaray, 2014). The issue should be also taken for Turkey (Doğramacı, 1968; Hürriyet, 1973; White, 1994; Demirci-Yılmaz, 2015; Maksudyan, 2015; Ayers et al, 2019; Altunsu Sönmez, 2020; Bora, 2020) because culturally the image of mother show differences from the western world (Irrigaray, 2012). Also on the formation of emotion by political and economic states is discussed (Cornell, 2017; Scheper-Hughes, 1992).

Maternal perception, consecration (Söderback, 2010; Horney, 2017) and reconstruction of motherhood is discussed for the analysis of the research question (Rich, 1977; Chodorow, 1978; Walks, 2010; Reisz, Jacobvitz, George, 2015; Ross, 2016; Whitehead, 2016; Schechner, 2002; Jung, 2019). “Great/perfect/sacred mother” is regretted by all participant mothers and the communication of motherhood in mass-media is discussed (Ross, 2016; Helgessen & Goldsmith, 2018). Motherhood is both social and biological (Freud, n.d.; Brizendine, 2010; Karaismailoğlu, 2021).

Internet and social media has become important platforms to exchange information and thus having a manipulation on social changes (Niedzviecki, 2010; 2011; Schmittauer, 2017; Miller, 2018; Pişkin 2020; Baah, 2020; Perçin Akgül & Çetin, 2020). These online platforms are creating special communities (Kozinets, McDonagh & Belz, 2011) new terminologies and even creating fans (Kozinets, 2014; Bowley, 2010; Heinonen & Medberg, 2018).

The term “familiar stranger” means a total stranger we somehow know from everyday life but we do not have a direct contact with (Perez, Birregah & Lemercier, 2013; Eslami, Mousavi & Alikhah, 2019) also for the discussions on followers, the concept of being a community is taken as a basis and “spectator theory of knowledge” is the focal point (Baudrillard, 1997; Houlgate, 1993). The reasons behind bullying (Hall, 1976) and fandom (Kozinets, 2014), power of the audience (McCullagh, 2002) has an important role in the formations of online persona, account owners consider what they are told as a feedback.

Exposing oneself's life online to a large group of people should also be discussed with performance anthropology as it can be defined as representation (Goffman, 1956, 2017; Bourdieu, 1984; Turner, 1988; Baudrillard, 1997; Swartz, 1997; Simmel, 2009) as well as these accounts might be serving for the continuation of sociality in a discursive (Hall, 1976, Bauman, 2004) and in a visual ground (Berger, 2017; Williamson, 1996). A very brief historical survey of motherhood in Turkey is also added (Demirci-Yılmaz, 2015; Sehlikoğlu, 2018; Koç, 2019) in order to understand why femininity evolved differently from the rest of the world (Irrigaray, 2012; Kern, 2019).

The rise of feminism (Rich, 1977; Chodorow, 1978; Fotaki & Harding, 2012; Balsam, 2017; Raslan, 2019, Yardımcı, 2020) and where motherhood locates itself within, is discussed with the changing feminist discourses adopted by most Instamoms in Turkey as well as “Matricentric Feminism” (Feasey, 2016; O'Reilly, 2019).

Thanks to social media both the gaze and the gazed is now woman, whereas the gaze was male before (Lacan, 1977). The most prominent result coming from the interviews made for this dissertation and previous works is “Does Anybody Else Feel This Way?” as Michelle Moravec (2011) named one of the subtitles in her article. In some cases it is clear that these mothers have a certain ideologies propagated through their accounts (Gibson, 2019).

Social media accounts, if especially labelled with “Mother” seems quite sanitized and commoditized (Debord, 2016; Frisby, 2017) they are made of female populations and there they have finally a word that is why these online accounts can be seen as gates to freedom for women (Schechner, 2002). Researches made on Turkish blogger mothers (Gürçayır-Teke, 2014; Çelik, 2020) provided important assets for this dissertation. On the other hand it seems important for a mother being married with the father of her children, in order to be appreciated by the community, since all participants are married (Badinter, 1992; 2010; Söderback, 2010). The results are pointing changing practices because of global and local economic situation as well as new changes occurring due to the pandemic. All mothers argue that there is no perfection in motherhood, they opened their accounts in order to find help (Breyer, 2016) and to help others in return. All have feminist discourses in their posts in a quite different way compared with academic feminist discourse which will have more influence on public.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Design

As methodology, Critical Research is applied to uncover similarities and differences in womanly and maternal attitudes of the early 21st century women using world wide web and social media. Since the aim is to induce a theory on the usage of social media constructing mothering behaviors, certain representations in social media will be studied. This will provide a historical basis for our semiotic habits: How motherhood was performed before, compared to the present in linguistic, gestural, visual grounds.

The research's being carried on Turkish mothers should always be considered and one should be cautious when analyzing these personae within the cultural and geographical context, when discussing womanhood and motherhood with prominent authorities in feminism who are either European or American. Therefore Turkish feminist scholars' works are especially tried to be integrated into the discussions about feminism in Turkey.

In order to evaluate online data, "Netnography," which is the combination of ethnography and the data gathered from the internet is used. Robert V. Kozinets the creator of the method contributed personally by being one of the committee members during the defense. In his book "Netnography: The Essential Guide to Qualitative Social Media Research," (2020, p. 203) underlines that netnography is about

“utterances.” This name is given after George Herbert Mead’s interactionist approach (1934) for whom the unit of analysis is the behavior and the speech act rather than the person. Netnography is concentrated on utterances because: “Youtube offers up 432.000 new hours of utterance-and-social-act-filled video everyday (that’s 300 new hours of video-utterance every minute).” Each posting (video, photograph, tag, comment, text) is a utterance and all of these are real, not fictions. As the ethnographer it is easier to catch “naturally occuring behaviors” (Kozinets 2002, p. 3) from wherever you are.

Mainly Robert V. Kozinets invented such a research method for marketers whose purpose is to define consumer behaviors, so that the creation of new brands, visuals, logos, products and advertisings would be made accordingly. This is the automatic optimization of the market for marketing managers and advertisers who try to analyze and afterwards polarize consumers to boost consumption via internet (Kozinets, 2006, p. 1). It is adapted to this thesis in order to double check and see more clearly whether the interviewees are performing what they are saying, as well as to consider followers’ comments more. Therefore artificiality and obtrusiveness coming from the interviews will not be blurring the reality (Kozinets, 2002, p. 62).

With the netnographic research specifically tailored for this research, the dissertation both became quantitative and qualitative. In this manner data coming from the interviews is double-checked with the data gathered directly from interviewees’ Instagram accounts. Through netnography it is possible to get more qualitative data as well, acquired from the texts written under the photos, comments

coming to the posts and comments made after comments. Also quantitatively how many comments, how many followers they have, approximately how many posts they are posting in a time limit is investigated (Please see Table 1-Table 15).

Besides the tables that are put into the dissertation, there are some others which helped me a lot during analyzing the data or writing, especially the one with their actual and account names together with their reference numbers (Mother #), all demographic details, follower numbers. It served as a guide throughout the process. I took my notes on it so that it did not become a burden remembering mothers' reference numbers.

Table 1*Mother #1 Netnographic Data*

Mother #1	Sept. 13 2020	Sept. 10 2020	Sept. 6 2020	August 30 2020	August 29 2020	August 23 2020	August 22 2020	August 20 2020	August 16 2020	August 15 2020	August 2 2020	August 2 2020
VIEWS	3,961	2,299		4109								
LIKES			333		312	80	574	484	352	619	241	258
COMMENTS	13	2	16	24	6	2	14	21	9	13	18	8
Question	2					x			1			
Positive	8	2	13	24	6			17	7	12	13	6
Negative												
Answer	3		3			x		4	1	1	5	2
	DIS-TANCE EDUCA-TION/ SUGGES-TION	DIS-TANC E EDUCATION	SELF IMPROVEMENT	NATI ONAL DAY	SELF IMPROVEMENT/ FAMILY	PRODUC T	SELF IMPROVEMENT	HUS-BAN D	SELF IMPROVEMENT	WOR K + WISH FOR ALL CHIL-DREN	SUGG ESTION ON INTER NET USAG E OF CHIL-DREN	SUGG ESTION ON INTER NET USAG E OF CHIL-DREN
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	August 9 2013	August 9 2013	August 10 2013	August 10 2013	August 10 2013	August 10 2013	August 10 2013	August 10 2013	August 11 2013	August 11 2013	August 13 2013	August 14 2013
VIEWS												
LIKES	38	31	5	4	18	22	16	16	4	15	11	14
COMMENTS	3	3			5	1	2			1		2
Question												
Positive	2	3			3		1			1		2
Negative												
Answer	1				2	1	1					
	PHOTO OF HER BABIES	PHOTO OF HER BABIES WITH HER	PHOTO OF BUTTERFLIES MADE ON THE GRASS WITH PEBBLES. NO TEXT	CARICATURE ABOUT BUDDHISM	PHOTO OF HER BABY	PHOTO OF HER HUSBAND WITH YOUNGER BABY	BABY ROOM DECORATION	BABY ROOM DECORATION	TRAVEL	BABY ROOM DECORATION	PRAYING FOR THE DEAD W/ THE CHILD	FUNNY BABY VIDEO

Table 2*Mother #2 Netnographic Data*

Mother #2	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 20 2020	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 18 2020	Sept. 17 2020	Sept. 15 2020	Sept. 14 2020	Sept. 13 2020	Sept. 12 2020	Sept. 11 2020
VIEWS	3266											
LIKES		489	729	569	1166	367	293	601	792	1180	530	830
COMMENTS	33	14	29	20	51	16	51	30	102	31	37	51
Question	2	3	3		4	2		4	3	21	2	
Positive	16	6	17	14	26	9	30	13	62		18	35
Negative	1								1			
Answer	14	5	9	6	21	5	21	13	36	10	17	16
	RECIPE, ADVERTISEMENT (She started to share her children on her story)	RECIPE	RECIPE, RECYCLING	RECIPE	1 WEEK MENU	RECIPE, PRODUCT SUGGESTION	RECIPE, QUESTION!!!	RECIPE	RECIPE, CRITICIZM, SUGGESTION	FISH RECIPE	1 WEEK MENU	RECIPE
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	August 25 2016	August 26 2016	August 27 2016	August 27 2016	August 27 2016	August 27 2016	August 26 2016	August 27 2016	August 27 2016	August 27 2016	August 27 2016	August 27 2016
VIEWS												
LIKES	25	17	21	16	20	26	26	23	26	16	20	19
COMMENTS			1			2		1		2	18	3
Question											7	
Positive			1			1				1	2	2
Negative												
Answer						1		1		1	9	1
	RECIPE	RECIPE	RECIPE	RECIPE	RECIPE	CHILD EATING	FEAST TABLE	FEAST TABLE	RECIPE WRITTEN ON A PIECE OF PAPER	A BADLY COOKED COOKIE, SARCASM	RECIPE, PRODUCT	MESSY KITCHEN AFTER CHILD

Table 3**Mother #3 Netnographic Data**

Mother #3	Sept. 14 2020	August 24 2020	August 19 2020	August 10 2020	August 5 2020	August 5 2020	August 4 2020	July 19 2020	July 6 2020	June 23 2020	April 29 2020	April 28 2020
VIEWS	242		451	623		545		198			1505	1927
LIKES		23			88		125		65	307		
COMMENTS	6	3	2	3	23	3	7	7	4	3	22	1
Question		1	1		14	2					5	
Positive	3	1		1			4	4	4	2	9	1
Negative												
Answer	3	1	1	2	9	1	3	3		1	8	
	PRODUCT, HER OWN BOOK'S ADVERTISMENT	PRODUCT, ANNOUNCEMENT OF ONLINE BREASTFEEDING GROUP	ANNOUNCEMENT OF BREASTFEEDING GROUP WORKSHOP	LIVE VIDEO ON WEANING	ANNOUNCEMENT OF WEANING WORKSHOP	VIDEO ON WEANING, HER BOOK'S ADVERTISEMENT	VIDEO x2, ON MILK PRODUCTION OF WOMEN	ANNOUNCEMENT OF BREASTFEEDING WORKSHOP	FEEDBACK OF A FOLLOWER/CUSTOMER REPOSTED	HER ADVERTISEMENT AS A BREASTFEEDING COUNSELOR	SUGGESTIONS ON BREASTFEEDING	HOW LONG DOES BREAST MILK STAY FRESH
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Oct. 26 2015	Oct. 27 2015	Oct. 29 2015	Jan. 13 2016	Jan. 13 2016	Jan. 14 2016	March 9 2016	August 4 2016	August 4, 2016	August 4 2016	August 6 2016	August 8 2016
VIEWS												
LIKES	1	5	11	9	12	30	10	5	3	7	6	12
COMMENTS			1			1						
Question												
Positive	1					1						
Negative												
Answer												
	FOLLOWER/CUSTOMER'S FEEDBACK ON SERVICE	SAME POST AS THE FIRST DAY	FOLLOWER/CUSTOMER'S FEEDBACK ON SERVICE	PRODUCT, ANNOUNCEMENT OF BREASTFEEDING GROUP	SAME POST AS THE PREVIOUS	MOTHER AND CHILD SELFIE WHILE BREASTFEEDING, TEXT ABOUT SELF INTRODUCTION	ANNOUNCEMENT OF BREASTFEEDING GROUP WORKSHOP	INFORMATIVE GRAPHIC ABOUT MILK PRODUCTION	INFORMATIVE GRAPHIC ABOUT DISADVANTAGES OF BOTTLE FEEDING	SELF ADVERTISEMENT	SELF ADVERTISEMENT	SELF ADVERTISEMENT

Table 4

Mother #4 Netnographic Data

Mother #4	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 20 2020	Sept. 20 2020	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 18 2020	Sept. 18 2020	Sept. 17 2020	Sept. 16 2020	Sept. 16 2020	Sept. 15 2020	Sept. 14 2020
VIEWS									24125			
LIKES	2953	1013	2023	6171	1235	1180	1535	2978	16	1718	3640	2213
COMMENTS	108	24	888	87	20	43	32	31		12	49	26
Question		4			3	9	2	1	1	1		2
Positive	105	9		86	10	34	25	26		11	47	21
Negative		2			4						1	2
Answer		6		1	3		3	2			1	1
Advertisement	3	3					2	2				
	EFFECTS OF CHEMO-THERAPY	PRODUCT	GIFT, MOTHER & CHILD PHOTO	SOCIAL ISSUE, THE PHOTO OF NESLICKAN TAY, THE CANCER VICTIM	PRODUCT, SLIMMING DOWN AFTER CHEMO-THERAPY	TAKING DISABLED REPORT UPON CANCER	PRODUCT, SELF IMPROVEMENT	MOTHER AND CHILD, HEALTH	POLITICAL, SOCIAL	SELF, SELF IMPROVEMENT	A YEAR BEFORE BEFORE AND AFTER CAN-CER, LOOSING HAIR	MOTHERS AND CHILDREN, FRIENDS, HOUSEHOLD, QUESTION!!
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	March 29 2018	March 30 2018	March 31 2018	April 2 2018	April 8 2018	April 12 2018	April 17 2018	April 18 2018	April 19 2018	April 20 2018	April 22 2018	April 23 2018
VIEWS									9580	13815	101	8275
LIKES	106	124	85	74	142	117	101	92	44		14	
COMMENTS		5		3	10	4	3	1		11		3
Question											1	
Positive		5		3	10	4	3	1	44	10		
Negative										1		
Answer											1	
	INTRO DUCTORY TEXT	TEXT ABOUT MOTHERHOOD, POSTPARTUM, NANNIES + QUESTION	TEXT ABOUT GOING OUT WITH THE BABY	CALLS EVERY ONE WHO IS READY TEXT	ILLUSTRATION ON BEFORE/ AFTER MOTHERHOOD	PHOTO ABOUT THE LAUNCH x2 OF HERSELF SEEN BOTH ON THE CAMERA AND REAL.	PHOTO AND TITLE ABOUT THE TOPIC POSTPARTUM DEPRESSION	PRODUCT	VIDEO, SARCASTIC, PRIVATE AND SINCERE TALK ABOUT WHAT SHE FACES AS A 11 MONTH BOY'S MOM	NASAL PROBLEMS AND PRODUCT TO SOLVE IT	LOOSING WEIGHT, 30 KG, HOW TO	TALKS ABOUT HERSELF, VERY SINCERE

Table 5*Mother #5 Netnographic Data*

Mother #5	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 20 2020	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 17 2020	Sept. 16 2020	Sept. 16 2020	Sept. 14 2020	Sept. 12 2020	Sept. 12 2020	Sept. 10 2020
VIEWS												
LIKES	2456	2179	1563	859	2617	3441	1233	2528	1729	4207	3423	2985
COMMENTS	115	55	17	29	32	159	48	52	9	116	81	25
Question			1					1			1	
Positive	101	52	15	27	31	150	48	43	9	116	72	25
Negative	10					3						
Answer	4	3	1	2	1	6		7			7	
Advertisement								1			1	
	FEMINIST POST ON DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN OUTFITS OPENNING THE DOOR TO A STRANGER	SELFIE, SARCASTIC TEXT ABOUT HER BEING SEXIST IN THE PAST	PANDEMIC, DISTANT EDUCATION, SIBLING FIGHTS	BOOK SUGGESTION	BIRTHDAY OF HER SON, PHOTO OF THEIR YARD	CLEANING THE KITCHEN AS THE JOB OF WOMEN ONLY! FEMINIST CRITIC SARCASTIC, QUESTION	BOOK SUGGESTION, REGULATION OF RELATIONS HIPS	A VERY SMALL SPACE IN THE HOUSE FOR HERSELF, A DESK'S PHOTO	SELFIE, TIRED OF PUBERTY FIGHTS	PHOTO OF A PLATE WITH RAKI, MOVING TO ANOTHER CITY	MAKING YOGA IN THE NEW GARDEN	SELFIE WITH THE CHILD AT THE BACKGROUND
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Feb. 19 2011	Feb. 20 2011	Feb. 22 2011	Feb. 22 2011	Feb. 24 2011	Feb. 25 2011	Feb. 25 2011	Feb. 25 2011	March 4 2011	March 5 2011	March 7 2011	March 7 2011
VIEWS												
LIKES	9	7	2	1	4	3	4	9	3	2	2	2
COMMENTS	6				2				1			
Question												
Positive									1			
Negative												
Answer	2				1							
	SIPPING MOHITO, AS A MOTHER RELAXING, VERY SHORT TEXTS	HER BABY BOY SLEEPING, PHOTO	BABY BOY DRAWING	FINISHED DRAWING	HER BABY'S PHOTO	BABY CRAWLING	SAME POST	BABY SLEEPING ON HER MOTHER'S CHEST	BABY DRESSED LIKE A PIRATE	BABY IN THE PLAY GROUND	BABY PLAYING LEGO	BABY LOOKING AT HIS LEGO

Table 6

Mother #6 Netnographic Data

Mother #6	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 19 2020	August 24 2020	August 19 2020	August 7 2020	July 24 2020	July 16 2020	July 13 2020	July 6 2020	June 29 2020	June 24 2020	June 22 2020
VIEWS								2167				4743
LIKES	204	202	454	131	380	530	350		558	297	266	
COMMENTS	4	51	27	40	9	22	33	21	44	26	49	36
Question			11				3		1			1
Positive	4	36	7	22	9	13	16	21	24	15	36	
Negative												
Answer		15	9	18		9	14		19	11	13	18
	HER PREGNANT PHOTO OF 30TH WEEK	PHOTO OF A PLASENTA, QUESTION: IS PLASENTA GARBA GE?	PREGNANT PHOTO	MOTHER & CHILD PHOTO ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE UNBORN BABY BOY'S NAME	PREGNANCY 23RD WEEK, SELFIE, ABOUT AGGRESSIVENESS	PHOTO WITH HER OBGYN, TEXT ON NECESSITY OF ROUTINE MEDICAL CONTROLS	PREGNANCY 18TH MONTH, WEIGHT GAIN DURING PREGNANCY, SARCASTIC	VACATION WITH HER HUSBAND, DAUGHTER AND DOG, NOT A VIDEO AN ALBUM	WEEK 19TH PREGNANCY, VACATION PHOTO	GETTING PREPARED FOR THE LABOR, SELFIE WITH A PILATES BALL	A GRAPHIC ABOUT THE PREDICTION OF SEX, QUESTION	TEXT ABOUT HAVING A PH.D DEGREE WITH HER NEWBORN VIDEO OF A DOULA AND A PREGNANT WOMAN IN EQUADOR, SHE IS MANIPULATING THE POSITIONING OF THE BABY WITH HER HANDS
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Feb. 29 2016	Feb. 29 2016	Feb. 29 2016	March 1 2016	March 1 2016	March 1 2016	March 1 2016	March 1 2016	March 1 2016	March 1, 2016	March 1, 2016	March 1 2016
VIEWS												
LIKES	15	14	11	15	12	12	10	32	18	12	18	16
COMMENTS		3				1		3				
Question												
Positive	15	3				1		2				
Negative												
Answer								1				
	BEING A MOTHER MEANS "SAYING THANKS GOD I BIRTHED YOU!" AN ANONYMOUS PHOTO	GRAPHIC OF A BABY IN A MOTHER'S WOMB	PREGNANCY CRAVINGS, ANONYMOUS PHOTO	MORNING SICKNESS DURING PREGNANCY	FOLIC ACID BEFORE PREGNANCY, PHOTOS OF NUTRIENTS	PREGNANCY 1ST WEEK COMPLAINTS	CALCULATING THE DUE DATE, TEXT, NO PHOTO	CHINESE CHART FOR THE PREDICTION OF THE SEX	PHOTO OF A PROTESTES IS FOR BREAST FEEDING	IMPORTANCE OF VITAMIN D FOR NEWBORNS ILLUSTRATION OF VITAMIN D AS VISUAL	GLUCOSE SCREENING TEST, ANONYMOUS PHOTO	POSTPARTUM DEPRESSION, INFO IN THE TEXT PART, ANONYMOUS PHOTO

Table 7

Mother #7 Netnographic Data

Mother #7	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 17 2020	Sept. 13 2020	Sept. 11 2020	Sept. 1 2020	August 24 2020	August 12 2020	August 10 2020	August 10 2020	August 8 2020	August 5 2020	July 24 2020
VIEWS		40180										63263
LIKES	3873		2509	3556	3874	4627	7448	4813	3325	3542	1105	
COMMENTS	472	43	46	116	92	103	364	52	194	137	38	58
Question		3	2							1		
Positive	450	32	32	113	89	101	361	49	192	132	34	53
Negative							4					
Answer	22	9	12	3	3	2	17	3	16	3	4	5
Advertisement										1		
	SELFIE WITH A SPONGE, ABOUT CLEANING THE HOUSE, ISSUE OF THE PANDEMIC, SARCASTIC	HER KID IS READING A FOOTBALL FAN'S SLOGAN, SARCASTIC, COMIC	HER KID'S HAND WRITING ABOUT LOVING HIS FEELINGS SARCASTIC	CRITICISING HERSELF ON LONG TALKS ABOUT NUTRIENTS TO HER KID, PHOTO OF HER SON, HIS BACK, NOT LISTENING TO HER, SARCASTIC, COMIC	SELFIE WITH A TOY CAT, SARCASTIC ABOUT BEING ALONE IN THE HOUSE	HER SON MAKES A FRIEND IN THE SEA SIDE PHOTO, SHE IS SARCASTIC ABOUT BEING LEFT OUT	SARCASTIC ABOUT DISTANCE EDUCATION, OPENNING OF ALL SHOPPING MALLS, SCHOOLS CLOSING	SARCASTIC ABOUT HER SPORTS OUTFIT, PHOTO OF HERSELF UNWILLINGLY EXERCISING	BABY LED WEANING, SARCASTIC	PHOTO OF A CUP OF COFFEE LABELLED AS "POOP CENSOR"	CHILDREN'S BOOK, SHOWING A KID EATING CHOCOLATE-BREAD FOR THE LUNCH, SARCASTIC	VIDEO, ACCIDENTALLY SELF SHOT INSTEAD OF A SELFIE PHOTO, SARCASTIC, FORGETTING, DIFFICULTY IN CONCENTRATING
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Sept. 25 2015	Sept. 25 2015	Sept. 25 2015	Sept. 25 2015	Sept. 25 2015	Sept. 25 2015	Sept. 25 2015	Sept. 25 2020	Sept. 27 2015	Sept. 27 2015	Sept. 27 2015	Sept. 28 2015
VIEWS												
LIKES	762	497	467	439	465	309	367	436	580	701	411	568
COMMENTS	74	17	7	24	24	6	5	9	29	40	7	41
Question												
Positive	60	16	7									
Negative					2							
Answer	14	1			4					1		
	SARCASTIC PHOTO SHOWING BABY FENCES IN THE MIDDLE OF THE LIVING ROOM, MESSY HOUSEWITH BABY STUFF	SARCASTIC, BABY ON HIS HIGH CHAIR, PHOTO ABOUT NOT FORCING THE BABY TO EAT/WEAN	BABY ON HER MOTHER'S LAP, SARCASTIC ABOUT TAKING THE BABY ON HER LAP IN ANY OCCASIONS	SELFIE WITH A MESSY HAIR, SARCASTIC ABOUT BEING WEIGHT GAIN, TAKING CARE OF ONE'S SELF ONCE SHE BECOME A MOTHER	SARCASTIC ABOUT NATURALISTIC MOTHERS WHO BUY AND COOK EVERYTHING ORGANIC, PHOTO OF HIPPIE APPLE PUREE IN A JAR	PHOTO OF THE BABY'S CLOSET FULL OF OUTFITS, SARCASTIC ABOUT NOT EXAGGERATING BUYING	SARCASTIC, PHOTO FROM A VERY FAMOUS TV SERIES, NOT LIVING IN THE SAME BUILDING WITH YOUR MOM	GRANDMOTHER AND BABY HUGGING	SARCASTIC PHOTO OF A STROLLER FILLED WITH MARKET BAGS, NO BABY.	BABY SUCKING HER FEET TO RELIEVE HIS TEETH, SARCASTIC	BABY MESSING UP WHILE EATING ON HIS HIGH CHAIR	PHOTO OF HER TRYING TO PUT THE BABY ASLEEP ON HER LEGS, SARCASTIC

Table 8

Mother #8 Netnographic Data

Mother #8	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 19 2020
VIEWS			3991			17556		16951				
LIKES	1068	1867		2357	2026		2431		3001	362	1615	937
COMMENTS	13	71	1	40	43	33	54	25	91	8	24	5
Question	3	11		6	1	2	8	1			2	
Positive	10	55	1	28	42	31	41	22	87		19	931
Negative		3		1			4					
Answer				5				1	4	1	3	
Advertisement		2					1	1				1
	CREATIVE DIY TOY IDEA. HER 11 MONTH OLD BOY'S PHOTOS WHILE PLAYING. HIS FACE IS NOT CLEAR	CHILDREN'S BOOKS SUGGESTION	ANNOUNCEMENT ON A WORK-SHOP ON CHILDREN PSYCHOLOGY. HAVING SOME ISLAMIC ELEMENTS	HOW TO STRENGTHEN 11 MONTH OLD BABY. ACTIVITY. PHOTO OF HER SON PLAYING IN THE AREA SHE ORGANIZED	ISLAMIC CONTENT. TEXT FROM QURAN. THERE ARE COMMENTS THANKING HER BECAUSE OF TEACHING SUCH THINGS	VIDEO. SHE IS READING A CHILDREN'S BOOK	CHILDREN'S BOOKS SUGGESTION. SOME ISLAMIC CONTENT IN COMMENTS ABOUT SOME OF THESE ARE PUBLISHED BY BANK SO PROMOTING SOME IDEAS ABOUT FINANCIAL INTEREST	DIY FELT HOUSE SHE MADE TO STRENGTHEN MOTOR CONTROLS OF HER SONS	SARCASTIC ABOUT BEING ALONE AT HOME WITH THE BABY WITHOUT HIS BROTHERS TAKING CARE OF HIM SO THAT SHE COULD MANAGE THE HOUSE. MOST COMMENTS ARE LIKE CONFESIONS	POSTER OF "OMG MY KID IS GROWING UP" WORK-SHOP WITH A PSYCHOLOGIST. HOW TO HANDLE PUBERTY AND SEXUAL QUESTIONS	CHILDREN'S BOOK SUGGESTION. CRITIC OF DISTANT EDUCATION	PLAYGROUND SHE MADE AT HOME FOR HER KID. PRODUCT ADVERTISEMENT
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	June 2 2014	June 2 2014	June 2 2014	June 3 2014	June 3 2014	June 6 2014	June 6 2014	June 8 2014	June 8 2014	June 11 2014	June 11 2014	June 14 2014
VIEWS												
LIKES	46	34	25	26	29	31	31	19	24	21	21	27
COMMENTS	20	3		2		12			2			
Question				1		1			1			
Positive						3						
Negative												
Answer	4	2		1		8			1			
	ACTIVITIES WITH THE KIDS. PHOTO OF HER SON. TOTALLY VISIBLE	HER KID IS PLAYING IN THE PLAYGROUND	BABY AND FATHER PHOTO FROM THEIR BACK	TRYING TO BE COMIC. BABY IN FRONT OF A SULTAN SCULPTURE. HIS FACE TOTALLY VISIBLE ON THE PHOTO. IN A MUSEUM	BURSA CITY MUSEUM WITH HER SON. 4 PHOTOS GRID. THE BABY'S FACE IS VISIBLE	HER SON'S DRAWINGS	HER BOTH SONS (BABIES) BOTH FACES VISIBLE ON THE PHOTO	HER ELDER SON IN THE PLAYGROUND	SON PLAYING IN THE PLAYGROUND. SUGGESTION	BROTHERHOOD. PHOTO OF BOTH SONS ON THE SLIDES. BOTH FACES ARE CLEAR ON THE PHOTO	KIDS PLAYING WITH NEIGHBOUR'S DAUGHTERS	FIRST TEETH PARTY OF HER YOUNGER KID. GRID PHOTO OF CAKE. COOKIES. ONESIES. NO BABY PHOTO

Table 9

Mother #9 Netnographic Data

Mother #9	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 20 2020
VIEWS		16347	17335									
LIKES	1817			1337	988	2163	1729	1728	1844	1398	730	4140
COMMENTS	92	16	161	82	17	45	44	22	103	30	7	60
Question	1		2	77			1					
Positive	83		147		17	40	37	21	100		6	54
Negative				1								
Answer	8	1	12	4		5	6	1	3		1	4
Advertisement												
	SARCASTIC, VIDEO OF A LION WALKING IN BETWEEN THE CARS PARKED, ME WALKING BY THE DIRTY DISHES IN THE MORNING	SARCASTIC, VIDEO OF A FISH SPECIE GROUP STRANGELY MOVING TOGETHER ONE BY ONE, REPRESENTING THE GOSSIPS ABOUT A GIRLS' BOYFRIEND	SARCASTIC, POLITICAL CRITICISM OF THE LEADER OF THE MAIN OPPOSITION' S ATTITUDE , VIDEO OF KILIÇDAROĞ LU	SARCASTIC, POLITICAL, MINISTER OF EDUCATION +A REPOST ABOUT DISTANCE EDUCATION AND EBA	GIF, WITH "WORK BITCH" SONG, THINGS MUST BE ACCOMPLISHED BUT SHE IS WATCHING SURVIVOR	HER SON'S PHOTO WITH A BACKPACK AND LONG HAIR, SPORTS WEAR. SHE IS KIND OF HAVING A HEART TO HEART TALK ABOUT THE CHANGING CONDITIONS BECAUSE OF COVID AND CHILDREN CAN NOT PHYSICALLY START TO THE 1 ST GRADE.	FEMINIST. REPOSTED A VERY SARCASTIC TWEET INFORMING ELON MUSK, D. TRUMP ETC. ABOUT HER HAVING PERIOD AND AN ANSWER SAYING THAT DO NOT INFORM THE WHOLE WORLD!!!	SARCASTIC, VIDEO ON OUR LIVES DURING PANDEMY, 1 WOMAN AND 1 MAN IN A VICIOUS CYCLE ART WORK	LABEL YOUR FRIEND POST!!! "SALON KADINI ÇİZGİMDEN ÇIKTIGIM ANLARDA BEN" VIDEO, SARCASTIC, THE LOGO OF A PRODUCTION COMPANY, WOMAN HOLDING THE TORCH WITH DIGNITY IS ATTACKING BACK THEMEN ATTACKING HER..	VIDEO, SARCASTIC, JEAN CLAUDE VAN DAMME STAYING IN BALANCE, BETWEEN 2 TRUCKS RUNNING IN SPEED, TEXT ABOUT HER IN BETWEEN DISTANCE EDUCATION AND HOUSE KEEPING.	VIDEO, SARCASTIC, MONDAY SYNDROME AS A MOTHER WHOSE KID STARTS TO THE WEEK. VIDEO OF AN EXTREME CYCLER	VIDEO, SARCASTIC, COMIC, A WOMAN GETS ON AN INFLATABLE RING AND IN AN INFLATABLE SMALL POOL, FALLS FROM THE OTHER SIDE
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	July 7 2017	July 7 2017	July 8 2017	July 8 2017	July 8 2017	July 8 2017	July 9 2017	July 9 2017	July 9 2017	July 10 2017	July 10, 2017	July 11 2017
VIEWS			2098		1914							
LIKES	106	66		44		44	72	39	96	76	75	97
COMMENTS	18	8		6	9	17	5		15	19	24	7
Question		1		1	1	4	1		1	3		4
Positive	12	3			7	13			9	12	14	
Negative												
Answer	6	4		3	1	5	2		5	4	10	3
	ALKALI DIETING, INTERMITTENT FASTING, RECIPE, SARCASTIC, PHOTO OF A MEAL SHE COOKED	RECIPE, DRINK, SHE CREATES A TERMINOLOGY REPLACING SOME WORDS	RECIPE, DRINK WITH BOOMERANG, DIETING, SARCASTIC IN HER TEXT	SUGGESTION ABOUT EATING WATER MELON AND SQUASH ALONE	RECIPE, SUGGESTION, SARCASTIC	SARCASTIC TEXT, PHOTO OF A JAR OF WHEAT	RECIPE, SHE ALSO MENTIONS THAT AT THE SAME TIME SHE COOKED 2 DIFFERENT MEALS FOR HER HUSBAND AND SON	RECIPE	RECIPE, NATURAL DEODORANT	SUGGESTION OF CONSUMING SOME DRIED FRUITS WITH A DIFFERENT METHOD	RECIPE, DRINK	RECIPE, TEXT ABOUT HER SON'S TASTE

Table 10

Mother #10 Netnographic Data

Mother #10	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 20 2020	Sept. 10 2020	Sept. 6 2020	Sept. 1 2020	August 5 2020	August 5 2020	August 5 2020	July 27 2020	July 27 2020
VIEWS				506	185							
LIKES	7	36	14			20	34	22	12	11	9	8
COMMENTS	4	1	1	1	2			2		1	1	1
Question	1											
Positive	1	1		1			34	2		1	1	1
Negative												
Answer	2											
Advertisement					1							
	ROOM DECORATION IDEA FOR NARROW SPACES	PHOTO OF AN ANONYMOUS NEWBORN, TEXT ABOUT Cuteness	ILLUSTRATION, MOM HUGGING HER TODDLER ABOUT THE NEED OF Cuddling	VIDEO OF A STOVE VERY PRACTICALLY CLEANED NOT ADVERTISEMENT, THE BRAND IS UNKNOWN	HOW TO REFILL THE ICE MOULD PROPERLY, SUGGESTION, VIDEO	ILLUSTRATION OF A MOM AND BABY ON THE BAD, BABY CRYING, MOM IS EXHAUSTED, NEEDS SLEEP, TEXT: SOMETIMES YOU JUST WANT TO SLEEP	RECIPE, HEALTHY ICE CREAM, TEXT: I TRIED, IT IS DELICIOUS	ILLUSTRATION ON BABIES' WEIRD SLEEPING POSITIONS	REPOST, PHOTO OF 3 KIDS IN A JAKUZI EVERYWHERE COVERED WITH BUBBLES, QUESTION	VIRUS SPREADING QUICKER WITHOUT MASK, GRAPHIC, MYTH BUSTERS TICKED THE POST AS IT IS PARTIALLY TRUE!	LONG TEXT ABOUT THE PROBLEMS THAT MAY OCCUR DURING PREGNANCY	DETOX LIST, MENU
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Sept. 13 2018	Sept. 14 2018	Sept. 15 2018	Sept. 15 2018	Sept. 15 2018	Sept. 15 2018	Sept. 15 2018	Sept. 16 2018	Sept. 17 2018	Sept. 17 2018	Sept. 17 2018	Sept. 17 2018
VIEWS												
LIKES	5	9	13	9	17	27	12	10	15	8	8	6
COMMENTS		1	2			1	1		4			
Question												
Positive									4			
Negative												
Answer												
Advertisement		1	1				1					
	WELCOME TEXT, INTRODUCTION	INTRODUCTORY TEXT ON HER PREGNANCY AND HER ACCOUNT, ILLUSTRATION OF A PREGNANT WOMAN WITH A MOVING BABY IN HER WOMB	TRUE/FALSE ILLUSTRATION	BABY GAS MASSAGE, STEP BY STEP PHOTO OF MASSAGE, REPOST	ILLUSTRATION, BABY CARE	ANIMATION ON FERTILIZATION	BABY CARE FOR NEW MOMS, PHOTO OF AN ANONYMOUS MOTHER AND BABY	CAFFEIN CONSUMPTION DURING PREGNANCY, SUGGESTION, CHART OF HOW MUCH CAFFEIN CONTAIN DIFFERENT BEVERAGES	ILLUSTRATION ABOUT FRIENDS WITH VERY SURPRISING NEWS, EXCEPT HERSELF	NUTRITION	HOW SHOULD BE NUTRITION DURING PREGNANCY, ILLUSTRATION OF A PREGNANT WOMAN, TEXT ON NUTRIENTS	CONFES-SION ABOUT THE LABOUR THAT IS VERY CLOSE, A MOM TO BE, ILLUSTRATION OF BEFORE AND AFTER MOTHER HOOD

Table 11*Mother #11 Netnographic Data*

Mother #11	July 19 2020	July 19 2020	March 26 2020	March 26 2020	Jan. 27 2020	Nov. 28 2019	Sept. 11 2019	Sept. 4 2019	Sept. 3 2019	August 22 2019	August 19 2019	August 14 2019
VIEWS												
LIKES	114	62	320	343	475	1523	359	106	365	321	235	195
COMMENTS	6	3	29	14	44	19	126	1	4	12		11
Question	1		6			4	7			3	1	
Positive	4		16	9	30	11	81		3	4		9
Negative					4		1					
Answer		1	7	5	11	4	37		1	5	1	2
Advertisement	1											
	ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE INTERVIEW ON SOCIAL MEDIA, AS A CHARACTER OF SUCCESS THE POSTER OF THE INTERVIEW IS SEEN	AN OPEN INVITATION TO HER OTHER ACCOUNTS, ADVERTISEMENT OF HER BOOK ON NATURAL MOTHERHOOD, JUST A TEXT IS SEEN	RECIPE OF HEALTHY, QUICK CAKE, PHOTO OF THE CAKE + A SLICE	RECIPE OF HERBAL CURES, JUST TEXT AS VISUAL	SUGGESTION, MICROWAVE OWEN IS DANGEROUS WITH A PHOTO AND CROSS ON A MICROWAVE. PEOPLE ACCUSING HER WITH BEING CONTROVERSIAL AND NOT SCIENTIFIC	5 THINGS NOT TO DO WHILE DISCUSSING WITH CHILDREN, TEXT AS VISUAL	TEXT, QUESTION "WHAT YOUR KID EATING AT SCHOOL?" VISUAL, EQUIPPED WITH A LONG ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE SCHOOL MEALS.	ANNOUNCEMENT OF HER BOOK'S SIGNATURE DAY AND OTHER ACTIVITIES AND PEOPLE	TEXT: THE ACTUAL PROBLEM IS THAT WE ARE CONSUMING SOME NUTRIENTS SUBSTITUTES INSTEAD OF NUTRIENTS	SUGGESTION TO TRY VEGETARIAN WAY OF NUTRITION FOR 21 DAYS AND MENU ACCORDINGLY	TEXT ABOUT LOVING ONE'S SELF	TV PROGRAM SHE FEATURED, PHOTO WITH THE HOSTS
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	May 11 2013	May 28 2013	May 28 2013	May 28 2013	May 28 2013	May 28 2013	May 28 2013	May 28 2013	May 29 2013	May 29 2013	May 30 2013	June 2 2013
VIEWS												
LIKES	6	13	2	8	8	10	10	7	13	7	8	3
COMMENTS	2	4	2			3				1	1	
Question						2						
Positive	2	2										
Negative												
Answer		2				1						
Advertisement										1		
	PHOTO OF ORGANIC HOMEMADE CAKE	PHOTO COLLAGES OF WOMEN WITH THEIR DOGS	A MACHINE FOR NATURAL NUTRITION	PHOTO OF A SMOOTHY	HOMEMADE BIRTHDAY CAKE, PHOTO OF THE CAKE	PHOTO OF ASPARAGUS, RAW EATING	HOMEMADE BREAD PHOTO	VEGAN IDEA	HER BIRTH PHOTO WITH HER FIRST BABY, PROPAGATING NATURAL LABOR	AN AQUARIUM IN THE PARK PHOTO	SUGGESTION, BOOK TO MAKE CHILDREN EAT, DRAW TO WIN ONE OF THESE BOOKS	PHOTO OF A SAVED TREE IN KADIKÖY

Table 12

Mother #12 Netnographic Data

Mother #12	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 20 2020	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 17 2020	Sept. 17 2020	Sept. 16 2020	Sept. 15 2020	Sept. 14 2020	Sept. 14 2020
VIEWS			13805		3383	3161						
LIKES	677	311		322			947	198	247	299	499	584
COMMENTS	103	11	71	81	32	12	89	6	52	16	47	15
Question							59			2	1	
Positive	70	8	53	72		9		5	38		33	11
Negative												
Answer	33	3	18	9		3	30		14	4	13	4
Advertisement								1				
	SOCIAL HEALTH AWARENESS, BABIES WITH SMA, CALL FOR SUPPORT	HER SON'S PHOTO DRESSED UP WITH JEANS	DONA-TION CAM-PAIGN FOR CHILDREN WITH SMA, THE FATHER OF THE KID WITH SMA, VIDEO, AWARENESS ON THE ILLNESS AND CURE, BANK ACCOUNTS	HER SON'S BABYHOOD LYING ON THE BED WITH A SUPERMAN OUTFIT, MOVING. TEXT ABOUT SLEEPLESSNESS OF MOMS IN SUNDAY MORNING, QUESTION: WHO ELSE?	HER BABY'S CRAWLING VIDEO IN A COFFEE SHOP, NOT A RECENT VISUAL	HER SON'S OLD VIDEO, TRYING TO TALK	THROW BACK, HOW WE GROW UP WITH HER YOUTH PHOTOS, SUGGESTION OF DENTIST, WHITENING TEETH	ADVERTISEMENT, HER SON, SHE TALKS ABOUT MEMORY BUT ACTUALLY SHE IS PROPAGATING THE HOTEL	VIDEO OF TOY CITY MADE BY MOTHER & SON, ADVERTISEMENT OF LEGO TR	SARCASTIC, COMIC, HER FUNNY VIDEO, SHE GETS OLDER. TEXT: I AM WAITING FOR MY HAIR TO DRY BY ITSELF	HER PHOTOS IN POOL WITH BATHING SUIT, QUESTION ABOUT AN ANOMALY	A THROW BACK PHOTO WITH HER HUSBAND, ROMANTIC
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 8 2011	Sept. 10 2011
VIEWS												
LIKES	20	13	13	13	5	8	10	6	9	5	10	10
COMMENTS		1		2				2			1	
Question												
Positive		1		1								
Negative												
Answer				1								
	HER LOOKING AT THE CAMERA DRINKING SOMETHING WITH A STRAW	HER FACE CLOSE-UP, EATING NUTELLA	SHE IS DRINKING STARBUCKS FRAPPUCINO	A CLOSE UP PHOTO OF HER	PHOTO OF A BEACH, BLURRED	CLOSE UP PHOTO OF HER	PHOTO OF HER LYING ON THE BEACH	PHOTO OF HER HUSBAND. COMMENT : I FOUND HIM, MARRIED RIGHT AWAY	KISSING HER HUSBAND	PHOTO WITH HER HUSBAND	SAME 9. POST, KISSING HER HUSBAND	PHOTO WITH A KID IN A KITCHEN. TEXT: THERE IS A CHINESE IN THE KITCHEN

Table13

Mother #13 Netnographic Data

Mother #13	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 21 2020	Sept. 18 2020	Sept. 16 2020	Sept. 14 2020	Sept. 12 2020	Sept. 12 2020	Sept. 11 2020	Sept. 9 2020	Sept. 7 2020	Sept. 6 2020
IEWS					22666		23502		31253			
LIKES	2042	1897	1763	1877		1762		1844		2133	2083	1948
COMMENTS	108	57	52	93	25	74	4	58	47	104	35	28
Question			2			1	1				1	
Positive	63	47	48	47	15	51	2		36	57	18	
Negative												
Answer	45	10	2	26	10	21	1		11	47	16	12
Advertisement						1						
	AWARENESS FOR SMA CAMPAIGN, HER CHILDHOOD & LATEST PHOTO, LIST OF ACCOUNTS WITH SMA	THE NEED OF REFRESHMENT OF MOTHERS. QUESTION !!! WHAT ARE YOU DOING TO REFRESH? PHOTO FROM HER MORNING WALKS, MA PARK WATERED	TEXT ON SHIFTING TO WEANING AND MAKING YOUR BABY EAT IN FRONT OF TV WITH TOYS. QUESTION : DOES HE EAT BETTER?	ADVERTISEMENT OF 2 DIFFERENT PRODUCTS, TEXT ABOUT PRACTICALLY PREPARED MEAL FOR HER DAUGHTER. QUESTION : WHAT WOULD YOU DO? PHOTO OF THE PLATE	LIVE VIDEO OF HERSELF TALKING ABOUT PANDEMIC AND KINDERGARDEN	HEALTHY DESSERT RECIPE. PHOTO OF IT	AWRENESS CAMPAIGN AGAINST SMA, LIVE VIDEO WITH THE MOTHER OF A SMA PATIENT BABY. LINK FOR	INFO ABOUT BABY'S TEETH ANGEAN WEANING. NO PHOTO, JUST TEXT. QUESTION	ADVERTISEMENT. INFO ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF MOVEMENT FOR THE KIDS. HER DAUGHTER EXERCISING WITH GUIDANCE	SUGGESTIONS ON SLEEP WEARS FOR BABIES, SUGGESTIONS ON SOME BRANDS.	FEEDING BABIES WITH LESS SUGAR, SALT AND OIL. QUESTION . NO PHOTO, JUST TEXT	VIDEO OF 2 INFLUENCER MOMS, PUT TOGETHER, THEY ARE IN DIFFERENT PLACES, THE DESSERT SHE MADE SHE GIVES TO THE OTHER MOTHER. QUESTION
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	August 7 2017	August 11 2017	August 12 2017	August 13 2017	August 14 2017	August 15 2017	August 16 2017	August 17 2017	August 18 2017	August 19 2017	August 20 2017	August 21 2017
IEWS												
LIKES	111	117	125	98	111	81	95	122	85	114	136	119
COMMENTS	121	235	22	4	12	7	2	14	11	28	15	35
Question	65	129	13	2	4	2	1	6	3	11	2	10
Positive	15	37	1	1	4			2	5	5	10	11
Negative												
Answer	41	69	8	1	4	5	1	6	3	11	3	14
	HER BABY ON THE HIGH CHAIR. WEANING. TEXT: EATING TASTING PRUNES	HER BABY ON THE HIGH CHAIR. EATING WITH HER HANDS. FRUITS. COMMENTS ON A LIST THAT SHE SENDS FROM DM	WEANING AND TASTING. PHOTO: HER BABY ON THE HIGH CHAIR. WEANING	WEANING BABY ON HER HIGH CHAIR. ADVANTAGES OF BLW—BABY LEAD WEANING.	WEANING IS POSSIBLE ANYWHERE. PHOTO: WEANING BABY ON HER HIGH CHAIR	PHOTO: PLATE OF THE MOTHER WITH THE BABY AT THE BACKGROUNDOH HER HIGH CHAIR, HAVING BREAKFAST	BABY WEANING ON HER HIGH CHAIR. LAUGHING. SUGGESTION	PRODUCT SUGGESTION FOR EASIER WEANING. PHOTO: BABY DRINKING YOGURT DRINK	BABY EATING AVOCADO ON HER HIGH CHAIR	PHOTO: TRAY OF THE HIGH CHAIR WITH AVOCADOS, EGG YOLK, CHEESE AND A DRINK	SUGGESTIONS ON WEANING IDEAS	MULTIPLE PHOTOS OF WEANING BABY FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE END OF THE SESSION. AT THE LAST PHOTO THE BABY IS COVERED WITH CHEESE AND EGG

Table 14

Mother #14 Netnographic Data

Mother #14	Sept. 27 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 10 2020	Sept. 3 2020	Sept. 1 2020	August 27 2020	August 23 2020	August 21 2020	August 17 2020	August 13 2020	August 11 2020	August 3 2020
VIEWS								747				438
LIKES	261	81	64	46	47	76	97		133	94	513	
COMMENTS	26	4	4		1	2		5	1	22	3	4
Question												
Positive	22	3	4		1	1		3	1	12	2	3
Negative												
Answer	4	1				1		2		10	1	1
	SELFIE NOT SMILING. ISLAMIC WOMAN. SHE CRITICIZES BEST TEACHER AWARD IN THE SCHOOLS. CRITICIZING	PHOTO OF A PLUG ON THE WALL. TEXT: DISTANCE EDUCATION. CRITICIZING	HER KID'S HANDWRITING ABOUT A FRIEND SHE DOES NOT LIKE. TEXT ABOUT DISTANCE EDUCATION BREAKING SOCIAL BONDS. CRITICIZING	TEXT: COMPLAINT ABOUT HOUSE KEEPING. PHOTO: VARLIK PERIODICAL	TEXT & PHOTO OF AUTUMN SUN	SARCAS-TIC ABOUT THE PANDEMIC PERIOD. PHOTO: GLASS OF WATER, PC AT THE BACKGROUND	CRITICAL ABOUT SCHOOLS BE OPENED PHYSICAL-LY. PHOTO OF HER BALCONY	VIDEO. VIEW FROM BLACK SEA REGION SARCASTIC ABOUT BEING BORED WITH HER HUSBAND'S FAMILY	SARCASTIC ABOUT HUMANS' SELFISHNES S. PHOTO OF ROOM WITH THE LAMP	A PERIODICAL, HER ESSAY WAS EVALUATED IN THE PERIODICAL	VIDEO OF RAIN IN BLACK SEA REGION	VIDEO OF HER KID CLIMBING A STEEPY ROAD
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	Dec. 23 2012	Jan. 7 2013	Jan. 3 2013	Jan. 30 2013	Feb. 11 2020	Oct. 10 2015	Oct. 31 2015	Nov. 14 2015	Nov. 14 2015	Nov. 14 2015	Nov. 22 2015	Nov. 25 2015
VIEWS												
LIKES	6	2	2	8	9	11	22	7	6	9	13	20
COMMENTS					1				3	2		2
Question												
Positive					1				1			1
Negative												
Answer									2			1
	HER BABY'S PHOTO. TEXT: MY BABY	SNOWY VIEW FROM HER WINDOW	AGAIN SNOWY VIEW	HER BABY'S PHOTO	HER BABY'S PHOTO. TEXT: MY BABY	PHOTO OF GIFTS, ANNOUNCING THAT THE SECOND BABY HAS ARRIVED	PHOTO OF THE NEW BABY. TEXT: DON'T DISTURB	AŞURE. PHOTO	PHOTO: COOKIES ON A PLATE	PHOTO: TABLE FULL OF MEALS. TEXT: FEAST	SUN RISE PHOTO	HER BABY'S PHOTO

Table 15*Mother #15 Netnographic Data*

Mother #15	Sept. 24 2020	Sept. 23 2020	Sept. 22 2020	Sept. 19 2020	Sept. 18 2020	Sept. 13 2020	Sept. 12 2020	Sept. 11 2020	Sept. 5 2020	Sept. 2 2020	Sept. 1 2020	August 30 2020
VIEWS												
LIKES	722	1326	1388	1060	1156	826	755	908	1288	1682	1854	1284
COMMENTS	64	97	33	13	45	26	18	46	89	173	85	109
Question	3											
Positive	53	65	20	10	26	15	13	33	53	131	50	65
Negative												
Answer	8	32	13	3	19	11	5	13	36	42	35	44
	SMA AWARENES S CAMPAIGN, HER CHILDHOOD PHOTO AND LATEST PHOTO. RELATED ACCOUNTS	SELFIE MOTHER AND BABY. BABY'S FACE NOT VISIBLE. TEXT: BABY MIRRORING MOTHER'S SENTIMENT S. SO BE CALM TO YOUR CHILD	SELF IMPROVEMENT. PHOTO OF HER AND BABY UNDER A TREE, SHOT BY 3RD PARTY	A PRAYING WITH A POEM. PHOTO: MOTHER AND CHILD, SHOT BY 3RD PARTY	PHOTO: KISSING HER HUSBAND. SIGNATURE, SHE KEEPS PUTTING SUCH PHOTOS. TEXT: ABOUT DEATH AND LIFE. PRAYING	TEXT: HER PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE. PHOTO: SHE IS GARDENING WITH HER BABY AT HER BACK IN A SLING	A POEM BY MELIH CEVDET ANDAY. PHOTO: BED IN THE NATURALIST HOTEL THEY ARE STAYING AT.	PHOTO: BREAST FEEDING HER BABY. SHE IS PROPAGATING NATURALISTIC NUTRITION AND BREAST FEEDING, YOGA	TEXT: DILEMMA ABOUT MOTHERHOOD AND MISSIONS OF A FULFILLED WOMAN. PHOTO: SHE IS DRINKING THE SALAD'S JUICE FROM THE SALAD BOWL	PHOTO: HER BABY IS SLEEPING ON HER LAP. SHE IS COMPLAINING ABOUT HER BABY SLEEPING ON HER ALL THE TIME	PHOTO: HER PLAYING WITH HER BABY IN A COOL WAY WITH THE SUNSET AT THE BACKGROUND. 2 PHOTO: BABY THREW UP ON HER. HAVING FUN WITH NOT BEING COOL ENOUGH LIKE AN INSTAMOM	MOM AND BABY HOLDING HANDS. BEING SARCASTIC ABOUT "YOUR MILK IS NOT ENOUGH"
POSTS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	May 4 2012	May 7 2012	May 12 2012	May 13 2012	May 13 2012	May 13 2012	May 14 2012	May 19 2012	May 30 2012	June 17 2012	Sept. 21 2012	Sept. 22 2012
VIEWS												
LIKES	8	10	5	13	5	56	6	7	4	8	1	4
COMMENTS	5	3				2		1				2
Question												
Positive	3											
Negative												
Answer	2	1										
	STRAWBERRIES. TEXT: YUMMY	FEAST WITH GRANDPARENTS. TEXT: FEAST, ATATÜRK AT THE BACKGROUND	PHOTO: CREPE ON A PLATE	PHOTO: SELFIE WITH GS FLAG	ATATÜRK CORNER OF HER GRANDFATHER	HER GRANDPARENTS' WEDDING PHOTO	PHOTO: BLURRED, AIRPORT. TEXT: MY OFFICE	PHOTO: HER BROTHER EATING NUTELLA	PHOTO: BARBEQUE, JUST THE BARBEQUE	SELFIE: WITH A FACIAL MASK, ABOUT HAVING TOO MUCH ALCOHOL	PHOTO OF A WARNING	PHOTO OF A CAT. TEXT: HUNTER

Robert Kozinets (USC Annenberg, 2018, p. x) realized how very abstract things can be communicated via internet. This was both challenged and created by online conversations thanks to whom a special vocabulary is created and spread to the whole community—online—that once an online place was founded, thousands of people go and influence each other. This is crucial for such special purposed communities such as coffee lovers, crochet makers and in our case, mothers.

Through the day and night mothers are online for several different reasons, depending on the age of their children. Michelle Moravec, the editor of the book “Motherhood Online” (2011, p. x) explains why she was intrigued with the interaction of women online:

During my son’s difficulties in school, these women held my hand, virtually, as I anxiously awaited his daily behavior report. The members of my online mommy group have become the single greatest influence on my parenting. [...] I have shared intimate aspects of pregnancy, childbirth, and early motherhood that no other people are privy to. Along the way we have endured deployments, deaths, divorces, new jobs, houses and relationships. [...] Online I am a friend to people totally unlike my liberal, big city, academic-feminist self. We have had our share of difficulties over politics, religion, economics, and parenting choices. Still I often liken the group to family, not to indicate the strength of the bonds, but rather the attitude we have towards one another.

My personal experience was also quite relieving and encouraging on online communities. Online friends are always there for you in whatever time of the day or night and they support you no matter what kind of a mother you are. They are not judgmental, they do not know who you are and they do not care who you are, they try to support you unconditionally. Moravec (2011, p. xiv) also stresses that motherhood is not pleasant at all times and sometimes can be “horrifying, hysterical, scatological” as well.

Using personal experiences and mother identity during the design, research and writing process of the dissertation made it auto-ethnographical. I have been following such accounts of motherhood and baby blogs 2010 onwards, starting from the first pregnancy. Going through the process of becoming a mother is an advantage where you are not an alien to all changing hormones, life style and even furnitures around and knowing what people interviewed went through. Both interviewees trust you more, inform you more without being artificial. You, on the other hand, as the researcher can empathize more and ask further questions. Suzanne Brogger the writer of the book *Deliver Us From Love* where she harshly criticized family and love in 1970's, started to propagate the idea of family is being the only institution that can protect old, ugly and weak people during the 90's. Likewise Oriana Fallaci known as an atheist, in 1991, after having cancer told to an Italian newspaper that she is trying to understand presence of the God and get closer to him. She also regretted that she has no offspring who would share her pain and support her (Aktaş, 2001, p. 109, 110).

In the netnographic tables that are prepared for each mothers interviewed, the theme of posts at the very bottom, numbers of positive and negative comments, answer of Mother can be found. The upper part is reserved for the newest posts, whereas the lower part is reserved for the oldest posts in order to make it clear how each account was actually started and how they evolved through time. Time intervals are marked on the top enabling a comparison between participant mothers as well as their first 12 posts with their last 12 posts approximately taken from the same time, end of September 2020. In this way a pattern can be traced for each mother like their main theme besides motherhood, their posting frequency. The column titled as “Views” is only valable for video postings.

3.2. Data Collection

Since the moment I decided to become a mother of fall 2010, I became a close follower of mother blogs as well as related web sites. When I decided to write on this subject, I was already following these accounts, aware of their parlance and function for their followers. Apart from this personal interest, such mother accounts were started to be followed professionally as well without making any preference. Before those who are not pleasing or found too artificial were not followed.

For this dissertation, to collect the data, the research conducted via Instagram for the detection of popular mother accounts. As the first touch I sent a brief DM (Direct Message in Instagram and Twitter). With a rate of 1/5, mothers returned to my DMs.

In the beginning, the text was ending with the sentence: “If you want to be a part of a scientific research...” Almost no one returned to these messages. I was very upset and hopeless till I bumped one of my middle school friends who both is an academician and mother, in the play ground. I was complaining about how difficult to persuade those virtual celebrities to talk to me. She told me to get rid of the word “scientific” which scares those who are not academic and to use rather a casual language seeming needy. In fact I was needy, I needed participants to conduct my research. I reworded and as soon as I revised that paragraph I started to get answers to my DMs.

Sometimes I found some joint-friends to connect with my interviewees or they voluntarily connected me to some of their Instagram friends. One of the most challenging steps was to convince these mothers. It was even more difficult than making the interviews which took 1 hour 30 minutes each in average. There was no cancellation, just for twice we rescheduled the interviews. All these mothers put their effort and time to contribute voluntarily, while their young children were looked after by their spouses.

Methodologically, lock downs pushed me to realize the possibility of online meeting platforms and this thesis became one of the pioneering researches whose query was made through cyber-media as well. Another methodological contribution of this thesis to the field is that the so-called Netnography, a new marketing research method to understand consumer behavior over online platforms (Heinonen &

Medberg, 2018, p. 657) was used to evaluate social patterns of online mothers, Instamoms.

Interviews, as well as the audio recordings were easier to make online when it is compared with the first interview that was held face to face in very noisy environment, in a coffee shop in Ankara. We were mandatorily staying at home because of Covid-19. After the first week of the quarantine at March 2020, we shifted to online teaching and thanks to the trainings on Zoom, I realized that there is the possibility of using technology for data gathering. It was not necessary to interview all your participants in person with the presence of video conferencing platforms and video call apps unlike the coffee shop where sometimes the recording gets dirty with the cries of a baby, laughters or fork and knife from the neighboring tables, the diegetic sound of the environment. The interviewees were quite comfortable in their homes, giving sincere answers. Almost in all we were interrupted by their family members, especially by their children, I relieved them since I had children as well. My kids were quite familiar seeing me teaching via Zoom and they knew it is not “nice” to interrupt my sessions. Though they did a few times as well as cargo men, whose position also revised because of lock-downs, we all started to shop online.

In physical conditions it was very difficult to set an appointment, meet at there and try to choose a silent corner, get distracted by the waiter and at the end pay the bill. In Turkey the phrase “Check please!” always addresses an issue, usually no one wants her check payed by the other party, me neither therefore we usually fight over

paying the bill. In this case we had no such stress to think of afterwards. At the end of the first interview, that was made in a café we had this problem.

Financially and in terms of scheduling, having these conversations online was very advantageous as well: physically I should be traveling to different cities several times, such as Bodrum, Izmir, Istanbul, Muğla, Sinop, Bursa from Ankara which means energy, time and money. As being a mother, I would have to find some people to take care of my own children each time I leave the town, if my husband is away too for his job.

Transcribing the records I realized that, in the first 3 interviews, in order to encourage my interviewees to trust me thus to talk to me more freely, I was laughing to their jokes or saying words of appreciation which were mixing together with their talk. I was myself, dirtying the record and I started use body language more for feedback. Especially in online conversations time-lap should be considered. Sometimes both party are staying silent and start to talk at the same time. Even if it is a show of approval I learnt I should keep it lower in volume or express my feelings with gestures and mimics more.

After interviews were over and transcribed personally, I started to look deeper to netnography which was first told me by my advisor. As reading it I realized this much data, in order to be processed need a kind of classification and at that point I started to build tables (Table 1-15). Tables that are put into this dissertation are

censored considering ethical issues, for the names of Instamoms interviewed remain secret.

The power of netnography on the other hand, is that researchers can get any information they basically need on the surface both qualitative and quantitative because people are quite actively talking about their choices, tastes, their reasons specifically for these choices and date, amount of posts, their interaction are calculable (Heinomen & Medberg, 2018, p. 660). Therefore, in this dissertation data coming from all Instamoms found valuable for the result is used.

3.3. Sampling and In Depth Interviews

In order to carry out this research, semi-structured in depth interviews with Instagram mothers residing in Turkey were made. These “Instamoms” should have at least 2000 followers and should be sharing posts on mothering. This helped creating a data based on personal experiences of mothers whose duty is producing mothering contents.

For this research, 15 mothers were interviewed. Because of the Covid-19 lock down period only 1 mother could be interviewed face-to-face, remaining 14 mothers were interviewed thanks to online connections or video chat programs. If there was no lock-down these ways of communications would never seem proper for academic data collection but in this way it became easier, cheaper and quicker. Even interviewees' small presents are sent via online shopping web-sites. Normally those 14 women

might give shorter answers but they gave long and detailed answers, being quite sincere. One said “Because now we are closer I am telling this to you, in the first run I went after the labour, I realized I wet my pants!” This statement was an important one proving that I was trusted not just a researcher but more like a girlfriend, especially since this was particularly not an answer to one of the questions in my questionnaire, rather it was a further information all women go through and taught not to talk about it just like their menstruation, masturbation, orgasm and other womanly qualities forbidden to be talked. The case would not be the same unless I was a mother of 2 as well. No matter how young, passionate and ambitious the researcher is, the interviewee needs a vocabulary, a set of keywords making her comfortable with what she is talking about, especially in such a taboo field.

Originally interviews are made in Turkish except the interview with a foreign mother who speaks Turkish as well. With her the interview started in English to warm up, she told that she can understand Turkish we tried to continue in Turkish but because of poor internet connection and some unfamiliar words to her, it was entirely done in English both the questions and answers.

Most of the mothers interviewed, expressed their happiness before the closure because of “finally having an adult chat.” Also since they were usually pushed too hard by the press or mostly by their followers, they said the interview was not to be afraid of.

Throughout the thesis mothers interviewed will be distinguished according to the order of their interviews like Mother #1, Mother #2, [...] Mother #15. Since all the interviews and transcriptions were personally made, the order was in my mind throughout the process as well as the need I felt calling them as “Mothers.” They were the representatives of modern Turkish women fighting for their motherhood ideals. Whether interviewed or not, there are several different cases proving that they have an undeniable strength and crowd. Actually as Guy Debord (2016, p. 187) states, they are the creators of a new common language for the society, since the historical way of communication grew old not fulfilling the needs of today, as well as they are functioning as scripts, creating a special memory for their mediation between the state and public, between the formal and informal, because they are constantly writing about feelings, thoughts, expectations. Debord actually considers the very weapon of states as writing in the construction of political power. In here though women are forming their own power, becoming administrative units in the institution of motherhood: “Writings are the thoughts of the State; archives are its memory” (Novalis) (Debord, 2016, p. 131).

3. 4. Netnographic Analyses

While reading on netnography I realized that making a table would make the process of analysis clearer. Then I decided to take the last 12 posts and first 12 posts of each mother. As it can be seen on Table 1. to Table 15, themes of their Instagram photographs, captions, comments, both negative and positive, answers of Instamoms and if there is, advertisements are marked chronologically.

I was once informed by one of my participants that if there is a serious gap between follower amount and interaction—that are likes and comments—there is certainly fraud: It points to purchased followers who are paid followers in order to make accounts appear crowded for commercial purposes, to get advertisement agreements.

Preparing these tables are quite tiring because it had to be completed within a few days in order to be consistent in chronology. Software of Instagram for mobile phones try to pull you back constantly from past to present, to make you scroll more within present, to expose you to more products, so that you struggle to remain in the past. This becomes more difficult when the account is posted too frequently. In social media what makes you older is your frequency, rather than months and years. While analyzing an account frequency, concept, main topic(s), follower number, likes, comments and viewer number for videos should especially be checked, compared and recorded. Last feature of both Facebook and Instagram, “Story” was introduced on 2016, it especially became popular with the pandemic, 2020. The feature stays 24 hours then perish if you do not make it permanent, therefore it is perfect when a temporary political message is wanted to be sent or a very personal or an insulting one. Especially they are favored for advertisements. It is perfect to keep your account sterile, freed from messages, advertisements and follower comments that you do not want to be associated with, when Instagram page is considered as a personal album, the reflection of your ideology and vision in life, representation. Stories can not be zoomed, they have a time limit and once posted, they can not be edited. In order to

edit or add something, they have to be erased then re-created. Stories, therefore, have an impression of being more casual, natural, compared to posts whose shape are rectangular, not square like classical Instagram posts.

Stories are troubling netnographic research, because each day, each participant should be checked to see whether there is a new story and sometimes stories can not be caught. In his book *Netnography: Redefined*, Robert V. Kozinets (2015, p. 199) states about the data: “First it must be recorded, saved, found and scraped out of the early ground of experience, physical and symbolic experience.” This is why these 15 tables were made in order to record online activities of mothers both when they opened their accounts first and in the end of September 2020 when data collection through internet was made, following in-depth interviews.

Tables that are published in this dissertation are censored for ethical reasons, in order to keep my participants’ identity secret. Data on the other hand, which is already published in social media is shared for different occasions as proof for analyses. Aside from 15 Instamoms who were interviewed, others providing the conditions of having at least 2000 followers, producing motherly contents in Turkish were followed constantly to have a richer data netnographically. Not just having the most from interviews with my “mother” identity, which made women feel comfortable, also in interpreting the netnographic data, my being mother and following these blogs and accounts and forums for over 10 years, worked in the induction (Kozinets, 2015, p. 2001) of the data. Because the jargon adopted by

mothers, their approaches towards political issues, as well as commercial was familiar.

3.4.1 A Netnographic Sample: Coding and Abstraction of a Taboo

Subject

This very subject, period pain, is chosen because of being outrageous, among many other contents. Such topics started to appear more and more as they once started to be spoken. They are normalizing these “secret” issues to be voiced freely which are actually natural, that is, coming from the nature but forbidden by the society to be spoken

@hihieved started a topic under her selfie, where she is obviously lying on the couch overwhelmed by pain, her hand on her forehead, captioned sarcastically, whether we can believe if she ever called women suffering from period pain as “princesses,” but of course she would not, definitely she would not do so ever! (@hihieved, 2021, July 16). Normally we do not talk about period pain in public so openly. Here again, we have this space issue and assuming they are not heard or only heard by whomever it concerns, women give advices to each other, they recommend herbal remedies, teas, even medicines, therapists. They tag these therapists or medical doctors. Those who are tagged are replying with emojis or they are leaving sarcastic comments under their names. Women talk about the pain itself, they try to describe it by words or what pain did to them, like they passed out and split her head. Some ask for further recommendation on for example how to brew that herb, how many

minutes, what is the name of that acupuncturist etc. Most of them are standing behind their recommendations telling that they tried everything literally and this is the best method. There are 250 comments and this is almost 4 times higher (60 in average) than comments made under the posts about her son or the way she is mothering. Feminist issues like this one get 250 comments in average, sometimes much more. 3964 likes is lower than likes coming to her posts about her son or the way she is mothering (up to 17.000, around 6000 in average).

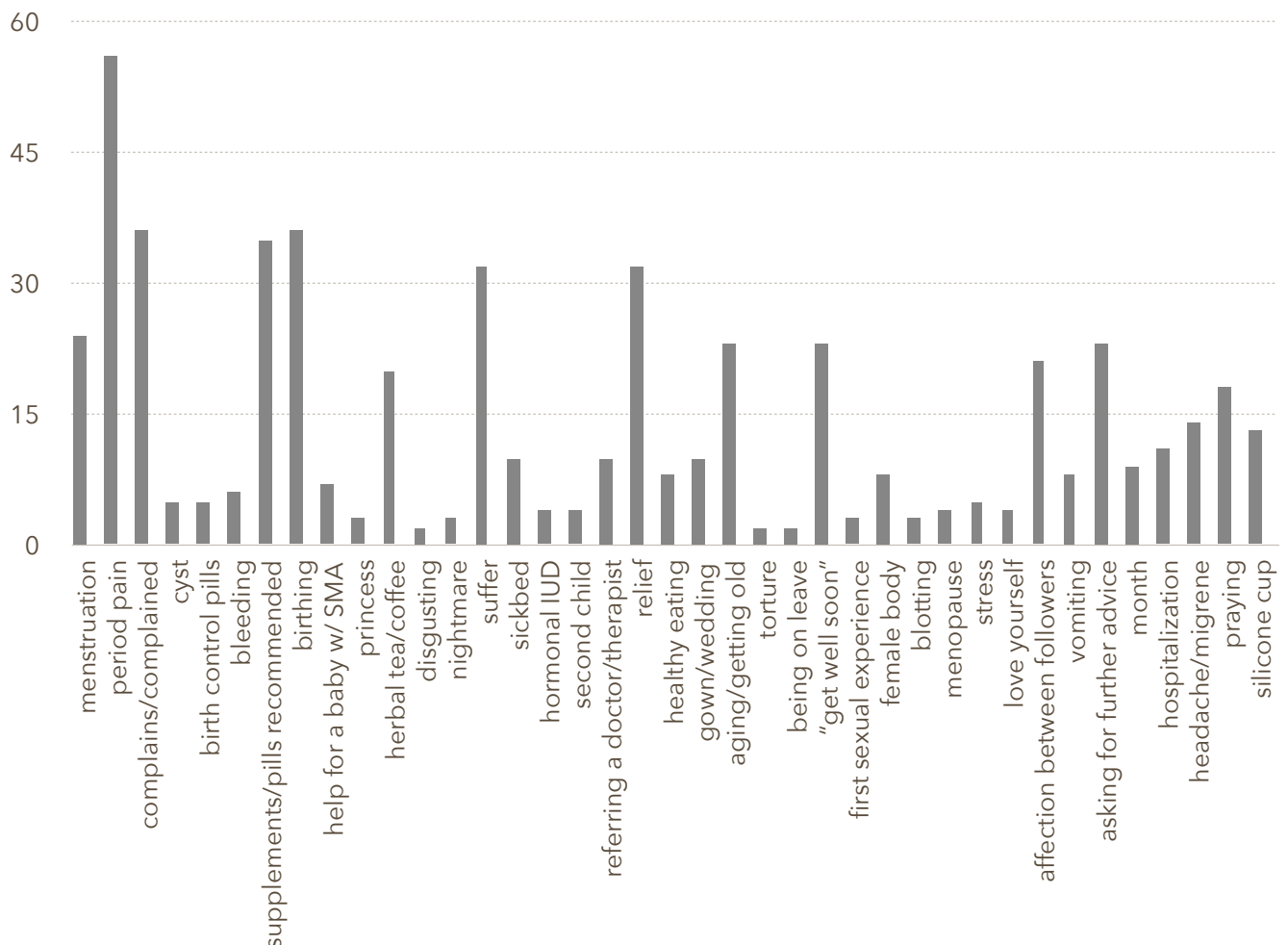
Besides the numerical data we have, coming from likes, comments and followers, there is decoding in order to detect “common elements and patterns” when women are talking about on period pain. Both their wording and common tendencies are observed to understand their drive behind speaking up on such a taboo subject in public. Imagine that you are going in a public bus and one of the women starts a conversation with other women, perfect strangers and suddenly almost each woman, careless about the men who are interestedly listening says something, comments on this issue which is normally intimate and avoided. Remember Leslie Kern (2019, p. 74) talking about womanhood within the city and woman friendships are being nurturing and transformative. After reading and thinking on this conversation in here, even I as a researcher, had an influence. When I started to write, I doubted whether it was a taboo or not speaking loudly on period pain. Actually it was. But thanks to this 200 something ladies we tend to think that this is no more a taboo. The issue gets normalized after it started to be outspoken and commented on. It is the feeling of being a community that makes us stronger to stand against our belief that we should

occupy a very little space, stay away from the gaze and not bother anybody (Kern, 2019, p. 90).

In the netnographic analysis, for the proper decoding of women's feelings and solutions on period pain, I was looking for the words specifically used to describe period pain and words for remedies. What were the key words? I first tried to keep the track of words with Wordle Word Cloud as Kozinets (2015, p. 213) used in an example but my data was crowder than what he dealt with so I made a chart and started to add newly introduced important words, while I was notching to those retold (please see Appendix 2 for the coding of the data).

Table 16.

Abstraction of the Netnographic Data



In order to make the abstraction I used the program Numbers (Excel).

Looking for the motivation why women are leaving these intimate details in a wide open medium to public when their names are visible, we especially see the keyword of the caption, “period pain” is repeated and becomes the most articulated word. This reinforces the meaning proves that it really exists for some (Kozinets, 2015, p. 227). As we can clearly see in the abstraction, the word “period pain” is followed by the word “complaining/complaint” which also exists within the caption: Repeating this very word many women are confessing that they either complained that women suffering from period pain are princesses or they are sarcastically taking their revenge from @hihieived saying that “at last you are also suffering.” The word “suffer” is often equipped with a description like “torture, over bleeding, vomiting, stress, nightmare, sickbed” to tell how the pain was unbearable that it ended up with “hospitalization.” They also talk about a common belief that says these “month”ly pains will be finalized either with their “wedding/wedding dress” (first sexual experience is meant) or “birthing.” However most of them say this was not case, period pain is not lost with neither sex, nor first or the “second child.” Some of them told that these pains are getting looser as they are “aging/getting older.” Whether it is related to the amount of pain or not, most of them tend to complain about aging.

When they complain, comment on or describe the pain, all of them recommend a solution for that “menstrual” “pain” that they are “suffering” regularly. They are very sure of their recommendations does not matter if it is a “supplement,”

“medicine,” “doctor/therapist,” “hormonal IUD,” “herbal tea/coffee,” “healthy eating” they felt “relief” and they are sure that, specifically their recommendation will make her (and all other followers) “(get) well soon.”

Among the questions that I asked to my participants there were more than one question basically asking the reason of their starting an account in Instagram and all of them replied as they knew how pitiful they are when they first become mother and they wanted to find both those who are like them and help them with what they know (they think that they are in the know more). This case study is checking what they told: obviously everyone in here suffer or suffered from period pain and miraculously finally found a remedy to get over. This is why they insist on that particular one, as they tell, they tried several different formulas, they generously share the one thanks to whom they find “relief” each moth.

Such suggestions sometimes get the attention of the account owner and she writes an answer back, having automatically a chain of conversation on the very topic. Sometimes without commenting on, followers leave a like on the suggestion as a symbol of their gratefulness. Unless answering a question directed to themselves, they write once, they do not reappear.

In between the very subject, 7 different people comments with similar texts as a call of help for SMA patient two different babies. In some contents such intruders appear in different forms, either they try to raise fund or they advertise themselves, and their brands, freed from the topic itself.

As it will be discussed more in “Findings” chapter together with the answers to the questionnaire, Instamoms, as their kids grow, tend to produce more political contents, including the politics of femininity via sociologically taboo or controversial issues that becomes an important part of their representation and performance.

4. MOTHERHOOD

Every human being is born (to a mother)... (Ortner, 1974, p. 71)

Even though one is not a mother or even woman, can relate to this subject because everyone comes from a mother. Many personal narratives of mothering or motherhood are not global because mothering is cultural but “the pressure for women to become mother is.” (Walks, 2010, p. 10).

4.1. Mother Love: Nature or Culture?

Mothers who mother as their mothers mothered them are mothering after an imaginary recollection . Mothering in this sense is make-believe in just the same way as a teenage boy wears the shoes of Michael Jordan as a way of keying up a sense of social status against the one with which he must live. And so on. There is very little that goes on in daily life that is not, in some basic sense, at least a fabrication of what we imagine we ought to be or do in such and such a situation (Lemert, 2005, p. xxxix).

Nancy Scheper-Hughes in her book *Death Without Weeping* (1992, p. 341) where she talks about her stay as a medical in Alto de Cruzeiro, Brazil, on child survival, she clearly asserts that motherhood is a cultural construct: “Mother love is anything other than natural and instead represents a matrix of images, meanings,

sentiments, and practices that that are everywhere socially and culturally produced.”

Both Scheper-Hughes and Erving Goffman, whose ideas are cited above state that motherhood is performed according to some cultural assets that are socially observed and experienced. What is called as performance is tailoring of an image and a set of actions for one’s self for representation in front of different audiences as the works of Abrahams, Geertz, Schechner and Turner in performance anthropology demonstrated (Bauman,1992, p. 47).

While the dissertation was coming out, Covid-19 Pandemic lockdowns stuck people at their homes, which made people getting more connected to their children. The Duchess of Cambridge, Kate Middleton who is a mother of 3 and the possible future queen of British royalty, started to post a series of videos and photographs from their official Instagram account (@kensingtonroyale, 2020, November 28) on mothering with an increased interaction with her followers each passing day. Obviously she was trying to have a positive impact as a mother, with a statement written under the post that was arranged most probably by the PR managers:

The Duchess of Cambridge has today unveiled the findings of the biggest ever UK study on the early years, in a milestone moment for her work on the importance of early childhood in shaping the rest of our lives and broader societal outcomes. Visit the link in our bio to read ‘State of the Nation: Understanding public attitudes to the early years. (...) The research reveals what the UK thinks about the early years, and also explores how COVID-19 has impacted the perceptions and experiences of parents and carers of the under-fives .

There must be a major issue in “parenting,” mothering detected by authorities that the most loved public figure of the kingdom involved concentratedly in the subject. If it was a parenting issue both the Duke and the Duchess would be appearing on photographs and texts published but we only see Kate Middleton carrying this program on all by herself connoting mothering, rather than parenting.

This is like Adrienne Rich’s mopping the floor the day after she got married to really become a married woman although the floor does not need to be mopped (Rich, 1977, p. 25). Motherhood is representation requiring a set, costumes, a discourse only other mothers voluntarily decipher.

“The ideal mother has no interest of her own...” as Nancy Chodorow affirms in her book *The Reproduction of Mothering* (1978, p. 77) taken from the article called as *Love for the Mother and Mother Love* of Alice Balint dating back to 1939. The paragraph explains how woman finds interest in her infant and thereafter she could be either called as a good or bad mother on how deeper she goes in this “finding her interest” in her infant. Chodorow (1978, p. 173) also determines that girls and boys are representing themselves in a sexually unequal society because they all were brought up in families in which women were supposed to mother; because first Rousseau and later, Freud, already cast the same mould for women with 150 years gap: this was women’s nature (Badinter, 1992, p. 192). The “normal” woman was distinguished with loyalty and self-sacrifice. Since this was told by 2 reliable characters, it should be obeyed, there was no way to get away from the nature. Those

who dared to resist on the other hand, did not adopt these norms and paid the price for rebelling the male dominance: Labeled with egoism, evil and abnormal which are very difficult to be bore within the society. All women were kept silent with this very social pressure in either ways; some adapted themselves to the given norms, some continued to live unhappily.

Luce Irigaray (2012, p. 23) talks about women's slavery within the wrong comments of capability of giving birth: For women it is enough to be the receiver, a fertile soil who is supposed to present that seed planted by the man, to the community and to the church. In this way woman would be functioning for her master and masters as she was expected. Sculpting such a role for women as making them responsible for the reproduction of a particular culture, abusing her biological capability and keeping her in subjugation is actually considered as guaranteeing to reproduce that kinship system (Butler, 2013, p. 153).

Following the brutal wars and the foundation of Turkish republic, women were kept busy with a very important mission to make the republic populate and educate these children as patriots belonging to the state.

4.2. Socio-Historical Construction of Motherhood in the Turkish Context

Motherhood was a national duty during the first decades of Turkish Republic. In 17 November 1924 the program of the first opposition party had an edict for the population growth. Kazım Karabekir, who was a national hero in national defense and

one of the founders of the party, made a speech addressing families, telling that they should be producing as much children as they can whose responsibility is on the state (Demirci-Yılmaz, 2015, p. 83). These were again told to “families” but actually were women’s mission as mothers openly called to look after themselves physically and intellectually by the state, they were considered as mediators between for their nation this time. The idealized Turkish Republican “good” woman should be distinguished from the previous monarchic period’s. She was determined as: a hard working for the welfare of her home, knowing how to love her husband deeply, having a tender personality who must bring up subservient children to her country. The figures chosen to speak up in news papers or in public speeches were well educated women of that period (Demirci-Yılmaz, 2015, p. 86-87). It was clearly denoted that women should produce children in high quantities. Also women were supposed to work hard and cultivate themselves in order to bring up physically strong children who would support their country both materially and morally. Therefore women were considered important not just for their capacity of manufacturing children but also shaping a patriotic new generation thanks to whom the newborn Turkish Republic would improve (Koç, 2019, p. 177).

At that time, 1920’s and 1930’s, motherhood was one of the focal points that even mother feeling and mother duty was sharply separated. It was obvious that each woman becoming a mother had the mother feeling which is also determined as the “divine emotion” but not aware of the mother duty (annelik vazifesi). Therefore women needed to be trained specifically.

In order to train women, a new program was designed: forms of politeness, well nutrition, ways to improve physical condition which would also improve some character qualities as well as intellectual, would be taught. Important feminists of that time constantly wrote on this mothering issue in popular women's magazines of the period such as Nezihe Muhittin, Emine Semiye, Fatma Aliye Şükufe Nihal and Ulviye Mevlan (Koç, 2019. p. 174-179).

Nezihe Muhittin, one of the leading feminists of this era has an article titled as "Analık Vazifesi" (Duty of Motherhood), 1925, she listed the feeling of motherhood at the top of the others and clearly feared of being misunderstood as a cold, women's rights warrior, so claimed that her feminist identity should not be shading her mother identity that is sacred (Koç, 2019, p. 177).

Mother identity was sacred because it had patriotic qualities. In the modernizing Ottoman society, first they were supposed to increase the population, but they should do this with qualified members of both genders. These ideas were reinforced with the Republic: it is believed that with a society formed by a materially and morally well educated generation the targeted wellbeing can be reached (Koç, 2019, p. 182).

Another role expected to be performed by women was wifehood. Since one of the most accurate theories about the decline of Ottoman Empire was the disruption of the smallest unit of the society, the family and woman was the n. This was also accepted by female intellectuals and to bring strong generations up, they considered

strong family necessary and for that, strong women fulfilling their wifedom properly was essential. As a result, the traditional family structure was deeply criticized and family members were individually found unhappy, ineligible to form a happy and strong family. For well bonded, happy families women should be educated, independent and aware of the world (Koç, 2019, p. 182).

With the 1950's the state told to be more careful to married couples, to bring children as much as they can afford and look after, because from that time on financially they will not be supported. The population was stabilized. Also abortion was legitimized, whereas women were started to be informed in birth control techniques after the pronatalist bio-politics of the 1930's was revised and was replaced by an antinatalist policy (Demirci-Yılmaz, 2015, p. 90).

The concept of motherhood has economic and political drives behind. It was constructed and deconstructed and reconstructed after global economic crises of the 19th and 20th century, but also in the 17th and 18th century France especially, motherhood was an essential mission to transmit the spouse's name and his possessions. However it was not enough to determine a woman whether she is proficient for the mission because mothering activities were clashing with womanhood and the missions of a wife (Badinter, 2020, p. 165-166). Aristocratic women were freed from economic doubts and became the pioneers of childless living (Badinter, 2020, p. 167). This makes Halide Edip Adivar's—a Turkish female writer, politician, academician and activist on women's rights—defending urban women who seems less into the household labor with fancy dresses and make up but more

educated and unofficially delegating those ideas to be adapted by all women, clearer. Adivar was using the very term: “pioneer” as well, to define how social changes are brought (Demirci-Yılmaz, 2020, p. 89) emphasizing the homogeneity of Turkish society. Ortner underlined: “it became impossible to look at the so-called Third World without understanding it as part of a history of colonial (and, for the Marxist, capitalist) expansion” (Sehlikoğlu, 2018, p. 76).

Towards the mid 19th century, the last century of Ottoman Empire, women were even not counted by census takers because they were not paying taxes and they were not serving in the army. Whereas in the beginning of the 20th century, within a very short time after the proclamation of Turkish republic, women were given political rights, including right to vote and election (Konan, 2011, p. 164; Shaw, 1978:325). Some of these rights were provided by Atatürk himself to honor Turkish woman who fought side by side with men in the War of Independence: “I am perfectly sure, that women using political and sociological rights is essential for welfare and prestige of humanity” he would declare. On 1934 the headlines were heralding “Yesterday’s woman of ornament, today’s member of parliament, Atatürk’s comrade” (Konan, 2011, p. 166, 168). These rights were given earlier than most of countries when compared to the whole world. Turkish woman’s place was quite different within the society when it is discussed with feminist norms. Turkey has its own character with its own problematics differing from Western and Islamic counterparts on femininity and motherhood hence should be analyzed accordingly, freed from Christian connotations associated with Virgin Mary. Although this sacred duty was given to woman by the god, in Christian tradition most women might not say that they

exclusively mediated the sacred coming onto the world. Our highly masculine culture prevents women from fully enjoying this duty which is about the continuum of humanity; it even does not care, even despise the duty (Irigaray, 2012, p. 28).

Neither, unlike most of Islamic countries, Turkey did not went through dogmatic radical Islamic fractions who restrained women dramatically (Afary & Anderson, 2015, p. 215); nor through the World War II, replacing their men's labor—changing mothering routines drastically—and was replaced again when the war was over so that facing economic and social changes again (Kern, 2019, p. 47).

Very recently, a research made on the discourse of femininity in Turkey reveals that for the participants, being woman is explained with being mother and menstruation, sexuality and menopause are the proofs of being woman (Elçi, 2011, p. 8) which are directly related with the ability of biological reproduction. Both stay at home and working women have this equation; equation has the marriage requirement which is untold because it is seen as the natural step before having children (Elçi, 2011, p. 9).

4.3. The Rise of Feminism and Motherhood

Adrienne Rich in her book *Of Woman Born: Motherhood as Experience and Institution* (1977, p. N/A) was not against women's compulsiveness of giving birth and bringing those children up but rather men's manipulation of this process, patriarchy. She states that childbirth can be considered as the very event of a

woman's life, as she comes out of her mother's womb. All physicality of woman prepares her to become a mother herself: her early clitoral eroticism, growth of her body, vulva giving her pleasure, masturbation, menstruations, her sexual intercourses and orgasms, pregnancy, finally her first holding her own baby. This should only be taken as a womanly experience rather than production of offsprings as it is considered in patriarchal point of view.

Like Rich, Fatima Naoout who is an Egyptian activist, translator, critic and poet, asserts the ideology of man as in the know of woman's power and feeling more powerful when he manages having control over.

(...) although woman is man's artistic source of inspiration, the male artist has a fervent desire to cage her within the bonds of patriarchy. In order to fulfill this goal, the male devises a power strategy that seeks to tame and train woman on holding that the female segregation is the eternal law of existence. Such a male ideology has a two-edged function: first to instigate women to accept their subordination and second to make them appear as if they were the inessential other that has no political or economic identity outside the gender oppression (Raslan, 2019, p. 2).

Woman's being considered as the incomplete man as de Beauvoir (Raslan, 2019, p. 3) asserts: "She is determined and differentiated in relation to man, while he is not in relation to her; she is the inessential in front of the essential. He is the Subject; he is the Absolute. She is the Other." Man can exist without woman, unlike woman who would not be without him. For man, woman means sex and she was defined by this

lack which makes her the object. She was lacking the phallus so that she will be filling the void with the child so that she would have the phallus as Freud, Levin (Balsam, 2017, p. 24) and Lacan put in psychoanalytical theory of gendering (Fotaki & Harding, 2012, p. 2). Even in psychoanalysis, mothers were invisible till 1960s. Theories remaining before that time leave childbearing and delivery experiences aside (Balsam, 2017, p. 17) and defend the idea of women's phallic envy was so desperate and "sorrowful" that they were compensating that deficit with a baby bump in belly. This very idea was reinforced with Bertram Levin's phallic theory in his article "The Body as Phallus" in 1933 and it became the actual accepted theory till 1980's (Balsam, 2017, p. 24). For Lacan as well subject can not exist without sex and the master is the phallus and man's desire is to have the phallus, whereas woman's desire is to be the phallus (Fotaki & Harding, 2012, p. 5). Although Lacanian psychoanalysis was rejected by most feminists, including Luce Irigaray who was one of the first psychoanalyst feminists (Fotaki & Harding, 2012, p. 6) when phallic symbols, social order and power struggle is considered, it should not be fully ignored.

4.3.1. Postmodern Feminism

@calisananneolmak der ki "Kendin dışında kimsenin inisiyatifine bağlı hayaller kurma" (@calisananneolmak says that "Do not ever dream relying on others' initiative" (Çalışan Anne Olmak, 2021, October 5).

The account owner named her account after her working mom ideology that can be translated as "Being a Working Mom." In her bio she explains herself as:

“Being a working mom is not an obstacle to be a FAIRLY ENOUGH PARENT. This woman’s only identity is definitely not “someone’s mom” :)” (In Turkey it was a trend to name accounts after their child’s name + mom in English i.e. @burcusemom. She definitely against the idea of polishing mother identity as the only one, relying on the baby that came out of your body in order to be someone. In her bio she also stresses that there is no perfection, nor sexism in parenting by capitalizing the words “fairly enough parent.”

Postmodern feminism has risen over the past 15 years because of its direct connection with social work (Sands and Nuccio, 1992, p. 489), as well as with mental load or the so-called invisible labor which is explained as carrying the discipline of "anticipating needs, identifying options for filling them, making decisions, and monitoring progress" by a research published in *American Sociological Review* (Gonsalves, 2020, p. N/A).

Mental load and invisible labor are forming the new headlines for feminists to discuss in the near future on which already awareness programs are set. Especially mothers will be on the focal point of these debates because complaints on the actual physical work rotates towards its root and even the logistics part in advance is accused for being toxic for mothers as it is put by Ciciolla and Luthar (2019, p. N/A):

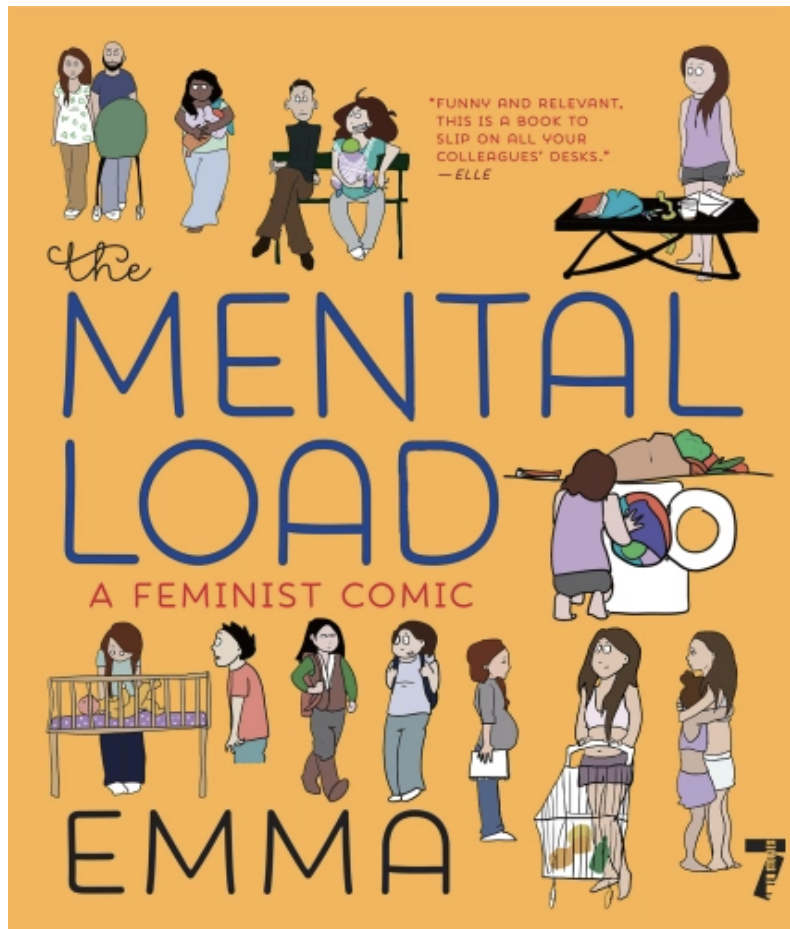
We address the issue of invisible labor in the home by examining how the distribution of the mental and emotional labor inherent in managing the household between spouses may be linked with women’s well-being, including their satisfaction with life, partner satisfaction, feelings of

emptiness, and experiencing role overload. In a sample of 393 U.S. married/partnered mothers, mostly of upper-middle class backgrounds with dependent children at home, results showed that a majority of women reported that they alone assumed responsibility for household routines involving organizing schedules for the family and maintaining order in the home. Some aspects of responsibilities related to child adjustment were primarily handled by mothers, including being vigilant of children's emotions, whereas other aspects were shared with partners, including instilling values in the children. Responsibility was largely shared for household finances. Regression analyses showed that after controlling for dimensions of emotional and physical intimacy, feeling disproportionately responsible for household management, especially child adjustment, was associated with strains on mothers' personal well-being as well as lower satisfaction with the relationship.

Emma, the mental load comic aims raising awareness both in women and of course in men who contributes to childcare and household chores more lately. The main problem is being considered as the manager by men as women, so whether the work is already done by men it should be planned, material acquisition should be completed the proper environment should be prepared and related people should be brought there by mothers (please see Figure 1 and Figure 2).

Figure 1

Emma. Cover

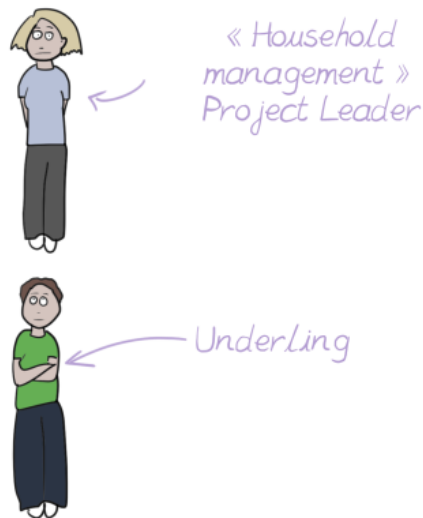


Note. Taken from: <https://english.emmacol.com/2017/05/20/you-shouldve-asked/>

Figure 2

Emma. Men tend to see their wives/female partners as project managers

*When a man expects his partner to **ask him to do things**, he's viewing her as the **manager** of household chores.*



So it's up to her to know what needs to be done and when.

Note. Taken from: <https://english.emmaclit.com/2017/05/20/you-shouldve-asked/>

Instamoms in Turkey are not just serving for the representation of mother but also for the reconstruction of feminism. Before for such radical changes, defense of some ideologies and claim of rights were quite different. People are still shouting and marching on the streets, beaten by police whereas a new stream social media laborers, Instamoms, started to take what they want from their couches by just posting some photographs equipped with sarcastic captions full of humor.

On her June 27, 2021 post, @blogcuanne wrote on heteronormative point of view as an informative paragraph at the surface but rather a very ironic one in fact. As photographs she used 2 texts: The former is a rainbow background bearing a motto referring to the pride parade, the latter is the screen shot of a tweet by herself “Today, I had to console somebody for having 3 sons and 0 daughters.” Underneath it has more than 200 comments and 4197 likes which is quite higher than her average. The caption tells that when people found out that she owns 3 of those 3 boys get shocked and binds this to the comments made on advantages and disadvantages of having sons and daughters, how sexist these kindly told words are actually. She tells about the question asked following her post with a rainbow: “How would you feel if one of your sons addresses another man as ‘my love?’” She says as he is loved, she would be happy. But she would have only a worry about the dark perspective of people either could behave like or approve the way how cops beaten crowds during the Pride Parade 2021 in Istanbul.

First point in here is these feminist Instamoms are approaching to both genders equally unlike traditional perception towards children of different genders as it is stated by Jenny B. White (1994, p. 70) as it follows: “The relationships between fathers and sons, fathers and daughters, mothers and daughters, and mothers and sons are characterized by different expectations and dynamics.” This is how roles are interlaced, each member has a specified role for the continuum of patriarchy (White, 1994, p. 58). Nancy Chodorow’s (1978, p. 211) approach stating that all women and men are mothered by women, limits the vision of parenting skills of men could be taken as an excuse for men for problematizing the issue till today. This formation was

deliberate and political: “Thus the social organization of parenting produces sexual inequality, not simply role differentiation.” (Chodorow, 1978, p. 214). Women were left home for child care when men are taking care of more complex and important affairs. However in most part of the world this system is turned upside-down with reproducing women in social life as well, not just at home.

Sibel Yardımcı (2020, p. 96), while discussing feminism as a life style, argues that feminist discourse is already built on a defeated womanity. Although these mothers are rebelling against unfairness sometimes, usually their standing on their feet, living their lives, bringing their children up in their serene feminist way bears the impression that there is not any defeat sanctioned. They are up to their targets, reconstructing an idealized country where they and their offsprings can happily live. Not as a rhapsodic attempt, but a programmed one at least in their intellects and growing with their immense public access, since they are communicating these ideas in a diluted manner through their social media accounts.

Most Instamoms right now are against patriarchally predetermined roles with the conscience of it. Therefore they are kindly criticizing its dangers in the know of much of their followers are actually coming from the heart of that ideology. Kindly and calmly transmitting their messages together with Instagram images to their audience while respecting their beings and satisfying their curiosity, make them more persuasive, increase their credibility. They both grab their biological and social side, they accept that both genders are not equal and accordingly their parental, neither gender performances should not be expected to be equal but engaged with the issue.

This approach is a transformation in public persuasion, it is probable that it becomes the mainstream in the following years because traditional way does not seem working, people are walking on the streets, are beaten by police, even killed but nothing changes. Rather than shouting leaders burning in anger and passion, we might start to see multiple public images who are spreading some ideologies in peaceful manners. Giorgio Agamben (1993, p. 79) also states that these representations through spectacle will be empowering certain figures because for spectacle there is this perception “What appears is good, what is good appears.”

Upper-and middle-class educated women began in 1987 to campaign in the streets against the beating of women; but while their protest marches were given wide news coverage, most people I spoke to think it had little effect on actual practice. The group that organized the marches, Women in Solidarity against Beating, published a book, *Bağır, Herkes Duysun!* (Scream! Let Everyone Hear You!), in 1988 (White, 1994, p. 54).

This is the second point: Instamoms are not just “establishing a nest” (White, 1994, p. 57), representing mother in their desired way but also representing gender roles as they want to tailor them, raising their children accordingly and propagating their acts via their social media accounts. May be they will provide a feminist ethnography thanks to their egalitarian attitude towards their followers, unlike those who lead feminist discourse till now, more academic and apparently looking down to other women whose rights are tried to be defended (Erdoğan, 2020, p. 302).

Andrea O'Reilly (2019, p. 13) is the first one who called this new type of feminism as "Matricentric Feminism." She argues that women of this century with reproduced roles need a notion of feminism tailored for their own because mother identity is central and very important for a woman who mothers. As it is directly cited: "Matricentric feminism seeks to make motherhood the business of feminism by positioning mothers' needs and concerns as the starting point for a theory and politics on and for women's empowerment." (O'Reilly, 2019, p.14). She calms her reader saying that this does not mean that traditional feminism will be replaced but certainly mother women are oppressed twice: Both as a mother and a woman.

Matricentric feminism of O'Reilly actually fits most Turkish Instamom approach and discourse towards feminism. It is lesser as it was told before because in O'Reilly's matricentric feminism there is no mention about raising kids accordingly, having special talks with them on the subject. Trying to educate children from babyhood is something important and should have a future impact that we could only read at least 15 years later than today. We can trace this notion finding voice in academic world as well, thanks to researches made with mothers, mothers to be (Feasey, 2016, p. 53).

Turkish Instamoms who are even not apparently feminists on the other hand, portray a feminist character as well. These are not writing any posts, shooting any videos specifically on how women should be treated or children should be raised according to feminist norms but can be seen that they are feminists from their

conversations with their husbands or captions under ordinary photographs. Simply they are not propagating the idea.

Therefore both type of mothers in Instagram are being the negotiators between academic and public discourse producers that lacked commons, who were not deeply in the know of each other:

“Theorists such as Radway, Stacey, Oakley and Gillies made it clear that academic interpretations and ‘knowledgeable’ readings can be, and often are, at odds with more populist responses, and as such I was keen to discover the ways in which mothers in the television audience experienced pleasure, identification, frustration and disappointment as they watched their maternal counterparts in a range of fictional and factual programming.” (Feasey, 2016, p. 79).

On 13 of July 2021, @ilsanise who has approximately 21.600 followers made an online pole in her story, within a very short time she also published results. The most important point in here is she is coming up with this idea: Making a pole on gender signifiers for babies and young children. Below, her questions and answer rates are listed. She does not just ask questions and publish their rates but also she added some celebrities’ photographs apparently putting an effort to be persuasive on her followers. Questions are as follows (they are in form of affirmations waiting to be approved, without question marks at the end):

—Girls may wear boys’ clothes—94% Yes, 6% No.

—Boys may wear girls’ clothes—73% Yes, 27% No. She adds that her answer is

“Yes” too.

—Girls may wear blue—100% Yes. 2695 people said “Yes,” 9 people said “No.” 4 out of 9 people messaged her that they accidentally pushed “No” button. “Girls may wear any color of their choice freely!” (@ilsanise, 2021, July 13).

—Boys may wear pink—96% Yes, 4%No. 2611 people said “Yes,” 105 people said “No,” among whom 5-6 people said they accidentally pushed “No” button. “Our sons may wear any color of their choice freely. Pinks, purples, lylas are very beautiful colors. And they suit so much everyone very much!!!” This is followed by Kıvanç Tatlıtuğ’s full screen photograph without any caption wearing a pink shirt, having an eye contact with the viewer in a challenging manner.

—Girls may play with car, repair set, football—100% Yes. 2725 people said “Yes,” 11 people said “No.” “Our daughters may play with any toy they want! They may dream as they wish. We can not deprive them from anything saying that it is boyish.” The post ends with s flashy hashtag: “doitlikeagirl” in Turkish (#kızgibiyap).

—Boys may play with tea set, jewelry sets—97% Yes, 3% No. She refers to partners who are raised with such sexist patterns from whom women complain about for having no contribution to household chores. She says that when boys are kept deliberately away from these toys even, how we can expect them to become autonomous individuals.

Right after this there is a caption about raising children is not just mothers’ duty.

Fathers have equal responsibility.

—Short hair does not suit girls—11% Yes, 89% No.

—Boys should not grow long hair—4% Yes, 96% No. Joyously she says that for the first time there is a higher rate for boys. This story is followed by another one

dedicated to Barış Manço, with the long haired, straight, married with children who was loved all around Turkey. There is no caption but “Let’s commemorate him!”

I reached her in order to inform her that I wrote about her Instagram story. She responded and she was very enthusiastic about it because aside from votes to the pole, she received lots of individual DMs. She willingly sent them to me because she was going to share them in her account with the permission of senders. Mothers were not satisfied by voting but they wanted a further conversation on the subject of children’s clothes and body image. One of these DMs was telling that her son wanted a princess costume with the wig and all stuff. She unhesitatingly said “Yes.” The boy made her mom promise not to laugh and she said: “I will certainly not laugh because this is not funny at all and we should ignore others who will laugh.” She says “No problem, I would buy and I would let him dress whatever he wants.” Another mother wrote that she is a religious one and accordingly there are some notions that she should teach to her child. She is quite aware that her child is an individual, independent of her who could decide for himself afterwards but in the first place she should accomplish her responsibility of teaching everything proper to Islam. A striking comment is both against capitalism and artificiality: The mother who wrote this DM is trying to protect her both daughters from the theme of princess, dyed hair, cosmetics and from this monstrous sector. She admits that although she fails in protecting them, she wants her daughters just be children, not princesses.

When it is considered that mostly mothers are responsible for these clothes and toys, they are choosing colors and games on behalf of their children, actually they are the ones who are seeking praise. As a research made on TV pageant participant little girls and their mothers reveals, mothers are seeking for fame and media attention who are also responsible for dressing their daughters like women (Feasey, 2016, p. 399, 400). The medium and target group fits the message that is tried to be sent in order to raise awareness. Making such a post targeting mothers through mothers' reaction to questions is a clever way to influence from the heart, that is the mother.

4.4. Biologically Mother

Mothering as it is being a social construct, endocrinal and neural systems are also the key drives in the process which are making it biological. Louann Brizendine in her book *The Female Brain* (2006, p.18), states that starting with the first day of their pregnancy, women secrete a lot more oestrogen and progesterone making them more focused on their home and family whereas less interested in career and work place rivalry. Also Brizendine (2006 p. 132, 133) underlines that no woman can escape those hormones, even the hormones of the baby in the womb which conquer mother's brain and form new neurochemical paths together with radically increasing oxytocin, making the being "mother." Women and men who never became pregnant can experience this process of transformation when they spend some time with a baby. Throughout her book she explains such behaviors that is the pattern of all mothers with increasing and decreasing hormones that is demonstrating, not just sociality but biology is running throughout the process as well. What is tried to be get rid of,

motherhood being the gender role of women, is biological although almost all feminist researches start with the idea that motherhood is not being brought from the birth rather it is a role that is taken over from the previous generations with a very rigid tongue.

Brizendine in her book *The Male Brain* (2014, p. 105, 106) on the other hand, draws attention to decreasing testosterone levels in fathers to be, 3 weeks in advance with a 20% higher rate of prolactin and following the labor. Throughout the world fatherhood also constructed culturally and fathers who are more interested in childcare appear to be with lower testosterone levels when compared with those who are keeping themselves away from their babies. As a research conducted on rats suggested, pheromones are passed to the air from mother's skin and glands reach father's olfactory receptors, preparing him to parenthood. In return pheromones of the father are transported to mother's brain, making her more mother as they make her to release more prolactin. This means that women and men when they spend the pregnancy process together, they make each other more mother and father (Brizendine, 2014, p. 104, 105).

Freud (n.d., p. 135) also argues that we are defining whether an individual is a man or woman departing from their masculine or feminine behaviors. However this is only a praise to anatomy and general agreement, because each single body has its own production level of sexuality. In order to explain his argument more, Freud (n.d., p. 157) keeps telling biological aspects of both sexes and towards the end of his book, he concludes the issue by saying that to learn more on women you should experience it,

read poems or wait for the science improve more to inform you better. He himself admits that there are too much dynamics forming “what” is called woman—he objectifies all women in his discourse—and it is impossible to understand “it” (Freud, n.d., p. 137).

Women are carrying a body which is able to give birth, naturally knows how to feed and nurture. Apart from the ability of carrying the baby in their wombs, birthing and feeding with the liquid they are producing in their breasts, women are also able to analyze different voice tones and facial emotions with wider intervals compared to men. Because they have to understand—empathy is another gift prone to women, more than men—what their babies need in order to make them survive (Karaismailoğlu, 2021, 96, 97).

As a result, like the construction of genders both culturally and biologically, “mother” as well is a cultural construct in terms of how mothering is performed but what lies behind, for a better performance, is entirely biological both before and after childbirth. Nature secures newborns’ survival with the secretion of certain hormones turning women into mothers chemically and making fathers even to fall deeply in love with their babies (Brizendine, 2010, 106, 107). Since motherhood is socio-politically manipulated as well as it is discussed throughout this chapter, mothers, throughout history, tried to negotiate their hormones, biology with was politically demanded. What they were listening to, is mostly the politics: human beings prefer to obey social and political schemes rather than listening to their bodies, that is why rates of birthing decrease, age of birthing increases whereas number of children decreases in civilized

countries. For society requires higher education, better professions, more working hours in order to survive better. Consequently, right now women are both as mothers and as qualified individuals started to look for their rights not just at home and in their work place but in their minds as well.

5. THE NET

According to the data gathered from We Are Social or Hootsuite that are regularly publishing reports on internet usage around the world, internet usage ratios seriously increased each years. In 2021 this ratio reached 4.5 billion internet users globally which is the 59% of overall population and time spent in the internet is 6 hours 43 minutes in average (Lumos Ajans, 2020, 23 December).

We've become bored with watching actors give us phony emotions. We're tired of pyrotechnics and special effects. While the world he inhabits is in some respects counterfeit, there's nothing fake about Truman himself.

No scripts, no cue cards...It isn't always Shakespeare but it's genuine.

It's a life... (*The Truman Show*, 1998).

These lines were told in the beginning of the movie, *The Truman Show*, by Ed Harris as Christof, the director character who took the orphan baby's custody with the producing company to run the show for a whole life-time. The baby grew in front of the public eye, in a TV live show, who later on realized that his entire life is made-up. This is one of the most prophetic movies about today's people entertained by watching other people's real lives on the screen, the voyeuristic genres which became the life style of almost everyone having a social media account and sharing posts about their lives. We both saw the particular genre, modern product placement, "privacy invasion, and the existential quandary of whether to live for yourself or an

audience—be it television or social media” for the first time thanks to the movie (Miller, 2018). When *The Truman Show* was shot there was no reality shows, neither the social media and the screenwriter Andrew Niccol’s statement “When you know there is a camera, there is no reality,” (Miller, 2018) is the proof of what people are exposed in social media is not real. The presence of camera makes the subject as if it is worth watching as well as it is cited from Jadodzinski’s article titled as *The Truman Show—A Symptom of our Times* (2005, p. 62) “The continuous presence of the camcorder makes every banal conversation and interview with a contestant potentially a self-conscious, performative, tactful act, perverting the social relations of support and care of the group.”

5.1. Social Media

A squirrel dying in front of your house may be more relevant to your interests right now than people dying in Africa.
Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook (Pariser, 2011)

The 1973 publishing, “Ana Baba Rehberi,” is the guide for parents, for both genders, mother and father, was prepared and sold by Hürriyet Newspaper, one of the highest rated, right wing newspapers. It raises the statement of helping people to get over all family and domestic troubles on its back cover as a motto: “Hürriyet Ana Baba Rehberi: Bütün ev ve aile sorunlarınızı halletmede size yardımcı olmak istiyor”(Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973). The perception of motherhood and the way both gender roles being constructed via mass media is important to note.

A similar effort was put by film industry during the same era, in 1976, where the child star Gülşah prepared to act the mother by her own mother with the title “Gülşah Küçük Anne” (Gülşah Little Mother). Throughout the movie the little girl acts the mother to her sibling whose poster was showing Gülşah seated, holding the baby in one arm, pretending breastfeeding while holding her other breast with her spare arm (Perçin Akgül&Çetin, 2020, p. 15-17). At that time women are brainwashed from very early ages on to become mothers.

Before, entertainment, publishing and distribution were dominated by monopolies that resulted with the birth of cultural media whose primary target was to increase financial benefits through rating and advertisements (Pişkin, 2020, p. 23). For Marcuse, not only financial benefits but also mass culture is deliberately produced to destroy any conscience towards enhanced awareness as well in order to continue subjugating these masses (Pişkin, 2020, p. 24).

Mass media was replaced by social media today and the authors became more casual, hands-on, sincere, “one of us” people who are going through the process rather than “chairs” whose formulations were mostly based on academic writings rather than daily life experiences.

Through the Covid-19 pandemic as a reflection of practicality, legislation also changed for Instagram advertisements and laws are introduced forcing both individuals and brands to indicate if there is a collaboration, if there is money involved between both parties, it should be marked on the post or it would be

penalized (Tanriverdi, 2021). Facebook (owning Instagram) together with Twitter and Tic Toc, banned thousands of accounts worldwide in the beginning of the year 2021. After a deep investigation ran over all social media, some suspicious accounts, those which are found inappropriate were closed (Lorenz, 2021). Social media was much more popular than ever so it started to shape up to fit the new conditions, both internally and externally.

While potty training one of our daughters we faced an issue, we consulted 2 pediatrician and a child psychiatrist, none could grasp the problem. The solution came from another mother of 2, a friend of mine, who has nothing to do with these fields professionally but who exactly experienced the same thing with us. She said it is an expected act as they are newly getting used to sit and dispose, it is not a big deal, it will pass and it passed within a few days. We get rid of accusations as her impotent parents and our expectations from her as a 2.5 year old person trying to get used to the world she came in and her very dynamic anatomy, constantly changing. We were glad that this friend accidentally heard us and involved into the subject without hesitating because life was hard for some weeks.

Social media gives people this closeness of an experienced friend who can be reached 7/24, not being judgmental, offering working, immediate solutions for free and quite sincere in contrast of authorities who are not at hand, making you feel bad about your performance, taking lots of money and whose prompts are formal, told in a bossy manner. Social media is the life itself whose plausibility is higher than mass media due to the ambiguity, obvious inadequacies and lesser artificiality, having more

realistic, democratic, spontaneous and not rehearsed, exactly fitting Goffman's comparison of daily life with a theatrical play (Goffman, 1956, p. 10). When representation is highly moulded and idealized like it is being performed on a theatrical stage, it becomes odd, distrusting, discomfiting within the public stage if there are inconsistencies in the message both discursively and kinetically (Çelik, 2020, p. 37). This is the very question asked by Descartes: waking or dreaming? (Romanyshyn, 1993, p. 347) Watching mass media was kind of dreaming where participation was limited whereas one is in control when awake. In this point of view, social media is being more awake since there is much more interaction or participation but less opportunity of surveillance: we are limited with what is shown to us but we have voice in social media with posts and comments we are making, having conversations with others. Social media gives more power to its audience.

Amy Schmittauer the writer of a bestseller book on becoming a successful vlogger *Vlog Like a Boss* (2017, p. 212) stresses that such platforms like Instagram and Snapchat are backstages where audience expects to see private lives and these are perfect spaces to have sincere bonds with followers. Also, as it is discussed by Ervin Goffman (1956, p. 69, 70) again, Instagram accounts can replace the backstage where everything related to the performance is adjusted and rehearsed before meeting the actual audience, men. He takes a very feminine ground as example by quoting the words of Simone de Beauvoir who uses backstage idea for women in male free areas, where things actually reconstructed where characters do not have the urge for speaking their lines. When women are among women, they start being themselves rather than acting in the way that they were taught to (Goffman, 1956, p. 70). Although

these accounts are open to public without any sexual discrimination, these are “regions” (Goffman, 1956, p. 66) where male gaze is not felt as a pressure as it will be discussed with specific examples.

Therefore the audience in Instagram accounts can be thought like the domestic side of a crowded household, where women are working frantically in the kitchen till dinner, where they are around the table enjoying meals, knowing that they are supposed to make the dishes afterwards. Instagram in this respect is the very ground where both these mothers are plotting their characters with feedbacks coming from their team—other mothers in the backstage—and rehearsals, as well as performing them in return. Like Lila Abu-Lughod’s (1986, p. 86) explanation of honor playing an important part in muslim community, as a code first conceptualized, secondly acted accordingly, mother in Instagram is patterned then shown off.

5.2. Instagram

What is Instagram?

Instagram is a free photo and video sharing app available on iPhone and Android. People can upload photos or videos to our service and share them with their followers or with a select group of friends. They can also view, comment and like posts shared by their friends on Instagram.

Anyone 13 and older can create an account by registering an email address and selecting a username.

This is the description made by Instagram itself, in its official Help Centre [<https://help.instagram.com>] section on exactly what this platform is. It is mainly based on images, photographs or videos equipped with text, preferably with short ones: Captions under the posts are limited with 2200 characters, whereas biographies can have 150 characters at most.

Instagram by itself took over the mission of advertisement and marketing communications of blogs and videos, with its 40 million, 16-64 years old users, Instagram is the most populated social media platform in Turkey after You Tube (Lumos, 2020, 23 December). This is the very reason it is being the main research field in this thesis and with each interview the idea is reinforced since many mothers use Instagram to reach their audience but their main ground is Youtube bringing them money via advertisements. Instagram is an important media for all smartphone users becoming professional photographers and for personal branding “is the management of an individual and influencing how others perceive and thinks of that individual” (Udenze, 2019, p. 2). Also it is emphasized especially that Instagram should be considered as a very suitable base for personal branding, for online entrepreneurship (Udenze, 2019, p. 8).

In Instagram there is no advertisement and almost each single interviewee underlined this with similar statements: “In Instagram there is no advertisement so I do not earn money, I just do some barters, I exchange my service with goods.” Instagram also restricts its users not only in keeping their verbal message short but also it tries to get rid of the unapproved data, misleading “scientific” findings and

unethical posts, very similar to academic writing ethics: Plagiarism. One should be careful about the actual owner of images and videos, other wise he will be punished. One of the mothers' account, who was one of my interviewees, was taken away from her during my research period. The reason was she posted a video shut by someone else. Although she put reference about the account she took the video from, she was reported and her account was immediately shut down. She started a campaign against because she was sure that it was perfectly ethical and she managed to take it back. During the process of retaking, she received hundreds of comments and likes from her followers as moral support. Other than that, also they supported her by sending messages, writing e-mail to Instagram administrative units to take her account back in a concrete way.

The social media, more specifically Instagram and outstanding figures—a.k.a social media phenomenons—of that online world are performed personae. These celebrities who are followed by thousands are approached very skeptically since anything online seems unreal. This was the question of this thesis and I was feeling very distant to most of these account owners to understand whether what is reflected in their accounts their actual self and life or artificiality.

Social media is really the death of man, history and metaphysics? Jane Flax (Benhabib, 2017, p. 26) determines the postmodern attitude as such. Social media is postmodernism in all ways. By gazing at people who do not actually exist in our physical lives we loose the track of time, jumping from one account to another, forgetting the context. Surrounding ourselves with artificial lives and grounds in

social media we get away from reality. Through social media we kill man, we kill history and metaphysics.

When parents share on Facebook or blog about their children's lives, they can connect with friends, family, often receiving validating feedback, and in return, feeling supported in their decision to share information about their lives and that of their children. Whether by the award of a "like," a "share," or a gratuitous comment, public sharing of personal information often results in positive stimuli, which, in turn, encourages a parent to continue to put personal information in the public domain (Udenze & Bode, 2020, p. 29)

With the ongoing rise of the social media, patterns of interaction took a different shape. Now communication requires less effort but brings higher benefits. Instagram was launched on October 2010 as an application for smartphones and it was based mainly on image rather than text sharing (Kim & Kim, 2019, p. 3). Very Rapidly Instagram became popular among both individuals and companies (Ting et al. 2015, p. 16). Mothers, especially new mothers who are supposed to take care of their babies, who wake up during the night at least twice and stay awake for a while when they are breast or bottle feeding, who are in search of best advices, best "contemporary" suggestions on anything moral, physical and commercial.

Based on the netnographic analyses made for this dissertation, it is important to note that Instamomhood in Turkey is quite different than in the U.S. and Europe basically. In Turkey as it is discussed so far, there is a covered assertion of "I am a

good mother! I know the best for my family!” besides all sarcastic, political, comic contents. In the contrary, in foreign accounts there is sarcasm and fun, also there are lots of posts on especially how tiring, consuming motherhood is, when you become a mother, you are not the person you used to be; equipped with funny baby videos, even commercial ones where different products are shown but there is not much content giving the hint of mothers evaluating and exposing themselves for their quality of mothering. Although in American cinema “You will be a lovely mother” is a frequent, typical phrase, in American Instamom accounts there is no chains of reconstructions similar to what we see in Turkey that starts with a self grading post, having feedbacks from followers, continuing with revised posts—or not, if previous ones are approved.

5.3. Changing Forms of Politeness and Society in Social Media

There is a moral issue on approval. New society has no more a list of contemplations and social stratifications which determines our lives from the birth to marriage, from having children to our deaths (Niedzviecki, 2011, p. 53). Hal Niedzviecki (2011, p. 48) asserts the crucial question: “Then who will set the rules defining what can be done and what can not be done if today’s society’s privileged goal is approval anyhow?”

During social interaction states Erving Goffman (2016, p. 132), people represent themselves through a number of gestures, mimics, moves and expressions willingly or unwillingly. These are the hints about the character of the individual and he is told how to behave properly by forms of politeness system. With the application

of these rules, individuals first form and then perform a valuable self image with respect to the others, as well as to the context (Goffman, 2016, p. 132,133). Freud has a similar statement for the continuum of society, he refers to the necessity of religious design and perception which set a scheme to be obeyed (Freud, 1996, p. 16). Forms of politeness rule society or public order better than legislations. Hal Niedzviecki (2011, p. 65) reads this religious dogma in order to secure public order as “do what we want and we will absolve you” against modern society’s “you can be whoever you want as far as you take the responsibility of your acts” understanding.

Therefore there is a close connection between space and crowd for the composition of social order. We lack space in online platforms and as a result we lack forms of politeness, taboos which are associated with space and crowds. May be, such online communities like Instamoms which are providing platforms for similar identities, again, fitting the idea of backstage (Goffman, 1956, p. 70). However we should keep this in mind that although these platforms are providing a group of people the opportunity to gather, this gathering lacks “body.”

What is called as public order is the bodily gathering of individuals sharing the same space (Goffman, 2016, p. 163). However in internet there is the lack of a physical space where people would bodily gather, where there is a certain odor, “la barba,” the background noise, control of almost all bodily actions not to pass over boundaries. All are part of that public order experience that when there is no proper representation this is considered as a threat to the established order. Even these acts should not be determined as interaction states Goffman (2016, p. 171) because this is

the destruction of forms of politeness, social order, which can even be determined as psychotism.

Anthropologist Francis Hsu (Niedzwiecki, 2011, p. 49, 50) calls this notion as “specialism” rather than individualism, the propagandistic attempts towards being noticed as who we are, to whom we became, as we are gracefully told who we should be.

Following the forms of politeness, some subjects are taboo to be spoken within public. One of these is “bra.” Normally Turkish women do not speak publicly about their preferences on this particular undergarment that is supposed to support, shape and resize breasts, which is the abbreviation of the word “brassière.” It can also be considered as a metaphor to the expectations of society from women (Tempesta, 2018) we are supporting, shaping and resizing while strapping ourselves into a garment. Not just on bra, also on virginity, sexual harassment, menstruation, breast cancer is very openly spoken by these women and by the followers after them. On September 22, 2020 one of the most popular, oldest and feminist mothers posted a critique on how women are expected to dress and look whereas men are not cared at all. She was sarcastically taking the Turkish proverb as “Dişi köpek kuyruğunu sallamayınca erkek köpek ardına düşmez” which is a metaphor constructed on dogs, representing humans that can be translated as when woman does not show any affection, man will not go after her, if the female does not wag its tail, the mail dog will not go after. Vulgar and perfectly conveying the cultural perspective towards unapproved relationships and only accusing woman, accepting that man is irrational

when there is a lustful female act. The actual post is a text whose message is how women should straight them up when opening the door to strangers whereas men should not, even can go topless. Because if they do not then it can be considered as “wagging its tail,” “she asked for it” and it can end up badly or at least with a bad reputation, “inviting” within that community. From the amount of articles titled with “She Asked for it,” one can understand that this consideration of clothing being a sign of lustfulness and having an international place in rape culture, proves us that this is not reserved for Turkey only. In her post that mother (@blogcuanne, 2020, September 22) compares both genders’ clothing habits very objectively and at the end she gets a conclusion as men are clothing for their charisma whereas women, when deciding on what to wear, are secretly defending themselves against taboos and against potential sexual attacks. A man can open the door to a perfect stranger with his underwear but this is impossible for women. They can even not open the door with shirt without wearing bra underneath. She uses the word “costume” in order to express the importance of clothing in gender performance: “a lot of women confessed that they feel the need for changing their costumes when the door bell ring.” This was a real and direct criticism pointed towards patriarchal norms: “those men who were opening the doors with their white vests, which is described as the uniform, should sit and think about their share within this oppressive patriarchy” (@blogcuanne, 2020, September 22).

This post was commented 125 times which is actually 6 to 10 times more than the comments normally received. This post was previously published as a story in Instagram, so that the actual numbers of likes and comments are much more higher

than what we see under the post since they are all invisible to us. The account owner wrote that there was an enormous interest to the story so that she also posted it as a post.

Her statement was quite harsh and in return she got harsh comments like there are some social schemes and we have to obey them, she should be careful about what she proposes; it is not nice to see boobs of women around. Some of these comments have exclamation at the end, obviously, very angrily telling her to watch her mouth. This is an issue of intimacy.

The right to intimacy can be explained as a social phenomenon of an individual's right to stay alone which is in relation with possession and private area (Çelik, 2020, p. 79). However in most parts of Turkey, woman's body is seen as public that can be harassed when found somewhere open, when especially turns to a mother, both the body of mother and child itself is considered as a public property that questions like "Are you expecting?" (Bektaş-Ata, 2020, p. 270) as well as "Is he sucking?" (Birsay, 2017) as she titled her book in Turkish *Emiyor mu?* are very easily asked on the streets even to strangers. As Durkheim states, norms always function in "a certain disposition in the individual for a regular existence" and social rules are forming "limits to our natural inclinations," (Bloomaert, 2018, p. 10). Therefore regarding human inclination of being assertive about others' privacy when it comes to the subject related to pregnancy or breastfeeding, in Turkey there is not much norms "regulating" people's curiosity, preventing them asking publicly these peculiar questions to people bumped into for the first time.

On the other hand there is a group which enjoyed the topic and started to talk about their door opening habits as if they are in a private space and no one is hearing them, when their account names are checked, most of them named their accounts after their names, their identity was visible. Among these confessions there are very objective comments both coming from conservative side and feminists thinking like her. Everyone has a sight and they were not intimidated talking about their door opening habits, nor bra wearing habits. One comment of the followers was complaining about another accessory which is the symbol of the status of being a gentleman: tie. She says that when you are raped, even killed, that man would be made a reduction thanks to tie he will be wearing in front of the judge. She has no confidence on the judicial system, justifying women's act of having a spare "door opening" dress, wearing their bra, acting in a more uptight manner in front of a male stranger.

Another comment was about "aunts" (how elderly women were addressed sincerely) in Anatolia who do not wear bra at all. She describes them as "middle aged, fat, big breasted aunts refusing to wear bra, I am fond of them. Bra is a real torture." Lila Abu-Lughod (1999, p. 163) talks about a similar habit of elder women veiling less when they are old because there are lesser men senior around and they were the representations of wiser asexual women feeling less shame for the body they were born in.

Both within such posts and comments in return humor is an important element to negotiate. Posts having especially social contents are usually having sophisticated wording, equipped with sarcasm which is easing that seriousness in such a cosmopolitan platform where people seek fun. Therefore, comments made to these posts are sarcastic and fun too. One of these is discussing the origins of bra, as well as the need for its invention: “Why would one produce a boob cover or something to push it up only?” Another one tells “I am among those who are hiding behind the door. I am hiding the tits of course! :D” Not just their habits of hiding from male gaze also male gaze’s reaction not to gaze is also told as she was used to hide her body behind the door when she was wearing tank top with shorts. Once she forgets hiding and when she raises her head she realized that the waterman this time hid himself in the lower floor shouting her to leave the money at the door, so he will get it from there. Importantly, does not matter these male strangers are older or younger, tend to call women as “Abla,” meaning “elder sister,” in order to a-sexualize such compulsory relationships. Quoting the words of the waterman, she also says how he addressed her: “Abla sen kapiya bırak, ben oradan alırım...”

These ethnographical observations are followed by different emojis reinforcing the meaning and sentiment. Sometimes these observations are generalized as, decency is being tried to be detected in the first 10 seconds, in women, in Middle East or cursing to the society that is pushing them to develop such techniques. Another woman starts to the sentence as if she is putting a new perspective to the issue as “I never change my shorts or tank tops!” but the end is no different than the others: “I have a strapless bra (in order to be quick of course), only for waterman/

postman/etc. I press the button, till he reaches the floor I run to the bra and wear it. In winters I wear a cardigan.” For starting this topic she was also applauded by a great majority with the discourse of “we have to change this state of mind by not changing our clothes.” They claim that they will be brainwashed and assimilated somehow if we do resist opening the door with their shorts. Another one wants to remind her that we are living in the same country with the woman who was reported to the police because of wearing shorts in her house by her neighbors who were peeping!

5.4. Instamoms and Performance

Being a star means specializing in the seemingly lived: the star is the object of identification with the shallow seeming life that has to compensate for the fragmented productive specializations which are actually lived. Celebrities exist to act out various styles of living and viewing society—unfettered, free to express themselves globally (Debord, 2016, p. 60).

Motherhood on Instagram is stardom. It is an idealized, a bit fabricated motherhood created to make the audience and the self entertained or at least keep it busy. As Jacques Lacan quotes Maurice Merleau-Ponty “...we are beings who are looked at, in the spectacle of the world” (Lacan, 1977, p. 75), we are in the know that we are looked at and we perform accordingly, appropriately to our audiences in our daily lives. But in social media there is a massive audience that one can normally not have, therefore there is an inner fragmentation as Georg Simmel (2003, p. 101) compares rural and metropolis’ social interaction. In metropolis, therefore in social media,

performance gets a bit complicated with much more dynamics to think of in order to satisfy the audience so that amused personally in return of their satisfaction.

This is being a performative act is also proven by the names of mother accounts. Accounts are usually named after mothers' own names. They first start as a conceptual name, then when they get thousands of followers, replace these names by their own name equipped with family name which sounds more corporate. In a research that was made on Turkish blogger mothers, some prominent blog names were listed: "another mother; full time mother; mother's prince; happy twins' mother; writing mother; Nilsu's mother" which are in contrary only about mothering rather than becoming a celebrity, a public figure (Gürçayır Teke, 2014, p. 37). These mothers were describing the moment when they turned into a mom in their blogs as "their breath was taken away; the world stopped; this was the turning point of their lives; they started to a new life" (Gürçayır Teke, 2014, p. 38).

Woman was expected to be silent confessing her subjugation and weakness, whereas man, the talking, was showing off, representing, performing (Irrigaray, 2012, p. 25). To overcome this subjugation told by Luce Irrigaray, Leslie Kern in her book "Feminist City: A Field Guide," (2020, p. 90) tells that she had a very deep, unconscious belief to take up physically, morally and verbally a very little space till she got her girl friends. She names them as "Power." However she also underlines the fact that city life does not allow women to get along freely, it has its own limitations as an alive creature who ruins all efforts for balance and success (Kern, 2020, p. 91).

For women, girl friends are the foundation of life, as also can be observed from some sitcoms like *Golden Girls*, *Sex and the City*, most women are dreaming to get old with their friends rather than spending their entire life with a single partner, spouse that is admitted seeming unrealistic, unwanted and boring. Kern states that for this dream to come true we, as women, need to reorganize our public spaces (Kern, 2020, p. 98). Since in internet there is no space, there is no need for a reorganization neither and women are gathering much more freely in this ground.

To this day, I'm embarrassed that I didn't realize that pregnant women needed reserved parking until I experienced my own aching feet. As one of Google's most senior women, didn't I have a special responsibility to think of this? But like Sergey, it had never occurred to me. The other pregnant women must have suffered in silence, not wanting to ask for special treatment. Or maybe they lacked the confidence or seniority to demand that the problem be fixed. Having one pregnant woman at the top—even one who looked like a whale—made the difference (Sandberg, 2013, p. 4).

Sheryl Sandberg is the Chief Operation Officer of Facebook, one of the most powerful characters living and functioning on earth, also the woman who claimed to the world that we would be in better conditions if all companies were half-run by women and all houses were half-run by men in spring 2018. Sandberg is, as she boldly underlines, one of the top women in social media business, meaning, one of the top women in global business. Even her, as a woman, frankly admits that she were not aware of what pregnant women were going through, because, women are taught to

remain silent, especially in business life where everything should be masculine (Sandberg, 2013, p. 4).

In the mid 1970's a female photographer Cynthia Macadams (Feminism: What Were They Thinking, 2018) realized that women appear different in photographs if they are feminists and from Hollywood celebrities to ordinary she shot many women for her exhibition to prove how they are distinguished by style. They really do look quite different than non-feminist women of that time, because they were against marriage, against responsibility of making babies and consequently they were against fashion, hairstyle, make-up applied by women with the expectation of marriage and childbirth. Costume is an important part of performance and they created their own costumes in order to reflect their feminist ideology, to be distinguished from traditional ones. "...the wearing of clothes is also subject to sociocultural norms." argues Werner Enninger (1992, p. 217, 219) for whom clothing has specific connotations and signals about different qualities of the wearer that should be deciphered properly.

Now, in 2021, leading mothers with feminist discourse in social media have a well going marriage, children and a deliberately put aside career to raise their children on their own as a pleasant duty. Since they are considering it as their business, they take it very seriously to devote themselves totally, including its social media communication. They are ordinary women, looking alike, making the simplest points on gender equality, maternity rights and women's liberation very casually that have a deeper impact on daily life basis, on their large audience than women who shout out

their feminist identity with complicated, lavish paragraphs. Proudly they are advertising their way of raising their boys in a feminist manner as well: showing alternative ways to raise future men who will respect women more. They are not just feminists on paper with fully worn costumes but rather they are real activists, reading, thinking, writing, defending and hands on producing ideal future manhood for the sake of women.

Also as underlined by Elizabeth Badinter (2011, p. 38) women are the first ones who feel what is coming and they had an issue with their feminist mothers, so they listened to the horns blown by naturalism and decided to make their own masterpieces out of their children since the work life was not satisfying economically and even annoying. It seems that there will be a different model of mothering in the very near future with very different gender roles consequently.

Within the society each single member were given particular roles and functions. These roles and functions can be determined both according to biological sex and gender as well as many other dynamics such as economy, geographical characteristics, belief system, education, relations with neighboring countries (Perçin Akgül&Çetin, 2020, p. 10). According to Elçin Elçi's (2011, p. 14) research, working, married mothers who were distinguishing themselves from housewives and blaming them with being "ordinary, without any qualification," are also afraid of total freedom and self sufficiency. They still thrive for gender roles as a team work: Man and woman, husband and wife, father and mother. Clear cut boundaries between

social roles enabling them to know how to act, they believe that one can not be both the dad and the mom are thrived.

15 of 15 mothers are married interviewed for this dissertation. This does obviously not mean that they are legally united because this unification in front of the public eye was “compulsory before pursuing any sexual activity” (Marriage, <https://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Marriage&oldid=995435974>). Marriage might be considered compulsory for having children but since they are referring to their husbands gracefully in each occasion, they deliberately convey that they are enjoying their presence. The questionnaire used for the interviews does not have a single question or implication about fathers or husbands. To let them compose their world view during their interviews as they used to do in their online world, any question about their husband was avoided. It is clearly told, shown and understood that they most have strong bonds with their husbands.

They sometimes ignore or exaggerate their disturbances, dislikes as well as their loves and appreciations. People in social media try to redesign themselves through their accounts because at least they are able to defend their so-called individualism, hide their traditionalist selves, get rid of their roles and create a new one and to pretend to be someone else. Changing their contents, the way they are taking pictures, their account names according feedbacks coming from the followers are proofs that they do not market motherhood, they market themselves. When a comment is received there the satisfaction starts which is the actual target: being

distinguished, not contacting with the other side or having an actual relationship (Niedzwiecki, 2011, p. 40, 41).

Georg Simmel argues that the relationship between the stranger and the subject is reciprocal with the spatiality involved in a social organization. The space by the way is a multidimensionally constructed moving ground formed by historical, social, psychological and cultural norms (Goodstein, 2017, p. 308). Simmel's statement together with Leslie Kern's gendered spatiality determination, explains the content of such posts and the conversation they bring on the table. Kern (2019, p. 81) argues that girls are subject to be spatially surveilled more than boys, so they try more to find places to spend time together, they need to create more strategies against parental terror.

Girls have to also be contented with public spaces available to them which are shopping malls or according to the research by Alison Bain (Kern, 2019, p. 79) for film industry, girl culture is limited with bedrooms or in a very few examples with school restrooms. In public spaces, especially when events are taking place in cities, girls are represented as boys' "projections." Likewise, in our case, when women are forced to dress properly when they are stepping only their visibility out—because they are not going out of their house, they are just opening the door, their body remains in, the public gaze comes in. The word "forced" used instead of "expected" because if they do not act accordingly, they are reported to the police, which turns the act of wearing shorts an illegal act.

If the interaction between the stranger and the subject is reconstructing social norms over and over again, these instances told in social media is recreating this very effect. Under these posts women are freely writing their thoughts, considering the audience of that account and the post as that bedrooms where anything can be told and also they are reconstructing such concepts in a very democratized field where the orthodox and alternative leftist are trying to negotiate. Sometimes they are not negotiating but the conversation they are having is becoming to reconstruct the ideals for the crowd who is following that account.

5.5. Followers and Peeping

For Freud (2014, p. 60) followers do follow because they associate themselves with the leader and they are tied to the new common identity that is formed. However when the group collapses, followers do start to become aggressive because what brings them together are actually the feelings of envy and aggressiveness and that was hidden by libido. Because individuals need to be both equal and led by someone. If fans of a pop star do not devour each other when they are filling a stadium in a concert, it is because they are tied to each other by the love they are feeling for that one man (Babaoğlu, 2014, p. 13).

The term “peeping” on the other hand is used by Hal Niedzviecki (2011, p. 86) not just to define those who are following the blogger or the account owner, but also to define the blogger’s peeping herself. This is similar to the Lacanian gaze notion and the otherness: when the child starts to differentiate himself from the (m)other, he starts

to see himself through her eyes as if he is constantly monitored by her, building up his character. For Jaques Lacan (1977, p. 71-73) the gaze notion provides the regulation in self as if it is present at all times therefore it evokes representation. Having the gaze is binary, both, one feels that she is being gazed and she gazes herself. Actually for Lacan the latter is what forms representation for one has standards in phantasies in mind and what brings satisfaction is her own gaze seeing herself accomplishing these very phantasies (Lacan, 1977, p. 75).

Each day the number of ordinary people who wants to show off their lives into the world wide web and those who are willing to read these lives is steadily growing. When you open an account you do not know who is going to follow it. There are accounts having ten, twenty or hundred followers whereas those having more than 1 million people following.

Niedzviecki (2010, p. 43) argues that, since now we can understand each other better, we are being less discriminative, we have a much more egalitarian society: gay or heterosexual, lower class or rich, everyone is quite familiar to each other's life style thanks to social media and peeping.

Motivation of this people following is learning everything about everyone and in return satisfying this appetite, gaining followers who show their appreciation via likes and comments. (Niedzviecki, 2010, p. 15,16).

Baudrillard (1997, p. 5) defines images as having "murderous power" because they are replicating the real without being the real, they are just "mediations" of the

real. Likewise social media posts and images uploaded are negotiations put there to represent the ideal real in the minds of the owners, whereas they are not the real itself. All mothers interviewed told that they are not disturbing their real however they are “polishing” the reality to make it more appealing for the viewer.

Artists may “water down” any aspects of their work that could cause some people discomfort, or museums may not exhibit art that could attract unwanted attention. This is what legal scholars term a “chilling effect,” where creative impulses are second-guessed and re-evaluated, and challenging ideas are made more palatable [...] (Roebuck, 2001, p. 52).

Actually you create a value for yourself when you post a photograph on social media and you expect it to be reevaluated—liked and commented on—by as much people as possible. Frank Warren, the creator of PostSecret, a website where all secrets sent via postcards are published in the website, in books and exhibited in art galleries, answers the question, what is the drive pushing people send their secrets as “curiosity.” He says that it is important to find something from you in order to be attracted, otherwise it is impossible to empathize. Each secret is individual but the feeling, emotion created by that secret connects us to each other (Niedzviecki, 2010, p. 155).

When there is a value or a revealed secret, there the need for protection occurs as well. In order to protect their families and children, hiding their children’s faces is the choice of 6 mothers out of 15 interviewed. They especially mentioned that they are deliberately avoiding faces of their children although I was already aware thanks to the netnographic research. Those who are putting photographs of their children told me at the end of interviews that they were expecting a pushy question on why they are

exposing faces of their children to public. Only 1 mother, Mother #10 is not sharing her photographs neither, told that she is feeling intimidated, she is feeling uncomfortable about sharing even her own face and she admits that people are looking both for information and others' private life in social media. More for others' lives and this is the very reason why her account is not getting much more followers—she remains approximately around 8000 followers. Her account name is related to guidance and pregnancy. She also joked about her choosing the right “brand name” for her account that these keywords are leading directly to her account and that is how she has her followers although she is not using any formulae that are guarantying high rating.

5.6. Power

Persons in position of power are said to have social standing, which is recognized by the respect paid them. To win the respect of others, in particular dependents, such persons must adhere to the ideals of honor, provide for and protect their dependents, and be fair, taking no undue advantage of their position (Abu-Lughod, 1999, p. 99).

Lila Abu-Lughod defining the power relation of Bedouin society as it is cited above, actually there is not much difference on social media: there are those on power, who have thousands of followers and who in return, are supposed to provide them interesting contents, protect them and give away presents as well as act in a modest

way to prevent an “open assertion of their power over them” (Abu-Lughod, 1999, p. 99).

For Foucault the philosophy which roots from individuality should be definitely related to freedom, whereas if the philosophy’s main aim is social practices, it should then be related to power (Afary&Anderson, 2015, p. 239). David Brin, the writer of *The Transparent Society* stated that no community ever became that much known, both individually and communally. At the same time no community ever was obsessed with becoming a free individual (Niedzviecki, 2010, p. 328). Individualism seems to be the differentiating element of modernity and explained as one’s need of being whatever he actually is: in order to live their individual lives, people are thriving communally (Niedzviecki, 2011, p. 49).

We are still in the same boat: no society knows how to mourn the real, power, the social itself, which is implicated in the same loss. And it is through an artificial revitalization of all this that we try to escape this fact (Baudrillard, 1997, p. 26)

The mothers interviewed were in the beginning seeking approval, people alike and power as a result. As cited from Jean Baudrillard above, they are trying to revitalize what is dead physically, sociality they were seeking through internet. They were in search of a community, as many of them told “I was looking for somebody like me!” during interviews. Michel Foucault relates the preference of believing this rather than that to the authoritarian manner who is voicing over that idea (Czarniawska, 2013, p. 369). Cooperation between individuals is the foundation of

improvement of moral values, although they are not coming from the same general core, they empathize the pain and insult (Czarniawska, 2013, p. 374). Richard Rorty also defines the source of epistemic authority as community (Czarniawska, 2013, p. 369). In our case, Instamoms mostly were becoming the voice of many women who were suffering because of social boundaries, taboos on mothering, because of their in laws but can not tell these out loud. John Dewey, the founder of pragmatism and progressive education in the U.S., was departing from a concrete problem which needs to be solved rather than trying to set an ideal system (Czarniawska, 2013, p. 367). All mothers are bringing up sore spots around whom communities are formed and they are becoming leaders having power over their community. They are appreciated and supported for their being bold and genuine in their way of bringing problems out. Social media personae are becoming phenomenons because being visible within their habitat, as one of them, one from their community. On October 21, 2020 one of the Instagram phenomenons' account was shut down. Although she put the reference of the video she cited, she was reported as inappropriate, making plagiarism by a company earning money through this edict. Without any questioning, Facebook—as the owner of Instagram—shut her account down and did not listen to any argument, even though that company took its complaint back. All followers started to follow her over another temporary account because they believed that the account will definitely be retaken. Again with the word of one follower “If we all do make pressure, we can take the account back!” her followers bombarded Facebook with messages resulted with a happy ending and her message written with capital letters on November 19, 2020 (@gozde.aral.ocak, 2020, November 19): “NOW PANIC BECAUSE ‘I’M BACK BITHCHES” that was liked by 4197 people, 354

comments written below (in average she gets 1500 likes, 50 comments). She tells what happened to her account and offers her thanks to her followers in a warm and determined manner, underlining that she was convinced that she is not alone and does not know how to thank her supporters.

Becoming a phenomenon in social media matches with Georg Simmel's notion of "differentiation" where the individual becomes the focal point of the society, requiring to be strikingly characteristic, being assertive which are the representations special to metropolis. Whereas the rural gaze has a longer time span where all odds and fakes is crisp clear (Simmel, 2003, p. 107). Social media can be replaced by the definition of metropolis, since Simmel defines the interaction between individuals as quick and rare in metropolis, very much like the interactions in social media versus real life. Simmel also mentions the freedom and power one gains in return of networking which explains this incident cited from Instagram and the structure created via these online platforms, together with the population and the size, metropolis becomes the ground of free movement (Simmel, 2003, p. 104), social media as well.

The research of Gorska's (Udenze, 2019, p. 8) on students proves that although social media is known as a career booster, people's main goal is to socialize. What has been told during the interviews by Instamoms matches both literature and the netnographic analysis made for this dissertation: Mothers are seeking people like them, getting through similar troubles and who would motivate them with their experience or simply by being. Internet and social media platforms are bringing the

administration and subjects closer to each other; it becomes easier to reach those “to whom it may concern” and quicker to get adjustments in return (Zafer&Vardarlier, 2019, p. 385). Internet is the very tool for social organization as the words written under the grateful message by the Instagram phenomenon (@gozde.aral.ocak, 2020, November 19) clearly puts: “Although I reported the circumstance (that she is being right and innocent) to Facebook several times, there was no progress. God knows I was not expecting such a gigantic support, nor Facebook’s taking it so seriously. Thanks to the mails and messages of yours, Facebook replied with not just 1, but 2 mails last night. Within just half a day.”

Pierre Bourdieu stresses the necessity of symbolic power besides the material power and for the construction of symbolic power he assigns cultural producers such as artists, writers, teachers and journalists (Swartz, 1997, p. 93). With the introduction of internet into the daily lives, individuals also started to function as cultural producers thanks to whom conceptual and social stratification can simultaneously be made. This created hierarchy would help to formulate a social organization (Swartz, 1997, p. 87) as it happened in the case given above. Not the Instagram phenomenon but one of the assertive followers offered the idea of putting a pressure on Facebook to make them reopen the account, in this way the followers had made their point in the operation of power as a community as it is written by Gramsci (as cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 220): “A human mass does not distinguish itself, does not become independent in its own right without, in the widest sense, organizing itself; and there is no organization without intellectuals, that is without organizers and leaders...”

5.7. Pleasure and Psychoanalytical Sense

... a psychoanalysis of our lived experience broadens phenomenology since it demands that we take into account not only a discussion of the historical, cultural, social, and political milieu in which the pregnant woman is situated, but also a developmental account of her experience including conflicts that cannot be exposed by traditional phenomenological methods.

[...] Iris Marion Young's piece "Pregnant Embodiment" departs from the pregnant subject's viewpoint. Therein she finds a split in her subjectivity: her inner movements belong to another being, her bodily boundaries shift during the manifold transformations. What this splitting causes is a disruption in the transparent unity of the self. [...] Young stresses how pregnancy disrupts the "integrity of my body" because "in pregnancy I do not have a firm sense of where my body ends and the world begins." (Welsh, 2013, p. 289).

Earlier feminists like Husserl and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenologies of pregnancy showed that pregnancy is an important headline in philosophy because the jolt theory of universal account's solving problems (Welsh, 2013, p. 284).

Pregnancy's being an experience that can not be experienced by men and even neither by every woman was foreclosing it to be accounted universally. Foucault's limit-experience—taking drugs in the Mohave and experiencing sadomasochism—(Welsh, 2013, p. 292) would not be convincing those who birthed: Each woman's pregnancy experience is quite different from each other, even just 1 woman's experiences in each

pregnancies differ. As a mother of 2, I can securely admit that each pregnancy was a different rabbit hole.

Freud (2014, p. 28) argues that a baby experiencing both pleasure and harm, later on he will distinguish inner elements and outer elements causing these feelings and for the rest of his life the individual will try to get rid of all painful things in and out. One of the techniques that will avoid pain is displacement. Here the goal is to transmit instincts to somewhere where they will be the rise of pleasures through a success reached by a spiritual or intellectual effort.

An artist who built the structure in his mind, the relief of a researcher coming after the solution of problems and finding the truth are the examples given by Freud (2014, p. 39, 40) and he also argues that this technique will certainly work on these few talented and special individuals who are distinguished from the society.

The mothers interviewed can be considered as the appliers of this technique since they chose to displace their instinctual pain by raising their voices with their female beings and becoming prominent personae in the (online) society.

5.8. Fights and Fraud

Survival tactics are precisely what is required today to face the true horror of living in such a global capitalist landscape where fierce competition and unbridled consumerism require new forms of individualism. In order to survive we must

become tactful, clever, skillful, immune and “hardened” to the changed conditions like all those “survivors” of the game series we identify with. The “therapeutic effects” of these game shows, however, form only part of the cure. The other part comes from the “democratic effects” of talk shows to make the cure complete. Talk shows are said to provide free reign for citizens to be heard; their concerns, struggles, prejudices are aired for public scrutiny. The collapse of public and private space should not alarm us but be celebrated as the new form of participatory democracy (Jagodzinski, 2005, p. 62). Not just the language used but the context plays a very important part in communications (Hall, 1976, p. 86). The code is deciphered depending on the context for meaning. In social media, the context itself is constructed with language as well: a photograph is put and it is defined with a caption. Within that lack of physical space, context, together with lack of actual identity, fake names, representative avatars one can manipulate all these dynamics in her own way.

There was one account called as @socialmom but closed after that Instamom was accused with fraud by Turkish Psychologists Association. When Googled, “social mom” opens pages of news by several different sources including important newspapers, online platforms and videos of TV programs discussing the credibility of social media. Although this person has a sociology degree, by presenting herself with a double major in the field of psychology as well. Through this false identity, she was counseling either by person or by telephone and getting money. In different respected universities she gave seminars for parents as a psychologist specialized on mother and child titled as “Claim on the “fake psychologist” by Turkish Psychologists Association” (Hürriyet.com.tr, 2016). Almost all news articles on the issue are quite

insulting with especially worded as “fake, fraud, impostor.” Turkish Psychologists Association was warning people to behave consciously when they are taking services of people they knew from social media, ask their diplomas and do not take

When this was how the story was told by mass media, in followers’ side the issue was taken more severely: another account was opened just to reveal this fraud whose name can be translated as “instamommissile” (@instamomsavar—this account is closed as well) but still can be found addressed and acknowledged in different platforms in the internet. Those who express their gratitudes to instamom missile, especially expressed their insights towards Instamoms who look very ambitious (perfect) in all fields but actually pathetic in reality (bi cay koyayım demlensin, 2017). In another entry, a mother of a 2 year old writes that she was following @socialmom with her girl friends from university because it was providing daily topics to gossip on. All women within her group hated @socialmom and it was opening fun topics. Since she is caught right now and it is proven that she is not perfect as she propagated through her account, their faith to the god is rewarded (paranoyasız yasayamayan insan, 2016).

Despite pages of complaints and reports on how she earned money over people who trusted her, her vulgar answers, polemics with followers, her narcissistic wording, right now she still continues her Instagram journey with her own name rather than “@socialmom.” Instamoms tend to first start with a nickname then they shift to their official names as they become famous. Now she has 639T followers and 11.419 posts; her posts are getting more than 10.000 likes, with 50 comments in

average. If there is a serious gap between the number of followers and number of comments there might be a mass of followers purchased to like whatever posted as I was informed—actually warned—by Mother #10. Also almost all mothers underlined that they never purchased followers without being asked. This is an important clue for the credibility of people followed.

She does not give seminars in universities anymore or counsel people as a psychologist but still has courage to thrive for recognition in social media. She still keeps her “vulgar” style, as she was determined by @socialmom followers, she does not hesitate engaging in polemics under her posts.

While discussing the nature of violence, Thiemo Breyer constructs his argument on body, as he cites the following words of Jean Améry: “we are our body, we do not have it...” (Breyer, 2016, p. 2). We are in concern of our bodies as a medium in our relation to the world. But that world in our case, in social media, there is no body in the real sense. The body is made of 2 dimensional images and they are fragmented, filtered, photoshopped. By the way, in a normal interaction, both bodies is required but in social media there is a single sided exposure of a body so that we are not relying on the physical qualities of our bodies when violating. We do not think of the strengths and weaknesses of our physical bodies but rather how far we dare to break.

Breyer (2016, p. 8) continues his discussion on violence and argues from the anthropological perspective, humans are gifted with collaborative work and help as

social cognition because it takes too much time to become autonomous after their birth and they learn to help each other through the process. In this very point I want to remind the answer of the participant Instamoms to the question of why they opened their accounts. Most common answer was to find people like them and help people like them. Very briefly, they wanted to help and to be helped.

Being violent is against our nature (Breyer, 2016, p. 8). Therefore social media both introduces niceties, instant help and care which were made difficult in big cities but at the same time distorts the way the world is perceived resulting with the easy violation of boundaries in a moral sense.

6. FINDINGS

To change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced (Bourdieu, 1989, p.23).

Instamoms who were interviewed, although did not mention their aim to change the world, they clearly try through their discourses via social media. They are constantly producing and reproducing motherhood with photographs, captions and even with products they specifically chose to advertise like children's books, feminist books, robot vacuum cleaner (letting women do whatever they want when it is working) etc...

6.1. The Questionnaire

The questionnaire is prepared in order to reveal social media becoming the tool for reconstruction of mothering in Turkey. In order to understand the real intentions of Instamoms when they first opened their accounts and after they became famous, what kind of an impact they think they have on their followers, how it effects their daily lives, what motherhood means to them are asked and if it is needed spontaneously further questions are asked. To avoid made up answers some questions are rephrased and asked more than once.

Table 17*Demographics of Mothers Interviewed*

Mother #	Age	Marital Status	Number of Children	Full-time Nanny	Foreign Languages	IG Account Opened in	Number of Followers	House	Economic Situation
1	35	Married	2	Yes	English	2.013	17,5K	Own	Mediocre-Good
2	36	Married	2	No	French English	2016 August	42,6K	Rent	Good
3	38	Married	1	No	French Dutch English Spanish	2.018	3,990	Rent	Good
4	31	Married	1	Yes	English German	2018 April	136K	Rent	Good
5	43	Married	3	No	English Italian	2.009	112K	Rent	Good-Very Good
6	33	Married	2	No	English	2.015	15,6K	Own	Good
7	34	Married	1	No	English French	2.006	151K	Rent	Good
8	32	Married	3	No	Arabic English	2.014	199K	Own	Mediocre
9	39	Married	1	No	English	2017 June	55.3K	Own	Good
10	35	Married	1	No	English	2018 Summer	8,115	Rent	Mediocre
11	40	Married	3	No	English German	2013 May	18B	Own	Good
12	36	Married	1	No	English French Spanish	2017 June	61,9K	Own	Mediocre
13	38	Married	1	No	English French Spanish	2017 August	106K	Rent	Mediocre
14	34	Married	2	No	English	2012 December	3,469	Own	Good
15	34	Married	1	No	English German	2012 May	19,8K	Rent	Good

Note. Based on follower numbers acquired from IG by December 20, 2020 and personal data gathered between March-May 2020 via interviews).

In Appendix 1A and Appendix 1B , original questionnaire in Turkish, its translation into English can be found. Questions in the beginning of the questionnaire were to determine the demographics (Please see Table 17 for the demographics of mothers interviewed).

However some of these demographic questions that had no intention of measuring mothering at all, turned out to be function for the changing lifestyles after becoming a mother like the question 16: “How do you like spending your holidays?” The very question made mothers instantly relaxed, joyous, more willingly answering my questions. 9 of them asked me back whether they should answer for the period before or after their child(ren). They sighed for their freer time that they were having different vacations for adults only places or motorcycle travels with best boutique hotels guide, unplanned, simultaneous decisions, more romantic dialogues when they compared with current, after the child(ren) chapter that are revolving around children, with ugly but “family friendly” 5 star hotels having standardized packages, offering activities for kids under 12, childcare services that will make parents breath or enjoy a quick but childfree dinner and safer sea coast or pool.

Although there was no specific question about their husbands, all mothers mentioned their spouses more than once, sometimes with their names very proudly as a supporter, life-long friend and the father of their children. It is worth highlighting the fact that all Instamoms in Turkey are married. This means that to become an outstanding mother figure in Turkey, culturally legislation is sought. Husbands also serve as a tool in their Instagram account to start discussion on an issue: With an

angry or ironic tone, they pour out about their husbands. This is one of the best strategies adopted by mothers to get very high rates of interaction under their posts or gain new followers also as Donald Brenneis (1992, p. 150-151) defines it as a social activity to transmit and manipulate information and to create awareness as well as social interaction. Most of these women who are “gossiping” after their husbands are also those who are digital feminist activists and what they actually aim through such posts is to set new standards in gender roles since they mostly gossip on childcare and house hold duty considered as women’s job by men.

Gossip in this very context “also provides opportunities for the expression of moral values, for making sense out of aberrant or outrageous behavior, and for the creation of a clear definition of who one is by the delineation of who one is glad not to be. It is a complex communicative phenomenon, serving a range of functions, both intended and not (Brenneis, 1992, p. 150). As an example on March 12, 2021 #blogcuanne made a posting on the dish rack, with a very casual photograph of it, speaking about her husband ironically who asked her whether she is draining water inside the dish rack. She, with a kind of rebellious manner talks about other invisible chores like draining water inside the glass containing the tooth brushes, cleaning the dust off the washing machine and off the dish washer’s shutter, including many others that he could not even realize. To this post she got 6254 likes and 231 comments, usually she gets 2000 likes and 45 comments in average for her daily life posts. Comments to this particular post are also quite ironic, gossipy comments on further invisible household chores and the reactions of husbands when they get involved into these feminine duties.

All mothers interviewed are over 30 year old; they have at least an undergraduate or vocational school (just 1 of them) degree; they each speak at least 1 foreign language; are working and if not, were working pre-motherhood—though being an Instagram phenomenon means a hard work to maintain the account—they either wrote a book, are going to seminars on mothering or they are working part-time. These women should be considered as ideologically productive even if they are not earning enough money to survive.

As Elizabeth Badinter (2011, p. 138) clearly puts the situation for Germany, Italy and Japan, that is also the case for Instamoms in Turkey, since the demographics match with these 3 totally different, industrialized geographies maintaining strong patriarchal traditions where gender roles and functions are sharply separated from each other: women are supposed to carry on works related to children, husband and house, whereas husbands are responsible from the rest. Badinter (2011, p. 138) also states that *mutter* in German, *mamma* in Italian, *kenbo* in Japanese connote a mythical mother persona both as the victim and the owner of absolute power—this is also the case for *anne/ana* in Turkish, having both sacrificial and tyrannical connotations (Gürçayır Teke, 2014, p. 38).

Like women in all industrialized countries, these women are trying to find out ways to negotiate their private with their business lives for the name of economic independency and freedom. To manage their goal, starting from the 1970's they are invading universities and labour market but since they are not supported by their own

mothers and in laws' disapprovals, they finally come back home to look after their children. Leaving children to some strangers is still a regrettable act and as a result—matching the data gathered for this dissertation—women are postponing the age of motherhood and they produce lesser children (Badinter, 2011, p. 139-140). In Turkey the total fertility rate declined from 2.38 in 2001 to 1.88 in 2019 and women in administration increased from 14,4 % in 2012 to 17.5% in 2019 according to the data gathered by Turkish Statistical Institute. Still the rates are higher than the total fertility rates of the other 28 countries forming the European Union (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2020).

6.2. Answers and Analyses

1. Yaşınız?—Your age?

Please see Table 18 for the ages of becoming first mother of the participant mothers.

The average age of the participants is 29 which matches the average of becoming first mother published by Turkish Statistical Institute: for the year 2019 that is 28.9, compared with the year 2001 when average age was 26,7 in Turkey (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2020).

Table 18*Age of Becoming First Mother of the Participants*

Mother	Age
#1	26
#2	25
#3	30
#4	26
#5	30
#6	28
#7	29
#8	23
#9	34
#10	33
#11	29
#12	31
#13	34
#14	26
#15	33

2. Medeni durumunuz?—Your marital status?

All mothers are married and there is no single Instamom in Turkey. Those who became famous when they were married shifted to another way following their divorce. Their main representation is not made on their mother identity anymore.

They introduced a new theme and as Mother #15 told: with her becoming mother, her followers circulated. Who were not married and having intention of becoming a mother unfollowed her, whereas she had totally new followers coming.

Karen Horney (2017, p. 99) as a psychologist, explain the perception of marriage within the society as an imposition to secure love against hatred as well as to guarantee financial status. Horney underlines the fact that marriage is a sociological issue and looking at its psychological background was obstructed but it is necessary to understand where it is rooted (Horney, 2017, p. 94). For the individual, monogamy is caused by the Oedipal drives, desire of becoming the only possessor of the mother or father (Horney, 2017, p. 102) whereas socially marriage represents reputation in patriarchal societies for both women and men. Therefore in Turkey, it is not surprising marriage forming a precondition for becoming prominent figures of motherhood.

In order to bring a historical perspective to this discussion, the book called “Mother-Father Guide” (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 18) is went through which was prepared and published in 1973 by Hürriyet Newspaper (one of the prominent right wing news papers). In the preface of the book we are told that we are now lucky to have this guide where we will find any answer to questions that can not be asked and which will lead the way. This book was prepared in cooperation with specialists from 5 million/month selling “Eltern” magazine in Germany (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 5). The book was addressing both genders when the title is considered, but inside, especially in marriage issues, it is mostly addressing women as follows:

“Be especially careful about these following important points!

- Be always attractive for your husband.
- Do not cry in front of him.
- Be ready to go out together.

- And be present at home at the time when he enters back home (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 18).”

“Your husband’s longer living depends on you! If you do love your husband and do not want to lose him timeless... (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 20)” “5 ways to get along with your mother-in-law... (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 25)” In here the titles taken into account which are mostly addressing women as if the woman is the only active part of marriage who will carry the responsibility of running it.

Even titles seemingly addressing both genders are equipped with a feminine image so that creating the impression of the actual subject is woman as well like “Are you a narcissistic person?” (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 46). This is a test with 12 questions. On top of the page there is an illustration depicting a woman’s hands holding a magazine page with “test” inscribed on it.

Interestingly the book always uses the second singular person when it addresses women, whereas manly issues are told with 3rd singular person as: “The Father has No Right to Become Drunk”—there is no punctuation afterwards, although all titles, including subtitles are punctuated threateningly by exclamations or with triple dots connoting a “If you are not doing what we are saying, it can be too late for your marriage! Hellas!” (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 47). This sentence is followed by another one written in bold: “Family man should not disturb the peace in his home.”

On child care, among lots of similar headlines, there is this one which is still the debate topic: “Mothers!... Your baby needs you much more than anyone...” and “Working mothers have no right to neglect their children...” (Ana Baba Rehberi, 1973, p. 130) and again they are punctuated with triple dots in order to prevent neglected children within the society...

Consequently, as it is cited from Jenny B. White in her book *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labor in Urban Turkey* (1994, p. 42): “A married woman is a respectable woman, a person whose opinion carry weight among other similar women.” She underlines that marriage making a woman visible with the incident given by a female professor of 40 year old in one of the leading universities complaining about at family reunions her opinions are not very interested just because she is unmarried herself, although her cousin's wife is regarded as an authority who could not manage even to finish high school but was married.

3. Doğum yeriniz?—Your place of birth?

In Table 16. places of birth and where they are living actually were hidden because of ethical reasons, not reveal interviewees' identities. Mostly they are born in big cities and mostly in Istanbul.

4. Öğrenim durumunuz?—Your graduate degree?

All mothers interviewed are at least university graduates, please see Table 1. This data is also remarkable like the consistency in marriage, educationally as well there is a standard expected from mothers or it could be related to the standardization of IQ needed to perform a mother Instagram phenomenon. Since social relations are regulated through certain status and roles (Yaşar, 2007, p. 254) this data is showing us that as a cultural norm in Turkey, having a higher education degree at least is desired as a standard of a mother.

5. Üniversiteden mezun olduğunuz bölüm?—Your field of study?

There is no unity in the departments of graduation, there are several different faculties such as engineering, economics, social sciences and education. Very strikingly, 9 mothers out of 15 interviewed, are writers: 8 of them have books, 1 is a contributor and editor to online collective feminist platforms. Their genres are usually mothering with a feminist point of view whereas 2 of them are writing children's books.

6. Babanızın mesleği?—Your father's profession?

Fathers are mostly engineer.

7. Annenizin mesleği?—Your mother's profession?

Their mothers are mostly house wives followed by teachers.

8. Çocuk sayınız kaçtır ve hanenizde toplam kaç kişi yaşıyor?—How many kids do you have and how many people you are living within your house?

In total, these 15 mothers have 25 children which makes 1.66 child per mother which is close to the average published by Turkish Statistical Institute for the year 2019 as 1.88 (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2020).

They all live as nuclear families. Also this question revealed whether they have full-time help in their houses: 2 of them has full-time nannies because of one is running her own business, the other had a heavy disease, she told that she as well needed special care when her baby was very young.

9. Çocuklarınızı büyütürken destek aldınız mı?—Did you get support when you are bringing your children up?

Instamoms usually try to avoid nannies or grandparents when taking care of children in their accounts. These questions on help was asked to see whether they hide their taking help or they actually taking care of their children on their own.

Grandparents are proudly shown or mentioned without image during celebrations, vacations and such relaxed occasions more.

Mother #13 told about once they had a part-time help and especially shared her photographs because she was grateful for her presence, although it was paid and she herself putting effort either on child care or house keeping. She was mentioning her name to show her appreciation and to convey what is really going on in the house during the whole week till the help did left with a simple, cold note saying that she will not coming back, she found another job. She was so angry that she deleted all posts having her. She says as a family they considered her as one of the family members and especially her baby was very upset and suffered for a while because of her sudden absence. Therefore she says that never again she will share a professional relationship like this in her account which is seen as a job.

May be women in general have such a reserve for this subject, foreseeing such a probability they are not sharing in advance. After having this talk with Mother #13, I stopped being prejudiced against nannies being ignored in online world.

10. Kimden destek aldınız?—From whom did you get help?

Mothers interviewed did take care of their children on their own. Those who are working even have no full time nanny staying in their house but rather part time nannies who are not coming during the weekends. Only 2 mothers have full time help, whose elder one has 2 kids with only 11 months in between and the other had a serious illness that caused them to hire a person who would take care of both the child and her. Others get temporary help from their elders when it is needed.

It was very difficult to decide for Mother #7 when she was first told that the downstairs apartment in her mother's building is available for rent. Her husband persuaded her telling how life would become easier for both of them. Now, as a couple they are having its advantages for going out at night, making a spontaneous plan and having her mother's support whenever they need it and if she is free as well, since she still travels for work. Also Mother #12 who is supported by her spouse's mother, cooking for them each day, emphasizes that it is a very precious support for those who are not having professional help.

11. Profesyonel destek ise haftada kaç gün?—If it is professional help, then how many days per week it was?

2 mothers have full-time nannies staying with them, 3 mothers have 5 days per week help which include childcare, cooking and small scale house keeping. Others have no help for especially childcare. During the period when interviews were made, there was a serious lockdown that unless it is full-time, people stopped hiring help for household chores. In Turkey, for the segment which is researched in this dissertation, having weekly help is a standard and there is such a labor force relying economically on this profession.

12. Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait?—Do you own your house?

Please see Table 17.

13. Genel olarak ekonomik durumunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız?—How would you define your financial status?

Most of them belong to the upper segments of the middle class economically as they told so and it is detected from the netnographic analysis. Though during the interview, Mother #4 made a remark on the necessity of being careful when observing through Instagram where for showoff people hire cars, houses even people to fake their financial status on photographs to earn more money. In this way they will get richer sponsors, brands targeting upper segment to collaborate with. Putting the voyeuristic quality of netnography (Costello, McDermott & Wallace, 2017, p. 3) aside, that the researcher can become a participant observer without disturbance in any online community, the netnographer should be aware of online fraud made for both physical and moral reasons, for money or for satisfaction with increasing number of followers and comments.

On YouTube, there's a trend of vloggers using Photoshop to edit themselves onto sandy beaches, or on shopping sprees, to dupe viewers into thinking they're rich and therefore worth watching. The same thought process applies to Instagram: people follow wealthy influencers and celebrities for their daily dose of serotonin-sapping aspirational content. Even if you're not actually rich, if you can at least project that kind of wealth—or so the thinking goes—the followers will follow (Baah, 2020, p. N/A).

14. Kaç yıldır çalışıyorsunuz/çalıştınız?—How long have you been working/you worked?

Only 5 mothers continue working full-time, other than those who are producing for You Tube and earning money. All mothers without any exception are supported by their Instagram account whether they are working full-time or part-time: It brings new customers, it serves as an advertisement platform where they create a familiarity through which they are contacted for seminars, private lessons, book publishings, admissions, product launches of any kind from vacuum cleaners to baby shampoos, wall paper to spices. This particular question would demonstrate the mothers' mentality towards life and it revealed that all experienced a frantic business life before becoming popular among thousands of others. This was expected in advance since women are traditionally supposed to cope with children and household chores, additionally with work life in the last decades. All together their duty became very difficult to carry on especially for women under 30 and 40 according to researches. Women at their 20's and 30's told that they are having an imbalance between work and their private lives (Delina & Prabhakara Raya, 2013, p. 281). As far as it is concerned 10 of the participant mothers did not want to continue with this imbalance, took a radical decision of quitting their jobs but since they were used to produce, they found a midway to negotiate their working woman mentality with their newly vested identity, mother. Mother #11 who is an engineer, decided to become a stay-at-home mother when her second child was born thinking about the words of her friend: she would be working hard to suffice everything in her life in order to earn money, more than half of whom would be immediately spent to the salary of a total

stranger taking care of her own child, who witnesses all historic moments like the first smile, first steps, first words that she would miss forever. This very reason also acknowledged by Mother #2; Mother #3; Mother #4; Mother #5; Mother #7 who kept working till her child told her that he is upset because of he needs more time with her when he was 2 years old; Mother #11 emphasized that if a child is brought into this world, it should be taken care of by the mother for the best version of both mother and child to evolve together; Mother #13 and Mother #15 who actually had no chance to hire someone nor continue doing her job, since she went into the labor just before the Pandemic lock-down.

15. Bildiğiniz yabancı dil var mı?—Are you speaking any foreign languages?

They speak at least one foreign language, whereas 10 mothers speak at least 2 foreign languages. Please see Table 1.

16. Tatillerinizi nasıl geçirmeyi tercih edersiniz?—How do you prefer spending your holidays?

This question was planned to form a judgement more on the socio-cultural taste of the participants but rather it appeared to be a before-after children question. Each single mother interviewed, talked about their lives and habits changed after children. Mother #1, Mother #3, Mother #5, Mother #7, Mother #9, Mother #10, Mother #12 were especially complaining about 5 stars hotels with kids clubs, low quality meals, anti-environmentalist conducts, extremely high prices compared with

smaller and warmer places they used to going before. Mother #3 admits that she is upset when she remembers the times in any occasion they were jumping on their motorbike and they were taking their time wherever pleased them or somewhere picked up from boutique hotels book. Mother #9 also laughed about their drastic change in preference from “adults only” hotels to “with kids’ club” holiday resorts.

17. Kazancınızı en çok nereye harcıyorsunuz?—How do you prefer spending your earnings?

Mostly earnings are spent on rent and food, followed by supplies, entertainment or technology. Mother #7 specifically told that she does not consider the money spent on books and art supplies as expenditure. Likewise, other mothers did not mention even about their children’s private school fees that is the highest after rent.

They especially emphasized that they are being careful about their expenditures on unnecessary commodity to save the planet. In the netnographic analysis their clothing, sponsors taken and their physical representation verify this affirmation: 12 of them told that they would not take any sponsorship because it will be limiting their declarations on social issues which means they could never act like themselves. These 12 mothers are putting captions on recycling, the value of old vs new, even advertising their 20 years old cardigan and how they feel good within. During the pandemic, within a year after they were interviewed, they became more active in terms of cooperations with different brands. Especially they prefer online

shopping sites which are selling anything one can imagine, as well as some individual and expensive brands. Besides earning money through these advertisements, social media members are also reinforcing their online personas via these advertisement patterns with similar products that are made instruments to their conceptual social media beings (i.e. a mostly cooking mother advertises kitchen gears whereas another one whose daughters has long hair shows a quite expensive hair dryer in her posts). In this way both their representation and target audience are formulated physically, commodity that they are being tool to sell, becomes the very tool of expressing themselves and ruling their audiences. Althusser points out the ultimate responsibility of media in the classification of social world “that experience is organized, interpreted and made to cohere in contradiction” (Hebdige, 1979:85).

18. Hesabınızı ne zamandan beri yürütmektesiniz?—Since when are you running your account?

In order to determine the account’s relation to mothering this question was one of the most crucial ones. It appeared that most of them started to take their accounts during their post-partum depression especially. For the period they first started to write on mothering they used a common phrase: “I was feeling worthless and alone...” So that they started to be in search for people feeling like them, who were not enough, who are still fat, who are having trouble catching up each day with joy, perceiving mothering as a gift.

19. Birden fazla mı hesabınız var? Hepsi aktif mi?—Do you have more than 1 account? Are all active?

To see whether this account is a display case and they have a private account that they share more sincerely this question was asked. It is seen that most of them have only 1 account because it is becoming difficult to maintain different accounts at a time. Most of them admitted that after becoming famous in Instagram they could not put enough time and energy to their private account.

20. Yaklaşık kaç takipçiniz var?—Approximately how many followers do you have?

This question is to measure whether they are following their followers closely and it resulted that each one of them check their followers' number very frequently, even interested in their demographics. They are tracking mass follower comings in relation to their posts. As it is cited from Mother #2: "Whenever I shared a photograph of a meal with wine or raki, 50 people leave the account. I do not want them either. This can be your religious view and here is mine, if you can not take it then leave it. I am perfectly okay with that!"

Some mothers on the contrary, told that they deliberately avoid posts that will be disturbing for some people in order not to lose them. In either ways trying to figure out the consequences of each posts that they are creating means that they are taking it very seriously and that they are in control of their crowds. For Pierre Bourdieu (as cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 320) success in such fields like arts, literature and

performance is “as measured by indices such as book sales, number of theatrical performances, etc. or honours, appointments, etc.” Therefore works are valued according to the audience and this people in order to measure their value, are constantly checking feedbacks both in quantity and quality, to recreate proper to the audience. Such acts are setting the standards of the field, in our case, standards of the account, by attacking the radicals, walls built especially by orthodox practices: “... fields impose on actors specific forms of struggle. [...] Every field presupposes and produces a particular type of *illusio*, which Bourdieu defines as a belief or acceptance of the worth of the game of a field.” (as cited in Swartz, 1997, p. 125).

Warming up with Mother #4 in the beginning of the interview, since she asked me how I discovered her, I told that I started to follow her after my friend suggested, living in Washington DC, whose heart is still beating in Turkey so still following here from social media. She asked what is she doing there and I told that she was one of these genii who was graduated in the first place from university and went to Georgetown with scholarship for Ph.D, married there, became a citizen and she is a mother herself right now both performing her job as an economist, teaching part-time at Georgetown. Mother #4 joyfully and proudly said that having people with high intellect is her target and this feels that she succeeds. This conversation might be one of the most striking points made within the entire session showing how mothers are taking their duty seriously and targeting to be taken seriously, without taking the easy way out.

Very similarly, some mothers interviewed told that they enjoy stalking, looking at the open profiles of their followers because they are curious on what kind of people is forming their community. Therefore having the crowd who makes one powerful is not enough but also they want to predict what going to challenge or suit them in the future through their demographic.

As Bourdieu's sociology of symbolic forms puts it, such oppositions are regulating power relations in life and these polarities were essential for individuals to understand the social order properly and to form logical hierarchies through "simultaneously made conceptual and social discriminations" (Swartz, 1997, p. 87):

All agents in a given social formation share a set of basic perceptual schemes, which receive the beginnings of objectification in the pairs of antagonistic adjectives commonly used to classify and qualify persons or objects in the most varied areas of practice. The network of oppositions between high (sublime, elevated, pure) and low (vulgar, low, modest), spiritual and material, fine (refined, elegant) and coarse (heavy, fat, crude, brutal), light (subtle, lively, sharp, adroit) and heavy (slow, thick, blunt, laborious, clumsy), free and forced, broad and narrow, or, in another dimension, between unique (rare, different, distinguished, exclusive, singular, novel) and common (ordinary, banal, commonplace, trivial, routine), brilliant (intelligent) and dull (obscure, grey, mediocre), is the matrix of all the commonplaces which find such ready acceptance because behind them lies the whole social order (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 468).

21. Bu hesaplardan gelir elde ediyor musunuz? Sizi geçindirecek kadar mı?—Do you earn money from these accounts? Is it enough to support you financially?

Earning money is an important motivation in life so this question is essential to determine intentions of mothers in diving into the social media with the ambition of becoming a phenomenon. Although most of them told that they were not targeting fame when they first opened their accounts, all of them took courses, read books on becoming a professional digital content producer in social media and 3 of the mothers are working with professional companies. These companies take the whole responsibility from finding concepts, creating contents, managing accounts as well as answering followers' comments as it is told by Mother #4 and Mother #12. Mother #6 also uses her account as a professional to advertise her name and in order to do this she gives extra information on her professional duty. This particular strategy was already told by Mother #2: "in order to attract people's attention, you have to give them free and precious information. So that afterwards they will feel that crave your professional touch and they will hire you." Mother #6 benefits from Instagram ads as well and she expressed that each month, she is spending considerable amount of money hoping that it will return growing bigger to her.

No mothers earn money directly from Instagram as I am told during interviews. Either they are becoming popular and selling their books; they are cooperating with some brands, they are advertising their accounts and they are paid accordingly or their accounts are directing to their Youtube channels that they earn from Youtube hits. However according to Mother #8, there are some accounts who are

earning quite high amounts of money, more than one can keep up for a whole month. She said she is not preferred by such companies, most probably because her account has no impression of commerciality, she does not take ads much and as a result companies do not come to her often, predicting that they will be turned down.

22. Bu hesabı açmaya sizi iten neydi?—What drove you to open this account?

This question is one of the 3 similar questions leading to the main question of this thesis: “Social media is becoming the tool for the reconstruction of mothering in Turkey”

Many answered the question in the same way as they were feeling alone, worthless, in depression so that they wanted to find somebody feeling in the same way. In the beginning all told that they opened their accounts with big expectations. Mother #4 told how she survived a child loss and afterwards a very difficult pregnancy followed by a serious postpartum depression and the speech she threw to her husband in order to prepare him to future events when she decided to turn her—so that their—life into a social media account, business: “I am going to open a YouTube account where I will tell whole process. I know it will be very hard for you to take because I am not going to talk about niceties. I do not want you to feel resentment. Please keep in mind that this will be my way to get my life back.” He said that he is approving and there it started.

Besides depression and loneliness there was also motivation to spread what they learn through this process about being mother. This is a proof that despite their mental weakness they were feeling competent. Mother #8 became famous among her friends for creating interesting children's games. Whereas Mother #9 after adopting a new dieting method opened her account in order to put a pressure on herself to stick to the method and sharing her daily diet online became motivational for herself, as well as for her followers. After becoming a mother her account turned out to become a mother account. This is a good instance showing that people themselves are aware of how gaze is a powerful tool for social control and how actually individuals need it even for self-discipline.

23. Annelik hesabınızdan önce de tanınıyor muydunuz?—Were you known before your Instagram account?

Only 2 mothers, Mother #9 and Mother #15 owned their accounts before they became mothers but once they become mothers their accounts started to be highly related to mothering issues rather than their founding themes which were nutrition and exercising basically. Nowadays Mother #9's 1 out of 7 posts is on mothering, because her child grew up and not a baby anymore, whereas Mother #15's child is 1 year old newly and each day she posts something on her depressive mood full of ups and downs, her changing diet and body shape because of lactation. All mothers expressed this feeling of being willing to share when their kids were babies, mostly till the age of 6. Afterwards, already became famous, these mothers tend to talk on social issues, politics and fashion. They are also commercially lead, depending on their

cooperations with different brands, they produce their contents matching these products. Maryam Arabi, the Iranian journalist name Instagram celebrities as “Kilo-celebrities” because now it is very easy to draw attention of the group targeted thanks to the very well advertised strategies and tools to become famous and not even famous like traditional mass media celebrities who had much more requirements and limitations to fit in (Eslami, Mousavi and Alikhah, 2019, N/A). Please see the Table 18 for the differences between Social Media and Mass Media Celebrities that was taken from Eslami, Mousavi and Alikbah’s article “Virtual Celebrities, Familiar Strangers in the Age of Social Media” (2019, N/A).

Table 19

Differences between Social Media and Mass Media celebrities.

Social Media Celebrity/Microcelebrity	Mass Media Celebrity
Microcelebrity is a set of techniques and principles, not a particular person	Celebrity is a famous person
Social relationship with followers	Semi-social relationship with fans
Direct and intimate relationship with followers	Indirect and formal relationship with fans
Real and authentic self	Fake and artificial self
Ordinary	Extraordinary
Reluctant to publish private life news	Unwilling to publish private life news
Relying on self-branding technique and individual endeavour to find fame	Relying on public relations agents and celebrity industry
Focus on attracting attention and earning fewer financial gains	Significant financial gains
Having a status that is accessible to ordinary people	Having a status that is not easy access to ordinary people
Audience is considered a friend	Audience is considered as fans

24. Sizce “Anne” nedir?—What is “Mother” to you?

A very popular mothering book in Turkey published in 1968 by Dr. İhsan Doğramacı (1968, p. 13) starts with his letter to mothers, assuring them that they will become a family now and their happiness will be complete with the arrival of their child. This question was asked to see whether the mythical equivalent of mother or the concept of mother created by the current mass culture was more prominent in their minds and how they are targeting to fill the content of “mother.” It is important to understand how the mothers interviewed are transmitting the concept into a performed action as it was put by Richard Bauman (1992, p. 42) since these mothers were the ultimate constructors of motherhood in a key platform. With this question they evaluated their mothering with the mothering that experienced through their childhood, from their own mothers as also stated by Ruddick (Whitehead, 2016, p. 117).

Without any exception, each of the 15 mothers interviewed laughed joyfully when they first heard the question and they repeated after they have heard the question: “What is mother?...”

Mother #9 with tears in her eyes told that she even missed her mother more with the very question that she could not see for months because of the pandemic. All of them stopped in this question, thinking a lot about the right answer, thanking me for finding such a genuine question. Very interestingly those who told that they had a distant relationship with their mothers gave well thought, more intellectual answers,

seemingly less simultaneous than those who romanticize “Mother,” explain mother as the real love, sacrificing, sharing, birthing and nurturing.

All mothers used the following words to explain and none had a brief explanation for the word “mother:” love, mother nature, nurture, everything, endeavor, taking care of someone till death, protection, teacher.

Mother #5 and Mother #7 quoted Turkish Language Association and Elizabeth Badinter, thus answered the question academically. Mother #5 explained it as a female creature birthed a baby, which was a biological approach. Mother #7 told that “Mother” is an identity and while explaining it she is afraid of sanctifying and idolizing it, since this would be discrimination of childless women on the other hand as well. She explained her loose bonds with her mother pulled her back in the first 2 years of her motherhood, whereas she was shook by a simple phrase coming from her child and decided to quit her frantic job to become a stay-at-home mom not just to take care of her child rather to shape an individual on her own as well as herself. “My mother gets shocked as she sees me willingly playing games and enjoying it” she says, “because she never played with me...” For Mother #15 on the other hand “mother” equals “breast,” with the youngest baby among the others, still breast feeding and especially talking about the advantages of breast feeding in her account. She says her only agenda is feeding: for the last 3 months the only adult dialogue they have is about milking, what would make more milk, what should she eat that will make her to produce more milk. “What a production!” she says “Lately this is my only quality!...”

Mother #11 states that mother is the one who puts her own child in front of every responsibility throughout her life that is matching the definition of mother archetype by Carl Jung which forms the basis for the mythological mother figure, giving her authority and metaphysical characteristics (Jung, 2019, p. 123). Goodness, passion and darkness are the three qualities of mother in Hindu mythology that are the qualities of mother (Jung, 2019, p. 122): caring and caressing character who can be malicious to anyone including her baby for the baby's own protection. Because in order to become a mother and the baby, in order to be born in this world, they walk through a rough journey for 9 months together and at the end they take another important test. Nazan Maksudyan (2015, p. 221) tells about the birthing room of Zeynep Kamil Hospital in İstanbul, suffering voices she heard around while she was in labour herself. She draws attention to the difference between women's moaning and screeching differently depending on their cultural backgrounds. At the end of her article, she admits that she is not able to describe the pain she went through as a social scientist, nor the half passed out, half awake night of birthing when she gave birth to her son (Maksudyan, 2015, p. 224).

25. Siz nasıl bir annesiniz?—How would you define yourself as a mother?

This is an important question to answer the main question of the dissertation therefore each mother's answer is taken: Mother #1: "I am a fellow mother. My mother actually could not become a fellow of mine but as far as I interpret, motherhood should be fellowship. May be motherhood is caregiving more but I wanted to become a fellow mother and it is what I became."

Mother #2: “I am a very instinctual mother. Reading books, getting theoretical knowledge and so on, seems useless to me. I know that this is ignorance, when I am in trouble I get my help too but generally mine is instinctual. When he is crying, I can not check why he is crying from the books or in potty training lets say, I can not think in this way ‘ok now it is 2 o’clock and we have to poop!’ No! If you need to poop come and sit to poop. If you are not hungry then you can leave the table. Our bonds were very easily constructed with both kids. I can understand what they actually want just at a glance...”

Mother #3: “I am everything but a model!!! (She laughs) I am a crunchy mother. For me healthy eating is very important. Gentle, positive discipline, positive parenting that is what I believe. I let the child learn from its mistakes. So I will be the mom who let the child fall, let the child get dirty. I am not a helicopter mom. If he falls, he falls, he is gonna learn not to fall in this way. At the same time I have very strict rules about certain things, about manners, saying hello, thank you, being polite. But I have respect to his body and boundaries so I will never force him to kiss someone, because he does not have to kiss anybody.”

Mother #4: “I am a concerned mother. But I am a mother who did not give up her life. I am a mother with boundaries. I am trying to teach everything for the future. I am married to someone who is lacking a mother figure so that I know how mother is important in a man’s life! I am a mother who is not buying toys but rather preferring to spend too much time. I play with him, chat with him, listen to music with him, sun

bathing, swimming with him, watering plants, baking a cake with him... I am trying to prepare him to life.”

Mother #5: “I am an exerting mother, too rigid and accordingly who is troubling both the kids and herself. I am a mother for whom the sense for equality is very important. Trying to show her affection and try to hide her lack of compassion I think.”

Mother #6: “I am a good mother! We should ask to my kid. I think I am a devoted mother.” She is asked to define “devoted” in return: “I think everything can be solved with love, much more love and much more love!”

Mother #7: “ My mothering is not an exertion but rather bonding. I also try to prioritize myself, this depends. I really like taking my time with him, he is an extremely fun character, we have fun together. I found myself, I discovered myself thanks to him!”

Mother #8: “I am a mother whose energy is generally high in nature. I am a happy mother, even comic! I like having fun with my kids. Actually I do not appreciate the word “friend” when it comes to the parent-kids relationship but my kids are my best friends. I really have fun doing everything with them. You know, sometimes people say that they need an hour without their kids or they need to drop the kids and have a cup of coffee, I am a person who enjoys having coffee with them. I want to make a home-school with them. I want home-schooling gets legitimized a lot. But sometimes, I am a mother who can easily get angry because of her high

energy. But I am also a mother who can manage her anger too. I am a trusted mother. They are sharing their secrets with me. And also in terms of knowledge I feel that they are trusting me, because they come and get my approval on different topics. I am a mother who loves to read and I made my kids love reading.

Mother #9: “Loving!? Extremely motherly but who strictly sticks to her rules at the same.”

Mother #10: “I do not know other mothers but I do not appreciate myself at all lately because my kid has no appetite! I mean... I do not know why but I get tense, I get angry! I really get sad when he does not eat anything and this makes me angry... Generally I am a mother who is only concerned with his happiness like all other mothers out there nowadays. I sometimes get angry because I want to do something for myself or household chores and he stays alone in another room. I start to blame myself because of doing something else instead of taking care of him... I am a mediocre, devoted mother...”

Mother #11: “This is a very open question! Ok! Then! I am a mother who is trying to provide the most of the potentials her children can have. I am a mother who tries to get rid of the things which might lessen, disturb or limit their own potentials. Chemicals for example... I mean, I am trying to minimize the chemicals that they will get into their bodies from foods, medicines or from air, water and effect them badly. My main focus is this!”

Mother #12: "I am a mother who is trying to do her best!"

Mother #13: Loving and caring unconditionally and giving support... Oh, also giving pleasure...

Mother #14: "I am a mother who is trying to be good, I mean I am a mother doing her best actually. Time to time I shout at my kids. Actually I am improvising. I do not think that mothering can be taught or can be learned. I am instinctual. I do not blame myself because each of us have childhood traumas that come out at certain circumstances. I try to show my affection to them rather than playing with them. Yeah, I hug them more, I put them to sleep in my arms, I show my affection..."

Mother #15: "I really do not know right now. I can not evaluate my performance as a mother since we can not socialize (because of Covid-19) I can not see myself either. I realized that socializing was like looking at a mirror! But I can safely tell that we have a very good connection with my baby, I can tell what he wants at a glance." Cooley underlines the need for the others' feedback for the construction of self. Individual has an image related to himself in his mind but this image should be justified by others as well (Çelik, 2020, p. 27).

Answers of 15 mothers to this particular question, "How would you define yourself as a mother?" are entirely cited because of being genuine and providing the essence of this thesis. They talk about showing love and affection, having boundaries and rules. Most of them especially tell that they like spending time with their kids,

they are having a friendly relationship going on rather than traditional authority figure and the soldier obeying. From netnographic analysis also this is the case, photographs/videos with their captions show that they are enjoying being together more than being their caregiver, they take what they need from their kids' presence as it was clearly told by Mother #7, as she discovers herself within their relationship.

Women are not considering mothering as an oppressive demand over women of 1970's but rather they perceive it "as an optimistic and positive endeavor." For a very long while, researches proving that children need bonding with their mothers was even supported by Margaret Mead who studied kibbutzim system in Israel and Hutterites where she found out that the survival of children under group nurturing was not easy without mother's bonding (as cited in Ross, 2016, p. N/A). Mead (1967, p. xxiii) defends a healthy society which will be formed through self appreciated marriages in the first place, then with "endowment" between parents and children.

All mothers talk about the potentials of their kids and they are trying to open them up paths to walk in life, either they are feeling guilty or they are proud for the qualities their kids are having, i.e., for not having appetite, for reading habit. They are seeing themselves responsible for their kids' becoming good individuals as well: living life with joy, respectful to his own in the first place, reading, thinking, questioning, having sense of humor. The idea of seeing mother as the responsible one is not new, rather it is quite traditional as it settled within the language such as "mother tongue," "motherland," "motherboard" in computing even which is the main board allocating power and allowing communication within a computer

(Motherboard). As human beings, we tend to name main, mainstream, genuine things as “mother.”

26. Anneniz sizin anneliğinizi beğeniyor mu?—Does your mother appreciate your mothering?

13 mothers out of 15 who were interviewed told that their way of mothering are appreciated by their mothers. All mothers, to evaluate their mothering took their mothers or grand mothers’ as a standard. As they told “I was raised like this so that I decided to do/not to do this definitely raising my own child.” Each mother reported similar narrations about why they are building up mothering on their own childhood memories with their mother figures.

Nancy Chodorow (1978, p. 173-177) especially emphasizes the importance of both girls and boys are mothered by women in the formation of social roles and women’s identification with their mothers or female kin—teacher, relatives, neighbors, etc. Afterwards, girls should differentiate themselves in order to become properly functional for the society, primarily for their sakes.

I thought that this should be asked and frankly I was expecting a lower rate of appreciation from grandmothers because I was and some of my friends were highly criticized during the first years of our motherhoods. This was not just because of my negative personal experience but the presence of psychoanalytical notion of dread of the mother which can be explained as a girl’s hostility developed during the Oedipal

stage, towards her mother, more dominant than what boys are going through (Chodorow, 1978, p. 182).

About Oedipal stage, Helene Deutsch (Horney, 2017, p. 60), argues that this stage is not limited with childhood when clitoris is equally valuable for both girls and boys but rather, with each sexual function—puberty, sexual intercourse, pregnancy, birthing—this stage starts over and should be overcome. According to this argument, both physiological and psychological effects of one's childhood—therefore her mother—can be overcome after losing sexual functions. Mother of one resides till very late years of a person.

Elizabeth Badinter (1992a, p. 59, 60) underlines the lack of children, anything related to children especially proved by literature and medicine. There was no such a field of expertise called as pediatrics till 19th century and correspondingly children were ignored, even avoided in literature as annoying little creatures.

27. Sizin anneliğiniz, annenizin size yaptığı annelikten ne açıdan farklı?—In what ways do your motherhood differ from your mother's?

All mothers, even those who told that they are under their own mother's influence and perform their role very much like them, using the sentence “but I interpreted it in my way.” Mother #1 and Mother #8 especially stressed that they understood how different love language, the ways of their mothers showing affection are different than theirs. Mother #1's mother was not friendly but was a very good

caregiver; Mother #3's mother was raised in French mainstream mothering so that she was considering children as mini adults. Being aware of this she tries to be on her kid's side more; Mother #8's mother was very ambitious so she says that she adopted a relaxed manner in her mothering; Mother #6, Mother #11, Mother#13's mothers were obsessed with cleaning, now, thinking that this should be their children's responsibility, they are not interfering to their territory.

28. "Mükemmel annelik" nedir?—What is "perfect motherhood?"

The universality of the pressure to mother is always associated with cultural concepts of who should and should not be a mother and who makes a good mother and who makes a bad mother. While the specifics differ cross-culturally, women are often judged on their capacity to mother and their capacity to be a good mother based on their class, race, ethnicity, politics, age, gender presentation, sexuality, marital or relationship status, geographic location and disability (Walks, 2010, p. 12).

As Michelle Walks puts in her work titled as "Anthropology of Motherhood," whether one is good at mothering or not is the question asked throughout history but there is no a universal answer.

To this question, all mothers answered in the same way: Without a pause they told that there is no such thing very rigidly. I deliberately wait after asking in order to see what could come to the surface. This was a tricky question because these women

were opening their flags with the label of “mother” and this should be the sign of their self esteem as they are believing their performances as good mothers or perfect mothers. With my pause, some of them explained more: Mother #5 and Mother #7 discussed how perfect motherhood is a motivational lie to shape women in a capitalist and patriarchal way both socially and economically. Mother #7 is already known to raise voice against perfect motherhood, her account is based on this idea: she usually shares posts where she appears with messy hair, baby weight to address the issue of perfect mothers sarcastically.

For Mother #3 this is what is taught by motherhood itself: “Nothing is gonna be perfect!” So one should stop trying to be perfect. Discussing changing mothering style in India with participation of women to the labor force, the pressure of media increased on mothers “to accept their 'dual-burden' by giving them several fancy labels such as 'supermom' or 'Favorite allrounder'. According to her, the 'working mother' tag itself is ambivalent as childcare responsibilities are unpaid and often go unnoticed.” (Bhaumik & Sahu, 2021, p. 69).

Working mothers, all around the world, are targeted by media more because both they are earning money, they are more involved with the social life and they are supposed to carry on household with childcare additionally. Since they are earning money and they are much more exposed to society, they are able to spend more. This quality makes them perfect customer candidates in the first place then perfect mothers if they buy, wear, use, apply, watch all products which are told to turn them perfect. The notion of consumerism drives people to have a meaning through identity, class

and economic relations that actually segregate them (Pişkin, 2020, p. 64). Likewise, Edward Bernays (1928, p. 87) talks about the importance of creating a prominent style for different ideologies for the representation of that group becomes more powerful, functioning like a costume or uniform or a mask when it is correlated with performance anthropology. These gears or tools are easing the formation of that “complex sequence of symbolic acts” (Turner, 1988, p. 75).

However, Mother #1's, can be classified as a universal answer and can be adapted to all times, to all geographies, to all cultures. She told that perfect mothering is being flexible, is the ability of enlarging then shrinking down constantly, depending on events. If one is not flexible enough she said, she will break and fall apart but those who are flexible, can suit their shapes according to the circumstances. For her, perfect mothering is being convertible. Likewise Mother #14 argues that a perfect mother is the one who shows her affection to her kids no matter what condition. What is important is children are being aware that they are loved.

Mother #15 stated that she saw several perfect mothers in her life but not in the sense as it is boosted in social media, advertisements, and film industry but mothers who brought up their kids within poor conditions like her grandmother. She says “Mmm... Well, surely she had daily defects that might effect her children's lives in a bad way when calculated with today's norms but within conditions of her period, all by herself, struggling with financial lacks, loss of a baby, she stood up without losing her mind with 6 children. This is something...”

10 mothers' answers were very short to this question as there is no perfect motherhood and some of them revealed some Instagram accounts pretending perfect mothers, ironically like "Perfect mothering, utopia!" or "Instead of the time she is putting to look like perfect she can do an activity together with her kid, insincere!"

Concluding this particular question, although these mothers do not believe in perfect mothering, their answers show that they put enough time and energy to think and try whether it could ever work. Answers were generally well thought in advance. Right in this very point I should remind that they were hearing this questionnaire for the first time in their lives. Not just in the stream of their mothering practice but also on paper as well they are mostly keeping themselves up to date, reading sociological researches about this field, following feminist politics and openly mocking with the concept of "perfect mother" through their Instagram accounts.

29. Mükemmel bir anne tanıyor musunuz?—Do you know a perfect mother?

Although all mothers told that there is no perfect motherhood, Mother #1 told that she can be listed as a perfect mother, because she is flexible enough to fit her "perfect mother" definition.

Mother #8 mocked with some clichés determining the so-called perfect mothers such as: "I never gained baby weight!" Posting about her super kid, within perfect outfits, always clean with well combed hair, acting like mini-individuals,

always having extra milk in her breasts, always she, herself looking good in her skinny outfit, full make-up and hair.

It is certain that no one appreciates this attitude of “perfect mother” because either they are found fake or they are believed having another intention than mothering. However, these 3 questions in a row about perfect motherhood revealed that they have its pressure to become a perfect mother.

30. Siz mükemmel anne misiniz?—Are you perfect mother?

The mothers interviewed deny these pseudo-identities like sacredness or perfect. Almost all complained without being asked that mother is told being the sacred, just in order to be subjugated easily within the capitalist world and patriarchal society. They say that this very label disturb them because give them an extra responsibility, taking their rights away of being human with defects but rather expects superhuman qualities, especially when it is supported with perfect mother ideal.

Mother #5, Mother #7 and Mother #14 especially underlined that they do not want to be tools for the political, sociological and economic reasons that lying behind this ideal image of mother. Mother #7 points out those influencers naming themselves as “...’s Mother” or “...’s Wife” equipped with a ring and dowry, then with a baby emoji. She stresses that this should not be the way women representing themselves, over somebody else’s representation, existence depending on somebody else’s being. “Real people fail, disapoint others, get frustrated, real people have good days, real people have bad days. They cry, they laugh. Kids need real people around them who

have emotions and not afraid of expressing them...” Fitting the argument by Rorty for understanding things, we should be detaching it from “divine” content that was aimed by philosophy traditionally but rather “something more modest, more ordinary and humdrum, [...] something more recognizably human than the pure (Houlgate, 1993, p. 89). Sacredness for all mothers is representing an honorable figure in the eyes of their children and being satisfied in life for their esteem, quite differentiated from the traditional sacred mother figure.

Researches on gender prove that starting from childhood, later enhanced in the office, girls are expected to be perfect: girls are rewarded for studying, following the rules whereas boys are given much more space. Naughty boys especially when they are successful athletes, are in the focal point (Helgesen&Goldsmith, 2018, p.146). Therefore aside from the rise of totally capitalistic trend of perfect motherhood, women are raised to be perfect within their territories and they have the disease to please more than men (Helgesen&Goldsmith, 2018, p. 156).

11 mothers replied as there is no perfect mother so neither they can be. 3 mothers told that they are trying to do their best each day, knowing that there is no perfection, they are trying to show their best performance.

“Women’s fulfillment, however, lay not in their sexuality or anything else except marriage to an enlightened patriarch and motherhood of 3.1 children with rosy cheeks, never snotty noses.” as it is put by Mary F. Rogers (1999, p. 38) in her book titled as *Barbie Culture* summarizing the expectations of patriarchal society from

women. Women are born as perfect wives and mothers. Actually both genders are tried to be moulded for centuries to guarantee social order that was established: "... sex was dirty; it was only for married people aiming to procreate." (Rogers, 1999, p. 38).

To this question Mother #2 contentedly answers as "No, of course I am not perfect... Wait a minute! Yes! I am perfect! I am perfect because I am in the know that I am not perfect!!!" Mother #9, admitting that she already tried being a perfect mother but with the help of her husband she get rid of her obsession of becoming perfect mother.

This last question about perfect mothering is validating what has been told in the previous 2 questions: There is a concept called as "perfect motherhood," it is tried and understood that there can not be such perfection with a creature that has no agenda which requires momentarily improvisations and very stressing to adapt. Consequently after a period of trial with positive intentions they decide that there is no perfect motherhood and what becomes important is one's survival from these first years with her mental and physical integrity. That is why their explanation of perfect motherhood is about versatility, remaining flexible without any breakage.

31. Kendi anneliğinizde annenizden etkilenererek uyguladığınız yöntemler mi baskın yoksa kendi kendinize/sosyal medyadan/uzmanlardan/arkadaşlarınızdan duyarak geliştirdiğiniz yöntemler mi?—In your mothering are techniques that you took over

from your mother dominant or those that you adopted and developed from social media/specialists/friends on your own?

New mothers are obviously plotting a hybrid system: they are not tied on any of those more, they are judging both traditional methods already applied by their care givers (the word “mother” is deliberately avoided since some are brought up by their grand parents) as well as new methods that are available in books and internet.

Very interestingly, Mother #1 and Mother #4 gave the names of their father and grandfather for they are trying to pass the knowledge coming from them to their children. This shows that the community’s perception of childcare as a feminine labor started to change a long before thinking that these women were born in 1980’s and now they are still commemorating these male characters who shaped their visions. Although commonly in Turkish society mothering is considered mainly as mothers’ or elderly/paid women’s duty (Bora, n.d., p. 4), obviously it is not, regarding these 2 mothers’ arguments who are mothered by men.

Selcan Gürçayır Teke (2014, p. 44) in her research on Turkish blogger mothers finds out that blogger mothers are highly interested in the idea of becoming mother as well as their mothering as a whole. They design their mothering genuinely rather than embracing the schemes already existing within the society. It is believed that we owe this transformation to personalized judgement of having children resulting with personalized way of mothering.

Mother #8 told that she only went through social media, internet and books in order to construct her way in the beginning. But with the birth of her second child which is 2.5 years after the first one, she realized that she can not perform the motherhood told by these mediums and she decided to listen to her instincts: “That mothering was too perfect, expecting too much from me! I could go crazy!” drawing attention to feeling inferior because of such accounts. This was also mentioned by other mothers including Mother #7 who underlined that women are becoming suicidal for this very reason, to reach impossible targets.

32. Sosyal medya üzerinde tasvip etmediğiniz paylaşımlar neler?—What kind of contents you do not appreciate in social media?

This question gave similar results with the question number 45 to whom all mothers have common answers that are listed as follows:

Contents Unappreciated in Social Media:

- Using children for commerce;
- Having too much advertisement, both in frequency and amount;
- Perfect: her child is perfect, she is perfect, her house is perfect, her husband is perfect;
- Giving too much advices;
- Discrimination of any kind;
- Those who are competing, comparing their kids;
- Those who are not showing the helps in their house, who are managing everything;

- Labeling their children;
- Disparaging their spouses.

Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*'s opening sentence "Happy families are all happy in the same way, unhappy families unhappy in their separate, different ways" is perfectly defining illocutionary act (Verheyen, 2020, p. 80) that can also be the essence of social media in a certain extent. In order to be happy, one needs to have an average in many of different dynamics in life. When one is happy all the time, can overcome each trouble professionally, who look in her best in each photograph, the house is always neat and clean, kids are neat and well behaving, these start to signal unreliability for the viewer.

All mothers told that such posts propagating the perfection of its owner, rather than unreliability—because we are in social media and it is tend to be unreal by default—evoke feeling of insufficiency in viewers so that they "unfollow" or follow them no more. People want to see support through people like them not superior than them as also stated by Nuriye Çelik who conducted a research on 10 YouTube influencers: in postmodern community role models are chosen not from the elites but rather from persuasive ones who are working for reproduction of reality (Çelik, 2020, p. 58).

When the subject is motherhood we should always consider that it is a social and political identity besides its personal quality. Motherhood is located somewhere in between private and public which makes women's job much more complicated. Even make women "shattered" between roles of working woman—at home and in the work

place—and mother: both should be performed simultaneously (Gürçayır Teke, 2014, p. 42).

33. Sosyal medya maceranız nasıl başladı?—How did your social media adventure start?

While I was trying to finalize my dissertation, an Instamom, @mutfakta_bebek_var sent a post on July 13, 2021 telling her reasons for opening her account in the beginning. Video in that post is featuring her third child, 6 months old (this information was gathered from comments, in form of an answer to the question of her follower), trying to wean a lamb chop that she is grabbing in her both hands with a great appetite. As the caption she explains how one's understanding of mothering changes through time with experience. She wrote a long paragraph about how rigid she was in the first baby, then she was transformed with 2 other babies. There she explains her first child was being extremely allergic to milk, second one was not allergic but picky so that she became an expert on children's nutrition and ultimately opened her account in order to ease the life of mothers who are suffering like her. She propagates a more liberal approach to child care in this post saying that her motto is "Happy baby, happy mother," she will not be worried for anything anymore. She wrote these lines as if she is taking note for herself but actually this is a reconstructive attempt for her followers as well.

Almost all mothers talk about a deep depression following the birth of their children, some were aware that this was postpartum, some were not, like Mother #2. When she started to describe her situation I asked whether it could be postpartum,

there she realized that it was and she got really surprised for not figuring that dark period was postpartum depression before. Although I was quite aware of postpartum depression when I became mother twice, later on I realized how depressed I was and how people around you ignore your presence but rather treat you like a medium meant to bring that off spring to the world. No one realizes, even those who have been through the process, how hard it is to carry the load and within some hours with a traumatic pain sort that out, showered with several different kind of hormones and being responsible from him till death.

On the contrary all those elderly women who are actually supposed to be experienced and manage this process, rather use this period of vulnerability as an advantage to take their revenge from time, from who did the same thing to them on purpose. They repeat that for millennia women are doing this, then they start talking about their 40 something years ago birthing memory, how hard it was (Gürçayır Teke, 2014, p. 44). Whereas the new mother's birthing memory was only some hours away, still bleeding, still her uterus trying to shrink down its original size, while she tries to adapt to her newborn being outside her body.

During interviews all mothers expressed strongly this reality that is lived in many parts, many different demographics in Turkey. Even Mother #6, despite of her being treated very well after her labors by her mother and mother in law, told that she especially want to mention those women who are suffering especially in eastern and southeastern Turkey. Throughout Turkey in general, where there is a term as "taking/giving girl" (kız almak/vermek) in language, there is no such thing for men meaning becoming another family's member through marriage (Altunsu Sönmez, 2019, p.

1163). This also proves that how far family bonds can go and taken seriously within the society.

New mothers are highly terrorized by their female relatives especially by affinal mothers and sisters. A scholarly research made on in-law relationships closer to the situation in Turkey was published in 1995 by Lockwood (Ayers, et al., 2020, p. 13) among Bosnian Muslim villagers is as follows: “Maidens insult potential mothers-in-law before marriage; mother-in-law has power over daughter-in-law in the social structure; songs sung by mother-in-law designed to reinforce daughter-in-law’s fears about mother-in-law and test authority; daughter-in-law is expected to accept mother-in-law as a new mother.” Very similar to Turkey there is verbal abuse, social role expectations and threatened family dynamics (Ayers et al. 2020, p. 13).

Likewise Altunsu Sönmez (2019, p. 1163) in her sociological research on Turkish mother and daughters-in-law, states that the “new” bride is considered as the very reasons for detachment between mother and son so that as the cause of envy by the mother. Patriarchal codes require brides to be stood in a subsidiary position whereas his mother, father and his children should come in the first place.

Although brides go through a similar period, when they become mother-in-law instead of making empathy and be gentle to the new and younger family member, they follow the same pattern as they are socially taught, as the first owner of the house and harsh authority figure (Altinsu Sönmez, 2019, p. 1164). Mother-in-law and bride’s toxic relationship shows itself as an issue in language with several proverbs, adjectives through novels, songs as well as a favored popular theme in prime-time

reality shows with highest ratings. (Altınsu Sönmez, 2019, p. 1166). Even this particular relationship is often determined as a “ticking bomb” that can explode anytime (Altınsu Sönmez, 2019, p. 1186).

These are important evidences to consider in order to understand why these women were trying to find some people through social media, among perfect strangers on a totally different ground which is mothers-in-law-free.

Mother #1, Mother #3 and Mother #6 on the other hand started their account to fix negativity on social media, they are performing business related to mother and child so that, they use Instagram as a medium to advertise themselves and propagate necessary information. Both Mother #3 and Mother #6 as professionals underlined the fact that even medical staff like gynecologists and nurses who are taking care of new borns and new mothers are being highly insensible and uninformed about breast feeding and postpartum, since their duty is mostly to solve medical problems related to labor mostly. Mother #6 as well complains about knowledge on the issue being dirtied both by culture itself and as a projection of culture, in social media. Therefore in order to spread needed information and save both babies and mothers she started her account.

34. Daha çok tıklanmak için başvurduğunuz yöntemler var mı?—Are there any techniques that you are using for more likes?

Among methods adopted to have more likes and comments there is, running giveaways; asking a question, bringing an issue or complain so that people start to interact. All mothers interviewed mentioned about these but also most of them told that they are not relying on these methods very often. This is also approved by the netnographic analysis made: they were less commercial when compared with some others who are obviously creating a financial win-win situation for themselves and in return for their followers by providing giveaways which can be vary from gift set of cosmetics to a very expensive bag, anything depending on the sponsors.

Mother #14 told that she tries to write good texts and to plot her own style whereas Mother #9 does not care much about her account and she comes back to being commercial. She says that since she has no advertising agreement, she is more relax when she compares herself with the others who have the pressure for posting on Instagram each day regularly to maintain their sponsors.

35. Paylaşımlarınız her zaman gerçekçi mi?—Are your posts always realistic?

Mother #2 often shares her dinner tables and she says that since she closely following her followers, her statistics, she noticed that whenever she makes such a post, some 40-50 people unfollow her because of alcoholic drinks pairing the food on the picture. She says “This is our family thing, I love cooking and serving it with suitable spirits, if they are disturbed they are free to leave. Because if I do shoot a picture without beverages then I would be faking and I do not want to show myself as someone else.” Most mothers interviewed this sentence in different occasions. They

think that faking will definitely be troubling, creating an extra curriculum to spend effort on it both in social media and in their real lives, since they are recognized on the streets.

Mother #14 stresses that unrealistic, absurd stories and characters in social media attract much more attention than normal, realistic ones and questions the intellect of followers.

While realism and rating was judged on May 17, 2021 an Instagram user was complaining about her posts not having usual interaction because they are political in content and in here (Instagram) people can not stand blood, war and drama, rather they want to have fun all the time. As Hal Niedzviecki explains cultural conformism she seems right in her raving: globally people are after a standard way of life and monotonous entertainment as they are accustomed so that even from entertainment people expect a certain standardization. Time's cover issue downsized from 4500 words to 2800 words within last 20 years. Likewise a New York Times article was diminished 20%, Scientific American 40% and strikingly, in 1965 average amount reserved for the news was 42 seconds whereas today it is only 8 seconds. Niedzviecki (2011, p. 135).

36. Bazen paylaşımlarınızı abarttığınız/ürettiğiniz oluyor mu?—Do you exaggerate/fabricate your sharings?

To this question all mothers answered as “yes!” Mother #8 rushed right after not to be misread, she said “What I am actually doing is to dust before putting it in the showcase, nothing more...” Mother #1 said she does know strategies by heart but has

no patience to apply them, when she writes a good text, when she has an aesthetic picture she can not wait for the right time of the day, so sometimes they are lost within Instagram algorithms. Basically these 2 answers were given by different women with different wordings.

On the other hand they all, cautiously told that they never rent a car, a house, a corner to fake these spaces as they own them and some of them warned “There are too much people doing these!...”

Mother #2 told that whenever she attempts to design a content somehow, something goes wrong, whereas when she casually cooks something with the materials at hand, it looks beautiful even in a bowl with a broken rim and gets highest ratings.

37. Sosyal medya hesabınızı açarken hedefiniz ne idi?—What was your target when you opened your social media account?

Each mother’s answer to questions 37. and 38. is listed as it follows:

Mother #1: “I think my career story, my blog and my Instagram account are all subconsciously made in order to be acknowledged by my mother. I still did not get a ‘goodjob!’ from my mother and I am 34!!! All went well thankfully, I reached my targets”

Mother #2: “My target was to amuse myself. I was in deep depression and I came up with this idea of sharing information, recipes, so that feeling worth, valuable through something that I like doing. It became more numerous than I was dreaming

of, I do not earn much but the moral side is satisfying. In the last months we lost our dear cousin and there I understood how serious bonds are made. For weeks people sent me messages asking, supporting. So aside from my financial expectations in the beginning, this was more precious.”

Mother #3: “For me it is a professional account so I do not share anything private there. I share my kid when the subject is related. Through trial and error I learned that you have to give free information to people in order to get more followers. So helping people, giving information about a problem, advertise my book and get customers in return, are my targets Yes I am reaching my targets.”

Mother #4: “My Instagram account is a platform to advertise my YouTube channel which is run professionally. In the beginning I could not predict in what way it is going to evolve but I considered it as a start-up. I am close to my target and most importantly I achieved getting my followers’ trust. This is the most important one!”

Mother #5: “My target was to spread the things I find important to a larger audience. As I told more, people wanted more and I realized that I am actually telling what can not be told which was relieving me as well as my audience. It turned out to be shouting about ‘The emperor’s new clothes!’ Yes I reached my target.”

Mother #6: “There were too much misinformation in social media, this disturbed me as a professional and I wanted to use my knowledge to fix it. Also I advertise my business and I get customers. I reached my target partially, my network is growing and also I feel that I get to help mothers.”

Mother #7: “Firstly I wanted to hear other voices like me and I have heard. Secondly we, all together became the voice of others. My third target is to reach even more women and we still have way to go...”

Mother #8: “My target was always the same: be beneficial, spread niceties and knowledge. In the beginning I even did not mention my family name, I had no intention of being known, I was not sharing myself neither. I rejected many commercial offers, there is a serious income circulated in social media. Really serious amount of money. But I rejected them all. I think I am reaching what I targeted.”

Mother #9: “I just opened my account in order to let my friends know about the new dieting method I adopted and also create a pressure on myself so that I could continue applying it. Later on, when I became a mother, there were some accounts which really I felt supported so my account also gave me the opportunity to write and communicate with people. I can store memories with my kid like a photo album as well.”

Mother #10: “I thought it will be nice to become popular and earn some money when I opened my account first. I was pregnant and I was reading a lot so I wanted to share them, becoming popular and earning would be the bonus. But it changed after I became mother, I have doubts on sharing myself and without sharing yourself you are not followed much. Knowing that I do not share myself, my account is based on information, I am not sharing anything personal. No, I did not reach my target at all yet, it is something like 10% of it, what I planned!”

Mother #11: “I had no friends thinking like me, I was reading and learning a lot on natural mothering and clean eating. I was telling what I learned to my mother and mother-in-law. My intention was never money but rather teaching these techniques for a better world. It is a pity that people do not like reading in Turkey and I do not like sharing myself but I came over it and started to shoot videos to raise awareness. I think that I reached my target, people come to my account and learn.”

Mother #12: “I did not have any targets when I opened my Instagram account. I also have a YouTube account, in there too, my target is to enable people to get valuable information. I think it reaches its target because if I save just 1 person, it is a benefit then. I rather do not get depressed for not reaching millions but rather get happy with 15.000 people!”

Mother #13: “This is the first thing I have ever done in my life without any target or expectation! I am normally a very ambitious person, I promoted to director (of one of the leading companies in Turkey) when I was 29, at 24-25 I was meeting top business people, I was after more salary, I was after better status! But this is the only thing where I put ambition aside (to take care of her own child she quits). I told myself ‘dude you are not filling the bill for anything’ and I opened this account so it relieved my deadly ambition. Once I was earning lots of money, I had teams, suddenly I stood alone, pointless... But at the same time I am having too much fun with my kid. I think I started in order to tell the others that I am not pointless. I did not have any targets in the beginning but with Covid-19 lock-down I set new targets: I want to earn some money now, I do not want to go to corporate life back. I need to be

more gentle to myself... I actually started to realize these targets, I made a barter, I made some small corporations with brands.”

Mother #14: “I did not have a number in mind. But it would really be nice to have a 10.000 or 50.000 followers. I would have much more readers but I did not do anything to attract them. I thought, I should be loved in the way I am, but it did not happen! It is not enough... I would like to be read more.”

Mother #15: (She was already a figure in Instagram, her account turned to be a mother account afterwards) “I had no target! When I first opened this account I even not signed in for months, I was posting some silly photographs. I was doing yoga, meditation, breathing workshops, in order to reach much more people it was a good way.”

38. Hedefinize ulaştınız mı?—Did you reach your target?

Answers to this question was given in the previous question.

39. Sosyal medyadaki yolculuğunuz boyunca hedefiniz değişti mi?—During your journey through social media, did your target shift?

Most mothers repeated that their target has changed through time because both they evolved, their babies grew, new trends had begun, new social media tools were introduced so that ultimately they now have newer targets.

As it is observed they try to go more on social issues than talking about mothering. With the Covid-19 lockdown, they became more commercial which is also caused in a great extent, the shift of advertisement to social media. Unusual

circumstances with 2020 changed consumer behaviors: Since people can not socialize they started to spend more time on social media, also they preferred social media to follow the news and they did not want to see advertisements that are reminding them their old life style anymore which resulted with brands thriving for creative ways to advertise their products on social media (Williams Commerce). Nowadays advertising products on “real” people rather than celebrities, who have similar life styles, salaries and choices, increase credibility with less edited contents (Criddle, 2021).

Mother #11 says that she already reached her target which was finding people like her, people who try to stay away from chemicals basically and she does not produce any different content because she does not want to take sponsors because all sponsored products contain unhealthy, unnatural additives.

40. Sosyal medya fenomeni olmak nasıl bir şey?—How it feels being a social media phenomenon?

All participant mothers regret the term “phenomenon” but especially “Instamom.” Although this term was not articulated during interviews, all of them expressed their hatred towards the term, as it is explained by Mother #13: “Instamoms are those women who are wearing the same tutus with their 2 year old daughters, trying to sell everything they are putting into their contents, who shoot perfect photos with a perfect background.” On the other hand, Mother #3 told that she is not a phenomenon at all, she could only be called “a landscape” in Instagram. Most of them both think that it has both good sides and bad sides. Both it makes one feel precious, respected but at the same time it becomes thrilling, especially when their spouses and

children also being known. Mother #15 once received her husband's photograph showing him eating a cheesecake, labeled as "You are thriving for healthy eating but look what your husband is doing right now!" Most of them have similar stories, at least as Mother #4 claims, you can not freely discuss whatever you want in public and especially you are being careful on religious matters: "I avoid being seen with a glass of wine but also I do not artificially celebrate holy days neither!"

41. Yorucu mu?—Is it exhausting?

When their situation is empathized, since "...every inmate would 'conceive himself' to be under constant surveillance" (Schaffer, 1990, p. 234) it seems fame or at least thinking about reputation should be quite exhausting, especially when you are erected as a specialist in mothering. Observing these accounts, it is noticed that these phenomenons are bullied in any occasions from how they are holding their babies to political issues. One of the latest instances is seen when on May 10, 2021 Israeli forces attacked Palestinian civilians on the streets. Especially Islamists started to re-announce Israel enemy on social media. Some Instamoms in Turkey also reposted images with captions for the attack. One of the much followed mother accounts in Instagram @hihieved, on her story dating May 12, 2021 reposted one DM that she received where she was highly criticized for not just sharing a post on Dome of the Rock which was one of the places attacked. She told that she does not want to share such horrible events which make her to feel herself hopeless and she finishes her paragraph by saying: "In this shit hole we should not play the police to each other. Lets direct our anger towards the right side." She was gracefully saying that it not their job to manipulate what she is going to share. As far as it was observed, when

someone becomes known, not just for these mother figures but in general they are expected to touch everything problematic in their accounts from politics to mothering, from magazines to economy. Here we see materialization of culture (Frisby, 2017, p. 27) as well as materialization of reaction. By publishing over and over the same pictures of war, mosque burning, a boy with blood all over his face the concept of war, drama is becoming something that can easily be fixed or humanity's responsibility is over when one of these pictures are shared and the enemy is cursed in its caption.

Mother #12 on the other hand complains about another personal attack, when her baby was called as “a very ugly but very sympathetic kid” by one of her followers once, she describes her feelings as: “I tried to figure out how an ugly heart I was facing, to call a baby as “ugly” and it was the time when I received most messages from women all around, very supportive and motivational.

42. Sosyal medya fenomeni olduğunuz için ekstra bir sorumluluk yüklendiğinizi hissediyor musunuz?—Do you feel like you have an extra load for you are a social media phenomenon?

They all talk about difficulties of producing quality content and how much energy and time they are spending for those. Also by the time their kids are growing up so that accounts which were addressing infants or baby mothers still attracting their attention but actually less address them and they do not feel the motivation to keep up with the work on potty training, weaning, bottle feeding, rashes etc. As their children grow up, their agenda also evolve, their life evolve, their furnitures,

household chores evolve so that when their children grow up these mother accounts turn out to be more political or cosmetic in content: as children grow up, they are enrolled in schools, they get older therefore their critiques on school system or techniques to fix wrinkles or white hair find more are put more into words.

In case they remain silent, their followers DM them asking whether there is something wrong so they highly feel the pressure to produce regularly.

To this question, Mother #7 came with a surprising answer: One day they were having time together with her husband and kid in a coffee shop, then she gave herself a break, she left the kid with her husband, she got a fresh cup of coffee, she gets out and she takes a long puff from her cigarette and there she noticed a pair of eyes disapprovingly staring at her holding the hand of her little kid. Obviously, she says, she was one of her followers, first she felt really bad, guilty. Then she realized that this was exactly how she raised among many others: Having proud of her imperfections. “I let it go there! Then it became my way, I let them go.” This is a socially constructed identity via social media, the narration of this particular identity (McGannon et al, 2015, p. 52) was the outrageous, imperfect, alternative mother whose photographs are not filtered even, off centered just like the frame, both in terms of persona and image. This is an incident showing that these virtual accounts which are argued being masks worn during their time online to be consumed quicker with the emotional bond created with their followers (Eslami, Mousavi & Alikhah, 2019, p. N/A) actually are being real characters standing behind their nicknames following a sign “@.” This is a proof that what is being told and reconstructed in social media actually happens in material world as well.

43. En meşhur anne sizce kimdir?—Who is the most famous mother for you?

This question was asked under the influence of feminist psychoanalytical discussions especially after Luce Irigaray's book *Le Mystère de Marie* (2012, p. 8) and Carl Jung particularly. Always with the consideration of audience I proceed, in here, wandering who could be the main character, if she exists, this question was put. Virgin Mary did not even crossed the minds of these 15 mothers most probably because none was Christian nor living in an orthodox place where they would be exposed to Christian belief, images and icons.

Also most of them asked whether it is asked for the most famous Instamom. It was not, it could be any famous mother character, some names were told such as: Sezen Aksu, Adile Naşit, Gülben Ergen, blogcuanne, Şermin Yaşar from both 80's, 90's most famous pop culture celebrities, adjusting the demographics of the mothers interviewed as well as 2 online mother figures being the oldests.

44. Baktığınız/incelediğiniz IG hesaplarını samimi buluyor musunuz?—Do you think that accounts you are following are sincere?

Hearing this question, all mothers replied in the same way: "I do not follow anyone who I do not find sincere!" For these 15 mothers who were interviewed, sincerity is priority, both in what they are producing and also as the audience of other Instamom accounts. Although mostly it is told that they have not much time so they are not following others much, netnographical research shows that they are following, liking and commenting each other's posts often.

45. Samimiyet ya da samimiyetsizlik işaretleri nelerdir?—What are the signs of sincerity?

From the answers given to this question which are mostly common, the following list was made according to frequency:

Signs of Insincerity:

- Making too much advertisements, not being selective in products advertised;
- Creating brands on behalf of kids, using them as the face and body of these brands;
- Mothers and daughters wearing the same dresses, advertising these dresses;
- Being extremely happy all the time;
- Handling everything very easily, overcoming each difficult situation;
- Absence of full-time nannies in videos and photographs as if the mother is taking care alone;
- “Beggars!” A term used by social media people for those who want to have likes, comments through a needy, agitative manner.

The 15 mothers interviewed also making agreements with brands to advertise but all underlined, all told in the first place that they hate seeing “please slide the screen” remark in each posts. Mother #4, Mother #7, Mother #8, Mother #9 and Mother #11 especially told that they do not limit themselves, nor like a product representative, defend these products. Taking advertisements also keeps them busy for creating related contents suitable for these different products and also if something happens like allergies for instance, they have to defend that product. They said this is too much stress and work for that amount of money.

Most of them gave specific Instamom names that they do not like, actually “can not stand!” with their specific reasons of finding them insincere, even annoying. Mother #13 tells that earning money and targeting financial gains through Instagram accounts should be considered as deserved because these video productions especially require too much effort and time to be made. But as the products being advertised, how they are advertised is making the difference. “This sponge is a magical sponge! I am extremely satisfied!!!” kind of exaggerated contents to advertise a very ordinary, kitchen sponge both reduce the value of the product and those who are advertising in this manner. This kind of exaggerations can be explained with Goffman’s (2016, p. 202) statement of eventlessness: times when there is no event happening, there is no problem occurring and evidently, these are moments of boredom, easy to control but lacking anxiety. The presence of anxiety is needed to transform what is normal, ordinary through exaggeration into success. This is the success of popular culture: Making ordinary individuals to thrive for heroism (Niedzviecki, 2011, p. 81).

7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation is to understand how Instamoms in Turkey is represent mother and what are the common characteristics promoting their success in social media.

With Instamoms in Turkey, we see a clear effort to produce a new, desired representation of mother in the public eye, in Instagram. Instagram is deliberately chosen as the suitable social media platform because it is the most preferred social media platform by mothers in Turkey: it is user friendly and crowded, compared with blogs, twitter or Facebook. Instagram provides more audience. All these representations of mothers are consumed, hence, taken into account by thousands of followers in each different post.

In Instagram we have an idealistically produced mothering by mothers who are using technology as their tool, creating a warm pressure, to be supported by other mothers, thus leading the formation of a culture online.

Keeping in mind that social media became the starting point of important social changes, it can be said that motherhood, together with gender roles can start to change after the data gathered from netnographic analyses and in depth interviews made with 15 Instamoms in Turkey. All these women were sharing common characteristics demographically and they are followed by thousands of women who are demographically different.

All participant mothers are well educated, speaking at least 1 foreign language, had been through business life, talking about bringing up healthy individuals in their accounts while also considering femininity and gender issues as the main concentration areas. This reformation in mothering styles includes how women are perceived and how ideal “woman” is represented within the society as well, not just mother. Mother is woman first, with desires, lacks, defects, political and religious ideologies, she is an individual. Mothering is not a duty but rather she chooses to do, sharing responsibilities with her husband. Each of them are seeing the process as self improvement and get the most of it, turning it into a pleasure.

The research also revealed that mothers, before getting into the pleasure part, have a hard time which leads them “to find women alike” in social media for they are feeling alone, even “worthless” when they first turn into mother. Their intention is not becoming famous or rich but rather they feel that they have some questions to ask and answers to be given. In order to share these and feel the comfort of friends who are by their sides 7/24 they dive into social media because “Some perfect strangers were better than closest relatives.”

Once they all had a job, some with very high status but after becoming mother around 30, they prefer raising their kids on their own, they quit their jobs and social media motherhood or Instamomness becomes their priority in their lives. Considering that they each got a remarkable number of followers, they said that they found those who are feeling like them. Also they all have the intention of fixing misinformation

circulated within community on mother and baby that they all propagate their ideologies.

Mothers who are propagating their motherhood via Instagram are actually became defenders of women's rights in Turkey by featuring several different instances through their Instagram accounts. Progressive seminars helping mothers learn pedagogical tricks from specialists, talks with engaged celebrities, funny, sarcastic videos touching social issues are the newest popular and peaceful ways of protesting, raising awareness and at the end to have a change. They are not just protesting or propagating in their discourse but they are also raising their kids according to the norms that they believe and they propagate their ways of raising kids within these norms.

It also appeared that, in the beginning, mothers tend to keep more than one account, one private, the other public, open account. However, it becomes difficult to maintain both of them, they continue producing more content for the public one and they let go the private account which means that they are rather preferring communal benefits more than personal. They want to make differences and they are not afraid for losing their old flexibility coming from their anonymity. They want to leave marks behind and to do this, they leave their comfort zone as mother, child and father, as they too appear in pictures.

There is a quite different understanding of woman and mother in Anatolia, Turkey. We take responsibility of our children, for their and our life-long, we evaluate

our performance as a woman and mother constantly, when chatting with others our main topic is our children whether they are new borns, toddler or university graduate, because our focal point in life are our children. Our poems, songs and proverbs are evidences composed accordingly. Therefore Turkish academia needs norms fitting Turkish perception of femininity and motherhood. Besides personal experiences and participants underlined this very fact, messages of Turkish and foreign motherhood accounts shout the same thing: Turkish Instamoms are mostly try to work for social improvement, targeting a better country and world for their children so they try to change women. Foreign accounts are mostly centered around well being of mothers, new mothers especially, mockery and advertisements.

Data gathered through netnographic analyses together with in-depth interviews revealed that Turkish Instamoms, while producing contents about gender roles, adopted a different feminist discourse: They changed the previous, aggressive feminist scheme, they are much more flexible and cool so that they are much more tempting for all kinds of demographics. Very importantly, they are raising their boys and girls as to justify what they are telling. They are not just talking but they perform that ideal mother and be the representative of it in front of the public gaze. They are also closely involved with their followers that they are answering their questions, they are getting in interaction with them positively. This encourage followers to follow and empathize their ideology even more.

Each mother has a concept and they are performing their part accordingly: they are actresses who are caricaturing some events with *mise-en-scène*, trying to

show reality with sarcasm. There are cooks, fit moms, obsessed with body image, there are feminists, there are islamists, there are commercial ones, also called life style influencers who suggest anything that could be bought. Their common point, among those who have an ideology, is their being creative, bright and bold, they do not hesitate to put their point, bring issues in a funny and direct way. They get the confidence of their audience through reliability, originality, practicality and entertainment. They know how hard to attract a crowd's attention, so once they get it, they look for ways to maintain it, knowing that social media is a shaky ground.

Although leaders are mostly men, women listen to women in Turkey (Güneş-Ayata, 2020, p. 261, 268): the way to persuade women in politics is to use women. This is a well known fact. The political effort put by mothers in Instagram in Turkey therefore is important and we would be seeing its cultural impacts in the future more.

Whenever a crisis is faced, automatically a dramatic change occurs back in the ways of mothering or it is politically manipulated for certain goals (Badinter, 2011, p. 34). Interviews with Instagram mothers in Turkey was finished during the first months of lock down in Turkey. This means, before the change started to show itself in Turkish women's motherhoods. 6 months later, following the completion of interviews, change started to be noticed in social media. Almost all mothers changed their posting practices: timing, themes and commerciality started to convey the change in their lives, as they started to post more, their concepts changed and they tend to make more advertisements. These started to change again, with the opening of schools face-to-face after 18 months of lock-down in September 2021. New

researches could be done on the issue of which changes will occur with the re-normalizing life after lock downs, also for fathers and father accounts that started to rise.

Mothers in Instagram in Turkey, are not just lip servicing to feminism, at the same time they are raising their kids as feminist individuals and they are sharing the ways to do so in their accounts. In both ways they are working efficiently: They are doing feminism's propaganda discursively and visually with Instagram posts; they are also making their action while bringing up individuals and they are advertising these very efforts making social media the tool for it.

“To change the world, one has to change the ways of world-making...”
(Bourdieu, 1989, p. 23). Instamoms in Turkey seem like found a way to make the world, they use it extensively, at least to make a difference with all their persistence:
“I will feel relieved if I can just save a few (followers)!” Mother #7.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire in Turkish

Tarih:

Yer:

Bu anket formu, Yeditepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Antropoloji Anabilim Dalı'nda doktora tezi için hazırlanmıştır. Anket, mesleğinizdeki ve sosyal hayattaki durumunuzu tespit etme amacını taşımaktadır. Bilimsel nitelik taşıyan bu araştırmanın herhangi bir yönetsel veya siyasal yönü yoktur. Sorulara vereceğiniz cevapların analizi yapılacaktır.

SORULAR

- 1.Yaşınız?
- 2.Medeni durumunuz?
- 3.Doğum yeriniz?
- 4.Öğrenim durumunuz?
5. Üniversiteden mezun olduğunuz bölüm?
6. Babanızın mesleği?
7. Annenizin mesleği?
- 8.Çocuk sayınız kaçtır ve hanenizde toplam kaç kişi yaşıyor?
9. Çocuklarınızı büyütürken destek aldınız mı?
10. Kimden destek aldınız?
11. Profesyonel destek ise haftada kaç gün?
12. Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait?
13. Genel olarak ekonomik durumunuzu nasıl tanımlarsınız?

1. Çok iyi 2. İyi 3. Orta 4. Kötü 5. Çok kötü

14. Kaç yıldır çalışıyorsunuz?

15. Bildiğiniz yabancı dil var mı?

16. Tatillerinizi nasıl geçirmeyi tercih edersiniz?

17. Kazancınızı en çok nereye harcıyorsunuz?

1.()Yiyecek-içeceğe

2.()Ev kirasına

3.()Giyim-kuşama

4.()Beyaz eşyaya

5.()Eğlenceye

6.()Çocukların okul masrafına

7.()Yapı kooperatifine

8.()Başka (belirtiniz)

18. Hesabınızı ne zamandan beri yürütmektesiniz?

19. Birden fazla mı hesabınız var? Hepsi aktif mi?

20. Yaklaşık kaç takipçiniz var?

21. Bu hesaplardan gelir elde ediyor musunuz? Sizi geçindirecek kadar mı?

22. Bu hesabı açmaya sizi iten neydi?

23. Annelik hesabınızdan önce de tanınıyor muydunuz?

24. Sizce “Anne” nedir?

25. Siz nasıl bir annesiniz?

26. Anneniz sizin anneliğinizi beğeniyor mu?

27. Sizin anneliğiniz, annenizin size yaptığı annelikten ne açıdan farklı?

28. “Mükemmel annelik” nedir?

29. Mükemmel bir anne tanıyor musunuz?
30. Siz mükemmel anne misiniz?
31. Kendi anneliğinizde annenizden etkilenerек uyguladığınız yöntemler mi baskın yoksa kendi kendinize/sosyal medyadan/uzmanlardan/arkadaşlarınızdan duyarak geliştirdiğiniz yöntemler mi?
32. Sosyal medya üzerinde tasvip etmediğiniz paylaşımlar neler?
33. Sosyal medya maceranız nasıl başladı?
34. Daha çok tıklanmak için başvurduğunuz yöntemler neler?
35. Paylaşımlarınız her zaman gerçekçi mi?
36. Bazen paylaşımlarınızı abarttığınız/ürettiğiniz oluyor mu?
37. Sosyal medya hesabınızı açarken hedefiniz ne idi?
38. Hedefinize ulaştınız mı?
39. Sosyal medyadaki yolculuğunuz boyunca hedefiniz değişti mi?
40. Sosyal medya fenomeni olmak nasıl bir şey?
41. Yorucu mu?
42. Sosyal medya fenomeni olduğunuz için ekstra bir sorumluluk yüklendiğinizi hissediyor musunuz?
43. En meşhur anne sizce kimdir?
44. Baktığınız/incelediğiniz IG hesaplarını samimi buluyor musunuz?
45. Samimiyet ya da samimiyetsizlik işaretleri nelerdir?

Appendix B: Questionnaire in English

Date:

Place:

This questionnaire is prepared for a dissertation made for Yeditepe University,
Graduate School of Social Sciences, Doctoral Program in Anthropology.

Questionnaire aims to determine your state in your profession and social life.

- 1. Your age?**
- 2. Your marital status?**
- 3. Your place of birth?**
- 4. Your educational background?**
- 5. Your field of study?**
- 6. Your father's profession?**
- 7. Your mother's profession?**
- 8. How many kids do you have and how many people you are living within your house?**
- 9. Did you get support when you are bringing your children up?**
- 10. From whom did you get help?**
- 11. If it is professional help, then how many days per week it was?**
- 12. Do you own your house?**
- 13. How would you define your financial status?**
 1. Very Good 2. Good 3. Mediocre 4. Low 5. Very Low
- 14. How long have you been working/you worked?**
- 15. Are you speaking any foreign languages?**

16. How do you prefer spending your holidays?

17. How do you prefer spending your earnings?

1.()Food-Beverage

2.()House rent

3.()Clothes

4.()Appliances

5.()Entertainment

6.()Children's school expences

7.()Housing cooperative

8.()Other (Please specify)

18. Since when are you running your account?

19. Do you have more than 1 account? Are all active?

20. Approximately how many followers do you have?

21. Do you earn money from these accounts? Is it enough to support you financially?

22. What drove you to open this account?

23. Were you known before your Instagram account?

24. What is "Mother" to you?

25. How would you define yourself as a mother?

26. Does your mother appreciate your mothering?

27. In what ways do your motherhood differ from your mother's?

28. What is "perfect motherhood?"

29. Do you know a perfect mother?

30. Are you perfect mother?

31. In your mothering, are techniques that you took over from your mother dominant or those that you adopted and developed from social media/specialists/friends on your own?
32. What kind of contents you do not appreciate in social media?
33. How did your social media adventure start?
34. Are there any techniques that you are using for more likes?
35. What was your target when you opened your social media account?
36. Did you reach your target?
37. During your journey through social media, did your target shift?
38. How it feels being a social media phenomenon?
39. Is it exhausting?
40. How it feels being a social media phenomenon?
41. Is it exhausting?
42. Do you feel like you have an extra load for you are a social media phenomenon?
43. Who is the most famous mother for you?
44. Do you think that accounts you are following are sincere?
45. What are the signs of sincerity?

Appendix C: Coding of the Netnographic Data

Words (order of appearance)		
menstruation	24	
period pain	56	
complains/complained	36	
cyst	5	
birth control pills	5	
bleeding	6	
supplements/pills recommended	35	
birthing	36	
help for a baby w/ SMA	7	
princess	3	
herbal tea/coffee	20	
disgusting	2	
nightmare	3	
suffer	32	
sickbed	10	
hormonal IUD	4	
second child	4	
referring a doctor/therapist	10	those who are referred, reply with emojis or assuring words
relief	32	also expressed in detail, like “pink clouds”
healthy eating	8	
gown/wedding	10	
aging/getting old	23	
torture	2	
being on leave	2	
“get well soon”	23	
first sexual experience	3	
female body	8	used like a curse, something difficult to carry on throughout life
blotting	3	
menopause	4	
stress	5	
love yourself	4	
show of affection between followers	21	
vomiting	8	
asking for further advice	23	
month	9	
hospitalization	11	
headache/migraine	14	
praying	18	
silicone cup	13	