

# University of Guilan Faculty of Literature and Humanities English Language Department

Motherhood in American Novels: Investigating Sociological and Psychological Factors in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and Dorothy Allison's *Bastard out of Carolina* 

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in English Literature

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Supervisor Dr. Behzad Barekat

February, 2014

### In The Name of God

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 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{y}$ 

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February, 2014

### **To My Dear Parents**

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#### **Abstract**

Motherhood in American Novels: Investigating Sociological and Psychological Factors in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* and Dorothy Allison's *Bastard out of Carolina* 

#### Elena Ramezaninejad

Motherhood has occupied a fundamental place in a wide range of areas i. e. psychology, sociology, and feminism. Despite the centrality of motherhood in shaping healthy generations, mothers especially those from minorities have always suffered from many misfortunes while rearing their children. Women writers have tried to challenge the representation of motherhood as an institution that is primarily white and middle class, and to depict distressful experiences of themselves or other women in their literary works. Toni Morrison's Beloved (1987) and Dorothy Allison's Bastard out of Carolina (1992) are two of the most well-known American novels whose mother characters, Sethe and Anney, have been remarked for their controversial decisions in the eyes of critics. The present research intends to examine social and psychological factors which affect the mothering of Sethe and Anney, according to some major concepts and ideas of Simone de Beauvoir, Adrienne Rich, Patricia Hill Collins, Andrea O'Reilly, and Nancy Chodorow on motherhood. It also undertakes to introduce coping strategies of mothers that help them to stand against cruelties of life in a patriarchal world which deprives women of their basic rights. The thesis, in its body chapters, studies three main social and psychological forms of suffering as presented in 'mother-daughter relationship', 'love/marriage relationship', and 'living in a patriarchal society'. The thesis, after examining the difficulties of mothering in the two novels, finally concludes that minority women such as slaves and working-class mothers had suffered so much due to slavery and its cruel conduct of black women, being deprived of mothering rights, poverty, subordination to men, unstable marital relationships, and inadequate or loveless mother-daughter relationships. This study also deduces that sometimes coping strategies are not powerful enough to overcome the misfortunes mothers confront.

**Keywords:** Motherhood, Sociological and Psychological Factors, Coping Strategies, *Beloved*, *Bastard out of Carolina* 

**Chapter One** 

Introduction

#### 1.1. General Overview

Motherhood is the state of being a mother and mothering is one of the most distinguished role a woman can perform. O'Reilly (2004a) believes that motherhood is an intensely powerful event in lives of women. But throughout history the act of mothering has been disintegrated by patriarchal ideologies and constraints. Rich (1995) has pointed out that women's whole moral history has been built on masculine beliefs. Earlier in 20<sup>th</sup> century, critics like Helen Diner, Elizabeth Gould Davis, and sociologist Philip Slater believed that long ago there was a time when child bearing was a divine work and women who had this divine power could control everything in Greece and Rome (as cited in Rich, 1995, p. 72). Men, felt threatened due to lack of this power; therefore, they did their best to become powerful and take control of the world (Rich, 1995, pp. 70, 114). The subsequent patriarchal culture forced women to live according to male notions of female sexuality (ibid, p. 73). Patriarchy used the notion of mothering to successfully enslave and domesticate women especially during the Victorian era (ibid, p. 34). Tidd (2004) has mentioned that "persistence of patriarchal ideology throughout history has enabled men to assume that they have a right to maintain women in a subordinate state and women have internalized and adapted to this oppressed state" (p. 51). Patriarchal ideologies suppressed women in every determinant area and the powerful (mostly male) made decisions for the powerless (Rich, 1995, p. 64). There have rarely been supportive rules for women. However, they have been much more strictly punished and chastised than men for breaking the law (Rich, 1995). Rich argues that the patriarchal state of motherhood has given mothers all the responsibilities of mothering but none of its power. Nevertheless, the women who have been the constant target of miserable circumstances are women of color, poor women, immigrant women, single mothers, slave women, and the others who in one way or other are socially more vulnerable. So motherhood for women who were not white or from middle class families became a victimizing experience under patriarchy. Mothering in the United States, which has marginalized women and other minorities in a segregating manner, also means mothering in a male-dominated society (McDaniels, 2004, p. 1). Sometimes the distressful social conditions become so unbearable for mothers that they are driven to acts of madness and extremity like infanticide (O'Reilly, 2004a). To improve the mothering conditions, recognizing and analyzing these distressing factors which affect the serious task of mothering is crucial. Among different factors of injustice affecting mothers, this study focuses on the following social and psychological factors that seem to be among the most important ones: mothers' social class and culture, mother's relationship with their own mothers, and mothers' relationship with their partners/husbands.

Motherhood has received considerable attention in American literature, and there are distinct mother characters and diverse contexts in literary works concerning motherhood. Among American novelists Toni Morrison and Dorothy Allison have written two of the most distinguished novels concerning mothering and its difficulties. The present study decides to work on the following novels: Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987) and Dorothy Allison's *Bastard out of Carolina* (1992). These novels show how women's lives can be a true agony because of the circumstances both beyond and within their control. Both novels tell stories that examine women's lives in the midst of emotional pain and confusion.

Toni Morrison, one of the most renowned black writers, who was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1993, is said to have changed the ways of American thinking and speaking about slavery with her seminal novel, Beloved. In her work she has explored the silenced experiences of black women in a racist and male-dominated society. Her work appeals to readers of all races and has earned positive reviews from both scholars and the general public. Beloved is the story of a black slave woman who runs away with her children but when her former master comes after them, decides to kill her daughter instead of witnessing her suffer under slavery. Beloved appeared on The New York Times bestseller list immediately after its publication. This novel won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1988 and adapted for film in 1998. In addition, in a New York Times poll of 200 critics, writers, and editors in 2006, Beloved was entitled "the single best work of American fiction published in the last twenty-five years" (McCrum, 2006, para 2). Morrison got the idea of this novel when she read about the story of Margaret Garner, a slave who killed her child. Morrison spent approximately two years thinking on the plot and the characters for *Beloved*, and then took another three to write the book. Harold Bloom (2009) believes that both Morrison's prose style and narrative mode have relationships to those of Faulkner and Woolf. In 1987 Margaret Atwood wrote a review on Beloved in which she extensively praised Morrison's skill in narration. Atwood (2004) believes "Beloved is written in an antiminimalist prose that is by turns rich, graceful, eccentric, rough, lyrical, sinuous, colloquial and very much to the point" (p. 50).

Michelle Philips (2006) in her study emphasized Morrison's meticulous characterization of Sethe by which she created a "complex amalgamation" of two strong stereotypes attached to black women (p. 66). Morrison unlike authors, who thought it is better to align black women

with mammy image, artistically combined the strength and maternal love of the mammy with the enjoyable pursuits of the loose woman to create a true character and to avoid the unfair images surrounding black women. Almost all critics of the time made positive comments on Morrison's skill in writing *Beloved*. However, some critics believe that her representation of maternal love and power is problematic because Sethe is criticized for her "too-thick" love (ibid, p. 68). All the mentioned points will be discussed in detail in this study.

The other writer, Dorothy Allison is best known as the author of *Bastard out of Carolina* (1992), which was nominated for the National Book Award and has become a guide in issues of gender, class, sexuality and violence in contemporary literature. Allison's talents are evident in her work within and across various literary forms (LeMahieu, 2010). In addition to her two novels, she is also the author of a collection of short stories, a collection of poems, and a collection of essays. LeMahieu (ibid) says

Allison's work develops a realism that is both lyrical and coarse in order to explore the often violent and traumatic effects of claims to and about class, race, gender, and sexuality. Her writing represents the ways that a fundamentally inequitable socioeconomic system dictates who people are by preventing them from becoming what they could be. (p. 652)

The semi-autobiographical novel, *Bastard out of Carolina*, centers on a young girl named Bone who is born to an unmarried 15-year-old. Her poor mother marries a restless middle-class troublemaker who physically and psychologically abuses Bone throughout her childhood and adolescence, obliterating Bone's relationship with her mother. When her mother understands that she cannot stop her abusive husband, she departs with him and leaves Bone to live with her aunt and uncle. As Allison says in her interview with Carolyn Megan (1994) she started writing *Bastard* as a poem at first and then she changed it to a novel. She also mentions that her editing process was extensive and she went through a lot of rewriting which explains why she spent ten years to finish her first novel. *Bastard* won the Ferro Grumley and Bay Area Reviewers Award for fiction and was translated into different languages. George Garrett (1992) calling Allison a major new talent in literature in *The New York Times Book Review* emphasized that everything and every part of *Bastard* are interconnected and it is "close to flawless" (p. 3). He compared it with J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* and Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*. After Garrett's review such praise for Allison was echoed by reviewers in the *Library Journal*, *The Times Literary Supplement*, and *The Women's Review of Books*.

To achieve the desirable results while exploring the two novels for finding out how sociological and psychological sufferings affect the act of mothering, the ideas and theories of prominent scholars who have worked on motherhood will be used. Opinions of Adrienne Rich, Patricia Hill Collins, Simone de Beauvoir, Andrea O'Reilly, and Nancy Chodorow will be used in specific, but the ideas of many other scholars who have worked extensively on motherhood and act of mothering in various fields will be taken into account as well.

#### 1.2. Statement of the Problem

This thesis tries to examine motherhood in *Beloved* and *Bastard out of Carolina* considering the mothers' social, familial and psychological conditions. It explores some major sociological and psychological factors involved in lives of two mother characters in order to determine how and to what extent mothering is affected by socio-economic and psychological circumstances that make mothering and mother love impossible. *Beloved* and *Bastard*<sup>1</sup> have been frequently praised by critics for their styles of writing; nevertheless, some behaviors and actions of their mother characters have been very much criticized. The present study undertakes to analyze what made these mothers make controversial decisions i.e. killing one's child in *Beloved*, or abandoning the child in *Bastard*. This study also attempts to demonstrate how mothers overcome hardships, and how the two novels are interrelated or share the same socio-psychological hardships which mothers suffer from. Although the research inevitably involves emotional matters, it does its best to follow a logical and reasonable approach in studying them.

#### 1.3. Significance of the Study

The importance of the mother's role in early childhood training cannot be ignored. Both sociologists and psychologists have studied motherhood and mothering extensively due to its significance. Furthermore, throughout recent years modernist writers, especially women writers, have been writing about the subject of motherhood, and their own memories of mothering, or being a daughter, in their poems, short stories or novels. Despite the overwhelming importance of mothering, like all things decent and of value, there are laws and conditions in all societies and cultures, as well as in American society and culture that cause serious problems and difficulties for mothers. Obviously, women writers have been writing about motherhood not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Since now the short form for *Bastard out of Carolina* 

only to reveal their feelings about mothering difficulties but to inform the ordinary people and authorities. Beloved and Bastard are two novels on motherhood that have been widely read and appreciated by both the audience and critics since their first publication. These novels were chosen as examples of how mothering is represented in United States because they show particular unjust circumstances associated with mothering, and also provide examples of how various coping strategies sometimes help mothers, while at other times may be ineffective. In addition, Beloved and Bastard present examples of behaviors or beliefs associated with mothering that can be harmful, even disastrous for mothers and their children. Several scholars have focused on these two novels separately and have analyzed the difficulties which mother characters confronted. Among various studies quite a few researches have analyzed the destructive factors which enormously affected the mothers' lives in detail. The mother characters of these two novels have also been criticized for their controversial decisions excessively. But this study tries to explore some main social and psychological factors which might have been the sources of these decisions. It seems that even though these mothers differ in race, ethnicity, and locale, many similarities exist in the ways they are treated by society, and the coping strategies they use. Investigating the specific troublesome factors of motherhood in this thesis is helpful in having a deeper understanding of the concepts of "motherhood" and "mothering". Meanwhile, the findings of the research might be especially useful for Iranian scholars who seemingly have not yet had the chance for a profound exploration of motherhood. Among the many scholars who worked on motherhood and mothering experience, the chosen theoreticians, Adrienne Rich, Patricia Hill Collins, Simone de Beauvoir, Andrea O'Reilly, and Nancy Chodorow, are the most well-known and relevant ones. Rich's extraordinary Of Woman Born, Collins' mastery in analyzing the black experience, Beauvoir's leading ideas concerning women, O'Reilly's expertise in motherhood and Chodorow's understanding of mother-daughter relationship creates an exhaustive background for studying motherhood in the selected novels. The diverse but complementary ideas and opinions of the theoreticians lead the research to be multi- dimensional and innovative.

#### 1.4. Questions of the Study

To meet the purpose of this study, in the three succeeding chapters it is endeavored to answer the following questions:

- 1. What are the most important sociological factors involved in "motherhood" in *Beloved* and *Bastard*?
- 2. What are the most important psychological factors involved in "motherhood" in *Beloved* and *Bastard*?
- 3. Can the sociological and psychological factors involved in *Beloved* and *Bastard* be the sources of suffering for the mother characters?
- 4. Do the mother characters in *Beloved* and *Bastard* try to overcome these sufferings? If so, in what ways?
- 5. How much are the two novels interrelated in terms of the sociological and psychological factors involved in them?

#### 1.5. Approach and Methodology

Conducting the present library-based research, various sorts of essays, books, e-books, and library or internet sources written by literary and social experts were used. The concept of motherhood in American novels is too broad to allow all the data to be canvassed, so this study will inevitably employ two sets of factors for the analysis of the two mentioned novels, namely sociological and psychological factors. The two selected novels, Toni Morrison's Beloved and Dorothy Allison's *Bastard*, will be analyzed using a set of theories and ideas concerning motherhood and its related sociological and psychological factors, primarily those introduced by Adrienne Rich, Nancy Chodorow, Simone de Beauvoir, Patricia Hill Collins, Andrea O'Reilly, and then those introduced by some other scholars. Beauvoir and Rich emphasize more on the sufferings of motherhood. Rich, specifically in her Of Woman Born, speaks in detail about motherhood and mother-daughter relationship. Books of Collins that explore life of black women and essays of Chodorow which explore mother-daughter relationships provide more specific information about motherhood. The researcher will also benefit from different sociological studies that examined how mothers' relationships can influence their parenting. Due to limited space of present study, sociological approach and psychological approach will be limited to some major related factors.

In searching for sociological hardships involved in motherhood, the researcher necessarily examines the novels in the cultural, economic and political context in which they have been written. This approach sometimes explores the writers' society to better understand their novels; other times, it explores the representation of societal elements within the novels. Obviously, this

study focuses on the representation of societal elements of motherhood which at the time of publication of the novels affected women's mothering in the authors' societies, i.e. racial discrimination, patriarchal culture, and poverty.

In search of psychological factors the researcher tries to find out how mothers' experiences of mother-daughter relationships or their love/marriage relationships affect their behavior in general and their mothering in particular.

Therefore, due to limited scope of the study, the target is to investigate these particular factors: slavery, poverty, patriarchal culture, inadequate mother-daughter relationship, and love/marriage relationship. One important point to be said is that although this research tries to distinguish sociological factors from psychological ones, it is not always possible to do so, as these two sets of factors are interwoven in many cases due to the complicated and dynamic context in which they play roles.

#### 1.6. Review of Literature

Sociologists and psychologists started writing and talking about motherhood in the eighties, but most of the essays and studies were daughter-centric and analyzed motherhood only as it had been defined by patriarchal culture. Adrienne Rich and Sara Ruddick established viewing motherhood and mothering from a new and distinctive approach which was a turning point in feminist discussions. Toni Morrison's writings, because of her continuous successful novels, have been more read and studied than those of Dorothy Allison. In addition, Allison's *Bastard* has been explored more as a novel of identity with the focus on its child protagonist, Bone rather than her mother, Anney.

Regarding the discussions of motherhood and mothering, the main source of this study is *Of Woman Born* (1976), written by Adrienne Rich. Her ground-breaking book which is described by Penelope Dixon in her annotated bibliography on mothering as "one of the major feminist studies on mothering," was a new and challenging examination of motherhood from the point of view of a feminist who was the mother of three children (1991, p. 11). In this book Rich writes about her personal experiences of motherhood and her occasional contradictory emotions toward her children. Providing an exhaustive historical overview of institution of motherhood and its difficulties, Rich questions what childbirth and motherhood demand of women emotionally and physically. Adrienne Rich is the first one that made a distinction between the term "motherhood" and "mothering"; the first one refers to the patriarchal institution of

motherhood, while the word "mothering" refers to women's experiences of mothering that are female-defined and centered. She also explores the unspoken aspects of mother-son, mother-daughter relationships, and infanticide.

Collins' two books, *Black Sexual Politics* (2000) and *Black Feminist Thought* (2004) are other main sources of this study. In *Black Sexual Politics*, Collins analyzes the ways through which race, class, and gender deteriorate the life conditions of African-American people, especially women. *Black Feminist Thought* is another preeminent work of Collins, which explores the core themes of black feminist thought such as motherhood, love relationships, and controlling images employing the words and ideas of black feminist intellectuals and writers. In addition to the mentioned books, Collins' essays "Shifting the center: Race, class, and feminist theorizing about motherhood" (1994) and "Reply to commentaries: Black sexual politics revisited" (2008) provide enough information concerning the sufferings of black women as mothers under the cruel condition of slavery.

Encyclopedia of Motherhood (2010) edited by Andrea O'Reilly provides all the essential information on the central terms, issues, debates, theories, and texts of the new discipline of motherhood studies and examine the topic of motherhood in various contexts as well. The encyclopedia includes an entry for all the influential theorists of maternal scholarship from the pioneering theories of Nancy Chodorow and Adrienne Rich of the 1970s to the leading African American maternal scholars such as bell hooks and Patricia Hill Collins. Additionally, the central and governing terms and concepts of maternal scholarship, such as matraphopia, motherline, other-mothering, to name but a few, are all included. All the principal motherhood novelists are also likewise referenced in the encyclopedia.

Nancy Chodorow's "Family Structure and Feminine Personality" (1974) mainly discusses the mother-daughter relationship and its influence on women's mothering. She also explains the ways through which mothers nurture their daughters and sons in a different manner that at the end leads to specific masculine and feminine personality and roles. Her essay criticizes patriarchal society and its ideologies that obligate women to think they are the only parent in charge of nurturing children, which she considers as the foundation for male dominance. Chodorow's ideas are useful mostly in the section that explores the influence of mother-daughter relationship on mothering of daughters.

Pearlin and Schooler's essay "The Structure of Coping" (1978) investigates the efficacy of different coping methods after introducing the background of these methods and defining them.

This essay contains useful information on coping strategies that will be used mostly in chapter four of the present study.

McDaniels' doctoral dissertation is one of the helpful sources which examined motherhood in *Beloved* and *Bastard*. Preselfannie McDaniels in her dissertation titled "Mothering Modes: Analyzing Mother Roles in Novels by Twentieth-century United States Women Writers" (2004) chooses eight novels to argue that troublesome circumstances in her examples call forth similar coping strategies from the mother characters, especially when mothering daughters. She suggests that specific coping strategies are not attached exclusively to particular cultural groups and examines coping strategies from the least to the greatest examples of their success. In her first chapter she focuses on *Beloved* and *Bastard* which she believes are the worst mothering examples among her chosen novels. McDaniels translates the controversial decisions of Anney and Sethe to dilemmas and demonstrates how misfortunes create the need for different coping strategies.

In *Toni Morrison and Motherhood: A Politics of the Heart* (2004), Andrea O'Reilly looks at the way Toni Morrison deals with black mother characters in her novels. In chapters three and five of the book O'Reilly involves *Beloved* in the discussions about mother line, resistance and power. She remarks that *Beloved* shows how slavery ruptured the African American mother line. Furthermore, a good and comprehensive analysis of mother-daughter relationships among black women is given by O'Reilly in her third chapter. In the fifth chapter of the book, she speaks about being deprived of motherhood rights and the despair and rage of black women when they are not able to do their tasks of mothering. This source will be used in the chapter three of this study.

In 2001 Connie Griffin wrote an essay titled "I Will Not Wear That Coat': Cross-Dressing in the Works of Dorothy" Allison which discussed Allison's life and her ideological background that channeled her essays and novels. Griffin's descriptions about Allison's writing style, that aims to criticize a culture which creates a center and margin, help readers to better analyze her novels. Griffin wrote about how geographical state of birth and patriarchal culture influenced the lives of Allison and the women in *Bastard out of Carolina*. Griffin's essay will be drawn upon in chapters two and three of the thesis.

Sonja R. Darlington's "Challenging the canon of adolescent literature: Dorothy Allison's Bastard out of Carolina" (1996) analyzes *Bastard* by discussing its themes and aesthetic dimensions in detail. It also explores the significance of this novel in its time and

mentions different reviews that have been written on *Bastard*. Darlington's ideas about Dorothy Allison and *Bastard* will be used in the chapter two.

Peggy Bailey in "Female Gothic Fiction, Grotesque Realities, and Bastard Out of Carolina: Dorothy Allison Revises the Southern Gothic" (2010) while investigating *Bastard* as a gothic novel, provides an admirable character analysis. She is also successful in exploring how class, ethnicity and poverty cause trans-generational suffering for women in South Carolina. This essay will be used in chapter three of this study.

Doane and Hodges's *Telling incest: Narratives of dangerous remembering from Stein to Sapphire* (2001) which analyzes the stories of incest, is a useful source in discussing *Bastard* and will be useful in chapter three of this study.

Kinser (2008) in her essay "Mothering as Relational Consciousness" investigates how mothering practices intersect the multiple relationships of which she is a part such as mother-daughter relationship, and partner relationships of past or present. She claims that as a mother, she acts not only as the mother of her children, but also and simultaneously as the daughter of her mother. Kinser also traces the ways through which class identity can influence mothering task. Kinser's essay will be very helpful in chapter three.

Pavlovic, Mullender, and Aris have conducted a research on mothers who abandon their children and published its results under the title of "Abandoning Mothers and Their Children" (2005). Analyzing archival materials and official records of Britain and in-depth interviews with health, welfare, and criminal justice practitioners, who have been involved with abandonment cases, as well as with abandoners, makes this essay a reliable source for understanding the causes and outcomes of abandoning children. Pavlovic et al. (2005) assert that many mothers in the study abandon their children because they were suffering for a long time. Most of these mothers were experiencing domestic violence, relationship breakdown, economic problems, or generally lack of support. This study will be used in the first section of chapter four.

Anne Morris in her essay, "Naming Maternal Alienation" (2005), tries to explain how male partners may attempt to ruin the mother-child relationship. Morris after interviewing many mothers, who were alienated from their children, describes how some men form competitive relationships with their children. She concludes that maternal alienation happens because male voices are always heard and believed in structures of power and in their families. Morris's essay is very helpful in chapter three of present study.

Daniel Burt's *The Literary 100* (2009), Jago Morrison's *Contemporary Fiction* (2003), and Schlager and Lauer's *Contemporary Novelists* (2001) are three significant books which are the sources of most of the background information about Toni Morrison, Dorothy Allison, and their novels used in this study.

#### 1.7. Definition of Key Terms

Coping Strategies: Joan Samuels-Dennis (2007) believes that coping "represents a constellation of cognitive-behavioral responses that serve to control or reduce emotional stress in the face of some externally imposed life strain" (p. 492). Generally coping strategy is a behavior that helps people to function better in a given situation. Coping strategies have been defined by Lazarus and Launier (1978) as "the specific efforts, both behavioral and psychological, that people employ to master, tolerate, reduce, or minimize stressful events". Essentially the concept is being used here to refer to the things that mothers do to avoid being harmed by life strains or forces that impinge upon them, for instance, other mothering, family network, community mothers, abandonment, and infanticide.

**Maternal Alienation**: According to O'Reilly (2010) it is "an emotional and/or physical withdrawal of a mother from her child" (p. 699). Anne Morris (2005), who worked exclusively on maternal alienation, defines it as a form of psychological abuse performed by male partners in order to undermine mother's relationship with her child through instilling of fear, humiliation or degradation. These men mostly use their violence to punish, to inflict injury, to silence, to isolate, and/or to maintain dominance and control over their partners or children.

Motherhood: Motherhood begins when a woman has a child. Adrienne Rich in her seminal work, *Of Woman Born* (1995) identified an important distinction between motherhood and mothering that was stabilized thereafter. She claimed that motherhood consists of the strict expectations determined by a social order that actually works to benefit the male-controlled patriarchal society and turns to be unjust or at least disempowering. However, mothering is the real experience of being a mother, nurturing ones children and bringing one's individual qualities and practices to her role as a mother (ibid, p. 13). Based on O'Reilly (2010) this approach suggests that "women's experiences of mothering, while unique and personal, are nevertheless highly influenced by the social expectations placed upon them within the institution of motherhood" (p. 839).