

AGING MOTHER – ADULT DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIP  
SOLIDARITY, CONFLICT, AMBIVALENCE, TYPOLOGY  
AND VARIATIONS IN TIME

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## ABSTRACT

### AGING MOTHER – ADULT DAUGHTER RELATIONSHIP: SOLIDARITY, CONFLICT, AMBIVALENCE, TYPOLOGY AND VARIATIONS IN TIME

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Using qualitative analysis, this thesis analyzes intergenerational support, conflict, and ambivalence between aging mothers and their middle aged adult daughters. In-depth interviews with 30 mother-daughter pairs explored respondents' relationship history, changes in the relationship over the life course (childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, marriage of daughter, parenthood of daughter, widowhood of mother), social network composition, frequency of contact, expectations, type and frequency of intergenerational support, intimacy, compliance, conflict or disagreement, and comparison of self with the other party in terms of parenting styles and filial behaviors. Moreover, similarities and differences in the personalities of mother-daughter dyads were investigated from both mothers and daughters perspective. Participants reported that, there is an ample amount of intergenerational support between aging mothers and their adult daughters. Conflicts between mother-daughter pairs arise from interference, irritating personality traits and behaviors and differing views. Daughters experience more ambivalent feelings than mothers in their relationship. Both parties employ passive and secondary relationship maintenance tactics with the

goal of preserving relationship harmony. Three distinct types of mother-daughter relationship emerged: close/peaceful, ambivalent and distant. Mother-daughter relationships have undergone transformations with life stages: daughters' marriage, daughters' parenthood, mothers' aging and declining health and mothers' widowhood. Effects of certain historical events and social changes emerged from the study. The research findings were discussed with reference to Turkish cultural characteristics and they were compared with Western research findings.

Keywords: Intergenerational support, conflict, ambivalence, maintenance, typology, life stages, life course, mother-daughter relationship, aging mother, middle aged daughter

OZ

YAŞLANAN ANNE – YETİŞKİN KIZ EVLAT İLİŞKİSİ  
DAYANIŞMA, ÇATIŞMA, İKİRCİKLİ DUYGULAR, TİPOLOJİ  
VE ZAMAN İÇİNDEKİ DEĞİŞİMLER

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Bu tez, kalitatif analiz yöntemi kullanarak, yaşlanan anne ve yetişkin kız evlat arasındaki dayanışma, çatışma ve ikircikli duyguları incelemiştir. 30 anne-kız çifti ile gerçekleştirilen derinlemesine mülakatlarda, katılımcıların ilişki tarihçesi, yaşam seyri (çocukluk, ergenlik, genç yetişkinlik, kızın evlenmesi, kızın anne olması ve annenin dul kalması) boyunca yaşanan değişiklikler, sosyal ilişkiler yapısı, görüşme sıklığı, beklentiler, nesiller arası dayanışma cinsi ve sıklığı, yakınlık, uyum, çatışma veya fikir ayrılığı, ve ebeveyn ve evlat olma yönünden birbiri ile karşılaştırma konuları araştırılmıştır. Buna ilaveten, anne-kız çiftlerinin kendi açılarından kişilik benzerlik ve farklılıkları da incelenmiştir. Katılımcılar, yaşlanan anne ve yetişkin kız evlatlar arasında yüksek miktarda nesiller arası dayanışma olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Anne-kız çiftleri arasındaki çatışmalar, karışma, rahatsız edici kişilik özellikleri ve davranışlar, ve görüş ayrılıklarından kaynaklanmıştır. Yetişkin kız evlatlar, annelerinden daha fazla ikircikli duygular yaşadıklarını ifade etmişlerdir. Her iki taraf da, ilişkilerindeki uyumu korumak amacıyla, pasif ve ikincil ilişki sürdürme ve koruma yöntemleri uygulamaktadır. Analizlerden üç belirgin anne-kız ilişki tipi çıkmıştır: yakın/barışçıl, ikircikli ve mesafeli. Yaşamın farklı evrelerinde anne-kız ilişkisi

bazı deęişikliklere uğramıştır, bu evreler kızın evlenmesi, kızın anne olması, annenin yaşlanması ve saęlıęının bozulması, ve annenin dul kalması içermektedir. Toplumda yaşanan bazı tarihi olayların ve sosyal deęişimlerin etkileri çalışmada gözlenmiştir. Araştırma sonuçları, Türk kültürel özellikleri göz önünde bulundurularak ve Batılı araştırma sonuçları ile karşılaştırılarak tartışılmıştır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Nesiller arası dayanışma, çatışma, ikircikli duygular, ilişki sürdürme ve koruma yöntemleri, tipoloji, yaşam evreleri, yaşam süreçleri, anne-kız ilişkisi, yaşlanan anne, orta yaşlı kız evlat.

To all women  
who had the courage to open their hearts  
and  
who had the generosity to share their invaluable experiences

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	iii
<b>OZ</b>	v
<b>DEDICATION</b>	vii
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT</b>	viii
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b>	ix
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>1. THE AIM OF THE STUDY</b>	1
<b>2. INTRODUCTION</b>	
<b>2.1 Aging Parent-Adult Children Relationship</b>	4
2.1.1 Effects of Adult Children on Aging Parents	4
2.1.2 Favoritism	6
<b>2.2 Aging Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships</b>	6
2.2.1 Aging Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships	
in Changing Times	9
2.2.1.1 Life Course Perspective	9
2.2.1.2 Demography	10
2.2.1.3 Cohort Differences	14
<b>2.3 Theoretical Views Related to Parent-Child</b>	
<b>Relations in Later Life</b>	16
2.3.1 Intergenerational Solidarity Model	16
2.3.1.1 Bengston's Model	16
2.3.1.2 European Sociologists' Perspective of Solidarity	18
2.3.1.3 Intergenerational Ambivalence Model and Conflict	19
2.3.2 Conflict	27
2.3.3 Intergenerational Communication	
and Conflict Management	28
2.3.4 Typologies of Family / Relationships in Later Life	30
<b>2.4 Two Views of Aging Mother-Adult Daughter</b>	
<b>Relationships</b>	34
<b>2.5 Factors Affecting Aging Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships</b>	37
2.5.1 Parent's Age and Health	37
2.5.2 Daughter's Age & Filial Maturity	38
2.5.3 Change In Life Cycle – from Interdependence to Dependence	39
<b>2.6 Reciprocal Intergenerational Support</b>	40
<b>2.7 Predictors Of Intergenerational Support</b>	41
2.7.1 Geographic Distance	41



2.7.2 Coresidence	42
2.7.3 Parent's Health	43
2.7.4 Marital Status of Parent	43
2.7.5 Marital Status of Child	44
2.7.6 Life Cycle of Parent-Child	45
2.7.7 Socio-Economic Status of Parent and Child	47
2.7.8 Value Consensus	48
2.7.9 Early Life Experiences / Family History	49
2.7.10 Familism	50
<b>2.8 Ethnic Cultural Differences</b>	<b>51</b>
<b>2.9 Turkish Family</b>	<b>55</b>
<b>2.10 Turkish Research on Parent-Child Relationship in Later Years</b>	<b>60</b>
<b>3. METHODOLOGY</b>	
3.1 Qualitative Research	66
3.2 Expectations	68
3.3 Sampling Criteria	70
3.4 Sample	70
3.5 Procedure	73
3.6 Coding	74
<b>4. RESULTS – INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY</b>	
4.1 Intergenerational Solidarity	75
4.1.1 Structural Solidarity	75
4.1.2 Associational Solidarity	75
4.1.2.1 Face to Face Contact	75
4.1.2.2 Phone Contact	77
4.1.2.3 Shared Activities	77
4.1.3 Affectual Solidarity	79
4.1.4 Emotional Support	81
4.1.4.1 Giving Comfort / Sharing Problems	81
4.1.4.2 Friendship	83
4.1.4.3 Trust / Security	84
4.1.5 Functional Support	85
4.1.5.1 Functional Support Given By Mothers	85
4.1.5.2 Functional Support Given By Daughters	88
4.1.6 Financial Support	91
<b>5. RESULTS – INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT</b>	
5.1 Intergenerational Conflict	93
5.1.1 Interference	93

5.1.1.1 Mothers' Interference	93
5.1.1.1.1 Daughters' Privacy	94
5.1.1.1.2 Daughters' Marriage and Husband	95
5.1.1.1.3 Daughters' Permissive Parenting Style	96
5.1.1.2 Daughters' Interference with Mother	97
5.1.2 Irritating Personality Traits and Behavior	97
5.1.2.1 Mothers' Perspective	97
5.1.2.1.1 Disliked Personality Features	97
5.1.2.1.2 Daughters' Unavailability	98
5.1.2.2 Daughters' Perspective	99
5.1.2.2.1 Mothers' Anxiety	99
5.1.2.2.2 Mothers' Dependence	100
5.1.3 Differing Views	100
5.1.3.1 Siblings	100
5.1.3.2 Adherence to Tradition / Lagging Behind Times	101
<b>6. RESULTS – AMBIVALENCE</b>	
<b>6.1 Ambivalence</b>	103
6.1.1 Daughters' Ambivalence	103
6.1.1.1 My Mothers' Well-Being versus My Comfort	103
6.1.1.2 My Desires/My Life versus My Mothers' Limited Time	104
6.1.1.3 My Family versus My Mother	105
6.1.1.4 We Should Be Together Versus I Get Bored	106
6.1.2 Mothers' Ambivalence	106
<b>7. RESULTS – MAINTAINANCE</b>	
<b>7.1 Maintenance of Relationship</b>	108
7.1.1 Daughters' Maintenance Tactics	108
7.1.1.1 Compliance	108
7.1.1.2 Concealing Events to Protect Mother	109
7.1.1.3 Concealing Events to Protect Self / Privacy	110
7.1.1.4 Postponing / Mitigating Unpleasant Events	111
7.1.1.5 Ostensible Conformity/ Agreement	111
7.1.2 Mothers' Maintenance Tactics	112
7.1.2.1 No Interference	112
7.1.2.2 No Tenacity / Tolerance	112
7.1.2.3 No Sulking	113
7.1.2.4 Concealing Events to Protect Daughter	113
7.1.2.5 Tolerating Son-in-Law	114
<b>8. RESULTS – RELATIONSHIP TYPOLOGY</b>	
<b>8.1 Constructing Typologies</b>	116

8.1.1 Type I – Peaceful / Close Relationship	119
8.1.2 Type II – Ambivalent Relationship	121
8.1.3 Type III – Distant Relationship	125
<b>9. RESULTS – EFFECTS OF TIME</b>	
<b>9.1 Effects of Age and Life Cycle</b>	128
9.1.1 After Daughters' Marriage	128
9.1.1.1 Decrease in Mother Interference	128
9.1.1.2 Acceptance of Daughter as an Adult	129
9.1.2 After Daughters' Parenthood	130
9.1.2.1 Increased Understanding of Motherhood by Daughter	130
9.1.2.2 Increased Functional Support Given by Mother	131
9.1.2.3 Increased Closeness & Openness	131
9.1.3 Mothers' Aging and Declining Health	132
9.1.3.1 Declined Activity / Loss of Strength	132
9.1.3.2 Perceived Role Reversal	132
9.1.3.3 Personality Changes of Mother	133
9.1.3.4 Mothers' Fears	134
9.1.3.5 Personality Changes of Daughter	135
9.1.3.6 Change in Daughters' Perception	136
9.1.4 Mothers' Widowhood	136
9.1.4.1 Increased Closeness	136
9.1.4.2 Protection & Compensation	137
<b>10. RESULTS – LIFE COURSE</b>	
<b>10.1 Life Course</b>	139
10.1.1 Mothers' Education	139
10.1.2 Effects of Education Difference between Generations	140
10.1.3 Personality Differences	140
10.1.4 Political Climate	141
10.1.5 Economic Conditions	142
10.1.6 Technological Advances / Increased Opportunities	142
10.1.7 Social Activities	143
10.1.8 Intergenerational Differences in Communication	144
10.1.9 Filial Piety	144
10.1.10 Marriage	145
<b>11. DISCUSSION</b>	
11.1 Intergenerational Solidarity and Support	147
11.2 Intergenerational Conflict	150
11.3 Intergenerational Ambivalence	153
11.4 Maintenance of Relationship	154

11.5	Typologies	155
11.6	Effects of Time	159
11.7	Life Course	161
11.8	Limitations of the Study	163
11.9	Contributions of the Study	164
<b>REFERENCES</b>		166
<b>APPENDICES</b>		
<b>A.</b>	<b>INTERVIEW QUESTIONS</b>	177
<b>B.</b>	<b>ORIGINAL QUOTATIONS</b>	188

## LIST OF TABLES

TABLE

2.2.1.2.1	Percentage of people aged 60 years or older	11
2.2.1.2.2	Longevity (Life expectancy)	12
2.2.1.2.3	Sex ratio	13
2.2.1.2.4	Potential Support Ratio	13
2.2.1.2.5	Total Fertility Rate	14
2.3.4.1	De Vaus' Typology of Families	30
2.3.4.2	Donorfio & Sheehan typology of caregiving relations	31
2.3.4.3.	Silverstein & Bengtson's typology of intergenerational family relationships	32
2.3.4.4	Lüscher's model of intergenerational ambivalence	33
2.9.1	Distribution of Family Types	56
3.3.1	Participants' demographic background	72
8.1.1	Relationship Impression Table	117

## LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE

2.3.1.3.1 Patterns of dealing with intergenerational ambivalence	26
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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

#### MARITAL STATUS

**MM:** married mother, **MD:** married daughter, **WM:** widow mother,  
**WD:** widow daughter, **SD:** single daughter, **DM:** divorced mother

#### EDUCATION

**P.G.:** Post Graduate, **U.G.:** University Graduate, **H.S.:** High School,  
**M.S.:** Middle School, **P.S.:** Primary School.

#### WORK STATUS

**n.w.:** never worked, **r.:** retired, **w.:** still working

#### RESIDENCE

**w/...:** with ...

**m.:** mother

**d. :** daughter

**i.d.:** interviewed daughter

**s:** son

**h:** husband

**ss:** sister

**f:** father

**CR:** co-residence

**SB:** same building

**SS:** same street

**SN:** same neighborhood

**10D:** ten-minute drive

**30D:** 30 minute drive

## **CHAPTER 1**

### **THE AIM OF THE STUDY**

The world's population is aging and the number and proportion of older persons has been growing. Along with the progress in technology and advancements in medicine (i.e. treatment of illnesses, better nutrition), over the last half of the 20th century life expectancy has increased by approximately 20 years, and the fertility rate dropped from 5 children per woman to 2.7 (United Nations Secretariat, 2000).

Such demographic changes in population aging is resulting in "longer years of shared lives" (Bengtson, 2001, pp.2), as well as the increasing importance of the strength and resilience of family solidarity. The need for intergenerational support is becoming more necessary due to the lack of social policies to support elders and to care for children increases the importance of intergenerational relations.

Another important demographic fact is that the majority of older persons (55 percent) are women, since female life expectancy is greater than male life expectancy. Furthermore, older women are less likely to be married than older men because women live longer, and on average, they are younger than their husbands (United Nations Secretariat, 2000). Therefore, the majority of older women are likely to be widowed and alone and accordingly they are more inclined to turn to their adult children for support.

The mother-daughter relationship is the most salient, important and the closest parent-child relationship, in terms of the degree of interchanges throughout the life course. As is said in an old proverb "Sons stay sons till they take a wife, daughters stay daughters for life." (Baltes, 1994, pp.41). The kin-keeping function of women, the centrality of the maternal role in women's identity (Fingerman,



2001) and shared sense of femaleness (Nydegger, 1999) probably help to make the mother-daughter relationship stable and immune to changing life conditions, and less conditional to the quality of mother-daughter interaction (Rossi&Rossi, 1990). Both the demographic changes and the enduring quality and importance of the mother-daughter relationship made it interesting to study one distinct relationship, which in this case is the one between aging mothers and their middle aged adult daughters.

In our study, we have chosen the qualitative method, since it is more suitable for studying complex issues like human interaction and the interpretation of interaction, by offering cultural validity, by allowing the opportunity to get closer to the participants' reality and to generate very detailed and rich information. Furthermore, we have utilized dyadic assessment, which enabled us to view the whole picture from both mothers' and daughters' perspective as well as giving us the opportunity to investigate discrepancies and consistencies of reports.

In our research, we have conducted in-depth interviews in order to explore the mother-daughter relationship from the point of view of both parties by utilizing dyadic assessment of qualitative data analysis. Our specific aims are:

1. To investigate the type and frequency of solidarity and support in the mother-daughter relationship and variations of it across generations.
2. To explore the experience of ambivalent feelings in mother-daughter relationships; to investigate the sources of ambivalent feelings; and the ambivalence resolution tactics employed by both parties.
3. To classify mother-daughter relationships into a relatively small number of categories, based on patterns of reciprocal support, reports of conflict and ambivalence, and relationship maintenance tactics.
4. To investigate the influence of time on aging mother-adult daughter relationships. Two different meanings of time were considered:
  - a) Historical time, reflecting societal changes including historical events, changing norms related to modernization and urbanization;

b) Lifecycle time, reflecting changes in social expectations from individuals due to normative transitions such as marriage, parenthood, and widowhood.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **2.1 Aging Parent-Adult Children Relationship**

Parent-child relationships endure with often complex patterns of interaction, support, and exchange that wax and wane around key transitions in the adult years. Intergenerational conflict, mutual and reciprocal support have been enduring family issues. The ties between older parents and their adult children are two way street; while children provide support and care to parents, parents continue to support their children long after those children enter into adulthood and establish their own families (Zarit et, al,2002). It is a known fact that the majority of adult children have continuing involvement with their parents (De Vaus, 1994).

Several trends in society influence these family issues: First, the changes in mortality and morbidity have resulted in longer life expectancy, though often with disabilities. Second, the altered patterns of marriage and increased rates of divorce have resulted in old individuals being without the support of a spouse. And third, lower rates of savings and accumulation of wealth influences the economic prospects of younger generation and cause an increase in intra and inter familial financial assistance (Zarit et, al,2002).

##### **2.1.1 Effects of Adult Children on Aging Parents**

Parent-child relationship quality has a significant effect on parents' well-being, independent of parent characteristics and family composition. Relationship quality is associated with a great reduction in meaninglessness for women, especially for widowed women (Umberson, 1989). In the everyday lives of older women, their children were central and their grandchildren were peripheral to

their perception of family relations. Furthermore these women's relationship with their children and grandchildren had contributed to their sense of self and family (Roberto, Allen, & Blieszner, 1999). The research on aging mother-adult daughter relationships has shown that mothers explicitly expressed pleasure from confiding in their daughters and enjoyed learning about their daughters' activities. They seemed to feel that they remained a part of their daughters' lives through these conversations (Fingerman, 2001).

Intergenerational support as well as the relationship quality also has an impact on the well-being of aging parents. In a study with widowed elderly people, researchers found that providing support to adult children reduces the negative mood associated with being widowed. The authors commented that providing social support to adult children gives a sense of purpose after the loss of a spouse (Silverstein, Chen & Heller, 1996). Likewise, older parents' subjective well-being improved over time when children expressed affection or gave emotional support (Lang & Schütze, 2000), provided companionship and exerted social control (Rook & Ituarte, 1999). The authors suggested that parents derive pleasure out of emotionally meaningful experiences with their children and parents' affective desires are understood better by autonomous adult children. However, informational support from children was associated with decreased satisfaction among parents which might possibly be perceived by aging parents as patronizing or belittling, as being told what to do might make them feel inadequate (Lang & Schütze, 2000).

The level of support and the expectation of support from adult children determine the support's impact on aging parents. For widowed elderly people, moderate levels of support received from adult children are psychologically beneficial. However, if the support provided by adult children is very high and the elderly parents have low expectations of such support, the psychological benefit derived from the social support decreases dramatically (Silverstein, Chen & Heller, 1996).

### **2.1.2 Favoritism**

Favoritism is not an atypical case in intergenerational relations (Aldous, Klaus, & Klein, 1985; Suito & Pillemer, 2000). The majority of the mothers were willing to both differentiate and name the particular children to whom they were more emotionally close, to whom they were most likely to confide and who were the most similar to the mothers themselves (Suito & Pillemer, 2000).

The research has shown that, the adult child who gives comfort to her parents was perceived as the favorite child and the characteristics of such a child are: being female, living in geographical proximity to her parents' home, having no conflict with the mother about the treatment of parents and the frequency of visits. Moreover, mothers reported having fewer disagreements with the comfort-giving adult children about the adult children's own parenting practices and values. The daughters who live near by and share similar interest with their mothers were named as confidants as well as comfort giving child. The most disappointing child, on the other hand, was described as the one who is in disagreement with her/his parents about their treatment. The researchers concluded that, parental judgments on favoritism or being disappointing were primarily determined by shared interest and values rather than geographical proximity (Aldous, Klaus, & Klein, 1985).

## **2.2 Aging Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships**

The mother-daughter relationship is the most salient, important and the closest parent-child relationship in terms of the degree of interchanges throughout the life course. As is said in an old proverb "Sons stay sons till they take a wife, daughters stay daughters for life." (Baltes, 1994, pp.41).

Women are socialized to value ties to the family. One of the most salient functions women serve in the family involves maintaining ties between relatives. Even when women do not serve in the role of kin-keeper, they tend to exhibit greater activity and consistency in their ties to relatives. When women demonstrate independence from their families of origin, they feel guilty (Fingerman, 2001). Likewise, Walker & Pratt suggested that, aid-giving is a

common pattern of behavior in female intergenerational relationships (Walker & Pratt, 1991).

Feminist scholars focused on women's development of a relational self, or a sense of identity in connection to others. The emphasis has been on the bond that mothers and daughters share, rather than the role the mother plays in launching her child. As opposed to psychoanalytic theories which concentrated on the maternal role in early life, the feminist scholars concentrated on the importance of mother/daughter ties in adolescence. They argued that the maternal role of women is a central aspect of women's identity (Fingerman, 2001). Moreover, Nydegger argued that mothers and daughters share the same female world and therefore understand each other easily. The shared sense of shared femaleness grows stronger with age and provides commonality, regardless of the quality of the relationship (Nydegger, 1991).

Research on intergenerational relationships has shown that the mother-daughter relationship is more stable, more immune to changing life conditions and less conditional to the quality of mother-daughter interaction than other parent-child relationships (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Also, it is closer, more intense and more demanding than relationship between parents and sons (De Vaus, 1994). Unlike other parent-child dyads, the mother-daughter relationship is not influenced by the marital status of either parties or the health status of the mother. Again, more than any other parent-child dyads, mother-daughter dyads are more likely to know each others' daily activities, problems and joys. In case of mother-daughter relationships, once the daughter reaches maturity, the effect of whatever problems the mother and daughter experienced during adolescent is diminished (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

The emotional tone and frequency of support in intergenerational relations is highly determined by the gender of the parent. In a study of family relations prototypes, Silverstein & Bengtson (1997) found a significant gender difference, such that 31% of the relationships with mothers and 20% of the relationship with fathers were tight-knit, and 7% of the relationships with mothers and 27% of the relationship with fathers were detached (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997).

Research on intergenerational support has shown that, at all points of the life course, the help exchanged between mothers and children is more extensive than that between fathers and children and no type of help is given more to a father than to a mother in the flow of assistance from adult children to parents (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Ikkink, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 1999; Ward, 1996; Spitze & Logan, 1990). Mothers give and receive help more than fathers; mothers generally provide supportive help in domestic and personal matters and adult children reciprocate in a similar fashion by providing comfort, help with the chores and gifts (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

Adult daughters on average have more involvement and more frequent contact with their parents than adult sons (De Vaus, 1994). The research has shown that similarity in gender improves the relationship between adult children and their aging mothers (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002). Having daughters was identified as the most important factor that determines the frequency of phone contact, visit and receipt of help. Having daughters is most salient for telephone contact (Spitze & Logan, 1990) and mothers receive more phone calls from their daughters than their sons (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). The key to receiving help is having at least one daughter, but there is no advantage of having additional children of either gender (Spitze & Logan, 1990). There exists a gender difference in the types of help given to elder parents. Daughters are more likely than sons to help parents with housekeeping and sons are more likely to help with repairs and yard-work. Help with shopping and errands are less gender-typed (Ward, 1996).

One possible explanation for the greater involvement of daughters with the family might be the norm of felt obligation. Women of both generations reported higher levels of felt obligation to their parents than both generations of men (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg & Jewell, 1998), and women were more likely to report they feel like they should engage in personal sharing with their mothers than men (Stein, 1992).

Aging mother-adult daughter relationships share many of the same characteristics and issues of other family relationships such as intimacy, conflict, communication, favoritism, reciprocal influences etc. However, aging mother-adult daughter relationships in later years are highly influenced by the passage of

time. It was found that the length of the relationship and interpersonal knowledge are keys in altering perceptions about the relationship that were formed throughout the years such that; tolerance and acceptance in the relationship increase, both parties appear to accept the other for who she is and not what they desire her to be, conflicts are put aside, interpersonal conflict is minimized or avoided. Eventually, aging parents and adult children become more comfortable with each other (Sheehan & Donorfio, 1999).

## **2.2.1 Aging Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships in Changing Times**

### **2.2.1.1 Life Course Perspective**

The life course model addresses the behavioural context of individual lives, their social pathways and settings in historical time and place. The core motto of this perspective is “human development and aging is a life long process” (Elder & Johnson, 2002, p.14). According to life course perspective, it is crucial to understand aging in later life by linking it to the early life course. Furthermore, age-graded life patterns are embedded in social structures and historical change. The theory draws attention to three basic points that need to be considered while studying developmental change and aging. First of all, there is a continuous interplay between changing lives and changing times. Second, continuity and change across the life course is fundamental. Third, the phases of life course are linked by multi-generational relationships.

The lives of people and times are interwoven and they represent an ever-changing dynamic across years. The life course of individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over their life time. Historical time and place pose constraints and options in people’s lives. This principle emerged from Elder’s Oakland study findings: the participants who were born in 1920-21 entered childhood during prosperous times but they experienced family hardships as adolescents because of the misfortunes of their families. The historical time period placed them at risk of deprivation. While some of them encountered serious deprivation through their family, others managed to avoid the misfortune (Elder, 2001).



The developmental background and consequences of events and behaviour patterns vary according to their timing in a person's life. People's adaptation to new situations is determined by their age, experience and resources. People of different ages bring different experiences and resources to their life situations, and as an outcome, they adapt to new conditions in different ways. Change in social roles, tasks and settings over the life course and the aging of the individual suggest a pattern of time-varying historical influences across the life course. Again the results of the Oakland study led to this second principle: During the lifetime of Oakland study, participants experienced major life events like marriage in different temporal order such that, participants who married earlier had the disadvantage of economic difficulties and loss of advanced education (Elder, 2001).

Furthermore, people live their lives interdependently and social – historical changes influence lives through this network of shared relationships. For example, the Oakland study's male participants who experienced economic hardship were more irritable and short-tempered and consequently, the economic hardship affected their marital relations and parenting quality adversely (Elder, 2001).

Family changes are especially relevant to the principle of linked lives and its life course effects. Linked lives regulate and potentially enrich personal development and aging experience. One particular importance of this principle is that intergenerational ties link the experiences of one generation to the development of the next (Elder & Johnson, 2002).

#### **2.2.1.2 Demography**

One aspect of historical change that affects lives is the change in demography in the Western World. The family structure has been changed by the demographic revolution of the past century. Along with the progress in technology and advances in medicine, the life expectancy (i.e. treatment of illnesses, better nutrition, etc.) increased and family size (i.e. birth control) decreased which resulted in an aging population. Now, having an older person in the family is both usual and expected occurrence which once had been relatively rare (Zarit et, al., 2002).

According to United Nations Statistics Division (Population division, department of economic and social affairs, United Nations Secretariat, 2000), over the past few years, the world's population has continued on its remarkable transition path from a state of high birth and death rates to one characterized by low birth and death rates. At the heart of that transition has been the growth in the number and proportion of older persons. Population aging is revealed in the statistics of the percentage of people aged 60 years or older, longevity, potential support ratio and fertility rate. The major features of the demographic revolution include the followings:

Today, *the percentage of people aged 60 years or older* is 10% in the world; 19.4% in more developed regions; 7.7% in less developed regions and 8.4% in Turkey. By the year 2050, it is projected to be 21.1% for the world; 33.5% for more developed regions; 19.3% for less developed regions and 23% in Turkey. As can be seen from the figures below, the percentage is currently much higher in the more developed regions, the pace of aging in developing countries is more rapid, and their transition from a young to an old age structure will be more compressed in time.

**Table 2.2.1.2.1: Percentage of People Aged 60 Years or Older**

	1950	1975	2000	2025	2050
<b>WORLD</b>					
<i><b>Total</b></i>	8,20	8,60	10,00	15,00	21,10
<i><b>Female</b></i>	9,00	9,70	11,10	16,30	22,70
<i><b>Male</b></i>	7,30	7,50	8,90	13,60	19,40
<b>MORE DEVELOPED</b>					
<i><b>Total</b></i>	11,70	15,40	19,40	28,20	33,50
<i><b>Female</b></i>	12,90	17,90	22,20	31,00	36,50
<i><b>Male</b></i>	10,50	12,80	16,50	25,20	30,20
<b>LESS DEVELOPED</b>					
<i><b>Total</b></i>	6,40	6,20	7,70	12,60	19,30
<i><b>Female</b></i>	7,10	6,70	8,30	13,50	20,70
<i><b>Male</b></i>	5,80	5,80	7,10	11,60	17,90
<b>TURKEY</b>					
<i><b>Total</b></i>	5,90	6,90	8,40	14,20	23,00
<i><b>Female</b></i>	7,50	7,20	9,20	15,30	24,90
<i><b>Male</b></i>	4,50	6,60	7,80	13,10	21,10

*Source: Population division, department of economic and social affairs, United Nations Secretariat, 2000.*

*Longevity* has improved dramatically. Worldwide, in the 1950s, life expectancy at birth was 46.5 and the figure has climbed about 26 years to 72.4. Accordingly, men are expected to live another 17 years and women are expected to live another 20 years after the age of 60. In more developed regions of the world, life expectancy at birth is 75.6 for year 2000-2005 and men are expected to live another 18 years, while women are expected to live another 23 years after the age of 60. As one would expect, the longevity in less developed regions of the world is lower such that; life expectancy at birth is 64.1 for year 2000-2005 and men are expected to live another 16 years and women are expected to live another 19 years after the age of 60. As for Turkey, the longevity figures are closer to world level; life expectancy at birth is 70.5 for year 2000-2005 and men are expected to live another 17 years and women are expected to live another 20 years after the age of 60.

**Table 2.2.1.2.2:** Longevity (Life Expectancy)

	1950-1955		1975-1980		2000-2005		2025-2030		2045-2050	
	<i>Birth</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>Birth</i>	<i>60</i>
<b>WORLD</b>										
<i>Total</i>	46,5	...	59,8	...	66	18,8	72,4	21	76	22,2
<i>Female</i>	47,9	...	61,5	...	68,1	20,4	74,7	22,8	78,5	24,1
<i>Male</i>	45,2	...	58	...	63,9	17	70,1	19,1	73,7	20,2
<b>MORE DEVELOPED</b>										
<i>Total</i>	66,2	...	72,3	...	75,6	20,8	80	23,3	82,1	24,7
<i>Female</i>	68,6	...	75,9	...	79,3	22,9	83,1	25,6	85,1	27,1
<i>Male</i>	63,6	...	68,6	...	71,9	18,4	76,8	20,8	79	22,1
<b>LESS DEVELOPED</b>										
<i>Total</i>	41	...	56,8	...	64,1	17,7	70,9	20	75	21,5
<i>Female</i>	41,8	...	57,8	...	65,7	19	73	21,6	77,3	23,2
<i>Male</i>	40,2	...	55,8	...	62,5	16,3	69	18,4	72,9	19,7
<b>TURKEY</b>										
<i>Total</i>	43,6	...	60,3	...	70,5	18,6	75,8	20,3	78,6	21,8
<i>Female</i>	45,2	...	62,5	...	73,2	19,8	78,4	22	81,3	24
<i>Male</i>	42	...	58	...	68	17,3	73,4	18,5	76	19,5

*Source: Population division, department of economic and social affairs, United Nations Secretariat, 2000.*

The majority of older persons are *women* since female life expectancy is higher than male life expectancy. Among older persons of the world (aged 65 and

over), there are 81 men per 100 women in 2002; in more developed parts of the world, there are 70 men per 100 women; in less developed parts of the world, the ratio is higher and 88 to 100; and in Turkey, there are 87 men per 100 women.

**Table 2.2.1.2.3: Sex Ratio**

<b>PER 100 WOMEN AGED 60 +</b>					
	<b>1950</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2025</b>	<b>2050</b>
<b>WORLD</b>	80,10	78,10	81,20	84,40	85,00
<b>MORE DEVELOPED</b>	73,70	66,70	70,70	77,00	78,20
<b>LESS DEVELOPED</b>	85,90	89,30	88,40	87,90	86,80
<b>TURKEY</b>	60,40	95,00	86,50	86,50	83,20

*Source: Population division, department of economic and social affairs, United Nations Secretariat, 2000.*

The *potential support ratio* (PSR) is the number of persons aged 15 to 64 years per one older person aged 65 years or older. The PSR indicates the dependency burden on potential income generators. The impact of demographic aging indicates a fall in the PSR. Worldwide, between 1950 and 2002, the PSR fell from 11.6 to 9.1 people in the working ages per each person aged 65 years or older. By the year 2050, the PSR is projected to fall to 4.1 working age persons for each person aged 65 years or older. In more developed regions of the world, the PSR fell from 8.2 to 4.7 people and it is expected to be 2.2 by year 2050. In less developed regions of the world, the PSR declined to 12.2 from 14.9 in fifty years, and it is projected to fall to 4.6 by year 2050. In Turkey, the PSR ratio which was 17.7 in 1950 fell to 11.1 by the year 2000 and is expected to drop to 3.5 by the middle of 21<sup>st</sup> century.

**Table 2.2.1.2.4: Potential Support Ratio**

	<b>1950</b>	<b>1975</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2025</b>	<b>2050</b>
<b>WORLD</b>	11,60	10,10	9,10	6,30	4,10
<b>MORE DEVELOPED</b>	8,20	6,10	4,70	3,00	2,20
<b>LESS DEVELOPED</b>	14,90	14,00	12,20	7,80	4,60
<b>TURKEY</b>	17,70	12,30	11,10	7,10	3,50

*Source: Population division, department of economic and social affairs, United Nations Secretariat, 2000.*

In all regions of the world, women are now having fewer numbers of children compared to women of 1950s. The world experienced a drastic decrease in *birth rates*. Between years 1950-1955, total fertility rate per woman was 5, the current rate is 2.7 and it projected to fall to 2.1 by year 2050. In more developed regions of the world, this figure fell from 2.8 to 1.5 children per woman yet, it is projected to be 1.9 children per woman by year 2050. In less developed parts of the world, woman had 6.2 children in 1950s, now they are having 2.9 children and the figure is expected to drop to 2.2. The fertility rate in Turkey was 6.9 in 1950s, now woman have 2.3 children on average and it is projected to fall to 2.1 by year 2050.

**Table 2.2.1.2.5: Total Fertility Rate**

**PER WOMAN**

	<b>1950-1955</b>	<b>1975-1980</b>	<b>2000-2005</b>	<b>2025-2030</b>	<b>2045-2050</b>
<b>WORLD</b>	5	3,9	2,7	2,3	2,1
<b>MORE DEVELOPED</b>	2,8	1,9	1,5	1,7	1,9
<b>LESS DEVELOPED</b>	6,2	4,6	2,9	2,4	2,2
<b>TURKEY</b>	6,9	4,7	2,3	2,1	2,1

*Source: Population division, department of economic and social affairs, United Nations Secretariat, 2000.*

In this demographic environment, multigenerational families have become more common and important (Bengston, 2002). The general increase in life expectancy over the past 100 years is particularly important for women because, women are likely to live 12 to 15 years of their lives as widows and they find themselves in the precarious position of turning to their daughters for assistance and emotional support. If the husband needs care or assistance, his wife takes on the care-giving role, but she turns to her daughter for her own emotional needs (Fingerman, 2001).

### **2.2.1.3 Cohort Differences**

Parents and their children are born into different cohorts. The historical events they have experienced and the social climate in which each party was

raised influences their relationship. Individuals born in different historical periods experience different life tasks at different stages. Therefore, developmental tasks themselves are partly shaped by cohort (Fingerman, 2001).

Feminist scholar Fischer's research made in the early 1980s with 40 young adult daughters who were born between 1948 and 1958 and their mothers revealed that only a few of the women in the mother generation pursued careers for most of their lives. Most of the mothers had dreams of pursuing a career and 2/3 of them mentioned their unfulfilled career dreams. Those mothers who did pursue careers, however, still favored the traditional role of motherhood, a principle that places mothering in the center of woman's life. Several mothers mentioned that education was not available to daughters in their families. Many of the mothers and daughters noted that daughters' lives were both economically and personally better than the mothers'. Daughters seemed to have more material goods and enjoyed a higher standard of living. Some mothers described their daughters as having a freer, more independent and more open relationship with their husbands. Daughters, on the other hand, seemed to be conflicted between two ideals: traditional mother and modern woman (Fischer, 1991).

The cohort difference between aging parents and adult children is also evident in their respective accounts of family problems and conflict. The older generation grew up in a relatively closed society and learnt to keep their feelings and thoughts to themselves, whereas younger generation grew up in a period of open communication and personal independence. Consequently, the older generation seemed more reluctant to share their family problems with others or to engage in overt conflict to resolve family issues when compared to the younger generation (Fingerman, 2001). In support of this view, researchers have found that, both adult children and mothers were equally likely to report the child's past serious physical or psychological illnesses. However, the adult children were more likely than their mothers to reveal problems voluntarily (Suitor & Pillemer, 2000).

## **2.3 Theoretical Views Related to Parent-Child Relations in Later Life**

### **2.3.1 Intergenerational Solidarity Model**

Intergenerational relations in late years are characterized by high levels of affection and intimacy as well as ambivalence and conflict. Bengtson and his colleagues' 25-year-long research revealed that there were high levels of affectual solidarity between generations (Bengtson, 2001).

#### **2.3.1.1 Bengtson's Model**

The foundation of the intergenerational solidarity model was rooted in the Longitudinal Study of Generations conducted by Bengtson and his colleagues which began approximately 30 years ago. The concept of intergenerational solidarity was developed to investigate intergenerational relationships. Solidarity is generally defined as feelings of mutual affection within family relationships and how these feelings are expressed in behavioural terms. Theoretically the concept describes the behavioral and emotional manifestations of interaction, cohesion, sentiment and support between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren over the course of long-term relationships. Bengtson and his colleagues defined six conceptual dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (p.10):

1. Affectual solidarity – love and closeness
2. Associational solidarity – type and frequency of contact
3. Consensual solidarity – agreement in opinions and values
4. Functional solidarity – assistance and support
5. Normative solidarity – filial and parental obligations
6. Structural solidarity – geographical proximity.

Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry and Silverstein (2002) strongly emphasized the multidimensional nature of the solidarity model. The model was criticized by Lüscher and Pillemer (1998) for focusing on only the positive aspects of family relationships. Bengtson claimed that this criticism was a misconstrual of their model which was possibly due to the positive, idealized harmony connotations of the term solidarity itself. He explained that each dimension of solidarity is bipolar in the sense that, affectual solidarity represents intimacy versus distance;

consensual solidarity represents agreement versus dissent; functional solidarity represents dependence versus autonomy; associational solidarity stands for integration versus isolation; structural solidarity corresponds to opportunities versus barriers; and finally normative solidarity embodies familism versus individualism. Moreover, the multidimensionality of the intergenerational solidarity model allows for unlimited configurations of aspects of family relationships. For example, excessive solidarity on one dimension, say social support may cause dependency which in turn will result in lower solidarity on another dimension, such as higher conflict (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry, Silverstein, 2002). Research by Silverstein et al. has shown that despite the many positive effects of affection, extreme levels of it can be suffocating and hinder healthy development (Silverstein et. al, 1996).

The solidarity model acknowledges that conflict is a significant dimension in intergenerational relationships (Bengtson, 2001). The researchers of this tradition recognized that families can be characterized by both solidarity and conflict. Bengtson and his colleagues identified solidarity and conflict as two orthogonal dimensions and they proposed a typology of family bonds: High solidarity and high conflict (enmeshed), high solidarity and low conflict (placid), low solidarity and low conflict (disengaged) and low solidarity and high conflict (conflicted) (Bengtson, Rosenthal, & Burton, 1995 in Dykstra & Komter, n.a.). Accordingly, they assess conflict together with the six dimensions of solidarity and conceptualize conflict as orthogonal to affection, thus conflict is not the same as the absence of affection (Bengtson, Giarrusso, Mabry and Silverstein, 2002).

Given the multidimensionality of the solidarity concept, research revealed that in intergenerational relationships, affective closeness or affectual solidarity are predicted by various variables such as; parental affection, family cohesiveness (Rossi & Rossi, 1990), contact satisfaction, the amount of discretionary contact, past conflict and control issues (Blieszner, Usita, & Mancini, 1996). Moreover, the involuntary illness of adult children was found to be a diagnostic factor in mother-adult child closeness. Researchers showed that mothers were likely to be closest to the children who experienced physical or psychological illness which



was beyond the child's control and consequently needed the mother more than the siblings (Suitor & Pillemer, 2000).

### **2.3.1.2 European Sociologists' Perspective of Solidarity**

European sociologists like Misztal, Van Oorschot and Komter developed a different approach to solidarity that was based on external factors like social norms and rules. Similar to Bengtson, they conceptualized solidarity as a multidimensional concept and they listed the four aspects of solidarity as motives, types and components of solidarity and tension:

1. Motives: People have four main motives to express solidarity: (i) a sense of mutual affection and identification, (ii) moral beliefs based on cultural norms and values, (iii) consideration of long-term interest and (iv) accepted authority. The first two motives are based on shared identity, and the last two are based on shared interest. According to this perspective, family relationships are mostly based on a combination of these four motives. Supporting the motive of a sense of mutual affection and identification, research on female intergenerational relationships showed that mothers tend to name their daughters when asked whom they got along with best or to whom they could speak when they are upset (Fingerman, 2001), meanwhile adult daughters reported their desire to be close to their mothers. Again, in support to the motive of moral beliefs based on cultural norms and values, in another study of aging mother-adult daughter ties of Italian-American families, the researchers found that both mothers and daughters desired to be close to each other. The researchers argued that this desire to be close was promoted by women's kin-keeping functions within families, and by the shared status of mother by both generations as daughters are socialized to a parental role by their mothers (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981).

2. Types of Solidarity: Three main types of solidarity were distinguished as instrumental solidarity, social solidarity and emotional solidarity. Instrumental is related to how relationship parties express their economic and instrumental bonds. When applied to parent-child relationships, it refers to arrangements relating to their respective responsibilities, financial matters like pocket money, savings, supplementing the family income and opinions regarding the participation and

role of children in decisions affecting the family. Social solidarity which is the second type of solidarity includes the expression of social bonds such as shared activities, common friends and acquaintances and attitudes toward privacy of parents and children. And finally, emotional solidarity refers to emotional reciprocity. The degree of the expression of emotions and the degree of reliance on one another for help as well as the mere affection or dislike of family members toward each other are covered under this concept of emotional solidarity.

3. Components of Solidarity: The solidarity concept has two main components: behavioral and experiential which corresponds to the difference between the degree, the nature and the expression of the solidarity. The researchers claimed that how people in a relationship express their solidarity does not necessarily say anything about the degree of solidarity. Accordingly, the behavioral component refers to the actions of the people in the relationship that gives clues about the nature and degree of solidarity. The experiential component refers to the degree to which people feel a sense of solidarity towards others in the relationship, the perceived importance of the relationship and people's attitudes and expectations regarding the relationship.

4. Tension / Conflict: Intergenerational tension is defined in terms of asymmetrical solidarity within family relationships and it refers to the degree of stability and reciprocity in regard to the contributions and expectations of family members. For instance, some family members might show more solidarity than others. Solidarity can even be entirely one-sided if one of the parties does all the taking and the other does all the giving. Accordingly, tensions can rise between family members regarding the provision of support to parents or because of the resentment on the part of parents who expect much from their children but do not feel they get enough (Dykstra, Liefbroer, Kalmijn, Knijn, Komter, & Mulder, 2000).

### **2.3.1.3 Intergenerational Ambivalence Model and Conflict**

The concept of intergenerational ambivalence was first proposed by Lüscher and Pillemer in 1998 and then it was expanded by Connidis and McMullin (Bengston, Giarruso, Mabry, Silverstein, 2002). Connidis & McMullin defined

ambivalence as “simultaneously held opposing feelings or emotions that are due in part to countervailing expectations about how individuals should act.” (Connidis & McMullin, 2002, pp.558). Later, he revised the definition of ambivalence as “polarized, coinstantaneously experienced emotions, thoughts, social relations and structures that are considered relevant for the constitution of individual or collective identities” (Lüscher, 2002, pp.587).

Indeed, ambivalence as the experience of conflicting feelings such as closeness and distance, the push and pull between intimacy and setting boundaries in close social relationships is not a novel concept.

Lüscher and Pillemer distinguished between two dimensions of ambivalence in relationships between parents and adult children that can not be reconciled with one another:

- (i) contradictions at the level of social structure such as statuses, roles and norms and
- (ii) contradictions at the subjective individual level in terms of cognitions, emotions and motivations.

They have identified four aspects of parent-child relations in later life that are more likely to create ambivalence:

(i) *ambivalence between dependence and autonomy*: in adulthood, the desire of parents and children for help, support and nurture on one hand, and the pressures for freedom from parent-child relationships on the other hand, are likely to generate ambivalence (Pillemer & Lüscher, 1998). Given the intimacy and closeness of intergenerational female relationships, the central issue in a mother-daughter relationship is the effort to be part of one another’s lives. (Fingerman, 2001). The interplay between respective *desires to be independent and intimate* seems to be a source of ambivalence. In the study of Italian-American families, daughters reported a struggle between their desire to be daughters but also to be independent wives and mothers (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981). Likewise, it is not only daughters who desire to maintain their independence; some mothers felt their daughters were being intrusive by offering unsolicited or unneeded care. The daughters, on the other hand, sometimes resented having to help mothers in situations where they felt demanded upon and reported feeling torn by the

competing pull of other social ties and work. Many daughters also noted that they found it difficult to deal with their mothers' problems, or felt drained by their mothers' desire to unburden their anxieties. Therefore, even when the mothers were still healthy, many daughters experienced demands they could not meet. Thus, care-giving appears to be fraught with ambivalence (Fingerman, 2001). Another ambivalence issue that emerged in aging mothers and adult daughters relationships is that some middle-aged daughters feel conflicted over what they refer to as "*role reversal*": although mother and daughter roles do not actually reverse, middle aged daughters feel both pride and distress over shifts in their responsibilities in the relationship (Fingerman, 1997b)

(ii) *ambivalence resulting from conflicting norms regarding intergenerational relations*: In most societies, there exist strong norms such as filial responsibility, commitment to assist members of another generation or obligations to kin. Especially in a care-giving situation, the care giver experiences conflicting feelings between biologically based factors like parent-child attachment; socialization factors, and conflicting social norms like solidarity versus reciprocity.

(iii) *ambivalence resulting from solidarity*: the literature on intergenerational relationships indicates that close proximity, extensive mutual dependency for help and very frequent interaction are accompanied by deep dissatisfaction about the relationship, struggles for independence and serious conflict. Especially the research on elder abuse have shown that mutual dependency of the adult children and the parent was the core dynamic in the abuse situation; and the victims were heavily supporting children who maltreated them. The children, on the other hand, often were individuals who had difficulty separating from their parents and establishing an independent life. Most of these abused parents felt trapped by a sense of family obligation to help their children, as well as by feelings of love and affection despite the abuse (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998).

(iv) *ambivalence resulting from life course transitions and adult children's failure to attain normative adult statuses*: In one study, the researchers examined the sources of ambivalence regarding the quality of mothers' relationship with

their adult children with 189 mothers of age 60 and over. They found that life course transitions heightened the ambivalence in intergenerational relationships such that changes in both the parents' and children's life status lowered the levels of stability and heighten the levels of ambivalence (Elder & Johnson, 2002; Pillemer & Suitor, 2002). Moreover, they also showed that mothers were less ambivalent towards adult children who had achieved normative adult statuses, like completing a college degree or getting married, and they were more ambivalent towards adult children to whom they still provided financial support. Even though financial dependency predicted ambivalence, neither the children's problems nor an inequitable exchange predicted ambivalence (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002).

In addition to these four sources of ambivalence, research on intergenerational relationships identified two more factors that may cause the experience of ambivalence in families in later years:

(i) *changing norms of the society over time*: Hareven & Adams conducted a qualitative research with working class parents and their adult children born between 1910-1919 and 1920-1929 in the USA. The parents in this study grew up in a period of economic depression with strong reliance and dependency on kin for survival and their children benefited from economic recovery with upward mobility and individualism. Both cohorts were transitional generations characterized by strong family values, a sense of obligation to kin that dictated general assistance and the emergence of individualistic values. The participants from both cohorts reported an experience of ambivalence; the older cohort resenting their greater kinship obligations and the younger cohort feeling guilty about individualism. (Hareven & Adams, 1996).

(ii) *different developmental needs* of aging parents and their adult children: At all stages of life, parents and offspring are at different positions in their adult development path. When the developmental needs of a parent or offspring conflict with the needs of the other, tensions are likely to arise. This situation is labeled as "developmental schism" by Fingerman (2001) who explained the term as:

The developmental schism reflects more general principles about interpersonal ties. When individuals come together in an intimate relationship, they each bring their own goals and beliefs

to that relationship. When these goals are not in synchrony, conflicts erupt (p. 79).

For example, middle aged daughters who become more aware of their mortality might project these concerns onto their aging mothers and tensions may erupt if the daughters' concerns cause mothers to feel belittled (Fingerman, 2001). Another example of tensions caused by developmental schism comes from a naturalistic study of mother-daughter dyads of four Italian-American families. The researchers found that adult daughters desired the support and care of their mothers. Mothers, who were coming into terms with their own aging, on the other hand, wanted to try out new roles as workers or volunteers. The mothers' newfound independence conflicted with their daughters' desire to be supported by them. These mothers simultaneously wished to help their daughters, to feel solidarity with them, but they also resented the invasion to their autonomy. They felt like they were caught between their daughters' need for closeness and support and their own desires for self-fulfillment and independence (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981).

Very recently in 2002, Connidis and McMullin criticized Pillemer and Lüscher's ambivalence theory by indicating that their concept was restricted to competing normative systems and that underplayed the human agency. They proposed a sociological conception of ambivalence that emphasizes the individual as a social actor who can not be reduced to psychological states and feelings. In their reconceptualization of ambivalence, ambivalence referred to emotions and cognitions that are caused by contradictions that are embedded in sets of social relations like class, age, race, ethnicity and gender. Moreover, they claimed that the contradictions of socially structured relations are reproduced in interpersonal relationships (i.e. family relations). In an effort to include human agency, they noted that individuals seek to exercise agency as social actors in the negotiation of relationships and they experience ambivalence when social structural arrangements constrain their attempts to do so. Taking it one step further, they argued that the ambivalence created by the collision of social structure and individual agency is the basis of social action, which may reproduce the social order or change the existing structural arrangements (Connidis & McMullin,

2002). For example, working mothers are faced with demands of the career women role and the mother role. When they attempt to renegotiate the demands of these roles, for instance by asking the spouse to take more responsibility for the child or house in order to resolve the ambivalence, they set the stage for a change in traditional gender roles in the family.

Another example of how the experience of ambivalence by one generation might change the destiny of next generation, or how the norm of “family members should be cared by the family rather than institutions” changes, comes from a study of adult daughters who coreside with and provide care to their elder mothers. Three fourths of the daughters who provide care to their mothers in their own house reported that they wished there were someone present with whom they could share responsibility, and this caused friction in almost a third of the families. In the same study, in almost half of the marriages, the daughters reported that their husbands were hostile to the mother in the form of mother-in-law avoidance, loss of temper or direct expression of jealousy. In these conditions, almost half of the daughters felt under an obligation to their husbands, and almost as many felt guiltily torn between their mothers and their husbands and sometimes their children. Only half of these daughters felt that their children would care for them in turn, expressing ambivalence over whether their children should (Marsden & Abrams, 1987). In another study, children who had cared for their parents in their own house reported that they would not rely on their own children for a similar assistance (Hareven & Adams, 1996).

Connidis and McMullin emphasized the importance of social roles within the framework of sociological ambivalence and stated that roles change gradually and there is a variation among them, in the extent to which individuals can violate expectations without sanction. Moreover, in daily life, ambivalence is resolved by redefining social roles instead of choosing between roles. Emphasizing ambivalence necessitates an examination of how the taken-for-granted roles are negotiated.

Additionally, Connidis and McMullin made a distinction between ambivalence and opportunity and claimed that those in a position of privilege may experience considerable amounts of ambivalence, especially when they act to

resist structural constraints. They identified six strategies that can be employed in resolving ambivalence: namely avoiding, ignoring, using humor, acceptance, rationalization and confrontation which may result in solidarity, conflict or a continuing ambivalence. However, regardless of the strategy employed, the result is temporary, since changing conditions and circumstances will call for renegotiation. As a final point, they noted that current family arrangements benefit some family members more than others and that family is an institution through which current inequalities are fortified. Based on their position in the structured social relationship, those who benefit from the current family arrangements resist the change and those who experience greater ambivalence are more likely to change the existing conditions (Connidis & McMullin, 2002).

After the criticism of Connidis and McMullin (2002), which proved to be insightful to the ambivalence approach, Lüscher proposed a four field scheme of patterns of ambivalence resolution with a two-dimensional model of social relations. They identified two sources of ambivalence that includes human agency as well as social structure and operationalized the concept of ambivalence by these two dimensions:

- (i) Personal (i.e. interpersonal / relational) dimension indicating an opposition between similarity and difference (or convergence and divergence) which refers to similarities and differences of personal traits and life styles between parents and their adult children.
- (ii) Institutional dimension indicating an opposition between an insistence on the past social form or structure of relationship and a desire for a dramatic change (or reproduction and innovation).

Their proposed model assumed that on macro level of society, the patterns for the structure of the intergenerational relations which are culturally acquired could be distinguished and described by following terms: solidarity, emancipation, atomization and captivation.

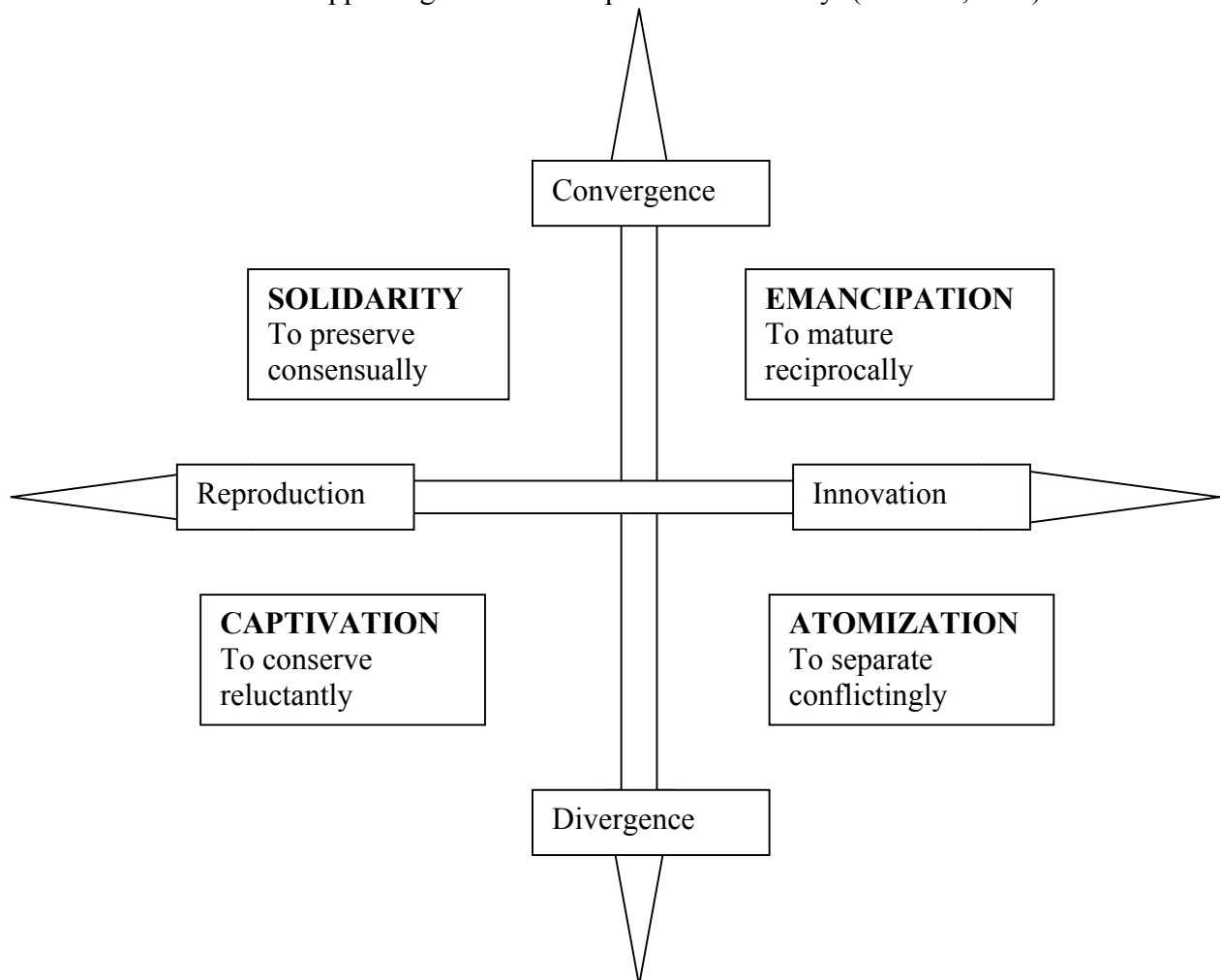
Solidarity refers to a reliable, willing, and non-repayable support between generations. The family members are committed to traditions and they get along with each other. In solidarity, intergenerational ambivalences are dealt secretly.



Emancipation refers to an intergenerational relationship where individual development of family members is encouraged and members' mutual interdependence is acknowledged. Conflicts are discussed openly and temporary practical solutions are negotiated.

Atomization refers to a situation which a family's cohesiveness is not ensured by relational history or institutional ties. Apart from the fact that, family members are parent and children, there is no commonality among them.

Captivation refers to the situation when societal norms and obligations are used by members of the family to control familial forces and to repress other family members. Individuals (mostly the parental generation) use the power generated by asserting the general societal or institutional (i.e. family) rules rather than appealing to a sense of personal solidarity. (Lüscher,2002).



**Figure 2.3.1.3.1.** Patterns of dealing with intergenerational ambivalence, (Lüscher, 2002, p.590)

### **2.3.2 Conflict**

One in every five aging parent-adult children relationships was characterized by either significant conflict or detachment (Bengtson, 2001). Part of the Longitudinal Study of Generations survey data, which used qualitative research identified six themes that create conflict between older parents and their adult children: (1) communication and interaction style (2) habits and life style choices (3) child-rearing practices and values (4) politics, religion and ideology (5) work habits and orientations (6) household standards and maintenance. The parents in this study reported more conflicts over habits and life style choices, while adult children reported more conflicts over communication and interaction style (Clarke, Preston, Raksin & Bengston, 1999).

In intergenerational female relationships, mothers reported the highest level of conflict with daughters who they are in close contact with and they have frequent interaction (Pillemer & Sutor, 2002). Sources of tension between aging mothers and their adult daughters were identified as intrusiveness, exclusion, inappropriate care of self or other, or as referring to general habits or traits (Fingerman, 1996). From the aging mothers' perspective, their daughters' lack of availability when needed was a source of tension, as was the daughters' efforts to protect them, causing the mothers to feel belittled and betrayed when their daughters do not allow them to act as mothers. Another source was the daughters' independent decision making, because mothers still want to be a mother to her daughter, to protect her and to have her daughter follow her advice (Fingerman, 2001). Inequitable relationships (Pillemer & Sutor, 2002) were identified as sources of stress and conflict. Daughters, on the other hand, felt frustrated when their mothers could not give up the maternal role (Fingerman, 2001) and when mothers attempted to dominate the daughters' lives, especially in the area of child-rearing (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981).

### **2.3.3 Intergenerational Communication and Conflict**

#### **Management**

The type of issues that mothers and daughters discussed are common across many mother/daughter pairs: daughter's children, husband/partner, siblings and father are central in the mother/daughter conversations (Fingerman, 2001).

In communicating negative emotions, mothers and daughters fail to explicitly communicate feelings and they seem to assume that the other person knows and understands how they feel, regardless of whether or not they have actively expressed those feelings (Fingerman, 2001). In this perspective, the communication between aging mothers and their adult daughters is very similar to the indirect communication pattern of collectivistic societies. Collectivists are expected to read each others mind; the message is not said directly but rather indirectly supported with hints, the use of eyes, or tone of the voice or gestures (Triandis, 1995).

Adult children who have strained relationships with their parents are more likely to avoid certain topics than the ones who have close, loving relationships. It was suggested that harmonious relations are maintained by carefully avoiding discussions on topics the parent and child know would cause discord between them. In other words, topic avoidance served the function of protecting the relationship from conflict (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

The desire to respect each other's privacy and to protect each other from criticism, anger or pain was widely expressed by many mothers and daughters. Mothers may try to protect their daughters from their pain or the intensity of their own needs. Similarly, daughters may also feel the need to keep their sometimes painful experiences to themselves in order to protect both their mothers and themselves. Both parties try to maintain the fragile balance between truth-telling and the protection of oneself, the other and the relationship (Surrey, 1993). In this respect, it is again similar to the communication of collectivists, who show concern for the feelings of others and avoid threatening the "face" of others at the cost of lying, which can sometimes be the correct and acceptable behaviour. (Triandis, 1995).

Several studies have found that older parents and adult children report little conflict when they are asked to provide global ratings of their relationship (Umberson, 1992). These low ratings may reflect a distinction between the experience of problems and the expression of problems. It is possible for a mother or daughter to be upset with the other party without telling her about the problem, without confronting the negative situation or even without mutually recognizing that a problem exists (Fingerman, 2001).

In a conflicting situation, both mothers and daughters use constructive conflict resolution approaches more than destructive or avoidant. While mothers reported that they behave more constructively than their daughters recognize, daughters reported that they engage in destructive and avoidant behaviours more than their mothers realize. Moreover, mothers perceived their daughters' feelings more positively than the actual feelings of their daughters were after a conflicting incident, meaning that in conflicting situations, aging mothers underestimate their daughters' negative behaviour and feelings (Fingerman, 1995). Likewise, in another study with elder women, these women reported that they use avoidance, covert retaliation or no acknowledgement as a means to deal with conflict. They did everything possible to avoid conflict rather than risking the normal flow of the personal relationships. Moreover, they remembered conflicting interactions in detail and vividly and described the associated emotions intensely, which were estrangement and isolation (Minick & Gueldner, 1995).

Similarly, in conflicting situations, collectivists' priority is the preservation of the relationship and relational harmony rather than the outcome. Lifelong relational goals, a sense of indebtedness, and obligatory reciprocity are considered in intimate conflict negotiations. Moreover, the collectivist views the restraint of emotional expressions as self-disciplined and mature. Consequently, obliging, avoiding, integrating and compromising as a conflict resolution style is preferred over more active and confrontational styles (Triandis, 1995). From these findings, it may not be completely wrong to conclude that the aging mother and adult daughter relationship is characterized by collectivism.

### 2.3.4 Typologies of Family / Relationships in Later Life

There exists various typologies of families and relationships in later life in the literature.

**Table 2.3.4.1.** De Vaus' typology of families (1994)

	Parent-centered	Child-centered	Remote	Attached
Percentage	25%	15%	28%	31%
Parents' expectations	Conformity to their values, attentiveness,	To be involved extremely in children's lives	Minimal, lack of interest in children's lives	Accept children as independent and competent.
Children	Try to win approval, felt rejected, individuality hindered	Struggle to win independence and control of their lives	Have autonomy, no struggle to win parental approval	No need for parental approval, no struggle for individuality
Children ask for help	Reluctant to ask because of fear of criticism	Children uncomfortable about receiving and not being able to reciprocate	Rarely	Emotional closeness, comfortable in asking for help
Parents' help offer	Create sense of obligation in children	Very generously offered in every aspect.	Rarely, no interest in grandchildren.	Easy and mutual

De Vaus' (1994) typology of families was based on the theme "letting go": He found that, there were parents and children who had not been able to let go of one another and continued to depend on each other for a sense of worth and identity, or there were families in which there had been too much letting go, to the extent where the relationship was made empty and unfulfilling. According to the degree of dependency in the family he named four types of parents: parent-centered, child-centered, remote and attached. 25% of his sample constituted parent-centered parents. Parents in this group expected that their children conform to their values and attend their needs and excessive demands. Children of these parents tried to win their parents' approval, yet felt rejected and hence their individuality was hindered. These children were reluctant to ask for help because they feared criticism and their parents' offer of help created a sense of obligation in these children. He found that 15% of his sample were child-centered parents who wanted to be involved in their children's lives while their children struggled to win independence and control of their lives. The children of these parents were

uncomfortable about receiving help and they felt uncomfortable for not being able to reciprocate the generously offered help in every aspect. Remote parents made up 28% of his sample. These parents had minimal expectations of their children and they were not interested in their children's lives. Children of these parents were highly autonomous and they didn't struggle to win their parents' approval. Intergenerational exchange of help was rare and these parents didn't show much interest in their grandchildren. Attached parents represented 31% of his sample. They accepted their children as independent and competent. Those children didn't feel the need for parental approval nor did they struggle for their individuality. These parents and children were emotionally close, intergenerational help was exchanged and requested by both parties easily and mutually (De Vaus, 1994).

**Table 2.3.4.2.** Donorfio & Sheehan typology of caregiving relations (2001)

Category	Undifferentiated	Dispassionate	Mutually balanced
Daughter's sense of responsibility	No limitations	Some limitations	Many limitations
Daughter's primary allegiance	Mother	Equal	Marriage and family
Daughter's caregiving style	All-encompassing, mother's "life-line", role reversed	Task oriented	Emotionally based
Caregiving options	None	When situation arises will decide	Nursing home
Relational equality	Not equal, daughter has control	Situational	Equal
Communication style	One-sided	Superficial	In-depth
Mutuality of relationship	Joint-activities Well-being	Task oriented Being included	Joint activities enjoyment

Donorfio & Sheehan (2001) constructed another typology of mother-daughter relationships based on daughters' caregiving relations. The main theme of their distinctions was filial expectations and responsibilities. They identified three approaches to caregiving: undifferentiated, dispassionate and mutually balanced. In undifferentiated caregiving, a daughter's sense of responsibility had no limitations and her primary allegiance was to her mother. In this caregiving style, the mother-daughter roles were reversed and daughters perceived themselves to be their mothers' "life line". No other caregiving options, like external aid or nursing homes, were considered. These daughters had absolute

control of the relationship and they led the one-sided communication. Daughters who were classified in dispassionate caregiving expressed that their sense of responsibility to their mothers was limited and their children and husbands were as important as their mothers. These daughters' caregiving style was task-oriented and the logistics of caregiving was more important than emotional involvement. Other caregiving options were not rejected but they were not planned or discussed. The most predominant feature of this type of caregiving was the superficiality of communication: "the physical presence of the other seemed more important than the level of communication."(p.44).The third approach to caregiving was named mutually balanced and the caregiving style was more emotion-based than task-oriented. Daughters felt that their marriage and family had priority over their mothers and their sense of responsibility was rather limited. Mothers and daughters in this group communicated openly and extensively about their needs and desires.

**Table 2.3.4.3.** Silverstein & Bengtson's typology of intergenerational family relationships (1997)

Solidarity Dimensions	Tight-Knit	Detached	Sociable	Intimate-but-Distant	Obligatory
Affectual	High	Low	High	High	Low
Associational	High	Low	High	Moderate	High
Consensual	High	Low	High	High	Low
Functional	High	Low	Low	Low	Moderate
Normative	High	Low	Average	Average	High
Structural	High	Low	High	Low	High

Another typology of intergenerational family relationships came from Silverstein & Bengtson (1997) from a study of nationally representative sample. The distinction was made based on dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model and they identified five types of intergenerational family relationships and named them tight-knit, detached, sociable, intimate-but-distant and obligatory. Tight-knit relationships were characterized by high emotional closeness, frequent interaction, high structural solidarity and high levels of reciprocal help and support. Detached relationships, on the other hand, were low on affectual, consensual, and structural solidarity, and help was rarely exchanged in these

families. Sociable relationships were found to be high on affectual, consensual and structural solidarity; however the level of reciprocal intergenerational support was low. In intimate-but-distant relationships, the family members were emotionally close to each other and they were generally in consensus. Even though these families lived close to each other, yet help was rarely given or received. In obligatory relationships, although family members were low on affectual and consensual solidarity, they lived in close proximity and interacted frequently. The level of intergenerational help exchange was average in this group (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997).

As discussed above in “Bengtson’s model of intergenerational solidarity”; Bengtson, Rosenthal, & Burton (1995) also proposed a typology of family bonds based on solidarity and conflict as two orthogonal dimensions and named them enmeshed, placid, disengaged and conflicted.

**Table 2.3.4.4.** Lüscher’s model of intergenerational ambivalence (2002)

	Solidarity	Emancipation	Captivation	Atomization
Reproduction (Tradition)	High	High	Low	Low
Innovation (Modernization)	Low	Low	High	High
Convergence (Similarity)	High	Low	High	Low
Divergence (Difference)	Low	High	Low	High
Ambivalence resolving method	Accepting	Accepting and discussing	Avoidance	Ignoring
Dependence Individuation	High dependence Low individuation Mutual dependence	High dependence High individuation Mutual interdependence	Low dependence Low individuation	Low dependence High individuation Mutual independence

Finally “Lüscher’s model of intergenerational ambivalence”, which was described in detail above, appears as a typology of intergenerational relationships based on patterns of dealing with intergenerational ambivalence. His model differed from the others with respect to its focus on the macro level of society, since he placed family relationships in quadrants formed by two orthogonal



dimensions of Tradition/Modernization (institutional level) and Similarity/Difference (relational level) (Lüscher, 2002).

## **2.4 Two Views of Aging Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships**

Mothers and daughters are at different stages of their lives and hence, they have different perceptions of time.

The socioemotional selectivity theory, which was first proposed by Carstensen in 1991, is based on the idea that the perception of time as limited or ample has important implications for emotion, cognition and motivation. If the time is perceived as limited and endings are salient, people focus on the present rather than past or future, and they emphasize spontaneity and subjectivity (emotion-related goals) rather than analysis and planning (knowledge-related goals).

Carstensen and her colleagues define SST as a “life-span theory of social motivation in which the perception of time plays a central role in the prioritization of social goals and subsequent preferences of social partners.” SST is based on three main principles. First, social interaction is crucial for the survival of human beings since they have an innate tendency toward social interest and social attachment. Second, human beings are naturally agentic and they pursue their goals by behaving accordingly. Third, people have several and opposing goals simultaneously and their actions are determined by the selection of these goals. The perception of time as limited or ample influences the selection of the goals that will be pursued.

The theory classifies the social goals into two broad categories according to their functions: knowledge related goals and emotion related goals. Knowledge related goals refer to behavior that is directed by the desire or need to learn about the social and physical world. Emotion related goals, on the other hand, refer to the regulation of emotions via contact with others, the desire to find meaning in life, to gain emotional intimacy and to establish social embeddedness. When there is a competition between knowledge related goals and emotion related goals, people weigh their importance and they take action accordingly. The core principle of SST posits that the assessment and perception of time plays a critical role in prioritizing the goals and subsequent actions taken. Perception of ample

time or an unlimited future is associated with knowledge related goals and the aim is to be prepared for the future. Conversely, a perception of limited time gears people towards a present oriented state and causes people to prioritize emotion related goals, such as deriving an emotional meaning and experiencing emotional states. When emotion regulation is the aim, people choose their social partners very carefully. Familiar social partners are preferred since emotions associated with these partners are generally predictable and positive.

An ideal base to explore the differences in time perspective is human aging, since it is naturally chronicled by the passage of time. Empirical research suggests that older people describe their futures as limited and recognize that they do not have all the time in the world. It has been shown that older people are mostly present oriented and they are less concerned than young with the far distant future but rather they focus on the here and now. Moreover, the researches have suggested that older people interact with fewer people who are well-known to them. Their inner social circle is composed of family members and old friends. SST proposes that emotional experience is directly influenced by the perception of time as limited. The experience of emotion is changed once the person appreciates the tenderness of life, recognizes that the passage of time can not be stopped and becomes highly aware of his/her immediate environment.

In the realm of emotion regulation, SST predicts that the perception of time as limited softens the experience of negative emotions and increases the gratitude of the positive aspects of life. Social exchanges become more positive with the sense that “this may be the last time”. Also, it is predicted that the quality of emotional experience changes as people perceive endings as near (Carstensen & Lang, 1994). Hence, it appears that increasing the experience of close relationships and positive emotions is crucial for aging people.

In accordance with this theory, the researchers of intergenerational relationships in later years found that aging parents and adult children in general, aging mothers and their adult daughters in particular, have different perceptions regarding the state and quality of their relationship.

In regard to intimacy, parents perceive their relationship with their adult children to be more intimate than their adult children (Rossi & Rossi, 1990); on

the other hand, adult children greatly overestimate how likely their mothers were to report them as the closest child (Suitor & Pillemer, 2000).

Second, research on intergenerational relationships showed that mothers were consistently more positive about their relationships with their daughters than were their daughters regardless of their age (Fingerman, 2000; Fingerman, 2001; Levitt & Guacci, 1992). In regard to this consistent finding, Fingerman proposed that mothers are more invested in their tie than are daughters, since older mothers are likely to have fewer remaining social contacts than younger women (Fingerman, 2001). This is also in accordance with the “intergenerational stake” hypothesis proposed 30 years ago by Bengtson and Kuypers. This hypothesis posits that the older generation has a greater psychosocial investment in their mutual relationship than does the younger generation, and this difference in investment influences their perceptions and evaluations of their shared intergenerational relations (Bengtson, 2001).

Aging mothers continue to influence the way their daughters feel about themselves. While daughters desire to please their mothers, they felt hurt by their mother’s criticism and derived pleasure from their mother’s praise, even in midlife (Fingerman, 2001). Since older women have few competing ties and have more time available to devote to their daughters, they value their relationship with their daughter more and they are also more susceptible to loneliness, and thus, might be more motivated to seek out their daughters for company. Adult daughters, on the other hand, given the competing demands they are faced with, might perceive their mothers as a source of irritation such that daughters sometimes find the persistence of their mothers’ calls demanding and fatiguing. Mothers experience aggravation when their daughters are unavailable and feel hurt and disappointed (Fingerman, 2001).

Parents and adult children generally agree on the amount of contact between themselves and on the amount of help given by parents to adult children. However, there seems to be a difference between parents’ and adult children’s perception about the amount of help given by adult children to their parents. There is a general tendency for the help provider to perceive the help they give as more than the receivers acknowledge as receiving (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). The children

reported giving more support to their parents than the parents reported receiving from their adult children (Ikkink, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 1999). Only mothers report giving less help to their adult children than children say they receive from their parents. Moreover, the types of help exchanged between generations also differ. The help parents give to their children tends to be more instrumental (advice, job leads, money), while the help children give to their parents tends to be personal, hands-on caregiving (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

## **2.5 Factors Affecting Aging Mother-Adult Daughter Relationships**

### **2.5.1 Parent's Age and Health**

It has been shown that as people age they become more collectivistic (Triandis, 1995). Research has revealed that parent-child relationship quality is positively related to age (Umberson, 1989) and the child-parent relationship tends to improve as both generations age (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998).

Daughters with older parents were less likely to experience any change, for better or worse, in their relationships than daughters with younger parents (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998). Continuity in terms of the emotional qualities of the mother-daughter bond is reported by many daughters (Fingerman, 1997).

In old age, women are likely to consider their children to be the most important person in their life (Fingerman, 2001), and consequently aging parents' perception of their compatibility with their adult daughters is greater than that of adult daughters' perception of this (Fingerman, 1995).

Some mothers noted that they are less patient and less able to deal with the annoyances attached to aging. Daughters, on the other hand, view aging as gradually taking from their mothers' strength and stamina. (Sheehan & Donorfio, 1999). Consequently, caregiving becomes a central function of the relationship, and caring for the elder mother in old age involves types of assistance that would not have fallen under the daughter's province in the past (Fingerman, 2001). Caregiving for an elder mother causes daughters to think about their own aging. From a daughter's perspective, aging and the passage of time close the generation gap (Sheehan & Donorfio, 1999).

The impact of parental aging on intergenerational relations becomes more apparent when the parent's health deteriorates because parental health has a strong and positive effect on the adult children-parent relationship (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998). As a parent's health suffers with old age, daughters experience a change in their mothers' instrumental needs and their weaknesses (Fingerman, 1997). The research has shown that the poor health condition of a parent changes the nature of interaction and reciprocity of assistance between an adult child and a parent (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002). Moreover, it decreases closeness and increases the interpersonal stress between adult children and their aging mothers (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). However, as the parents' need for assistance increase with poor health, these less healthy parents receive more contact (Spitze & Logan, 1990) and support (Ikkink, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 1999) from their children than young and healthy parents.

### **2.5.2 Daughter's Age & Filial Maturity**

As children grow into adulthood, they take on a new role and experience a different love when they start to see their parents as an individual with their own rights, needs, limitations and a life history. Adult children's comprehension increases as they understand the historical social context that shaped the attitudes and behavior of their parents beyond personal control. Accordingly, they can excuse or rationalize the parent's attitudes of which they dislike (Nydegger, 1991) or they come to see the unique strengths that their parents possess (Fingerman, 2001). Moreover, the adult children learn that their parents can not always act as a source of support in times of distress, but parents themselves may need their children's support. Life course transitions also contribute to increased understanding in adult children. As an adult child gains more adult experience in common with the parent (i.e. getting married, becoming a mother), his/her comprehension expands (Nydegger, 1991). They, especially daughters, come into closer contact with their mothers, and their bond with their mothers deepens (Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981). Along with maturation an adult child becomes more autonomous, and consequently they become more able to understand the affective desires of their parents. Parents, on the other hand, benefit from

emotionally meaningful experiences with their children (Lang & Schütze, 2000). Furthermore, an autonomous child manages to establish a balance between the parents' right to know and a child's right to privacy (Nydegger, 1991).

Filial maturity becomes an important and useful concept in explaining high functional solidarity and low affectual solidarity in intergenerational relationships. Nydegger noted that a child's understanding of his/her parent's needs and meeting these needs might emerge from a sense of obligation rather than affection. Understanding may bring forgiveness, but may not necessarily mean love. (Nydegger, 1991).

Finally, research showed that young adult children have higher levels of felt obligation to their parents than did middle-aged children to their parents (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg & Jewell, 1998), and older adult children have less contact with their parents than younger adult children (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

### **2.5.3 Change In Life Cycle – from Interdependence to Dependence**

Generally, intergenerational support changes direction from parent to child, to child to parent in later years (Hareven, 1982). However, parents continue to help their children throughout their life, the pattern only reversing when the parents are over 70 years of age (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

As parents age and their health declines, their needs and circumstances change, and in this context, some daughters report an experience of "*role reversal*" (Sheehan & Donorfio, 1999; Marsden & Abrams, 1987; Fingerman, 1997b). In a study of 38 married daughters caring for their coresiding elder mothers, 80% of daughters reported that they still feel like their mothers' daughters; but almost half of them now felt, sometimes, like mothers to their own mothers (Marsden & Abrams, 1987). Similarly, in another qualitative research on adult daughters and aging mothers, some middle aged daughters reported feeling conflicted over what they refer to as "*role reversal*"; Middle aged daughters felt both pride and distress over shifts in their responsibilities in the relationship (Fingerman, 1997b). Nydegger explained the misconception of role reversal in Blekner's words:

While it is true that the filial crisis marks childhood's end, the son or daughter does not thereby take on a parental role to his parent. He takes on the filial role, which involves being depended on and therefore being dependable insofar as his parent is concerned. (Nydegger, 1991, p. 95).

According to one view, dependency in old age has a positive function of maintaining family and generational ties. As people age, they experience certain dramatic changes in their lives such as retirement, role loss, increased health problems and recognition that their time is limited. In such a mind set, elder people become more self-oriented. Given the physical incompetence that accompanies aging, the environment expects incompetence and provides help even if not needed or wanted, therefore reinforcing dependent behaviour. Since dependent behaviour from elders is expected, the social environment reacts immediately and positively to such behaviour therefore, initiating and providing social contact. Therefore, dependent behaviour becomes an instrument in gaining attention, contact and control (Baltes, 1994).

## **2.6 Reciprocal Intergenerational Support**

Research has shown that there is a persistent flow of help and support and a high degree of reciprocity between parents and adult children (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

In a study of adult daughters and their coresiding mothers it was found that mothers began to coreside with their daughter when they started to feel the need for emotional support. However, some of them also helped their daughters with childcare or domestic chores, occasionally enabling them to go out to work (Marsden & Abrams, 1987). In another study with Chinese elderly population, the reciprocity in the adult children and aging parent was found to be prevalent in the form of the adult children's family providing a sense of security for the elder parent. In return, the elder parents helped with the domestic chores (Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002).

The reciprocity of intergenerational support is determined by the generational order. In a study of three generation of women, it was suggested that first and third generation women received more support from the second

generation women than they gave; first and third generation women perceived that the second generation women were underbenefitted (Levitt & Guacci, 1992).

## **2.7 Predictors Of Intergenerational Support**

As mentioned above, caregiving has a reciprocal and contingent nature in parent-child ties across the life span. According to the life course perspective, caregiving evolves from a long history of interactions and exchanges between parents and children. Parents provide a variety of assistance to their adult children, including financial and emotional support, even when they themselves are in need of certain types of assistance. Most relationships of parent and adult children do not involve caregiving to the elder; it develops in the context of long-standing relationships with their unique histories of exchange, affection and values (Zarit et. al., 2002).

The type and frequency of intergenerational support are influenced by physical availability like geographical proximity and coresidence; parent's health; demographic factors like gender, marital status, social economic status; family history, life cycle of and value consensus between parent and child.

### **2.7.1 Geographic Distance**

The more the physical contact between parents and adult children, the greater the amount of help is exchanged. While geographic proximity increases interaction, geographic distance reduces the frequency and type of help exchanged between generations, since there is less opportunity to learn about each other's needs and problems (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Mothers and daughters who live in proximity have more opportunities to get together than do parents and adult children who reside at a distance. A daughter in close proximity tends to be the one of the most important people in the lives of elder parents (Aldous, Klaus & Klein, 1985; Rossi & Rossi, 1990).



### **2.7.2 Coresidence**

It is relatively common throughout the life course, at least up to age 70, for parents to live with an adult child. The likelihood of coresidence seems to depend mostly on the marital status of the children rather than the parental needs (Ward, 1996; Umberson, 1989).

Research on coresiding families suggested that coresiding elders provide more functional support to their adult children than they receive; in return coresiding elder parents receive more emotional and associational support from their adult children than elder parents who live alone. The research has shown that parents are more than twice likely to be helping children as to be receiving help from them: 20% of parents aged 60 or over give babysitting help to the randomly selected adult child and only 25% of elder parents receive household help from any child (Ward, 1996). In a study of coresiding aging mother-adult daughter pairs, it was shown that: 55% of the mothers began to coreside with their daughter when they started to feel the need of emotional support; 33% of these pairs had lived together in relationships of mutual tending or without the mother needing help; and the mothers were still looking after the daughter, her husband or the grandchildren (Marsden & Abrams, 1987).

In Western societies, since independent households are the norm, parents live in their own house as long as they can and prefer not to co-reside (Hareven & Adams, 1996). However, toward the end of their lives, the old people often live with their children, especially the unmarried children (Hareven, 1982). In an Eastern society, in China, it is fairly common for elder people to coreside with their adult children. A common reason for living with children is the feeling of security for the elderly. Elder Chinese people living with children, in particular living with daughters, reported that they feel like they are receiving better daily care support than those not living with children, as well as the best emotional support compared to non-coresident elder people. However, non-coresident daughters appear better at providing social companionship and emotional support (Ng, Phillips, & Lee, 2002).

### **2.7.3 Parent's Health**

Parent's health determines the frequency of aid given to elder parent rather than the type of the help. The research has shown that daughters gave aid in the same categories to both self-sufficient and dependent mothers; however, dependent mothers received more frequent occasions of aid and their daughters spent more time in aid-giving (Walker & Pratt, 1991).

Additionally, as parents get older, the help that they provide to their adult children during an illness declines, while they receive significantly more help from their adult children during an illness (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

### **2.7.4 Marital Status of Parent**

Regardless of gender, adults with one living parent reported more feelings of obligation to provide assistance than did adults with two living parents (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg & Jewell, 1998). Another study concluded that the highest level of felt obligation is evoked by single daughters and widow mothers (Rossi&Rossi,1990).

Possibly as a result of this high level of felt obligation, widows receive more support from their adult children. Research showed that parents with no spouse or a spouse with serious health problems receive more support from their children than parents with a healthy spouse (Ikkink, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 1999). Older, less healthy and unmarried elder people, as well as married elders with greater need for assistance, reported experiencing more contact (Spitze & Logan, 1990). In addition to this, the widowed mothers received more help during an illness or received more financial assistance from their children than married mothers. Adult children received more help from married mothers than widowed mothers, in the form of getting advice, money, help with chores, gifts and job leads (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

The widowhood of mothers seems to improve the relationship between aging mothers and adult daughters. In one study, researchers found that the daughters of widowed mothers were more likely than other daughters to see their relationship with their mothers as having improved (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998). In another study, it was revealed that daughters whose mothers were widowed or

divorced were more likely to nominate these mothers as the person with whom they got along with best than were daughters whose mothers were still married. Daughters of mothers who live alone were more likely to name them as the person to whom they might speak when upset than daughters of mothers who are married (Fingerman, 2001).

### **2.7.5 Marital Status of Child**

The research on the development and maintenance of relationships throughout the life course has shown that people are more likely to develop and maintain supportive relationships with those who become more similar to them on important social dimensions such as marital status, parental status and educational attainment (Sutor & Pillemer, 2000).

With the exception of never married sons, adult children who are not married (single, divorced) have worse relationships with their parents than happily married children. Likewise, married daughters are more likely to report improvements in their relationships with both parents after marriage (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998). Presumably, the relationships between mothers and daughters improve after the daughter's marriage because mothers and daughters develop greater reciprocal empathy and daughters understand their mothers better when their roles converge as a result of acquiring similar life roles (Fingerman, 2001). In addition to this, adult children who rate their marital relationships negatively are more likely to report poorer relationships with their parents than happily married ones (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998). In general, daughters considered their husbands or lovers to be the most important person in their lives (Fingerman, 2001) and most mothers acknowledge that their daughters' primary responsibility is to their husbands and children, and that most married daughters gave priority to husband and children (Sheehan & Donorfio, 1999).

However, the mother-daughter relationship in adult years may be negatively influenced when the daughter has children, possibly due to increased time demands on the daughters. It was shown that women with children are more likely to have poorer relationships with their mothers (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998) and similarly, adult children who are employed and have young children are in

contact with their mothers less than adult children who are not employed and have no children or only one (Rossi&Rossi,1990). Additionally, it was shown that parent - child relation quality is negatively related to divorce (Umberson, 1989) and the end of a daughter's marriage leads to poorer child-parent relationships (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998).

Even though the relationship between aging parents and married adult daughters is better than the relationship between aging parents and single daughters, when it comes to hand-on caring, parents who are in need of care relied heavily on single daughters who remained at home or on daughters who returned to a parent's house as a result of family circumstances (Hareven & Adams, 1996). Likewise, it was shown that single adult children both give and receive more types of help than married adult children. This finding might possibly be due to the fact that the highest level of felt obligation is evoked by single daughters and widow mothers (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). The above cited research implies that married children have better relationships with their elder parents in terms of emotional quality. However, single adult children both receive and give more types of help than married children.

#### **2.7.6 Life Cycle of Parent-Child**

Developmental needs change across the life span. At one point in life, parents and offspring may deal with the offspring's identity formation, at another stage of life, the parent's health may be a key concern (Fingerman, 2001). Even though elder mothers reported experiencing changes in their relationship with their children throughout the life course (Roberto, Allen,& Blieszner, 1999), life stage changes did not make a dramatic difference in the relationship between parents and adult children and the basic character of the relationship remained stable over years. It was indeed the character of the relationship that affected the way the life-stage transitions were experienced (De Vaus, 1994).

During the adult life course, there are several stages (i.e. completion of school, entering into the career, marriage, the transition to parenthood) that determine the nature of help exchanged. As the children grow into independent adults, older parents' habits of helping children that are formed over a 20 year

period of childrearing responsibility do not cease to exist. Many parents possibly feel the desire to continue helping their children; some control their desire and allow room for the growing independence of their children. Some, on the other hand, continue providing help regardless of the children's level of need. Independent of the child's age, parents are more likely to continue providing help and support to children who are not employed, attending school and single (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

In their study of intergenerational supportive relationships, Rossi & Rossi concluded that,

When children are in their 20s and 30s, and their parents in their 40s and 50s, there is a good deal of help between the generations that is similar in type (e.g., mother and daughter doing domestic chores for each other), but as the parents get older and the children are mature middle aged adults, a complementary exchange pattern replaces the reciprocal pattern, e.g., money to mother, who in turn makes something for a daughter or provides advice drawn from her experience in life. (p. 406-407)

The help exchange between mothers and daughters was highest throughout the 40s and 50s of the mothers' lives (Rossi & Rossi, 1990); for parents aged 40 to 59, the highest incidence of parent-to-child help was from mothers to daughters. *Babysitting* was particularly common when parents were at ages fifty to sixty-four. Babysitting dropped off after respondents reached seventy. Parents helped children an average of 1-2 hours per week, peaking when parents were in their early fifties and early sixties. The percentage of parents giving and receiving help was not equal until parents were in their mid seventies and children were in their early forties (Ward, 1996). Parents in their 40s and 50s gave *advice* to their children but once they reach the age of 65, this level of giving advice declined. The adult children who had accumulated experience, established network connections and began to make more money, started giving advice to their aging parents (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

Young adult daughters who lived with their parents provided a great deal of help to their mothers with domestic chores. Once the adult daughters had their own children, the help given to parents declined. When the mothers got old and

widowed, the adult daughter started providing help with domestic chores (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

### **2.7.7 Socio-Economic Status of Parent and Child**

Parents with higher income give more extensive help to their adult children. Parent to child help flow is most extensive between high-income parents and low-income children, and it is the least between low-income parents and high-income children. However, the amount of help adult children extend to their parents is not influenced by the parent's income level. While adult children with higher incomes receive less help from their parents, the intergenerational support and interdependency is greatest between parents and children who both have low incomes (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

Research has revealed that similarity in education level and value systems improve the relationship between adult children and their aging mothers (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002).

If we link higher socioeconomic status to higher education, then it might be possible to explain the low levels of intergenerational support between high SES adult children and their low SES parents, through value differences between them. The greater the level of education and the higher the socio-economic status of the children, the greater the differences in values and life styles between generations (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Even when both parent and adult children are of high SES, there might still be life style differences due to generation gap.

Moreover, research showed that second generation adults who had gained higher levels of education had parents who were not highly affectionate towards them, who did not punish them for wrongdoing and who did not involve them in household chores. In addition, parents with higher education levels were less likely to raise their children according to the traditional gender roles (Rossi & Rossi, 1990), and highly educated older parents had less contact with their children (Spitze & Logan, 1990). Given these research findings, it might be possible to conclude that well-educated, high income parents who were not affectionate towards their children produced well-educated and high income children who did not establish close relationship with their parents.

Finally, the research has found social class difference in the emotional tone of the caring relationship according to social class. Middle class daughters were more likely to reject their mothers than lower class daughters, despite the fact that their mothers were more physically fit than working class mothers (Marsden & Abrams, 1987).

### **2.7.8 Value Consensus**

Similarity in value systems improves the relationship between adult children and their aging mothers (Pillemer & Sutor, 2002). The current affective closeness between adult children and aging parents is largely influenced by value consensus for both parents and adult children. Both parties express higher affection if they share similar values than parents and adult children who perceive dissensus between them (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Pillemer & Sutor, 2002). Research on parental favoritism also indicates that, parental judgments on favoritism or being disappointed were primarily determined by shared interest and values rather than by geographical proximity. Mothers were less likely to disagree with their favorite adult children about the adult children's own parenting practices and values (Aldous, Klaus, & Klein, 1985).

It is more important for adult children to have value similarity with their parents in the maintenance close relationship than it is for the parents. Even though there might be differences between adult children and their parents regarding the values and life styles, the contact is maintained (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). The type of contact (i.e. phone contact versus face-to-face contact) is influenced by the intergenerational value consensus. There is more face-to-face visiting between generations if they have value consensus; face-to-face contact generally lasts longer than a phone call and it is fairly difficult to suppress the indicator of life-style differences (smoking, drinking, etc.) or values which might lead to an overt or an uncomfortable covert disagreements. Phone conversations, on the other hand, are generally more brief, mundane and easily controllable, allowing them to avoid discomfort (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

### **2.7.9 Early Life Experiences / Family History**

What had happened in early years of the family determines the circumstances of their the old age (Hareven, 1982). Even though they were independent of the early receipt of support from parents, adult children increasingly provided support to their parents in later years. Children who had happy and cohesive families (Rossi & Rossi, 1990), and who spent more time in shared activities with their parents, provided more support to their parents in later years (Silverstein, Conroy, Wang, Giarrusso, & Bengston, 2002).

The current intimacy between parents and adult children was greater if the parents were affectionate and accessible earlier, the family had been cohesive in the past and the relationship was close during the adolescent period. The relationship history influenced the help exchanged between parents and children. The quality of the early parent-child relationship determined the current situation. Children who grew up in happy, cohesive families are more likely to provide help to their aging parents. However, the same does not apply to the parent's perspective such that; past events did not influence the present feelings of parents. Consequently the level of help offered to adult children and the subjective feelings of family members for each other did not influence the help parents gave to the adult child (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). A history of loving relationship with a mother or a father increased the likelihood of an adult child giving emotional support to them both, and it also increased the likelihood of an adult child receiving emotional support from both parents. Adult children were more likely to give and receive expressive support to and from either parents if there was a history of affectionate ties (Parrott & Bengtson, 1999).

If the relationship between adult children and parents was characterized by a history of affection, there was a more balanced and reciprocal support relationship between them. Conversely, if the relationship between adult children and parents was characterized by little affection, adult children gave more help and support to their parents than they received (Bengtson & Parrott, 1999). Daughters defined caregiving as an attempt to repay their mothers for all their previous sacrifices. Mothers' availability when needed influenced the daughters' desire to reciprocate in caring for their mothers (Sheehan & Donorfio, 1999).



Researches on intergenerational support have revealed that it is the level of emotional support that is influenced by the relationship history rather than the level of instrumental and financial support. The amount of instrumental support provided to parents by adult children is not influenced by the level of past affection and likewise, adult children received instrumental support from her/his mother regardless of the level of past affection in the relationship. While, the level of affection in the relationship with the mother does not influence the instrumental support received from the mother, adult children with an affective tie history with the father are more likely to receive instrumental support from the father (Bengtson & Parrott, 1999).

Financial assistance provided to the adult children did not vary with the history of affection (Bengtson & Parrott, 1999). However, children who received more financial support from their parents in the past were more likely to support their parents in later years (Silverstein, Conroy, Wang, Giarrusso, & Bengtson, 2002).

The majority of adult children who were involved with their parents in later years had experienced problems in their relationships with their parents (De Vaus, 1994) and the interaction patterns established in childhood are difficult to break in adulthood (Fingerman, 2001). However, exclusively in mother-daughter relationships, whatever problems the mother and daughter experienced during adolescence, once the daughter reaches maturity, the effect of these problems was diminished. From a mother's point of view, early family relations -like past family cohesion, past affection or the quality of relationship between the child and the mother during adolescence- had no effect on the current relationship between mother and children (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

#### **2.7.10 Familism**

Many social relationships have an obligatory element. The person might feel like she has to call her friend who called her last week or an adult child might feel obliged to join the family Bayram dinner. This behavior might be performed reluctantly or eagerly. Calling or visiting a parent might sometimes feel like a normative obligation regardless of the quality of the relationship. Rossi & Rossi

argued that normative obligations might be the driving force for intergenerational help exchange. It is widely accepted that the parent-child relationship is the most important kinship relationship, and therefore, when the need arises, several factors -like internalized social norms originating from kinship and religious values, personal indebtedness, learnt desire and obligation to share happy moments or sorrows- call for the provision of help (Rossi & Rossi, 1990).

Research found a moderate correlation between felt obligation and filial responsibility, affection, family support and the frequency of contact (Stein, 1992). Adult children who scored high on the felt obligation measure had more contact with parents than adult children with low felt obligation scores (Rossi & Rossi, 1990). Young adult children expressed higher levels of felt obligation to their parents than did middle-aged parents (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg & Jewell, 1998). From a parental perspective, those who felt emotionally more close to a child tended to have lower scores on the family obligation scale (Ward, 1996).

Generally women of both generations reported higher levels of felt obligation to their parents than men (Stein, Wemmerus, Ward, Gaines, Freeberg, & Jewell, 1998) and they felt high levels of obligation regarding contact and family ritual, conflict avoidance, self-sufficiency and personal sharing (Stein, 1992).

It was shown that the more attached the parent or child to the norm of 'children should support their parents', the more support parents received (Ikkink, Van Tilburg, & Knipscheer, 1999). A history of a strong sense of obligation to family was found to be a significant determinant of assistance and support exchanges between adult children and their father. No significant relationship was found for mothers (Bengtson & Parrott, 1999).

## **2.8 Ethnic Cultural Differences**

Culture, race, ethnicity influence the experience of intergenerational relationships and intergenerational support. Since the majority of the research on intergenerational relationships was conducted in Western societies, with individualism being the default cultural syndrome, there are some research on

intergenerational relations with people from different cultural backgrounds which will be reviewed here. Before we move on to these studies, it might be beneficial to review the characteristics of collectivistic cultures.

Triandis described the collectivists as people who favor sociability, interdependence and family integrity and who value security, good social relationships, ingroup harmony, personalized relationships, family security, social order, respect for tradition, the honor of parents and elders and politeness. Collectivists who are motivated to adjust themselves to the needs of others view people who are agreeable, pleasant and noncritical as ideal persons. In collectivistic cultures, communal sharing is the norm of sociality and it is the most common behaviour in families. Accordingly, the resources are shared according to the needs of family members, decisions are made through consensus and relationships are perceived as being eternal. In this kind of sociality, intimacy, nurturance, altruism, caring, selflessness, generosity, sharing and concern for others are highly emphasized. Moreover, in collectivistic societies, helping behaviour is determined by moral obligation rather than by personal choice. Interpersonal responsibilities have the highest priority, and fulfilling a duty is perceived as realizing one's nature. Collectivists tend to change themselves to fit into situations rather than trying to change the situation. When they are faced with conflicting demands and needs (i.e. going on a holiday and caring for an aging parents), they are more likely to change their personal goals and meet the requirements of the situation. Since the needs of the ingroup has priority for collectivists, proper behaviour in a given situation is more important than behaviour-attitude consistency, and it is indeed a sign of maturity if people can behave in the opposition to their attitude for the goods of others (Triandis, 1995).

Researchers have also found race and ethnicity differences in intergenerational relationships. In one study, both Black and Hispanic adult children reported better relationship with their mothers than non-Hispanic and White adult children (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998). Similarly, in an other study, significant differences in ethnicity were found, such that Blacks and Hispanics were less likely to have obligatory relationships with their mothers than Whites; and Blacks were less likely than Whites to have detached relationships with their

mothers (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997). In terms of filial responsibility expectations, researchers revealed racial differences: Blacks have higher filial responsibility expectations than Whites and divorced or single Whites have significantly lower expectations than married respondents; but this is not true for Blacks (Lee, Peek, & et al., 1998).

Rastogi & Wampler (1999) conducted a cross-cultural study and compared the perception of adult daughters' relationship with their mothers across European-American, Asian-Indian American and Mexican-American cultures. Their findings were: Asian-Indian American women indicated more connectedness, more closeness, more dependency and higher trust in hierarchy than did the European American women. Mexican-American women's scores fell into the middle but did not differ from the other two groups significantly. The Asian-Indians and the European-Americans desired more closeness than the Mexican American group; 'showing respect for the other' was the most common response of all women in open-ended questions. Asian-Indian women used terms like trust and being dependable, suggesting security to be important in the relationship. They also idealized their relationship and valued communication and friendship; Mexican-American women focused on honest communication and doing activities together, emphasizing emotional and practical intimacy. They idealized their relationship with their mothers; European-American women focused on balancing autonomy and caring. They mentioned honesty and caring but mentioned dependability and respect less; Asian-Indian American women's relationship with their mothers were more hierarchical, noting the importance of the mother's advice and getting emotional support; Mexican-American women valued being dependable but not dependent. They preferred giving advice rather than receiving; European-American women focused on autonomy, especially financial independence. All women independent of their ethnic background mentioned making one's own decisions and keeping dependence to a minimum in their relationship with their mother (Rastogi & Wampler, 1999).

Even though collectivism is the cultural syndrome of Eastern cultures and individualism is the cultural syndrome of Western cultures, the features of both cultural syndromes can be found in the same society with varying degrees. Pyke

& Bengston (1996) conducted in-depth interviews with 67 members of 20 three generation families in USA and identified two distinct sets of family care systems: individualistic and collectivistic. They found that individualists provided ambivalent or negative descriptions of family members and relations and they recalled negative accounts of parental relationships, focusing on past injustices and long-standing emotional distance. Alternatively, collectivists emphasized close family ties, high levels of commitment, contact and interdependence; describing family relations in positive terms and family contact as pleasurable and spent leisure time with kin. In comparison to individualists, collectivists were more likely to glorify and honor elderly charges with very complimentary descriptions, and were more likely than individualists to view their caregiving as part of a larger reciprocity, to have affinity for the care recipients and to derive a positive identity from their caregiving role. Moreover, collectivists linked their high level of commitment to their parents' long-standing devotion and friendship, whereas individualists, who provided less care, generally described their early relationships with parents as strained and distant.

Familism or a sense of obligation, that is evident in both cultures, was also found to have different behavioral and emotional manifestations for collectivists and individualists. The study revealed that individualists minimized hands-on caregiving and relied on formal support; individualists managed their parents' finances, managed their caregiving arrangements; had regular social contact involving running errands. Collectivists assumed a hands-on caregiving for parents who were frail even when the caregiving demands were high. They associated nursing homes with abandonment. Individualists were motivated to provide care out of feelings of obligation rather than affection, and experienced it as burdensome. Collectivists described caregiving as growing out of attachment, not as obligation. A collectivist's unlimited commitment to caregiving was associated with high levels of energy devoted to caregiving, despite competing demands on their time. Neither the difficulty of caregiving nor the women's employment status led to different caring styles. Individualists, on the other hand, experienced guilt for their limited parental care and indicated the persistence and strength of norms of filial obligation (Pyke & Bengston, 1996). This research

finding seems interrelated with the Lüscher & Pillemer's intergenerational ambivalence model such that; while collectivists experience more convergence and reproduction, individualists experience more divergence and innovation in their intergenerational relationships.

## **2.9 Turkish Family**

Turkey is traditionally a collectivistic society with a predominantly patrilineal and patriarchal family structure (Hortaçsu, Baştuğ & Muhammedberdiev, 1996). Turkish society, with its roots in agricultural economy, possesses most of the features of collectivism; such as the extended family, integration with the family, expression of aims and targets on the basis of ingroup needs, strong perceived differentiation between ingroup and outgroup, loyalty-dependence based socialization, a quest for intimacy and confidence, social support, and interdependence (Göregenli, 1997). The self is defined interdependently, the family's needs come before the individuals', social behaviour is guided by norms, obligations, and duties and the emphasis is given to the relationships rather than the individual (Triandis, 1995).

In the traditional extended family structure, socio-economic cooperation of family members reinforces the family ties. This type of family is more resilient in the face of social and economic difficulties because both children and elders solve their personal problems together and they jointly use the elder's experiences with children's energy. Accordingly, the extended family has an enduring and greater impact on individual family members and the communication and interaction among them requires cooperation (Doğan, 2001).

Moreover, the acceptance of Islam reinforced and approved this patriarchal family structure by placing the husband at the center of the family. According to Islam, it is a both woman's duty and ticket to eternal happiness (i.e. going to heaven after death) to please her husband. Children, on the other hand, are socialized according to the household head's general acceptances and values (Doğan, 2001). Additionally, Islam also regulated the filial responsibility with verses of the Koran. In order of importance, a person's responsibilities are servitude to God and treating their parents with respect and kindness. It was

advised that parents should be protected with compassion, tender-heartedness and humility. According to Islam, the biggest transgressions are to deny the uniqueness of God, to be rebellious against one's parents and perjury. Other filial duties are: to meet the parents financial and emotional needs, to help parents to lead a peaceful life; to give support to them without their overt request; not to expect extreme sacrifice from parents; not to complain about parents; to protect a parent's dignity by concealing their faults and presenting their good characteristics; to ignore their faults that are not religiously serious; to warn them without hurting their feelings; to pray for their goodness; and to fulfill their wishes that are not sinful or unlawful (Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu, 1992).

The extended family structure described above was functional and predominant in Anatolia during the Ottoman period and the traditional family structure of Turkish society did not change suddenly after the declaration of the Republic (Tufan, 2002).

The traditional life style had begun changing slowly at the beginning, but the speed of change increased over time and the society experienced major differentiations as a result of increasing population and urbanization. The reflection of these changes on family structure was the emergence of a nuclear family structure similar to West Europe (Tufan, 2002).

According to the statistics provided by Prime Ministry Family Research Institute (1998), the distribution of nuclear and extended families in Turkey is as shown below:

**Table 2.9.1.:** Distribution of Family Types

<b>Family Type</b>	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Turkey</b>
<b>Nuclear Family</b>	72,2	57,5	67,5
<b>Extended Family</b>	15,5	32,1	20,8

*Source: Başbakanlık Aile Araştırma Kurumu Başkanlığı, 1998*

It is obvious that the percentage of nuclear families both in urban and rural areas is greater than the percentage of extended families. However, the percentage of extended families is much higher in rural Turkey compared to urban Turkey.

After the WWI, Turkey declared the establishment of the Turkish Republic and had introduced many social and economic reforms, like the Swiss-based civil code, Italian-based penal law, the liberation of women, the adaptation of Latin alphabet, hat reform and the secularization of the state. The new civil code regulated family relationships and pronounced polygamy illegal. Polygamy had been permissible under Islamic law but had never been a very common practice. More importantly, marriage became a civil contract that allowed women to take their place in the family on equal terms with men. Those legal changes, as well as the development of industrialization, led to social changes in the Turkish family. In urban areas, women started having jobs, and participating in social, political and economic life, which had an impact on the family structure and family relations (Kongar, 1991).

In 1950, the multi-party system was introduced to the society, and the government was changed through free general elections. This change of the government was a turning point in the history of social change in Turkey. Massive immigration to urban areas occurred -shaping the twenty-first century of Turkey- as a result of mechanization of agriculture, the development of capitalism and economic progress (Kongar, 1996). A new family structure –the transitional family- emerged as a result of industrialization and migration to urban areas.

Transitional families is made up of the son of an extended family, his wife and his children who have moved to the city, ready to change and adapt, since they have not had any other choice given the depressed state of the villages. These migrant families have found it difficult to find families or social groups with whom they can share their beliefs, mentality and opinions. The private, close and kin-relied relationships that they formed in the village are replaced by the formal and distant relationships of urban life. They establish primary types of relations with work friends, contact with the schools and teachers, and join voluntary associations and trade unions. They become aware of formal and impersonal rules and regulations while they were settling and building their houses. Consequently, their reference group and the social control that they were subject to have changed. The kin relations of transitional families are substituted with formal organizations, work friends and neighbors. Additionally, first generation



immigrant families are more likely to experience intergenerational conflict because parents insisted on preserving their old values and beliefs, whereas the children tried to adopt new mentalities, opinions and beliefs that were in accordance with the urban life. (Kongar, 1991)

The nuclear families of urban areas have also been changing with the passage of time as a result of modernization and westernization.

Evidence suggests that urban, young, educated and economically prosperous people have tendency to Western values and practices such that; couple initiated marriages are becoming more common and arranged marriages are becoming rather rare; people are getting married and becoming parents later (average marriage age for men is 28, for women 24) as they need to attain higher education to secure a job; they prefer to have fewer children and they place higher value on daughters compared to their parents (Atalay, Konaş, Beyazıt, & Madenoğlu, 1992; Hortaçsu, 1995).

However, Turkish urban nuclear families have certain characteristics that differentiate them from nuclear families of industrialized Western societies. Family members experience some changes while maintaining some of their old values. The fathers' authority in the family is still prevalent (Kongar, 1998); parental approval of marriage is still valued: 52.3% of the marriages are arranged by the family; gender stereotypic division of marital labor still continues; families are still interdependent on each other for social support and assistance; families still prefer sons over daughters for the continuation of the family name (Atalay, Konaş, Beyazıt, & Madenoğlu, 1993); and parenthood is still associated with gains in social status for men and especially for women (Hortaçsu et. al., 1996).

One major change that accompanied the transition from traditional extended families to modern nuclear families is the changing value of children. Traditional extended families existed in rural economies that required material interdependencies between generations. In such a socioeconomic context, children's material contribution to the family was considerable and utilitarian-economic values were attributed to the child. Hence, children were expected to be dependent on their parents when they are young, and parents were dependent on their adult children in their later years. On the contrary, in the context of urban life

with greater affluence, the children are no longer needed as an economic asset; they indeed bring economic burdens to the family with prolonged years of education. Under these circumstances, psychological values of the child like joy, pride, companionship and love became more dominant in parenthood decisions (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982).

With increasing socio-economic development and urbanization, the material interdependencies of family members decrease. However, emotional and psychological interdependencies do not decrease in collectivistic cultures with interpersonal connectedness, contrary to the claims of the modernization perspective, which proposes that intergenerational dependencies should decrease and separation within the family should increase as societies become more modern (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002). Therefore, Turkey as a collectivistic society has not become independent and individualist to the extent of the middle class Western family, and the Turkish urban nuclear families have changed into emotional/psychological interdependence from total interdependence. In the context of emotional interdependence; family members are concerned about how the decision a family member makes will affect others; family members share the non-material resources like time, affection; they have the feeling of involvement in others' lives. (Kongar, 1991). Similarly, Fişek's (2002) review of Turkish family prototypes and familial self-studies revealed that along with the societal change, the intergenerational and inter-gender control power has weakened. However, the protective, supportive and nurturing authority of the families has been continuing. Accordingly, the family model that is characterized by decreased power distance - yet certain distance caused by respect and consideration is maintained - and high degree of closeness is becoming more salient (Fişek, 2002). Such change in the family system also explains the finding that in today's Turkish families children have more freedom and autonomy (Kongar, 1991), since autonomy of the children is not seen as a threat in the absence of material dependence, yet families still exert firm control on the child as separation is not aimed towards emotional interdependency (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002). Such multiplicity, extreme emotional intensity, and increasing mutual expectations might cause enmeshment and mutual reactivity if a weakened hierarchy is not balanced with

lessened intimacy and diluted protectiveness. Otherwise, individuals experience ambivalence due to the desire to maintain a certain distance and intimacy; desire to tolerate and use of power and authority; and desire to preserve a certain emotional distance and sensitivity (Fişek, 2002).

Additionally, in urban families intergenerational cooperation is present such that; parents sometimes pay the rent or buy goods for the newly-wed adult children and when the young couple has children, generally the wife's mother offers help and support. Despite the support provided by the older generation to adult children, intergenerational co-residence is not preferred. However, it is a common practice to choose a house in close proximity to a parent's place (Kongar, 1998). As Triandis noted, collectivists often try to live in the same building/neighbourhood as their parents (Triandis, 1995). Likewise, Turkish Family Structure Research results showed that: 63% of the elders live in their own house, 36% of them live with their family and 1% of elders live with another relative or a nursing home (Atalay, Konaş, Beyazıt, & Madenoğlu, 1993). This indicates that sending parents to nursing homes or care units are still not socially acceptable. However, despite the preference of residing in separate households, urban adult children keep close contact with their elder parents and strong family ties are maintained in urban areas. It was reported that: 28% of adult children see their parents everyday, 20% of them see their parents once a week, 11% of them visit their parents every other day and only 13% of them see their parents once a month (Atalay, Konaş, Beyazıt, & Madenoğlu, 1993).

## **2.10 Turkish Research on Parent-Child Relationship in Later Years**

In Turkey, the research on intergenerational relationships was mainly focused on attitudes toward aging, elder people and elder care, expectations of elder people from the younger generation, and reciprocal support.

In a study conducted to identify the attitude and opinions of university students in Ankara about being old and elder people, 59.8% of 480 participants reported that they do not perceive being old as a problem, and 40% of these participants noted that they perceive being old as a problem. The problems that they associated with being old were both physical (deterioration of health,

increased health related problems and problems with hygiene, physical inadequacy and limited action, restriction of living area, not being self-sufficient, needing support to meet personal necessities, forgetfulness and memory loss) and emotional (being alone, fear of death, fractiousness, being capricious, continuous wincing, feeling of being useless, not being wanted by young people, being looked on with scorn, having different attention and value needs, loss of social status, pain of losing most loved ones). Females hold a more positive attitude toward aging and elders and the related family structure, health, social and psychological problems and formal caregiving institutions than males (Salman, 2001).

In an effort to identify the expectations of elder people from the younger generation, questionnaires were administered to 301 participants and the study showed that: both elder men and elder women had similar expectations from the younger generation such that they both desired to have conversation and engage in outdoor recreational activities with young people, and their actual and expected activities with young people were in accordance with each other. Moreover, 96.07% of elder men and 95.27% of elder women expected that young people should show respect to and to help / support them (Şanlı & Tokyürek, 2001).

In a study conducted with university students, 81% of the students reported having an elder family member living in their houses, 75% of these elders being women and 46% of these women were mothers of the son. 56% of the interviewees said that living with an elder family member makes the life conditions of their families harder. Most of the participants with an elder family member living in their houses believed that elders should live in nursing homes and they did not accept such a collective life (Pektekin, 1992, in Altun & Ersoy, 1998).

I have come across with only one study regarding intergenerational support in later years that was conducted in Turkey. The researchers examined the nature of the reciprocal support between adult children and their aging parents from different socioeconomic status levels and reported results that are similar to Western research. They found that: adult children provided more financial support (i.e. food, clothing, rent and money), more functional support (i.e. grocery

shopping and transportation) to their widowed or divorced parents than married parents; Adult children extended more financial support to their aging parents from lower SES levels, however, the amount of help extended to aging parents during illness and frequency of phone contact with aging parents did not vary with SES level. Adult daughters provided more support to their elder parents in terms of housework, caring during illness and sharing problems than adult sons; however, adult sons extended more financial aid to their aging parents than did adult daughters. Adult daughters received more financial support from their parents than adult sons, single or divorced adult children received more financial support than married adult children. Elder mothers received more emotional support (i.e. sharing problems) than elder fathers; widowed or divorced elder parents received more emotional support, more presents, but less phone calls than married elder parents. Divorced or single adult children received more presents from their parents than did married children. However, married children received more emotional support from their parents compared to divorced or single adult children. Adult children were more likely to share their problems with divorced or widowed parents than with married parents (Öztop & Telsiz, 2001). Similarly, Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000) also showed that there was a reciprocal support and help relationship between elder people and their children and they argued that such supportive behaviour contributed to the economic development of the families.

As seen from the above studies, the Turkish elder people generally have positive relationships with younger generations, and the intergenerational relationship includes reciprocal financial and emotional support. However, the studies also revealed that young and middle generation people have both positive and negative feelings about elders. For example, in a study conducted in Trabzon – a Black Sea city where family bonds are very strong- it was reported that 43% of the women were living with their mother-in-laws and 42% of the women were living with their mother and father-in-laws. The other findings of this study were as follows: 97% of the women living with elder family members were unemployed and economically dependent. In 72% of these families, elder family members decided to coreside. These women who live with their elder family

members listed the downsides of coresiding as: “I can’t behave in my house as I like to” (21%), “Elders interfere with everything” (15%), “It needs continuous responsibility and obedience” (11%). The advantages of coresiding with elder parents were moral support (15%) and elder people’s participation in housework (11%). When these women were asked where they would prefer to live when they get old, 40% of them noted that they would like to live with their sons and 60% of them said that they would not. Moreover, 97% of these women said that it was not appropriate for elder people to live in nursing houses since these family members had children and societal norms did not permit this. (Özcan et. al., 1992, in Altun & Ersoy, 1998).

Since the majority of researches conducted in Turkey were questionnaire / survey studies, they did not reveal the experience of emotional ambivalence which was highly common in Western research. In two qualitative studies with in-depth interview methods, both Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000) and Öztop & Telsiz (2001) emphasized intergenerational financial and emotional support issues and did not focus on feelings and emotions. However, the Turkish research gives clues about the existence of social structural and emotional ambivalence. For example, even though families had complaints about coresiding with elders, they could not place them in nursing houses because of the social norms and values; they mentioned the downside of living with elders as much as the advantages of it. This situation is consistent with the fact that family relationships are changing in Turkey and the society is becoming more individualistic along with modernization and westernization (Esmer, 1999; Hortaçsu, 2000). Additionally, it was reported that the elders of the future would be more educated than the elders of today (Akadlı-Ergöçmen & Hancıoğlu, 1990). Therefore, it is argued that the elders of the future would probably value their independence more than the elders of today. In accordance with this view, the young and middle-aged generation mentioned their desire to live away from their children in their old age (Hortaçsu, 2000; Sunar, 1988). Similarly, middle aged adult children reported that they desired not to be dependent on their children and they would prefer paid care rather than receiving it from their children when they get old (Öztop & Telsiz, 2001).

In our research, we aimed to conduct in-depth interviews in order to explore mother-daughter relationship from the point of view of both parties by utilizing dyadic assessment of qualitative data analysis. Our specific aims were:

1. To investigate the type and frequency of solidarity and support in the mother-daughter relationship and variations of it across generations. Based on the intergenerational support literature, we expect to find high degree of functional and associational solidarity between aging mothers and their adult daughters. Moreover, we anticipate that, mother-daughters who have higher structural solidarity will also be high on associational solidarity and functional support.
2. To explore the experience of ambivalent feelings in mother-daughter relationships; to investigate the sources of ambivalent feelings; and ambivalence resolution tactics employed by both parties. We anticipated that, daughters' husband and children (resulting from changing norms of society) may be a source of ambivalence for aging mothers and mothers' increased dependence on adult daughters after widowhood (resulting from solidarity) and mothers' interference in the privacy of daughters (dependence versus autonomy) might create tension in aging mother-adult daughter relationships. We also aimed to investigate strategies of dealing with conflict and ambivalence and in relation to this, we anticipated that, both aging mothers and adult daughters will try to avoid discussing conflictual topics or to rationalize them by attributing them to external forces since Turkey is a collectivistic society and topic avoidance and rationalizing are more suitable conflict resolution styles for collectivistics.
3. To classify mother-daughter relationships into a relatively small number of categories based on patterns of reciprocal support, reports of conflict and ambivalence, and relationship maintenance tactics.
4. To investigate the influence of time on aging mother-adult daughter relationships. Two different meanings of time was considered:
  - a) Historical time, reflecting societal changes including historical events, changing norms related to modernization and urbanization;

b) Lifecycle time, reflecting changes in social expectations from individuals due to normative transitions such as marriage, parenthood, and widowhood. We expect that, marriage of daughter will improve the mother-daughter relationship and lower the level of conflicts related to restrictions of teenage years; daughters' parenthood will improve the mother-daughter relationship as daughters' grasp the true meaning of caring and emphasise with their mothers and will increase the amount of functional support extended to daughters; widowhood of mother will increase the functional and associational support that they receive from their daughters and lead to an experience of "role-reversal" as mothers' dependency would be transferred from husbands to daughters.



## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Qualitative Research

Qualitative research was defined as an interpretive multi-method approach to the study of people in their natural surroundings. (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, in Highlen & Finley, 1996). Epistemologically, qualitative researchers assume that the best way to understand any phenomena is to view it in its context and they believe that quantification is naturally limited since splitting or unitizing a reality diminishes the importance of whole phenomenon (Trochim, 2000). Accordingly, qualitative research aims to develop concepts that help the researcher to understand the social phenomena in natural settings by emphasizing meanings, experiences and views of the participants (Mays & Pope, 1995). Hence, qualitative techniques have the advantage of overcoming artificiality problem in research data which is the major drawback in positivistic methods. This offers “**ecological/cultural validity**” since observation and understanding of the social phenomena in natural setting give a 100% representation of the real life environment (Hayes, 1997).

Qualitative research becomes especially valuable in the investigation of complex and sensitive issues (Trochim, 2000). Experimental and quantitative methods are less suitable for the study of human interaction and how people interpret interaction for the mere fact that people on the whole are more complex than the subjects of the natural sciences (Mays & Pope, 1995).

The detail in qualitative research enables the researcher to describe the phenomena of interest in **the original language** of the research participant (Trochim, 2000) as well as to discover the participant’s own framework of meanings (Britten, 1995). It allows the participants to speak in their own voice

rather than conforming to categories and terms imposed on them by others (Sofaer, 1999). Similarly, it allows researchers to investigate meanings derived by the specific participant and **to get closer to the participant's reality**, which is sometimes not possible even with well constructed questionnaires. A respondent may not understand a certain word, phrase or value-laden statement in the same way the researcher intended (Clark, 2002).

Qualitative researchers often conduct in depth interviews. In-depth interviewing, which is a natural data collection tool in qualitative research, allows the researcher to **generate very detailed information** and to gain a deep understanding of how people think about particular topics or issues (Trochim, 2000), as well as enabling the researcher to get at the private, often contradictory and complex beliefs people hold (Mays & Pope, 1995). Unstructured or semi-structured in-depth interviews consist of a list of core questions that define the areas to be covered and that focus on behavior or experience, on opinion or value, on feeling, on knowledge, on sensory experience and on demographic and background details (Patton 1987, in Britten, 1995). The order of questions can be altered and probes can be inserted to grasp more detail, the wording of the questions can be changed by using the participant's own vocabulary and further questions may be introduced as new topics emerge (Britten, 1995).

The flexible nature of this method enables the researcher **to follow up** particularly interesting avenues that emerge in the interview, and consequently to obtain some rich material on the topic (Hayes, 1997). Unlike one-time surveys, qualitative research allows researchers to return to their site of study several times, since interview questions can be adjusted as needed. Additionally, the depth of context and contradiction that can be discovered in a qualitative study can not be duplicated in a larger, survey-based design (Clark, 2002).

While positivists aim to verify or falsify hypotheses, qualitative researchers accept that their **hypotheses may change** as their study evolves. Since qualitative research involves intense interaction with people, the researchers may come to learn that their original hypothesis was too narrow, too broad or simply inconsistent with the ways in which people actually experience themselves or others. Most of the more interesting and valuable theories and hypotheses

generally originate from experiencing the phenomena (Trochim, 2000). Interviewing allows for the **emergence of new concepts** and variables that may be very different from previously assumed ones, as it enables the researcher to go below the surface of the topic being discussed and to explore people's accounts in detail (Britten, 1995).

Unlike quantitative research, which employs probability sampling, qualitative research uses purposeful sampling in order to select in-depth study of information-rich cases. From these it is possible to learn a great deal about issues central to the purpose of the study (Patton, 1990). In qualitative research, statistical representativeness is not generally requested (Mays & Pope, 1995). Likewise, the sample size is determined by the depth and the duration of the interview and the feasibility for the researcher. With exceptions, large qualitative studies do not often interview more than 50 or 60 people (Britten, 1995). The validity, meaningfulness and insights generated from qualitative inquiry have more to do with the information richness of the cases selected than with the sample size (Patton, 1990).

No single methodology is superior to any other methodologies in every case. Different research questions lend themselves to different methodologies (Clark, 2002).

Qualitative method is very suitable for our purpose of inquiry because we aimed to explore mother-daughter relationships from the point of view of both parties, focusing on their experiences, feelings, behaviors and thoughts.

### **3.2. Expectations**

In our research, we conducted in-depth interviews in order to explore mother-daughter relationship from the point of view of both parties by utilizing dyadic assessment of qualitative data analysis. Our specific aims and expectations were:

5. To investigate the type and frequency of solidarity and support in the mother-daughter relationship and variations of it across generations. Based on the intergenerational support literature, we expect to find high degree of functional and associational solidarity between aging mothers and their

adult daughters. Moreover, we anticipate that, mother-daughters who have higher structural solidarity will also be high on associational solidarity and functional support.

6. To explore the experience of ambivalent feelings in mother-daughter relationships; to investigate the sources of ambivalent feelings; and ambivalence resolution tactics employed by both parties. We anticipated that, daughters' husband and children (resulting from changing norms of society) may be a source of ambivalence for aging mothers and mothers' increased dependence on adult daughters after widowhood (resulting from solidarity) and mothers' interference in the privacy of daughters (dependence versus autonomy) might create tension in aging mother-adult daughter relationships. We also aimed to investigate strategies of dealing with conflict and ambivalence and in relation to this, we anticipated that, both aging mothers and adult daughters will try to avoid discussing conflictual topics or to rationalize them by attributing them to external forces since Turkey is a collectivistic society and topic avoidance and rationalizing are more suitable conflict resolution styles for collectivistics.
7. To classify mother-daughter relationships into a relatively small number of categories based on patterns of reciprocal support, reports of conflict and ambivalence, and relationship maintenance tactics.
8. To investigate the influence of time on aging mother-adult daughter relationships. Two different meanings of time was considered:
  - a) Historical time, reflecting societal changes including historical events, changing norms related to modernization and urbanization;
  - b) Lifecycle time, reflecting changes in social expectations from individuals due to normative transitions such as marriage, parenthood, and widowhood. We expect that, marriage of daughter will improve the mother-daughter relationship and lower the level of conflicts related to restrictions of teenage years; daughters' parenthood will improve the mother-daughter relationship as daughters' grasp the true meaning of caring and emphasise with their mothers and will increase the amount of functional support extended to daughters; widowhood of mother will increase the functional and associational

support that they receive from their daughters and lead to an experience of “role-reversal” as mothers’ dependency would be transferred from husbands to daughters.

### **3.3 Sampling Criteria**

The adult daughters were in their middle ages who were either married, had children or were settled in their career and life plans. They lived in the close geographical proximity to their mothers and had frequent face-to-face and phone contact (i.e. face-to-face contact on average once every other week and more frequent phone contact). Geographic distance between mothers and daughters was controlled in the research design, thus eliminating the impact of geographic proximity on orientations toward relationship. As for the selection criteria of mothers, only healthy mothers were included in order to examine the relationship from perceptions of both parties when mothers are still healthy, living and actively part of the relationship.

Using qualitative methodology, in-depth interviews were conducted with aging mothers and their daughters who were defined as the child with whom the aging mother has the most contact. Daughters and mothers were recruited through word of mouth and personal contacts. Once one party volunteered to participate, they contacted their mother/or daughter. The women were asked to participate in a study of mother-daughter relationship that focused on changes and continuity in time and support exchanges.

### **3.4 Sample**

30 adult daughters over age 35 (mean= 46.33, SD=5.26) and their aging mothers (mean= 70.1, SD=5.97) participated in our study. The women resided in two major cities; Ankara and Istanbul.

The majority of daughters were married (23); 6 of them were single and one of them was widowed. Married women on average had 1.5 children; 2 of them had no children, 8 women had one child and 14 of them had two children. Almost half of the daughters had a university degree (13), 9 of them had completed high school, 5 of them had a post-graduate degree, 2 women completed

primary school and one woman finished middle school. 14 of the adult daughters were currently working, 9 of them were retired, 5 women had never worked and 2 women worked for a short period of time in the past. 22 of the married adult daughters were living with their husband and children, 3 of the married daughters were living with their mother, husband and children, 3 single women were living with mother and other family members (father and siblings) and two single women were living with their mother only.

The majority of the aging mothers were widows (18), 10 of them were married and 2 of them got divorced when they were middle aged. The participant mothers had on average 2.7 children and 1.63 daughters. 14 of the mothers had two children, 10 of them had three children, 4 of them had four, one of them had six children and one woman had only one child. 15 of the mothers had two daughters, 13 of them had one daughter and two of them had three daughters. 16 of the women had one son, 8 of them had no sons, 3 of them had two, two of them had three and one of them had four sons. The majority of the mothers were primary school graduates (17), 7 of them completed high school, 4 of them completed middle school and 2 of them attained a university degree. 22 of the mothers reported that they have never worked, 4 of them were retired and 4 of them had worked in the past for a short period of time. 8 of the mothers were sharing the same household with the interviewed daughter, 22 of them were living in separate houses. The ones who live in separate houses from their adult daughter who was interviewed, 7 were living alone; 6 were living with a husband, 9 were living with other family members (i.e. husband, adult son, adult daughter and their own mothers).

**TABLE 3.4.1. : Participants' Demographic Background**

	age	education	number of children	residence	work status		age	education	number of children	Residence	work status
MARRIED MOTHER						MARRIED DAUGHTER					
MM2	78	H.S.	2	w/s,h	n.w.	MD2	55	U.G.	2	w/h,d	r.
MM6	72	P.S	2	w/d	worked	MD6	45	H.S.	2	w/h,d	r.
MM9	70	H.S.	3	w/h	n.w.	MD9	50	U.G.	2	w/h,s	n.w.
MM10	67	P.S	3	w/h	n.w.	MD10	44	P.G.	2	w/h,d	w.
MM12	70	U.G.	2	w/s,h	r.	MD12	42	U.G.	1	w/h,s	W
MM18	64	P.S	4	w/h	n.w.	MD18	43	H.S.	2	w/h,d,s	W
MM22	67	M.S.	1	w/h	n.w.	MD22	48	U.G.	1	w/h,d	r.
MM25	64	P.S	2	w/h	n.w.	MD25	43	H.S.	2	w/h,d	n.w.

MARRIED MOTHER						SINGLE DAUGHTER					
MM20	73	P.S	3	w/i.d, h	n.w.	SD20	52	U.G.	0	w/m,f	r.
MM23	76	P.S	6	w/h	n.w.	SD23	48	U.G.	0	alone	w.

WIDOW MOTHER						MARRIED DAUGHTER					
WM3	72	P.S.	3	w/m	worked	MD3	50	P.G.	2	w/h,d,s	w.
WM4	67	M.S.	3	w/d	n.w.	MD4	35	P.G.	1	w/h,d	w.
WM7	69	P.S.	2	alone	n.w.	MD7	44	H.S.	2	w/h,d	n.w.
WM11	73	H.S.	3	alone	n.w.	MD11	52	U.G.	2	w/h,s	w.
WM13	64	H.S.	2	alone	n.w.	MD13	42	H.S.	0	w/h	Worked
WM15	78	P.S.	2	w/i.d.	n.w.	MD15	55	H.S.	2	w/m,h	r.
WM16	59	P.S.	4	w/s	n.w.	MD16	41	U.G.	2	w/h,d,s	w.
WM17	75	H.S.	2	w/i.d.	r.	MD17	49	P.G.	1	w/h,d,m	w.
WM19	69	P.S.	6	w/s,m	n.w.	MD19	43	H.S.	2	w/h,d,s	n.w.
WM21	65	P.S.	4	w/s,d	n.w.	MD21	44	U.G.	1	w/h,d	r.
WM24	72	P.S.	3	alone	n.w.	MD24	51	U.G.	1	w/h,s	r.
WM26	68	P.S.	4	w/i.d.	n.w.	MD26	47	H.S.	1	w/h,s,m	r.
WM28	71	M.S.	3	alone	r.	MD28	49	M.S.	2	w/h,s	Worked
WM30	75	H.S.	2	alone	r.	MD30	43	U.G.	0	w/h	w.
DM5	59	U.G.	2	w/d	n.w.	MD5	35	H.S.	1	w/h,s	w.

WIDOW MOTHER						SINGLE DAUGHTER					
WM1	71	P.S.	2	w/i.d.,d	n.w	SD1	47	P.S.	0	w/m, ss	n.w
WM14	77	P.S.	3	w/i.d.	n.w	SD14	51	P.G.	0	w/m	w.
WM29	78	P.S.	3	w/i.d.	n.w	SD29	53	P.S.	0	w/m	r.
WM8	83	H.S.	2	alone	worked	WD8	50	P.G.	2	alone	w.
DM27	59	M.S.	2	w/i.d.,d	worked	SD27	39	U.G.	0	w/m, ss	w.

### **3.5 Procedure**

The data for the study were gathered through individual interviews with mothers and daughters, each lasting approximately one hour. They were conducted in their homes or in the daughters' workplaces. There was no order to the interviews; mothers or daughters were interviewed according to their time availability. Participants understood that they could refuse to answer any questions or withdraw from the interview at any time. Participants were encouraged to answer questions as extensively as they could.

The interviews included information pertaining to basic demographic information, relationship history, changes in the relationship over the life course (childhood, adolescence, young adulthood, marriage of daughter, parenthood of daughter, widowhood of mother), social network composition, frequency of contact, expectations, type and frequency of intergenerational support, intimacy, compliance, conflict or disagreement, and comparison of self with the other party in terms of parenting styles and filial behaviors. Moreover, similarities and differences in the personalities of the mother-daughter dyads were investigated from both the mothers' and the daughters' perspective. The interview questions for both mothers and daughters can be found in Appendix A.

The adult daughters and mothers were asked the same questions, although the questions were modified, enabling them to take each other's perspective into consideration.

All interviews were taped by the researcher and transcribed verbatim by the researcher and professional transcribers.

Research questions were prepared primarily according to the literature on adult children and aging parent relationships. However, the wording of the initial questions was altered once, but not in the content after the first three dyads' interviews.



### **3.6 Coding**

The transcribed texts were coded according to the interview topics described above. All content categories were brought up in at least two mother and daughter interviews. Codes were not mutually exclusive, a given response could fall under one or more codes.

In qualitative research, it is not common to have inter-judge reliability. The reliability of categories was not strictly checked by Cohen Kappa. However, after the content categories were formed, they were controlled and checked by thesis supervisor. The conflicts between the researcher's categorization and thesis supervisor's categorization were resolved by mutual discussions and categories were not finalized until an agreement was reached.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **RESULTS – INTERGENERATIONAL SOLIDARITY**

#### **4.1 Intergenerational Solidarity**

I have examined the degree of structural solidarity (geographic proximity and distance), associational solidarity (frequency of contact), and affectual solidarity (closeness and love) as well as emotional support, functional support and financial support between adult daughters and their aging mothers, based on Bengston's dimensions of intergenerational solidarity (Bengston, 2001).

##### **4.1.1 Structural Solidarity**

I have found that 8 of the mother daughter pairs were coresiding; 4 of the pairs were residing in the same building; 3 of them were living on the same street; 2 of them were living in the same neighbourhood, within a walking distance of 10 minutes; 2 of them were living within a driving distance of 10 minutes and 11 of them were living within a driving distance of 30 minutes.

##### **4.1.2 Associational Solidarity**

I have examined the associational solidarity in three categories: frequency of face-to-face contact, frequency of phone contact and shared activities.

###### **4.1.2.1 Face to Face Contact**

In the category of face-to-face contact I have found that 8 of the mother-daughter pairs mentioned their high frequency of face-to-face contact, and this high incidence of contact is mostly due to daughters' availability. These daughters were either self-employed, unemployed, retired or had flexible working hours.

Two of these mothers were taking care of their physically incapacitated relatives and one of the mothers was taking care of her daughter's son.

I visited my parents at least once or twice a week even before my father got ill. But now, I go to visit her almost every day. (MD2)

Which children do you see most often?

I see my daughter most frequently.

How often do you see your daughter?

Even if we don't see each other, she definitely comes every week, once a week and we talk on the phone almost every day. (WM3)

Five of the pairs mentioned their low frequency of face-to-face contact. Low face-to-face contact was mostly due to time and distance constraints; it appeared that the mother-daughter pairs realized that low contact was non-normative and offered explanations for it. One mother voiced her complaint due to a low frequency of contact, however mothers showed tolerance and attributed a low frequency of contact to demands on daughters' time. Even the low contact pairs appeared to see each other about once a week.

Of course I spend more time with more neighbours than with my children. Of course we see each other once a week, but since she is very busy, we can not see each other very often. (MM10)

I can only visit her on the weekends because I am working. (MD16)

We can't get together very often because she works and she has things to do on the weekend. But we certainly see each other once a week or latest once every fortnight. But generally, I try to go to her one week, and she tries to come to me the other week. Nevertheless, we talk on the phone everyday. (WM16)

How often do you see your daughter? Once a week, every other week? I don't quite know. It has never been ten days, but this time, I didn't see her for 11-12 days. She has things to do. We have not seen each other for 12 days. (WM28)

#### **4.1.2.2 Phone Contact**

In the category of phone contact, 5 mother-daughter pairs, - of which 3 pairs also had high frequency of face-to-face contact- and 6 mothers reported at least one phone conversation a day. Only one pair, who had a highly conflictual relationship, reported a low frequency of phone contact. Similar to face-to-face contact, it appeared that frequent phone contact was normative and expected, and that when the rule was broken it led to conflict and tension. Phone conversations seemed to be highly valuable and comforting for the mothers and a disruption of the daily phone conversation pattern causes stress in mothers.

For example, I talked to her on the phone everyday. Even if we can not see each other, we have those phone calls. She does not feel comfortable unless she hears my voice on the phone, so we talk on the phone everyday.(MD11)

I talk to my daughter on the phone everyday. They invite me to their place one a month, but I don't go because they are not at home (meaning that her daughter is working)...Look she is married for 28 years, but she calls me everyday even when she goes to Europe. She got me so used to it. If she does not call, I look at the wall clock and call her myself. She says: "mom, I was going to call you when I get home". This is how we contact. I sometimes go to her house and stay there but not very often. (WM11)

I certainly talk to my daughter once or twice a day on the phone...She calls me everyday. If she does not call for one day, my eyes get watery. I asked her why she kept me waiting like that. (WM16)

Do you talk on the phone?

We talk on the phone, she calls, I call, but I did not call her even once this time. I called once, but she was not at home, her son was there, I talked to him. She says he didn't tell her, she got angry with me and told me that I should have called. I said I called you once, you should call me. She said she could not get a chance today. Then I said, "if you can't find time in the day, then you should have called me in the evening". I don't know if it true or not but she said she was tired in the evening. She said that and finished the conversation. (WM28)

#### **4.1.2.3 Shared Activities**

Both the mothers and daughters were asked about the types of activities that they do together. The most common activity that mothers and daughters did

together was going out for pleasure. 3 mother-daughter pairs, 5 mothers and 8 daughters mentioned that they generally went out together for a walk. One mother-daughter pair, 3 mothers and 3 daughters noted that they go out to lunch together. 2 mother-daughter pairs, 2 mothers and 2 daughters said that they visit their common relatives and friends together. 2 mother daughter pairs and 3 daughters noted that they go shopping together. 1 mother-daughter pair and 2 daughters mentioned that they go on holidays together. Only 2 daughters mentioned that they go to concerts or movies with their mothers. It appeared that mother-daughter pairs enjoyed companionship and good times. It seems that some daughters felt an obligation to take their mothers out.

On certain days, we go out for lunch; we go to Mado, Migros. We wander around a bit afterwards. We go shopping. Sometimes, on weekends, when my husband is not in Ankara, we leave my son with my father and go on day trips...We share certain things in social life. We go to social events like an association's lunch or breakfast.(MD12)

When my daughter comes back from school (her daughter is a teacher), we wander around. We get together. (MM12)

She wants to go out; but since she has not been going out, she lost her old friends and old social network. For that reason, I have to take her out to some places. (SD23)

She takes me out to eat fish. I don't like the smell of fish at home. She takes me out and offers me fish.(WM8)

She is my tapas bar friend. I tell her "get ready, we are going to go for a drink in 3 Kalyon". We go together, eat our fish. Indeed she is an interesting woman, although she does not drink, just to accompany me she orders a glass of raki, the raki stays like that but indeed it is very pleasant. (WD8)

Of course, we go out together. I mean when I am going to somewhere, I take her with me. The places she can go, the places she knows. Relative visits. Sometimes my friends, they like her a lot. They tell me to bring my mother and I take her with me then. (MD9)

We wander around together, if we have to go somewhere, we go together. We go together to my aunt's house, to friends. We do everything together...We go shopping together, we go to a movie or

the theatre and afterwards we go some place to have a cup of tea, this type of thing. On the weekends, I take her out for a walk.(SD14)

We get together on the weekends with my other sister and brother. We spend very pleasant time with my mother. We eat together on the weekends, we certainly spend special days together. My brother, his wife, his child, my sister, we certainly get together on religious holidays or birthdays, on weekends.(MD24)

#### **4.1.3 Affectual Solidarity**

I have asked mothers to whom they felt closest in their immediate environment, in order to pinpoint the degree of closeness with the interviewed daughter. The analysis of the interviews yielded the following results:

Mothers felt especially close to the daughters who were available to help their mother when needed and whom they could trust when need arose.

We tell everything to Özlem. Özlem is just like our Hızır (an immortal being reputed to come to rescue of those in deep stress). I think I feel more close to her. When something happens, I immediately call Özlem.(MM9)

Now, I feel closest to my daughter Hülya. Hülya comes first. She pays more attention. The person I most trust is first God then Hülya. (WM11)

I feel like she is closer to me. Maybe because I am always available, I am the eldest and she tells her problems firstly to me, I feel like my mother is closer to me than my other sisters.(MD10)

My daughter is on my side, I don't need anybody else. (MM20)

Mothers felt closer to daughters who were obedient, similar to them in personality traits, and expressive and warm towards them. However, when they did differentiate between children, they felt the need to justify their preference, as if they were breaking some norm.

I feel closest to my middle daughter Fatoş. All children are the same for a mother but she is calmer and more quiet. When I tell her to do something in a certain way, even if she does not agree, she never reacts. But my eldest and youngest daughters are more aggressive,

they react immediately. Of course you can never abandon a child no matter how much she upsets you; you never wish that they have the slightest discomfort. That is a different thing. But you harmonize with the one who loves and values you most, the one who does not upset you. Of course you don't reject the others; they are your children as well. (WM4)

I have a closer relationship with my youngest daughter...I can say that she is closer to me. She is more tamed than my elder daughter. (DM5)

My elder daughter is more of an introvert. She doesn't want to talk about her problems. But my younger daughter is not like that; she tells me everything and for this reason, I feel closer to her. (MM6)

I share everything with my daughter Kader. My children love me, they are good; they never rebelled against me. They also know that I love them very much. (DM27)

Some mothers felt close to their family members more than other social network members and they did not differentiate between family members.

I feel closest to my daughter, my husband and my son primarily. (MM12)

We love each other very much. My children are my everything. (WM16)

The closest people to me are my husband, my daughter, my granddaughter, my son-in-law, my sister and my niece and their families. They come first. The others come later. (MM22)

What I can expect, if I have a headache today, all of my 6 children will be here. (MM23)

I feel closest to my children. Both of them, God gives children like them to everyone, both of them are very fond of me, helpful and they do not neglect their mother. (WM30)

Mothers felt close to daughters with whom they developed a friendly relationship and became more like friends than mother-daughter.

I love my son and my daughter but my daughter is like my friend. She is closer to me. Just like a girl friend. I can talk about every subject

comfortably with my daughter, as I could talk to a friend comfortably. I can even share the things that I can not tell to my friends with my daughter. I don't see her as a daughter, but I see her as a friend. (WM13)

Of course my daughters, my children are my closest friends. (WM17)

Mothers who have been in continuous conflict did not name their daughter as the person whom they felt close to.

I have a sister, she lives in MESA. She is closer to me; I share my problems with her. (MM25- used to be a very strict mother who still interferes with her daughter's life and finds daughter's life and husband not up to her standards.)

My children are closest. I have also brothers and sisters. My daughter is not very close to me, she used to be closer in the past. (WM28-very critical mother who forced her daughter into an unhappy marriage)

#### **4.1.4 Emotional Support**

I asked both mothers and daughters about the type of emotional / psychological support that they give to and receive from each other.

I found that daughters, on average, gave more emotional support to their mothers than they receive from them. Moreover, half of the mother-daughter pairs engaged in reciprocal emotional support.

The type of intergenerational emotional support between mother-daughter dyads was categorized under three headings.

##### **4.1.4.1 Giving Comfort / Sharing Problems**

Both mothers and daughters shared their problems with each other (with certain reservations), offered comfort to each other and tried to motivate each other when needed.

When I have distress, the first person that I run to is my mother. (MD6)



When you have a problem, you are either going to share it with someone or keep it inside yourself. She is still your confidant. I share the happinesses, the troubles, illnesses. (WD8)

My mother relaxes me. I had some problems with my children. I created problems. I turned certain issues in to serious problems. Maybe they were very simple things. My mother relaxed me very much in those issues. My mother solves them very easily for me. She relaxes me. (MD9)

I share my problems with my mother; I can not do without her. She supports me. At least she lightens my load by giving me advice. I can say that she is my only confidant. (MD18)

She understands me, I understand her. She supports me, I support her. My daughter tells me 'I can't live without you; you comforted me in times of stress'. I tell her 'my daughter, I live as you live'. We support each other. (MM18)

I firstly share my problems regarding my mother-in-law with my mother. I can not share them with anyone else, because it is a problematic issue. I talk to my mother and feel relaxed. (MD30)

My daughter tells me not to worry about my husband; she says he is old, as if I am young. Then every so often we get together and talk about stuff. Or sometimes I complain about my son. We have a heart-to-heart talk with each other. My husband has a bad-temper, we talk about it. (MM2)

When I have a problem, or when I am bothered with something, I tell all my troubles to her. She tries to comfort me. I don't know but I can spend all day with Fatoş and I won't get bored. (WM4)

For example, my mother has a lot of expectations. She wants to be called. I tell her that everyone has their own life struggles and maybe they are thinking of you but can't act on it. We sit down and talk about it, she agrees with me and tells me I am right. When we talk like that, she starts having a more positive outlook. (MD7)

In psychological sense, I put up with a lot of her whims. I rub her feet and hands, put lotion on, tell her that she is still smart and bright, she is still needed for her wit. You continuously try to motivate her. (WD8)

I share my problems with my daughter and she shares her problems with me. But Hülya always shows the positive sides of the events. She compensates you when you get angry. She comforts me by telling me

that I misunderstood the event. I tell her that she is my doctor, she is my mother. (WM11)

She confides in me. She sometimes gets angry and reacts emotionally without a reason. As she talks about these events, I understand it from the tone of her voice. I ask her what happened. She tells me that you understand everything and starts telling me the event. While she is talking, I try to show that another person might be right and give excuses on their behalf. When I explain those things to her, she tells me that I was right. Then she says 'see, you are my mother'. I say 'Don't get angry, they might have made a mistake'. (MD11)

Probably she relaxes when she talks. She does not expect anything from me. She is not telling me her problems so that I will take action. But I think she just relaxes. (MD21)

We share problems, we confide in each other. (WM21)

Say for example, she has been to the hairdresser. I tell her that her hair looks beautiful, I often compliment her. (SD23)

We have no secrets from each other. We are both completely open to each other. I share all my problems with her. I tell her what upsets me, she tells me what upsets her. I tell my troubles to her, she tells her troubles to me. (WM30)

#### **4.1.4.2 Friendship**

Some daughters accounted that they and their mothers see each other as a friend to whom they can talk to, spend some time with or to share problems with.

My relationship with my mother is friendly. I never feel bored hanging around with her. If I am alone, instead of staying at home by myself or doing something with my son, I come to my mother's house if she is available. I enjoy sitting around and chatting and having tea with her. I don't get bored of my mother. (MD6)

Say I have visitors coming that I don't have much in common with. If I feel that I can not maintain a sensible conversation with them, so I ask my mother to come as well so that she will entertain them while I serve tea. You can't really demand this from a friend, but I can clearly tell my mother that I don't like those people. And my mother understands the situation and manages it for me. (MD13)

Most importantly, I give her love and friendship. (MD13)

However, some daughters did not really enjoy the friendship but tolerated their mother because they felt they had to.

My mother does not expect me to help her with the housework. She wants to talk to someone and she wants to be listened to. In this regard, when I go to their place, we watch TV series together. I ask her about her favorite TV series and ask her what had happened in last week's episode, even though I have no interest in TV programs whatsoever. But she gives me the whole story with a lot of excitement. She derives a lot of pleasure from watching a TV series with me. It is not only watching a program of course, it is sharing. Sharing and talking. She has to talk. She tells me about her neighbours, gives me neighbour gossip, even though I have no interest in her neighbours. But you are the closest person she can talk to. Therefore, you have to listen. (SD23)

It is rather funny. From time to time, she sees me as a friend and tells me about her problems with her other two children. Maybe since I am the eldest child, I never got the chance to be a child. It gets to a stage where she puts me in the shoes of a friend and forgets that I am her daughter as well. (MD24)

I am my mother's best friend, best friend at the moment. She thinks I am the only living person who understands her and who knows everything about her. Almost in every aspect of life. (SD27)

#### **4.1.4.3 Trust / Security**

Both mothers and daughters emphasized that they see each other as a security in life, and they trust that in times of stress or illness, their daughters or mothers will be there to support them.

There were times that I went to abroad for business. My mother's existence at home during those trips gave me a feeling of security. I thought that there would be no disruption at home, as she was there to take care of everything. (MD17)

At this late time of the night, if I call my mother and tell her that I need her, she would be right here, despite her old age. I feel this security, if something happens to my mother and father, I will feel very lonely. (SD23)

They have always encouraged me when I decided to do something new. They always gave that support and trust to their children. We

knew that even when we made mistakes, our parents would be on our side when we got back home. And we always found them to be on our side. (SD23)

If have trouble, my mother is always there for me, anytime. I know that. And whenever she needs me, I will be there for her. (MD22)

For one thing, I trust my daughter. I trust that there is someone who cares for us, who will support us. (MM12)

It is at least her security. As far as I am concerned, she gets very disturbed even when I go out of town. She feels more comfortable knowing that we are in the same city. After a couple trips she expressed her discomfort from my absence. She feels like her wings are broken and she is hanging in the emptiness. But if I am in Ankara, she knows that I am there and I will be at her side if she needs anything. Therefore, primarily, it is the feeling of security I give to her. To know that there is someone she can lean on. That is very important...I don't know how to put this into words, but I don't want her to feel lonely. (MD11)

#### **4.1.5 Functional Support**

The mothers and daughters were questioned about the type and frequency of practical support that they provide to and receive from each other in daily routine of life.

My analysis showed that, on average, daughters gave more functional support than they received from their mothers; and the frequency of functional support between mothers and daughters was not influenced by the degree of affectual solidarity between mother-daughter pairs.

I analyzed the functional support under two categories: the support given by mothers to their daughters and the support received by mothers from their daughters.

##### **4.1.5.1 Functional Support Given By Mothers**

Baby-sitting, food preparation, help with house errands, shopping, housework, and support during illness were the main types of functional support given by mothers to their daughters. The most common type of functional support was the taking care of the grandchildren. 11 mother daughter pairs mentioned that

mothers provided full-time care and babysitting service to their daughters' children. Some mothers perceived these duties as a difficult and demanding burden.

Her greatest help was to bring up my son and daughter in the past. I was working then. I never felt insecure, because my mother took them. She took care of my both children for 16-17 years full-time. (MD2)

I was taking care of grandchildren. I brought them up without doing any harm. It is a very responsible job because they are somebody else's children. Of course, they are my life and soul as well but I was so scared. (MM2)

She took care of my daughter, my elder daughter. Day and night. She took care of my other daughter in the daytime. She brought up both of my children. They were in her hands until I retired. (MD6)

I brought up my grandchildren. But the children of my elder daughter, I brought up, took care of my eldest granddaughter until she was 12. (MM6)

8 mother-daughter pairs said that they only took care of the grandchild occasionally, either because the daughter was not working, or they were located at different cities, or there were other people who were available for this service. Thus it appeared as if taking care of grandchildren was the norm and not performing this duty needed some explanation.

Since I was not working, I had no such problem, but my mother brought up my sister's children. And also, I didn't have the heart to put more burdens on her shoulders. She brought up 8 children; us 6 children and two grandchildren. It is such hard work. Because of that, she didn't take care of my children, but when we were moving houses, I left my children with her. Or if I have to go out, I leave my daughter with her grandmother. She stays there, her grandmother feeds her, takes care of her. Her presence is a big blessing for me. (MD19)

As she is not working, she is bringing up her own children, but if she brings my granddaughter to me when she is going somewhere, then I take care of her, but I never brought up her kids all by myself. (WM19)

We were excessively fond of our children, both I and their father. We never thought about leaving them with a babysitter. But on holidays, we would send the children right to their grandmother's house or my

mother would come to us. In those days my father was alive as well. In that sense, my mother put a lot of effort in to my children. (MD15)  
I got both of my grandchildren educated here. I raised them; I took pride out of raising them because they were really molded by me. My daughter was working. The children spent all their holidays, summers at my house. (WM15)

No, I didn't raise her children. In those days, she was living with her mother-in-law; they helped her with the kids. (WM16)

The second most common type of functional service given by mothers was help with food preparation. While 6 mother-daughter pairs concurrently reported that their mothers prepared the food their daughter liked most; 8 daughters also noted that they have been receiving such help from their mother; and 2 mothers mentioned that they prepare certain dishes that are difficult to make for their daughters.

When I can not manage to cook, I take the food she prepared. (MD5)  
I help her with food preparation. When needed, I allow them to host their guests in my house. (DM5)

Most of the time, we would come back from work to pick up my daughter from my mother, we would stay and have our dinner there, or even if we didn't eat there, she would pack the food and give it to us, or sometimes I would come home from work and find food ready on the stove. (MD6)  
I try to help them as much as I can. When they have guests for dinner, I prepare a dish like a pot of stuffed grape leaves. (MM6)

For example I love stuffed grape leaves. She prepares and brings it to me. She also bakes cookies for my children and tells us to pick them up. She is helping me with that type of thing. (MD11)  
I cook for them and send the food to them. I stuff grape leaves for her. She comes and picks them up. (WM11)

Thirdly, 6 mother-daughter pairs, 8 daughters and 2 mothers mentioned that mothers helped their daughters with the daily house errands and maintenance of the house order as well as with the housework like cleaning.

Say the cleaning lady is going to come that day. I work everyday of the week. I am not home for 5 days a week. She comes to my home, stays around for couple hours and tells her what to do. (MD12)

I was going to get my house painted. I just don't know how to handle that sort of stuff. My mother came to my house and we did everything together. She organized everything immediately, cleared the place despite her old age. (SD23)

For example, I have a bit of a problem with my arms. I can not wash the carpets, or clean the couches. Maybe since I have never done that sort of work, I don't have the practice. Then one day, I see my mother cleaning the couches without saying anything. She is that type of person. (MD6)

It is not like she does not help me with the big cleaning of the house. She helps me with cleaning. I can not really go up a ladder and look down. But since she has no blood pressure problems, she cleans the places that I can not reach. For example, she washes the windows. She vacuums the house. Because I get ill when I go up a ladder, she does that sort of thing. (SD29)

I do the vacuuming and window washing. I don't leave those to her. (WM29)

And finally, shopping for the daughters' groceries and giving support during illness were the other types of functional support given by mothers.

Unfortunately, my mother does my shopping. I just don't have the time. (MD10)

My mother is always on my side. Since I am single and alone, my mother is always a support when I have thing to do.

Can you give an example?

Example....Say for example, I get ill. She stays awake all night with me. (SD29)

She broke her leg; we stayed in her house for 3 months. (MM9)

#### **4.1.5.2 Functional Support Given By Daughters**

Accompanying a mother on doctor visits, shopping, food preparation, help with housework, bank/tax errands, help with technology related/novelty products usage, care during illness, home maintenance and transportation were the main types of functional support given by daughters to their mothers. The most

common type of functional support was arranging and accompanying the mother to hospital or to the doctor. 9 mother daughter pairs, 7 daughters and 5 mothers mentioned that the daughters took their mothers on doctor visits.

I take her to the doctor, because she is very forgetful and absentminded. (MD7)

I insisted that I would take a minibus, a service bus or a taxi to go to the hospital. She told me 'mother why do you say that, what sort of child I am if I don't take you to a doctor?'. (WM7)

We certainly go to hospital or to a doctor together when she needs to go. (MD12)

Say I decide to go to hospital, I ask her if she can come with me, she accompanies me and she comes with me. (MM12)

Under no circumstances do we leave my mother alone when she needs a doctor. We definitely try to follow up her doctor, her medicine, her everything. Of course, it is our duty and we try to do it. (MD15)

They always help. They always take me to the doctor, because if they don't, there is no way I could go to the doctor in 60 years. They say; "let's go mother, let's get your blood pressure checked". They got my eyes operated on. They do these kinds of things. (WM15)

The second most common type of functional service given by daughters is shopping for mothers' groceries or other house-related items, or shopping for general needs. 5 mother-daughter pairs, 7 daughters and 5 mothers said that either their daughters do their shopping or they go to shopping together.

I try to do her shopping, her bulky shopping. (MD2)

Now I can not go out, so I get my daughter to buy everything. In that aspect she is very helpful to me. My daughter helps us a lot. Now, I have a son at home, he takes us to the hospital, buys our medicine. He pays the taxes and bills. He takes care of that sort of stuff. My daughter helps us with clothes shopping, other shopping. (MM2)

We either do our shopping together, or I call and ask her what she needs, I buy them and take them to her place. For example, the grocery market...Her grocery market is on Wednesdays, if I am to visit my mother, I specifically choose Wednesdays so that I can do her grocery shopping. (MD7)

Before she comes to me, she rings me and asks me if I need anything and what should she bring. For example, she says that she will be



going to Megamarket, Carfur and asks me what I need. And if I really need something, I tell her and she buys it and brings it to me in excess. (WM7)

2 mother-daughter pairs, 5 daughters and 4 mothers said that their daughters helped with the food preparation.

When she has guests coming, I help her with the preparation of börek or other doughy things. (MD19)

Say she cooks at home. She puts the food in containers and brings some to me. Of course, if it is something I like. Her hand is always on me. (WM13)

4 mother-daughter pairs, 4 daughters and 2 mothers said that their daughters helped with the housework.

I help her with housework, with cleaning. (SD1)

She vacuums and mops the house, she does the ironing. If I am ill, she washes the dishes, otherwise I do the dishes. She is very helpful with housework. (WM1)

Say I go to my mother's house. Say, her kitchen needs to be cleaned. I clean her kitchen. For example, I come to wash her curtains. (MD7)

Now, for example, before I had this breast cancer, I could do all my housework myself. I never allowed a cleaning lady in to my house. My daughter comes and washes my curtains, changes my sheets. (WM7)

6 mothers and 2 daughters brought up that the daughters manage their banking or tax duties.

All her banking jobs are mine. (SD29)

Sometimes, she deals with my banking jobs. Then she arranges my social security papers. If I try to, I can manage to do them as well, but I take pleasure out of helping her. (WM13)

2 mothers and 4 daughters talked about helping their mothers with the use of ATM cards and help with the use of other technology related products.

I can not use the ATM. I have a card, but somehow I feel very hesitant. My daughter helps me a lot. (WM3)

I don't know, in daily life, there are certain practical things that she is not very used to. Or maybe she just can not find the time. For example, I do very practical things like selling/buying bonds in the bank for her. (MD5)

Say she can not open a can, if I am in her house, I open her cans. She does not know how to load credits into her mobile phone, I load them. I don't indeed help her a lot. (MD30)

Finally, giving support during illness, home maintenance and providing transportation were the other types of functional support given by daughters.

My daughter comes to put in my eye drops; she has to because my husband is very old. I have had lots of health problems. She is a single child. One time she said 'I wish I had a sister.' They get very tired physically and spiritually. Naturally, my load falls on her. (MM22)

We (her mother) have a house with a tenant in it. They need to convert the house to natural gas. They are still waiting for me to go there together so that the place will get measured and certain decisions are made. (MD28)

If she wants to go to somewhere, they either pick her up or I take her there and pick her up later. (MD26)

#### **4.1.6 Financial Support**

Both mothers and daughters were asked if they provide financial assistance to or receive assistance from each other.

My analysis showed that, on average, mothers gave more financial support to their daughters than they received from them. Mothers did not expect financial support from daughters who were unemployed and they did not provide financial support to their daughters if the daughter was not in need of it.

She helped me a lot when I was buying a house.”(MD4)  
I said, I will give you some money. I gave all my savings to her. My daughter and her husband entered into a cooperative, then when they got married and moved to Eryaman, I again gave them money. They paid for it themselves for couple years and then sold the place when

they were buying a house in Çayyolu. I again gave them half of the money for the house. (WM4)

When needed, she helps me financially. For example, ‘mum, I am going to buy something, will you support me?’ Say I am going to change my car. She says ‘change it of course’. She immediately helps. She is very open about it. (MD8)

From time to time we have financial difficulties but I don’t ask for anything. But she realizes my needs from my eyes and helps me. From time to time, she helps me financially. It is not in the form of giving money, but it is in the form of fulfilling a need. (MD12)

They furnished our house in Yalova, got the place cleaned and told us that it was ready. We went to a fully furnished ready house. It would not have happened, if it was not for them. (MM9)

They bought my medication. Even if I tried to buy medicine with my own money, it would not be enough for everything. It is not even enough for my cigarette expenditures. (WM26)

She does not work; I can not expect anything financial from my daughter. After all, she is dependent on her husband.(MM7)

They do not need me financially. (MD2)

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **RESULTS – INTERGENERATIONAL CONFLICT**

#### **5.1 Intergenerational Conflict**

My interview question aimed to explore intergenerational conflict was: “It is inevitable that we have disagreements or tension between mothers and daughters. What sort of issue creates tension / disagreement in your relationship with your mother/daughter?” This question was asked after the establishment of rapport with the interviewee. I aimed to present conflict as “normal” in relationships in order to reduce defensiveness in talking about the topic.

The majority of the daughters were fairly comfortable with talking about the conflict in their relationship with their mothers, and they even brought up the issue by themselves before hearing the question. Mothers, on the other hand, were more reserved about discussing their problems with their daughters, and a considerable number of mothers’ first reaction to the question was “we have no disagreements.” However, as the interview moved forward, 23 out of 30 mothers also accounted certain incidences that caused them stress in their relationship with their daughter.

Three main themes that cause conflict emerged from the interviews; interference, irritating personality traits and behavior, and differing views about siblings and adherence to traditions.

##### **5.1.1 Interference**

###### **5.1.1.1 Mothers’ Interference**

The most dominant theme in intergenerational conflict was the mothers’ interference with their daughters’ privacy, marriage and husband.

#### **5.1.1.1.1 Daughters' Privacy**

Daughters mostly complained that their mothers did not accept the fact that they have a separate life from them; and their mothers' interference in personal activities was mentioned as a major source of stress in the relationship.

No, she can not accept that you might have a private thing or have a separate life. She wants to be involved in every aspect of your life. That is why a mother and a daughter conflict. I can see this as a woman. I know all the little games my mother plays as a woman. (MD24)

(When she was living together with her parents) When I had friends over, my mother sometimes wanted to sit around us and have a conversation with my friends. Of course they are a member of the house and they try to leave you alone with your friends as much as possible, but it didn't happen that way. She just talks, talks about her neighbors to my friend. What would my friend care about her neighbor? But no, what she experienced that day is so important for her. I mean, you want to talk about something else to your friend but she walks right into the conversation and brings up that topic. Of course you can't tell her to leave us alone. You just sit there and wait until she finishes. (SD23)

When I tell her not to interfere with my business, she sulks. It creates a considerable amount of tension.

Could you give an example?

For example, I am going to go to a concert (she is in a Turkish Folk Music Chorus) or a rehearsal on a Saturday. She tells me 'what business have you got in the concert?' It is not that she doesn't like it. Maybe it is because she can't go herself. But I don't know that either. She interferes with that sort of stuff. And when she interferes, I get angry. (MD18)

(Widowed mother living with her married daughter) For example, when I go out with my husband, she imposes a curfew. I mean my husband is 53, I am 50 years old and she sulks the next morning because we came home late the night before. It creates tension both for us and for her. (MD17)

(Widow mother living with her married daughter) For example, we are going to prepare a dish. She still wants us to ask her what to cook...I can not have a conversation with my husband comfortably, she listens, and she doesn't give us a chance. I can feel that she listens and I get really angry from time to time. (MD15)

#### **5.1.1.1.2 Daughters' Marriage and Husband**

Three mothers and two daughters mentioned that the daughters' decision to get married and choice of spouse had created serious problems in the past. Evidently, those events had a long-lasting effect and they are still mentioned vividly by mothers.

There were three young men then. One of them was our Supreme Court judge's son, he is a doctor and we have known them for years as a family, and there was a lawyer boy and the one to whom she is married to now. Apparently, he was her friend from graduate school, not from university, but from graduate school. I wish she never did a masters. You are also doing your masters, aren't you? Why do you do masters? Anyway, I said to my daughter 'choose the doctor boy, we know his family'. If there is harmony between families, the young people don't have many problems when they get married... I gave birth to three daughters and each one of them emotionally impaired me. When they were single, they were very good; they had a very successful educational life. They all got into the university at their first attempt, they never created a problem. But their marriages did not happen as I wanted. (WM4)

My daughter and her husband courted in the past. I was against it for certain reasons. I saw certain things that might be a source of problems in the future. As I opposed them, they stuck together even more even though they were not adequate financially and I was not supporting them. We put things in order with my younger daughter's pressure. (DM5)

Getting along or having conflict with the son-in-law has a major impact on mother-daughter relationships. As it will be discussed in the maintenance of the relationship section, mothers who like their daughters' spouse or maintained a neutral relationship with their son-in-law generally have less conflict with their daughter. Mothers' criticism of daughters' spouses was mentioned as a source of tension in the mother-daughter relationship.

My husband is a bit cold and distant; he does not like communicating very much. Say, there is a big group of visitors in my mother's house. He never goes there; he stays out of that sort of things. My mother

gets angry; she criticizes and says ‘he is very cold, why does not he come around, why can’t he be warmer?’(MD19)

My parents get upset and angry with my husband’s quick-temper but they themselves are quick-tempered too, but they only see it in others. (MD25)

I can pretty much share everything with my mother, but from time to time she reacts unnecessarily to my marital problems and she tries to influence me. This really disturbs me. (MD17)

#### **5.1.1.1.3 Daughters’ Permissive Parenting Style**

Mothers’ reported that their daughters were permissive and indulgent toward their children and they regarded this permissive parenting style as a sign of weakness or indifference.

They sometimes think that I am too tolerant towards my daughters. We want to buy what ever my daughters want immediately so she says ‘you buy everything they want, your girls are very costly and you indulge them.’ (MD25)

She criticizes my relationship with my kids. She says ‘you let your kids exploit you, don’t do this much for them, don’t be so self-sacrificing, you have gone through a lot trouble, you had financial difficulties, put some responsibility on their shoulder, they should not spend so much money, they should not go out this much, they should be more considerate.’ There is a bit of disagreement on this issue, but I can explain it to her and persuade her. (MD19)

Do you have any disagreements with your daughter?  
For example, my granddaughter Gizem. They let her stay alone at home on the weekends. I certainly don’t approve of it. They go on a weekend holiday to Abant. If I were in her position, I would not go and wait for my child. But they just go away and leave her in Ankara. They say ‘next year, she might go to university in Istanbul, what is wrong with it?’, I say ‘this really bothers me, why does she stay alone at home’?. Until this year, they didn’t let her stay alone at home. I get really preoccupied. I tell Gizem to come and stay with us, but she says ‘no grandma, I will stay at my home, I study more comfortably here’. My daughter thinks it is very normal, but I just can’t. We have disagreements about Gizem when I tell her. But I tell her a lot, I say ‘You let this girl run loose.’(MM10)

### **5.1.1.2 Daughters' Interference with Mother**

As mothers age, daughters assume the responsibility for the health of their mothers, and in order to guard their mothers from illness they mostly interfere with their diet or clothing. This causes a minor stress in the relationship. Some mothers, on the other hand, evaluate this type of interference as a sign of attention.

Our disagreement subject is her telling me not to stay between the movements of air, or to wear a jacket. This is of course due to my illness; she says 'if you get ill, it will be headache for us.' When she says that, I get really distressed and tell her it is enough. (MM22)

We have disagreements about her diet. I tell her to be careful about her diet and not to eat greasy food. We do not get along on that issue. My dear mother doesn't pay much attention to it; I mean she doesn't pay much attention to herself. There are some disagreements on this issue.(SD20)

I get really angry when somebody interferes with my business. Especially after I got old, if somebody tell me what to do, I resent it a lot. (MM2)

She cares for me meticulously; she says 'mom your blood pressure is very high, don't go under the sun, watch out your blood pressure, do this, do that.'

Does that bother you?

No, she is telling me for my own good, I think it is normal.(MM18)

## **5.1.2 Irritating Personality Traits and Behavior**

### **5.1.2.1 Mothers' Perspective**

#### **5.1.2.1.1 Disliked Personality Features**

Certain personality traits and a daughter's unavailability were regarded as causes of conflict by some mothers. The daughters' sensitivity and reactivity were the two major irritating personality traits mentioned by mothers. These two traits are discussed in more detail in the life stage section.

Her impulsive behaviors make me angry. She flares up today without thinking about tomorrow and she gets harmed eventually. I don't want her to be harmed. Because of her obstinacy, she could not finish her



university education. She dropped out in the last year. I got so upset. Just because she insisted that she could do two things at a time. She didn't listen to me. (DM5)

When I say something, my daughter gets all touchy and offended. That is her nature, she is very sensitive. I didn't mean it that way, but she gets it all wrong. (WM15)

#### **5.1.2.1.2 Daughters' Unavailability**

Mothers reported that they desired to spend more time with their daughter, and their daughters' unavailability caused resentment. For the most parts, mothers understood their daughters' constraints.

Sometimes you get tired, too tired to listen to her, or if you could not meet her expectations and consequently, she gets angry with you. (SD23)

My mother tells me that she needs to make an appointment to talk to me. She gets angry with me about that. She says 'your phone is always engaged.' Somehow, I have got things to do outside of the home. Even though we live in the same building, my mother says she needs to make an appointment to talk to me. (MD22)

Sometimes, she does not come even though she says she will.  
How do you feel then?  
Sometimes it sticks to my mind, I make up stories in my mind, but I don't tell anything to her.  
What type of stories?  
Why didn't she come? Afterwards I say to myself, she has a home, but of course it sticks to my mind.  
What do you think then?  
Why didn't she come? Why didn't she listen to me? Why didn't it happen? But I don't tell this to her. She will get irritated, not irritated but upset. I don't tell this to her in order not to upset her. But I get angry at her, very angry. (WM21)

She leaves me alone at home and goes out. She gets touchy when I say 'you leave in the morning and come back in the evening.' But what can I do? (WM15)

My daughter is also very attached to her relatives but now maybe because she is working, she became distanced from her relatives. She

can not go to visit them or host them in her house. This upsets me. (WM11)

### **5.1.2.2 Daughters' Perspective**

#### **5.1.2.2.1 Mothers' Anxiety**

The majority of daughters have been fairly uncomfortable with the unnecessary anxiety of their mothers since their childhood and teenage years. Although most daughters mentioned this behavior while accounting of the early years of their relationship, it is vividly remembered and mentioned by daughters, even in the later years of the relationship.

We had only one problem in the past. I had to come home right after school without hanging around with my friends. She would be waiting for me on the street if I were 5 minutes late. She had that thing. She had that anxiety. But we knew it and it was not only for me, she did the same thing with my elder brother. We had to be at home the minute we said and if we passed that minute, things got very bad. She always plotted bad things in her mind. But it is still same. For example I tell my mother that I will drop by her house at a certain time. If I don't arrive at the time I said before, she gets on the phone asking if there something wrong, why have not you come yet. I think it is her nature, it is not because of her discipline, it is her anxiety. (MD7)

If she can not see me for 10 minutes in the house, she starts looking for me. For example, yesterday we had two guests and I was downstairs getting ready to go to my office. I heard this extremely panicky voice yelling 'where are you, why don't you come here', this really disturbs me, I am suffocating. (MD17)

I was very irritated with my mother's anxiety. She gets anxious. We were free to go wherever we want, but she definitely needed to know our return time. If I were 10 minutes late, she would be waiting out on the street. That really annoyed me. (MD30)

(Mother and daughter live in the same building.) My mother's anxious nature really bothered me. It is still the same. If I go somewhere and if I am late, I know that she will be waiting for us. She doesn't want us to know that she is waiting, but she waits in the dark and she does not go to bed before we get home. (MD6)

#### **5.1.2.2.2 Mothers' Dependence**

Mothers' dependence as a source of stress was mostly mentioned by co-residing daughters. Daughters complained that they can not maintain a separate life from their mothers because of their mothers' desire to be together all the time.

When we go somewhere together, she wants to go back home immediately, or if I tell her that I want to go somewhere, she creates problems by saying 'what am I going to do alone?', or if I go out, she tells me to come back home early. Of course, she lets me go and I go out but she makes me nervous by saying that. She makes me nervous. We have a bit of conflict because of this. (SD29)

For example, we live a very dependent life. We go everywhere together. Such dependence is not nice; it is the most disturbing thing for me. We have to go everywhere together. She does not go anywhere without me. Such dependence is a concern. We should all be together. We are together at home anyway. (SD27)

Her relationships with her friends weakened and she got attached to me. We go on a holiday together. I have no private life left with my daughter and husband. And this is reflecting on my marriage badly. (MD17)

She still asks us if we need her when she is making a plan. She tells me the place that they will go, the day they will go. This disturbs me. I want her to be more independent. (MD10)

### **5.1.3 Differing Views**

#### **5.1.3.1 Siblings**

Mothers' favoritism of one child over another or the different treatment of siblings was mentioned as a source of conflict even in later years in mother-daughter relationships.

One of my brothers is no help with my mother whatsoever, the pharmacist one. The younger one tries to help little bit. But I don't know how much he really does. I mean, I don't see the young one very much because my mother loves him more."

Do they come around to visit her very often?

The pharmacist one doesn't. The young one does. He calls almost every day. I hear that from my mother. I don't see it, but I hear it from my mother. But I don't believe her. Now you will ask why. Because

she favors him. There is a big discrimination about every thing.”(MD28)

For example, I tell my younger daughter we will go somewhere together, but she says ‘no, I can not come with you, I will go and play tennis.’ Kader says that ‘you say OK when she doesn’t want to go, but you insist that I go with you.’(DM27)

She tells me that my brother goes to see her three times a week but I don’t. This type of attitude really puts a distance between my mother and I. There are certain things that she should keep to herself, she shouldn’t say. It is about my brother. Because this type of attitude causes fights between brothers and sisters. That should not be said. (WD8)

Now, I can not leave me younger daughter alone, she does not go anywhere without me, we go everywhere together, we do everything together. We have such a connection. Her son is also a special kid (the younger daughter is a single mother with an autistic son.) and she can not manage it without me. My elder daughter got a bit annoyed with this. She says ‘why are you so attached, why do you always do things together?’. My elder daughter is against this, she says ‘why are you so dependent on each other, why don’t you do anything alone?’. We don’t get along about this issue. (MM6)

### **5.1.3.2 Adherence to Tradition / Lagging Behind Times**

Daughters attributed particular behavior in their mothers to the generation gap. Mothers’ insistence in traditional codes of behavior was found to be irritating by some daughters, but they were generally tolerated well by the daughters and were not regarded as a major cause of tension in the relationship.

For example, my mother thinks that I should be more faithful in religious issues. We don’t get along about this issue. She says ‘you don’t give any importance to this sort of thing.’ Maybe that is the only thing that she criticizes us about seriously. She resents it. In this regard, if we talk about that subject, she gets very stubborn. (MD5)

Have you had any disagreements with your mother?

Yes, from time to time, but nothing in particular. It is mostly because of generation conflict.

Can you give an example?

How shall I say it? For example, she fasts and she tells me to fast at least once. Of course she doesn’t expect me to fast all Ramadan, but she says ‘today is a special day; it is a holy night, even birds and dogs

fast.' I say 'mom, I don't feel the need.' When I say that, she doesn't insist any further, but I am sure that, if I fast, she will be happy. (MD10)

Do they call it generation conflict? We have that; her ideas are different than mine. For example, we grew up with different things. Our neighborhood was more different, more conservative. (WM14)

One day, I went to her house. She had a short blouse on, you could see her stomach. I said it is shameful. Her husband also sees her like that at home. I said don't go out dressed like that.

How?

I mean don't wear tight pants, Don't accentuate your body contour. I am not that comfortable. Sometimes I tell her not to display her legs. (WM21)

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **RESULTS – AMBIVALENCE**

#### **6.1 Ambivalence**

Daughters' accounts of their relationship with their mothers included more evidence of ambivalence than did the mothers' accounts of their relationship with their daughters. Daughters experienced pleasure in their relationship with their mothers as well as difficulties or resentment.

##### **6.1.1 Daughters' Ambivalence**

###### **6.1.1.1 My Mothers' Well-Being versus My Comfort**

It appears that some mothers' self-sacrificing and responsible behavior made their daughters' life easier and more comfortable, as tiring errands were done by their mothers. However, daughters also didn't want their mother to get tired and felt slightly guilty for imposing on their mothers.

My mother is a very responsible person, for example she took the responsibility of my daughter too seriously. But when she does that, the entire load falls on to her lap. You may not want this happening, but you are a human, when somebody does something that makes your life easier, you don't really try to stop it and do it yourself, as you are thinking that she is doing it anyway. But at the same time, you don't want your mother to get tired. I never wanted her to get tired, but I also shut one eye to it. It suited my interest. I came back home in the evening, my food was ready. I have certain hobbies, I have a child but I still want to read and study. So, when everything is ready, you have a chance to sit down and read in the evening. You just don't react and try to stop it when it suits you. (MD4)

I lounge around the house alot. Even when my mother comes to my house, I lounge. My mother jokes, telling me to get on my bike. So I say 'there is no host here, it is your house as well, do as you please, be

comfortable, cook what you want.’ As I say, there are a lot of contradictions. Cooking is not an errand but a pleasure for me, but washing dishes, her hands get all chapped. I tell her to put this in the dishwasher and machine will wash it. Or go out, take a walk in the park or just rest. Don’t clean, somebody will come and clean it. I want her to be more self-centered, she should not allow us, she shouldn’t do all that housework, but when she gives us the opportunity, even I am lazy. I get upset but I don’t do anything at the same time. As a result, she does it all. Human are selfish. (SD23)

#### **6.1.1.2 My Desires/My Life versus My Mothers’ Limited Time**

It appears that some middle-aged daughters were preoccupied with the mortality of their mothers; they seemed aware of their mothers’ aging and limited life expectancy. As a result, daughters seemed to postpone their desires or limit their actions in order not to upset their mothers. However, they also resented not living their life as they desired.

I get bored sometimes, I get bored most of the time. I mean, I want to plan my own life, do something. I want to go on holiday, I want to go abroad, I want to join excursions, but I can not do any of these. I just can’t leave my mother alone here...Say I want to see a movie, I go to a movie that I absolutely don’t want to miss and afterwards I think to myself ‘we have a DVD player at home, and these movies will be on DVD in 6 months time, I will watch them later on DVD, it is not worth it’, it is not worth leaving my mother alone and breaking her hear. Some evenings, I get home so tired that I wish my mother just didn’t ask anything or say anything or I sometimes wish that we didn’t watch TV. God knows it is true. My mother sits down on my bed, I sit down on a chair. I sometimes wish that she would go to bed, so that I could stretch my legs...But I know that her time is limited, my father died and now...of course, you never know who leaves this world before the other. (SD14)

I leave her at home and go out and then I feel the pangs of conscience. But I am also aware that if I stay at home, we are going to argue. It is not that I feel such tenseness from time to time. I tell to myself that her time is becoming scant, maybe I should be at home, I should be around her...But then I think to myself, I am 55 years old. Maybe I will be healthy and active for another 10 years and also my mother has travelled quite a bit before she was my age, she had the opportunity. She even went to abroad, to Greece. Did you know that I never had that chance? I still think about payment plans, think about not leaving my mother alone. And also my son is very fond of my mother. If I

leave her alone and go away, he gets all upset and says ‘where are you going leaving my grandma behind. She can not stay alone, I will take her with me to my house.’ But then I think to myself, I don’t have much time left either. I should be living my life now. Desires should not be left unsatisfied. But I am still postponing, but I don’t know until when. (MD15)

Living in the same house with your parents has its advantages; at least I have security. People who live alone don’t have security in life, but of course there are some disadvantages. I can’t leave them alone and go somewhere by myself. If the place I want to go to is not appropriate for them, I also stay at home and don’t go. You can’t really do what you want to do when you want to do. Even if you go somewhere, you go with one question in your mind: ‘is everything OK at home?’ When I go somewhere, my mind is at home; when I stay at home, my mind is out there. I just can’t leave them. (SD20)

#### **6.1.1.3 My Family versus My Mother**

Some daughters’ expressed their desire / felt obligation to meet their mothers’ needs and demands; however, they felt like they fulfilled their filial obligations at the cost of their own marital family happiness. They reported that they felt stuck between mother and own children/husband. This type of ambivalence appeared to be more common with daughters who either co-reside with their mother or live in the same building.

I am at fault as well, I always approached her with good faith, I tried not to hurt her feelings, not to offend her, tried to make her feel like she is at home, because she packed her house and moved in with us after my father’s death. And she supported us a great deal, both financially and spiritually. For this reason, I never wanted to break her heart but this resulted in losing my marriage. (MD17)

For example, my mother and father need continuous attention; they want me to look in on them all the time. And in that case, my children get very angry with me. And also my children rebel and tell me ‘do they have to see everything, do they have to stick their nose in our life all the time, do we have to share everything with them?’ There are as many disadvantages as advantages of living in the same building. (MD18)

When my mother has guests, she calls me as well and asks me to go upstairs to help her with the service. Then of course, my children get angry. They say ‘mom, you go up there every minute.’ I am always



stuck between my mother and my children. I am also stuck between them and my husband. (MD19)

It is about going out together. My parents have no problem, when they decide to go out, they go to military facilities, as my father is a retired soldier. They invite me as well, they want me to go with them and my husband gets irritated. I don't know if I should go or not. If I don't go, they get very upset, if I go with them, my husband gets angry. I am stuck between them. (MD25)

#### **6.1.1.4 We Should Be Together Versus I Get Bored**

Daughters felt the obligation to spend some time together with their mothers; however, not having common conversation topics led to boredom and to the desire to keep the visits or common activities short.

When I go out with my parents, we can not really find anything to talk about. (MD25)

She invites us over for dinner and we go of course. She put a lot of effort into preparing food. Anyway, we have our dinner but then we get bored, we want to get up and leave but we can't. (WD7)

When I come to visit my mother, I don't want to stay for long. You know, I go to visit my daughter or a friend and I stay there because I enjoy it. You sit together, drink tea or have supper and you do not know how the time has passed. But when I come here, I get tense. You know it is like fulfilling a duty, I should go and spend some time. And also, you can't just leave suddenly. (MD28)

#### **6.1.2 Mothers' Ambivalence**

Unlike daughters, mothers did not express an experience of ambivalent feelings in their interaction with their daughters. It appears that it was daughters who were more aware of their mothers' ambivalent feelings, most commonly related to their daughters' marriage. Those mothers who did not approve of the daughters' spouse expressed their criticisms but they didn't want their daughter to get a divorce at the same time.

She never liked my husband, she told that to me when I was getting married, but she didn't oppose it. She still tells me that she doesn't like him. But now I am married for 3-4 years, and she can still say 'I

told you this before you got married.’ One time I asked my mom ‘look it has been 4 years, and you are still telling this to me, do you want me to divorce him?’ Oh no, she never wants that. (MD4)

They get angry with my husband, his irresponsible behavior enrages them but then they never want me to get a divorce. (MD19)

(This whole story was scattered around the interview...her daughter’s marriage was family arranged. During wedding preparations, they found out that prospective son-in-law had no money and his family was not appropriate for them, but they went along with the decision and her daughter got married. In the early years of marriage, the daughter and her husband had a fight because of his family’s demands in the mother’s house. As far as I understood, she is not very fond of her son-in-law and she finds him very cold and uncaring.)

She started crying. She said I have been in deprivation ever since I got married, I have been tolerating them for two years, and you never look after me, why did you get all soft and call him my dear son.’ I said ‘patience my girl.’ He turned around and said that he was leaving. And he is driving our car. I told to him ‘my dear son, you can’t go by yourself, you can go with your wife and daughter, if you leave them behind, the event will go out of control.’ He picked up the kid and got in to my car. You have no idea what we have been through because of him and his family, but we seem very happy from outside. After that, I told to my daughter ‘be quick, go after your husband and go back to your home with him.’(WM7)

## **CHAPTER 7**

### **RESULTS – MAINTAINANCE**

#### **7.1 Maintenance of Relationship**

The maintenance of an adult daughter-aging mother relationship seems to be based on protecting each other from stress and sadness and preserving the harmony of the relationship. Both mothers and daughters used certain tactics to avoid conflict or discomfort in their relationship.

##### **7.1.1 Daughters' Maintenance Tactics**

Compliance with their mothers' demands, ostensible conformity and concealing or mitigating upsetting events were the most common tactics employed by daughters. Daughters seemed to employ only one tactic to protect their privacy: concealing intra-family problems from their mothers.

##### **7.1.1.1 Compliance**

Some daughters renounced or at least postponed their own needs and desires in order to meet their mother's demands so that they would not upset their mother.

From time to time we act in accordance with her desires in order not to upset her. For example, I might wish to stay at home and read a book. But if she says 'lets go to visit a relative, we ignored them for a while and it is shameful.' I have to go along with her wish. Or if she wants to buy something on a certain day, it has to be done on that day. There is no way you can postpone it. Of course she postpones it, but then she gets very upset. (MD6)

I absolutely don't reject her wish 100%, I never say 'no, we are not going to do it that way.' I try to arrange it so that I fulfil at least some part of her wish while I am doing my own thing. (WD8)

I carry out her requests even when I don't want to. (MD21)

When she starts cleaning, she wants to finish it immediately. She is very impatient. But I am slower and calmer. When I do cleaning, I want to do it meticulously no matter what happens. But since she gets all impatient, I also have to do it the way she wants it. Or she wants to go and visit a relative, but maybe I don't want to go that day. But I go with her to make her happy or at least to stop her from whining. (SD29)

#### **7.1.1.2 Concealing Events to Protect Mother**

Daughters were asked if they would share their problems with their mothers. 21 adult daughters out of 30 said that they did not tell troublesome events to their mothers, in order not to upset their mothers. Similarly, mothers were asked if their daughters shared their troubles with them. 11 mothers out of 30 agreed that their daughters did not share stressful events with them because their daughters knew how upset they would be.

I don't talk about my troubles very much. I talk about happy and funny things with my mother. I never mention my sadness. (MD2)  
She never mentions her troubles, never. Of course some unpleasant events must happen in her house but she never mentions them to us. She never mentions them to us because she knows that we will get stressed. (MM2)

She doesn't talk about her problems or troubles. She knows my nature. How can she possibly tell me? I make mountains out of a molehill. Maybe it is because she knows that. I wish she didn't. If she didn't know how upset I get, maybe she could have reflected her troubles to me more comfortably. (WM4)

Now, I never let my mother hear stressful events, because she gets very upset and she cries over spilt milk. She never looks into things with a positive perspective. And also, when somebody does something that slightly offends me, she is the enemy of that person. Because of these reasons, I never let my mother hear stressful events. And also, I don't want to upset her. I don't want her to be upset. (MD7)

I am a bit tight-lipped. I don't tell much. I tell the things that can be told, but I never talk about things that can upset them. I don't want to upset them, because they will be upset and there is nothing they can do about it. Because of this, we talk about general stuff...I don't want to tell her intra-familial events that might upset her. I don't want to tell her about my troubles with my husband and my children in order not to upset her. I don't talk about them if I can solve them. But of course, if I am desperate, I will share them with someone. (MD9)

We share our problems but we don't talk much about our troubles. They won't tell me in order not to upset me. I sometimes hear sad news from someone else, and if I tell it to them, they would say 'we knew it but we didn't tell you so that you wouldn't get upset.' My children never inform me about a death or an illness or something like that. (MM9)

#### **7.1.1.3 Concealing Events to Protect Self / Privacy**

Some daughters emphasized that they conceal certain events – especially the ones related to their private life – from their mother either because their mothers overreacted to the events or simply because the daughters chose to protect their privacy.

Of course I share my problems with her. As I said, she is like a friend to me, I talk to her about everything that I would talk about with a friend. Things that make me happy, my sorrows, and my relationships with my friends, she knows them all, as long as she is not involved with very intimate stuff. (MD5)

I can share everything with her, but sometimes she unnecessarily overreacts, especially to my problems with my husband and she tries to influence me and this really disturbs me. (MD17)

I generally don't like talking about my private life, about my relationship with my boyfriend. I don't like when I am asked 'how is it going, what do you do together?' It is not my style. If I am upset about something or if I am going through something, I want it to stay with me. I prefer that. (SD23)

Sometimes she acts impulsively. Say I am upset with a friend. If she senses that, she might call my friend. My mother has got that thing. I may not tell her everything because I am scared of her impulsiveness. (SD27)

#### **7.1.1.4 Postponing / Mitigating Unpleasant Events**

Daughters reported that they refrain from talking about certain issues openly and instead they preferred to tell the unavoidable topics with a degree of reservation because of their mothers' exaggerated reactions.

When I have health problems, I tell them to her without exaggerating. I talk about them in such a way that she can sense that there is a bit of a problem. I am a doctor and I can guess what can happens as a result of a certain illness. But when my mother hears about my illness, she dramatizes it very much and the problem turns into a tragedy. (MD10)

I try not to reflect my health related problems as much as possible and I try to handle them by myself. I tell her when there is a problem, but I tell them by softening the words, choosing different words or indirect speech so that she won't panic because she gets very upset, she thinks that she can't do anything about it. As a result, I approach her more cautiously in health related issues. (MD12)

I can not talk much about financial matters, about my children's expenditures. I have to hide them from her; she reacts, because after all we are financially dependent on her. She feels she has the right to interfere in this issue. As a result of this, I talk about financial matters evasively without giving much detail. (MD19)

#### **7.1.1.5 Ostensible Conformity/ Agreement**

It appears that some daughters did not react to or openly contradict their mothers' demands or suggestions that they didn't like, but instead they complied ostensibly, doing what they desired.

Sometimes if something happens in front of her, she of course interferes, she tells me something without noticing but after a while I don't really listen to what she says. I listen to her, but I do as I please. I am 50 years old. I have my own opinions. I say 'OK, yes mom' but eventually I do as I please. (MD9)

I always say OK. This is my habit. This is not only for my mother but also for other people as well. If she tells me to do something, I say OK but I do whatever I have in my mind. I never say no, but I do as I please. (MD12)

She says OK to whatever I say to her; of course I won't demand things that she can not fulfil, but even if I do, she says OK to everything. She

might do or not do what I say, that is a different issue, but she always says OK. (WM7)

### **7.1.2 Mothers' Maintenance Tactics**

Mothers' maintenance tactics were based on preserving the harmony of the relationship and avoiding overt conflict. The tactics that were mostly used by mothers were: not interfering, tolerance, not sulking, tolerating son-in-laws and concealing certain stressful events from their daughters.

#### **7.1.2.1 No Interference**

It appears that some mothers were aware of the adverse effects of interference with their daughters and they refrained from intruding in their business.

I feel her attention, but she doesn't have an oppressive character. She knows when to pull back. If she senses that I want to be left alone, she doesn't bother me. (MD13)

I don't like it when people interfere with my business and it is mutual, if I don't like that sort of behavior then I don't do it to others as well. I don't like telling my daughter 'do this, don't do that.' We don't interfere with each other's business. (WM13)

My mother is very understanding. For example, I might be watching television with my husband. Most of the time, she doesn't even come to the room. She lives in her own world. She is very respectful. (MD26)

Say my daughter and her husband are arguing. I leave the house then. I never interfere with their discussions. It happens you know, it happens in every house. But I don't interfere. I don't want tension between me and my son-in-law. They can handle their own problem. Since I don't interfere with anything and my existence at home is hardly noticeable, we never have any problems. I never ask her what has happened between her and her husband. It is none of my business. (WM26)

#### **7.1.2.2 No Tenacity / Tolerance(\*)**

Some mothers seemed aware of the importance of tolerating personality or attitude differences in maintaining the harmony of the relationship.

We both have to be tolerant to each other. (DM27)

She might have attitudes that don't suit me but she has a personality. Because I respect her, they don't really bother me. (WM13)

Of course we have conflicting habits and thoughts but she doesn't tell me anything and I don't tell her what to do. I try to adjust to them; I try to accommodate the requirements of the time. (MM10)

(\*) dediğim dedik olmama.

### **7.1.2.3 No Sulking (\*)**

Some mother-daughter pairs who mentioned having overt conflict and disagreements noted that they maintained their relationship by not sulking or by not discontinuing their communication.

For example, my mother nags but she doesn't get offended, she doesn't sulk. We have never seen that since our childhood. (MD4)

Of course we always had different views, disagreements but we always found the midway. Because of this, we never got offended or discontinued communicating like some other mother-daughters. (MD12)

When we have arguments, I do something to restore the relationship. We are mother and daughter after all. It doesn't really get serious because I am loved very much. (MD18)  
I get angry with small stuff but it goes away. I don't dwell on it. I never get offended. (MM18)

Of course, I have conflict with my daughter sometimes, maybe a slight heartbreak but we never dwell on it. Neither she nor I dwell on it. Five minutes later we start talking again. We never keep our anger to ourselves. We tell each other whatever needs to be told. This is how we get along. (WM15)

(\*) küsmemek

### **7.1.2.4 Concealing Events to Protect Daughter**

Just like daughters, 21 out of 30 mothers noted that they tried to conceal certain events – especially health and marital problems – from their daughters to



protect them from stress and sadness. However, it seems that those unpleasant issues came on the scene after a while.

Sometimes, unpleasant events happen at home, but I hide them from her so that she won't get upset. It can be something with my husband or with my son. I think to myself, 'she shouldn't hear, she shouldn't get upset.' But it comes out after a while. (MM2)

I try not to tell her my problems as much as possible.

Do you share your troubles, problems or happiness with your daughter?

Of course, of course as long as it doesn't upset her. For example, I never talk about my sadness or my sorrow. I don't talk about many issues. For example, some nights I get scared but I don't tell her anything. (WM7)

She tries not to tell me upsetting things as much as she can. But we understand and we know everything. For example, she doesn't tell us about an upsetting event right away in order not to upset us, but she talks about it eventually. (MD7)

For example illness...If it is a small one that we can hide, we try to sort it out by ourselves in order not to upset her, but if it is a big problem of course we tell her. Or maybe I can be upset because of my other daughters but I don't want her to sense it. I am upset already, why should she be upset as well. (MM10)

For example, I don't tell her when I have a headache because she gets upset. I can't sleep some nights, but I don't tell her. Why should she get upset, why should she worry that I couldn't sleep, why should she occupy her mind with these things? I don't talk about these sorts of things. (WM14)

You never know if she has any illness unless she reaches to a point where she knows that something terrible is going to happen in 3 minutes. When she reaches that point, she calmly says 'can you check my blood pressure, there is nothing wrong with me but I am just curious.' (SD14)

#### **7.1.2.5 Tolerating Son-In-Law**

Some mothers noted their dislike of or disapproval for their daughters' husband. However, these mothers refrained from criticizing their son-in-laws and tolerated their irritating behavior in order not to create tension.

My husband is a bit cold and distant; he does not like communicating very much. Say, there is a big group of visitors in my mother's house. He never goes there; he stays out of that sort of thing. My mother gets angry; she criticizes and says 'he is very cold, why does not he come around, why can't he be warmer?'

Does she tell this to you or to him?

She tells it to me; she never tells things like this to him. She has never addressed him directly so far. Poor thing, she acts as if nothing has happened, as if everything is normal. If he goes to her place, she serves him kindly, she doesn't react emotionally. (MD19)

My mother managed one thing very well. I don't know how but she treats her son-in-law and daughter-in-law with great respect and honor. Indeed, they both have their faults. But she never talks about them and because of this we never experience friction. Of course those are the faults we know but when someone else talks about them, you get irritated. She never talks about it and it is very nice. (MD30)

## **CHAPTER 8**

### **RESULTS – RELATIONSHIP TYPOLOGY**

#### **8.1 Constructing Typologies**

During interviews, I realized that some mother-daughter pairs generally had peaceful and close relationships despite conflicts while others did not. Those who did not enjoy their relationship were either troubled and had ambivalent feelings toward each other or they were aloof and withdrawn. The general atmosphere of the interviews gave clues about the different types of relationship. The distinction became clearer as I grouped the pairs in terms of structural solidarity, affectual solidarity, conflict and ambivalence. Despite our aim to place mother-daughter pairs in to the typologies described in Chapter1, we could not find a fit between different types of mother-daughter relationships in our sample and the typologies in the literature. For one thing, intergenerational functional and financial support was not greatly influenced by the type of relationship. Mothers and daughters have given these types of support to each other as needed, regardless of the general tone of the relationship. Secondly, it was the maintenance tactics used to avoid / handle conflicts and ambivalence that determined the tone of the relationship, rather than the absence or presence of conflict and ambivalence. It appeared that it was the mothers' behavior and daughters' personality traits that determined the type of relationship: the mothers' interference and intrusion and the daughters' unreservedness.

**Table 8.1.1.: Relationship Impression Table**

PAIRS	MOTHER	DAUGHTER	LIFE STYLE	RELATION TYPE
WM1-SD1-CR	Protective, controlling	Dependent	same	TYPE I
MM2-MD2-30D	Dependent, not-interfering	Happy, caring	different	TYPE I
WM3-MD3-30D	Dependent, not-interfering	Understanding, caring	different	TYPE I
WM7-MD7-SN	Dependent, self-sacrificing	Understanding, devoted, helping	similar	TYPE I
WM8-WD8-30D	Independent, capricious, open, loving	Independent, ambivalent, open, loving	different	TYPE I
WM11-MD11-30D	Independent	Understanding, loving	different	TYPE I
MM12-MD12-SS	Independent, friendly	Anxious, helping, friendly	similar	TYPE I
WM13-MD13-SS	Independent, friendly	Friendly, devoted	similar	TYPE I
WM16-MD16-30D	Loving, understanding, non-interfering	Loving, devoted	similar	TYPE I
MM18-MD18-SB	Interfering, needy, loving	Ambivalent, helping, maintaining	similar	TYPE I
MM22-MD22-SB	Sickly, calm, friendly	Friendly, tolerant	similar	TYPE I
MM23-SD23-30D	Independent, loving	Needy, childish, selfish	different	TYPE I
WM26-MD26-CR	Non-interfering, dependent	Controlling, helping	similar	TYPE I
WM30-MD30-30D	Helping, loving, non-interfering	Helping, appreciative	similar	TYPE I
WM4-MD4-30D	Bossy, controlling, interfering	Understanding, maintaining, ambivalent	similar	TYPE II
WM17-MD17-CR	Dependent, bossy, controlling	Dependent, resentful but helping	similar	TYPE II
DM27-SD27-CR	Devoted, interfering,	Devoted, ambivalent	similar	TYPE II

WM28-MD28-SN	Controlling, cold, depressed	Independent, resentful	different	TYPE II
MM20-SD20-CR	Picky	Devoted, controlling, ambivalent	similar	TYPE II
WM15-MD15-CR	Needy, interfering, bossy, helpful	Resenting, troubled	similar	TYPE II
WM19-MD19-SB	Controlling, interfering, loving mum	Ambivalent, troubled	similar	TYPE II
WM14-SD14-CR	Needy, anxious	Devoted, caring and resenting	different	TYPE II
WM29-SD29-CR	Controlling, dependent, easy going	Dependent, resentful	same	TYPE II
DM5-MD5-SS	Self-sacrificing, calm	Carefree, independent	similar	TYPE III
MM6-MD6-SB	Independent, troubled	Distant, ambivalent	similar	TYPE III
MM9-MD9-10D	Non-interfering, dependent	Distant but helping	different	TYPE III
MM10-MD10-10D	Loving, non-interfering	Independent, helping	different	TYPE III
WM21-MD21-30D	Controlling	Aloof, self-protective	different	TYPE III
WM24-MD24-30D	Childish, self-centered	Very private	different	TYPE III
MM25-MD25-30D	Distant, controlling	Maintaining, ambivalent	similar	TYPE III

### **8.1.1 Type I – Peaceful / Close Relationship**

Of all the mother-daughter pairs, 14 of them were classified as Type I which is characterized by high reciprocal affectual solidarity, despite moderate levels of ambivalence and conflict. Both mothers and daughters expressed their mutual closeness, trust, sharing, sensitivity and love for each other. Moreover, it seems that there was a feeling of empathy as well as communication without speech. 11 of the daughters in Type I relationships were married; two mother-daughter pairs were coresiding and two were living in the same building.

I feel closest to my daughter Hülya. Hülya comes first. She cares more than other people. I mean, I trust first God then Hülya...Her love is the biggest support that she can give to me. (WM11)

I can understand her sadness or stress from the tone of her voice and I ask her what has happened. (MD11)

I share my problems with my mother; I can not do without her. She supports me. At least she lightens my load by giving me advice. I can say that she is my only confidant. (MD18)

She understands me, I understand her. She supports me, I support her. My daughter tells me 'I can't live without you; you comforted me in times of stress'. I tell her 'my daughter, I live as you live'. We support each other. (MM18)

Even though pairs expressed the existence of disagreements and conflict between them, they were not taken seriously, and offense was not taken by either party. The causes of conflict and tension were attributed to external factors or they were tolerated by daughters.

I don't have conflict with Hülya. It is just her kids that upset me. She lets them free. She tells me 'the time has changed and it is different than yours and ours, the present is unusual.' I guess that she also gets upset about these kids coming home late but she does not make her sadness obvious to me because she doesn't want me to get upset. I wince about the kids coming home late but she tries to calm me down. (WM11)

My daughter is also very attached to her relatives but now maybe because she is working, she fell out of touch with her relatives. She can not go to visit them or host them in her house. This upsets me. (WM11)

I don't know, I sometimes tell her to retire because I want to spend more time with her. (MM18)

(About daughter's alcoholic husband) I sometimes tell her 'you caused harm to yourself with your own actions.' And then she says 'I know mom, I made a mistake but that is enough.' Then of course I get upset, I say 'my daughter it is a destiny, it is our fate.' (MM18)

If I do not go and check upon them, she hints her discomfort indirectly. Indeed of course she gets offended when they are not looked in on, maybe they feel like they have no one in the world, I think it is because they are very close to me. (MD18)

Nowadays, I interfere with her medication and diet but she likes doing her thing better. If I interrupt them, she gets angry and tells me 'you don't understand', so I say 'OK., fine, do as you please.' We pass over these matters lightly. These type of disagreements happen. But of course they are due to her age. (MD11)

We have never taken offense from each other. We never hurt each other's feelings. And also, I don't like sulking as a personality trait. Sometimes my mother gets preoccupied with something; I comfort and please her with couple conversations. Sometimes she gets angry with my elder brother and elder sister, but I just can't stand it so I settle the issues quickly and softly. (MD11)

After we have a row or tension, I go and restore the relationship. We are mother-daughter after all. And also, I am very much loved so we never have any serious incidences. (MD18)

I get angry with minor things, but they come and go. I just let them go. I never take offense and sulk. (MM18)

Type I mothers and daughters expressed their desire to guard each other from stress by hiding certain stressful events.

I used to share my problems with her in the past. But I think for the last 20 years I have been trying not to tell her anything stressful, because she is very much affected by them and she gets very upset. For example, I used to tell her everything during my teenage years and at the beginning of my marriage, but then I realized that when I was

solving my own problems and getting over them, she would still be hanging there with the problem. She was still getting upset but I was solving my own problems. Or at least, I don't get upset as much as she does. You try to work them out and you are in the situation. As a result I decided not to tell her stressful things. But the only reason is to guard her from stress. I try not to reflect any stress we go through like the financial difficulties we had for a while in the past, my sons' traffic accidents. But after the problems are resolved and everything has settled, I tell her what had happened superficially, as if it was a very simple and trivial thing. Once you live your own pain and get over it, it is easier to talk about them. And when you put those events so simply in front of her, she is not affected very much. As you don't react, she does not react either. (MD11)

She tells me some appropriate things, but she generally keeps them to herself. Maybe she talks about some important things regarding us or other relatives but she doesn't talk about her friends. (MM11)

I hide things from her just to guard her from stress. For example, when I get ill, I don't tell it to her until I have to. I have a friend upstairs. She is also retired. When I have a problem, I handle it with her. She takes me to the doctor if necessary. Once it is all over, I tell it to her, but she says 'why didn't you tell to me?' Because I know it is going to upset her or she will have to interrupt her work. (MM11)

I don't want to upset her. (MM18)

Well she generally talks about her problems, but of course I won't know if she has anything in her secret world. Maybe she hides stuff from me thinking that they will upset me, I am not very sure of that, but we generally share our problems about everything. (MD18)

Finally, the expression of ambivalent feelings was lowest in this group.

### **8.1.2 Type II – Ambivalent Relationship**

Of all 30 mother-daughter pairs, 9 of them were classified as Type II which is characterized by high level of daughters' ambivalence and high level of mothers' intrusion and interference.

I leave her at home and go out and then I feel the pangs of conscience. But I am also aware that if I stay at home, we are going to argue. It is not that I feel such tenseness from time to time. I tell to myself that her time is becoming scant, maybe I should be at home, I should be around her...But then I think to myself, I am 55 years old. Maybe I will be healthy and active for another 10 years and also my mother



had travelled quite a bit before she was my age, she had the opportunity. She even went to abroad, to Greece. Did you know that I never had that chance? I still think about payment plans, think about not living my mother alone. And also my son is very fond of my mother. If I leave her alone and go away, he gets all upset and says 'where are you going leaving my grandma behind. She can not stay alone, I will take her with me to my house.' But then I think to myself, I don't have much time left either. I should be living my life now. It should not be left as an unsatisfied desire. But I am still postponing, but I don't know until when. (MD15)

I am at fault as well, I always approached her with good faith, I tried not to hurt her feelings, not to offend her, tried to make her feel like she is at home, because she packed her house and moved in with us after my father's death. And she supported us great deal, both financially and spiritually. For this reason, I never wanted to break her heart but this ended in ruining my marriage. (MD17)

(Widow mother living with her married daughter) For example, when I go out with my husband, she imposes a curfew. I mean my husband is 53, I am 50 years old and she sulks the next morning because we came home late the night before. It creates tension both for us and for her. And because of her reaction to my late arrivals, I postpone going out or decide just not to go out. (MD17)

Both mothers and daughters expressed the presence of conflict / tension in their relationship. However, daughters perceived their relationship as more conflictual than their mothers did.

We don't get along about doing neighbor or relative visits together. My mother loves it very much, she really loves visiting people. I just can't do it, I am not used to it, it is impossible. We have conflicts about this issue with my mother. She can go to the friends by herself who live close by. But if we are forced to, my husband drives her there and picks her up in the evening. And of course, sometimes I just can't say no. Those people are my aunts, not someone I don't know. She gets angry with me and tells me 'she is your aunt and my sister-in-law, I am going to see them, why don't you come with me?' So, we go together every so often. We try to keep in a balance. But I don't like going to other people's houses. And she knows it. That it is the way I am and that is the way she is. (MD15)

I get very angry with my mother, I regret it but I am so sad, so sad. That much goodness harms you. She is very protective; I am still her

little girl. I have not grown up. She reacts in such ways that I get shocked. (MD15)

The other day, I was going to have friends over. I wanted to prepare some snacks and tidy up the house myself. Say I am in the kitchen and doing something, she tells me ‘what do you know, you just go and sit down and leave it to me.’ (MD15)

Sometimes, she picks on my daughter-in-law, I get very angry and I tell her that I get angry. She expects things from my daughter-in-law that she doesn’t expect from her own daughter-in-law. Why?... She doesn’t like the way she dresses. Gül likes colorful, dressy, stylish clothes. I love it. But my mother brings the subject up all the time. (MD15)

Türkan’s personality has changed because of some stresses she went through. And probably I don’t have my old patience any more. We conflict sometimes, we have disagreements. (WM17)

Till last the 3 years, I used to be a very quiet and obedient person. But the difficulties I went through taught me to be more assertive and defensive. This disturbs her a great deal. And all I do is to tell her that she is pushing my limits. Oh, she gets a broken heart immediately and tells me that I have changed. (MD17)

For example, yesterday my relative came from Istanbul to visit. Türkan disappeared for a long while. I got very worried because she has low blood sugar. As I didn’t hear from her, I got worried that she had passed out. Of course, in order to make my voice audible from upstairs to downstairs, my voice was high. She was apparently in the bathroom, I didn’t know. She didn’t tell me anything. She said that she was in the bathroom. Later, me and my relative went to a friend of mine’s and when we came back, she asked me harshly ‘ why did you yell at me like that, I was in the bathroom, why are you looking for me all the time?’. So I said ‘I am sorry, I didn’t know that you would get angry, but you know I got worried.’ (WM17)

If she can not see me for 10 minutes in the house, she starts looking for me. For example, yesterday we had two guests and I was downstairs getting ready to go to my office. I heard this extremely panicky voice yelling ‘where are you, why don’t you come here’, this really disturbs me, I am suffocating. (MD17)

Her extreme attachment to her furniture (apparently, when her mother moved in with the daughter, she demanded to keep her furniture and the daughter had to get rid of her goods), her authoritarian attitude in the house and her intrusion in everything disturbs me. (MD17)

Moreover, mothers appeared to perceive the relationship more positive and not to accept their intrusion and interference.

I don't interfere with their friends. (WM15)

Even if they have to go somewhere, I don't go with them. I am not that intrusive. I know that they need to be left alone. (WM15)

Of course, they have their own life and for this reason I don't interfere with them. (WM15)

I tolerate it when she doesn't want to go to visit relative with me. Maybe some other mothers would create problems because of that, but I don't. She is right, she just can't do it, and she can't be like us, because she has never been a housewife before. (WM15)

If there is something I don't like or something that upsets me, I don't say anything about it and I don't interfere with it as much as possible. But if my patience runs out, I say one single word and go to my bedroom. (WM17)

When I say something to her, they think that I am interfering with their business. This really upsets me very much, because it is not interference, I just tell them what I think, with very good faith, but when they react to me as if I am interfering, I get very upset. I get offended and I sulk. (WM17)

There existed an ample amount of functional support exchange between mothers and daughters; however it appeared that functional support given to the mother was more than the functional support received by the daughter. Furthermore, both mothers and daughters reported that they provide a great deal of emotional support to each other in terms of sharing problems and providing security in life. However, it appears that for daughters the cost of the ambivalent feelings was more than the satisfaction they attain from the emotional support they received.

Finally, of the 9 mother-daughter pairs in this group, 6 were co-residing and one pair was living in the same building. It appears that, co-residence - rather than the marital status of the daughter - was indicative of this type of relationship.

### 8.1.3 Type III – Distant Relationship

7 of 30 mother-daughter pairs were classified in Type III, which was mainly characterized by low affectual solidarity in daughters and low structural solidarity. All of the daughters in this group were married and 5 out of 7 mother-daughter pairs were living in a driving distance of 10 to 30 minutes.

The most salient indicative of the Type III relationship was the reservedness and aloofness of the daughter.

My elder daughter is a bit of an introvert. She doesn't like talking about her problems. My younger daughter is closer to me because she tells me everything, she doesn't hide anything from me and in this regard, I am more comfortable with my younger daughter. As I said my elder daughter is a bit introvert. (MM6)

She might talk to me about her daughter-in-law. She loves her but that is her personality I think, she wants to talk about her with me, but I don't give her that choice. (MD24)

I don't want to talk to her about my private life; my mother doesn't know anything about me and my husband.  
Is that because you don't want to upset her?  
No, there is nothing to be upset about. This belongs to me and I don't have to share it with her. (MD24)

Moreover, the level of emotional support exchange was lowest compared to other types. The majority of the daughters in this group refrain from sharing their problems with their mothers.

I don't tell her anything about her children or husband, because if I do, there will be a bit of tension between us. If I ask her 'why do you stay away from us, why do you try to sort everything out by yourself, why do you never tell us your problems?', there will be a bit of tension. (MM6)

From time to time, there are certain things that I don't share with my mother. She tells me 'you are living in your own world; you try to sort everything by yourself.' Since we are living in the same building, it is not possible to change everything instantly when the problem arises so she finds about them despite your reluctance. In that case, she says 'you don't tell me anything, you try to fix them by yourself.' She gets a bit offended. (MD6)

I might have a sore neck or sore back which stops me from sleeping or moving easily. Yesterday I was going to go to see a relative, I told my younger daughter that I had a sore back. She went upstairs immediately and told to my elder daughter. Indeed, I had this back problem for couple days. My elder daughter came downstairs and asked me 'why do you hide it from us, why do you do this'. They got a bit angry. (MM6)

My mother never tells us about her problems or discomforts. She never reflects them on us. (MD6)

Do you share your problems with your mother?

No, definitely no. Nothing. Of course she might see certain things but she can not know anything beyond what she sees. Apart from that, she can absolutely hear nothing from me. (MD24)

If we tell her anything, she gets ill, detaches herself and starts whining. As a result we hide everything from her. (MD24)

My daughters don't tell me about their problems because I will get upset. But I feel it, motherhood instinct feels it...They hide most of the things from me. It is good though, I have a very sensitive nature, I just can't handle it, I get very upset. (WM24)

I don't want to take on the roles of being a sibling, being an elder sister and half a mother. It tires me out.

Do you talk about this feeling with your mother?

No, never, I don't tell it to anyone. (MD24)

I sometimes ask her about her health or well being. She always says she is fine and there is nothing wrong with her. She doesn't like talking about things like that. (WM24)

While both mothers and daughters reported moderate levels of conflict, only daughters mentioned the experience of ambivalent feelings in their relationship with their mother.

Now, I can not leave my younger daughter alone, she does not go anywhere without me, we go everywhere together, we do everything together. We have such connection. Her son is also a special kid (the younger daughter is a single mother with an autistic son.) and she can not manage it without me. My elder daughter got a bit annoyed with this. She says 'why are you so attached, why do you always do things together?'. My elder daughter is against this, she says 'why are you so dependent on each other, why don't you do anything alone?'. We don't get along about this issue. (MM6)

There are certain times in your life that you can not find the energy to put up with the unreasonable caprice of your mother while you are dealing with serious problems. You could be working hard and your mother might fuss about not being cared for or not being called enough. In times of that trivial caprice and coyness, you just rebel. For example when I was living in Bursa, I would call my mother and she would tell me that she was very ill. In those days, there was no way for me to come to Ankara and take care of her, my sister was in the USA. Those were the days in which I got very upset, I would go to school (she was a teacher) all sad, come home in a rush to call her and in time I realized that she was not really ill, it was just a temporary thing. This really makes me angry. (MD24)

## **CHAPTER 9**

### **RESULTS – EFFECTS OF TIME**

#### **9.1 Effects of Age and Life Cycle**

The relationship changes throughout the life-cycle, which were predicted by the theories, were also apparent in my study. Mother-daughter relationships were transformed when; the daughters got married and had children, and when mothers became widows, as well as with the mothers' and daughters' aging, and with the mothers' declining health.

##### **9.1.1 After Daughters' Marriage**

###### **9.1.1.1 Decrease in Mother Interference**

As daughters got married, mothers felt the relief of transferring the responsibility of their daughter from their shoulders on to the daughter's own or their husband's. Consequently the mothers understood that their daughters have a life of their own and stopped interfering with them.

Now, it is of course different. She doesn't interfere with me anymore. When she comes to my house, she acts like a guest. She doesn't interfere in our relationship. I am very content in that regard. Sometimes I see mothers who intrude in their children's relationships. They are still interfering, but not that much. (MD21)

After she got married, she established a home. They have their own life and I don't want to interfere with any of them and I don't interfere. (WM19)

Until I got married, she was restricting me a lot, but after I got married, she accepted that I was a married woman.  
In which aspects she was restricting you?

Until I got married, she had a very strict curfew. She wouldn't let me stay in a friend's house overnight. Maybe it is because I was the first child. My sisters had more comfortable teenage years. I had to be back home at a certain time. They would only let me go out at night for very special events. This really upset me very much. But after I got married, she said 'from now on, you are your husband's responsibility, you can do as much as he allows you.' After that, she never interfered with me. (MD10)

When she was a teenager, I wouldn't let her wear mini skirts. But now she wears miniskirts and I never say she shouldn't. I can't interfere anymore. (MM10)

I think it is different while the child is growing up. After you marry your daughter and get rid of that responsibility, the mother-daughter relationship becomes very different. For one thing, she frees herself from that responsibility; she loads that responsibility to someone else. At least, she gives that responsibility to you... After she gets you married, she thinks that I raised the child, got her married and my job is finished. Then of course they are more conservative, more conservative about man-woman relationships. She got married, she has a husband. Now they are more comfortable... And after I got married, she was more tolerant towards me. They didn't interfere with anything. It is also related to my personality. But they didn't interfere with anything afterwards. (MD9)

#### **9.1.1.2 Acceptance of Daughter as an Adult**

After the marriage of daughters, mothers began to accept that their daughters have a separate life with their husbands and children and these newly established family members may have a higher priority than mothers. As a result, they did not feel ignored when their needs were not met.

After I had my second daughter, she accepted that I was a mother as well. It is just very recently that, she began to accept me as an adult. I think this is the most striking change in our relationship. After the age of 40. (MD10)

Of course, now our relationship can not be same as it was when she was a teenager. After she got married, she had a life her own. We were seeing each other less, but our relationship was not damaged. (WM17)

She is always together with her husband, now her husband is closer to her than I am. (WM28)



She is out of this house now; I could not tell her anything about how she spends her money after she got married. (WM21)

After she became a mother, her responsibility has increased. As her responsibility has increased, her concern for us decreased of course. But it is very normal, this happens to all mothers. (MM10)

### **9.1.2 After Daughters' Parenthood**

#### **9.1.2.1 Increased Understanding of Motherhood by Daughter**

Almost all of the daughters and most of the mothers reported that their daughters understood the meaning of being a mother; justified and empathized with the behavior of mothers that are annoying in the early years of the relationship, especially after they became mothers themselves.

Time matures you so much that your actions began to appear to you childish. And also, once you become a mother, you start thinking 'I wish I have never done that, I wish I had never upset my mom. (MD16)

Of course, after I became a mother, I started seeing clearly what a mother feels. (MD2)

Sometimes, you can criticize your mother as a child. You think to yourself 'why does she act like that; if it was me, I would never behave like this.' But as years go by, without recognizing, you start to walk on the same path. (MD11)

Now I can understand her past conservatism. Maybe I was getting very angry then. But now when I think about it, especially after becoming a mother, the things are not what they seem. Then they were right to be anxious. Of course, she has changed in years and understood certain things but now, I feel the same anxiety and worry for my own children. (MD9)

My mother used to tell me 'you will understand it when you become a mother yourself.' I understood it after Gizem's birth. When she goes out in the evening, I can't sleep before she arrives. In those days, I couldn't understand my mother's behavior, and I was thinking to myself 'what can happen?', but now I am going through the same things. (MD10)

Once your child reaches puberty, you understand the difficulties that your mother has been through. (MD24)

She always knew the value of a mother, but after she became a mother herself she said she understood the value of a mother better. She always knew it though. (WM24)

#### **9.1.2.2 Increased Functional Support Given by Mother**

Mothers began to give more functional support to their adult daughters after they got married and became parents.

Her load increased. First it was me on her as a load, after I got married; it became me and my family. As always, my mother supported us in every aspect; both financially and emotionally. (MD6)

She was taking care of my children, my house. She was very young then, it was her most potent age. I think she was my current age when I got married. She was fit and very active. (WD8)

I was working, and then I had my child. My mother was always there for me, she helped me with child care. (MD26)

She got married, but we tried to support her continuously. She went to a small town from a big city. Of course, you get upset. We tried to support her, we tried to show that life was good. (WM15)

She got married when she was young and she got pregnant right away and had the baby. We had to help her even more. (WM7)

#### **9.1.2.3 Increased Closeness & Openness**

After the daughters' marriage and parenthood, it appears that mothers and daughters grew closer, as they started to share the same feminine world, and as personal freedoms ceased to be a conflict issue.

Over the years, you start to talk about very intimate subjects. (MD3)

We are closer now; I became a mother and felt what a mother might feel. Moreover, there is nothing left in my life that needs secrecy. You do forbidden things secretly when you are a teenager, but they are over now. We are closer now compared to past. I have got nothing to hide now. (MD2)

We got closer, because you share your problems now. You start talking about issues that you couldn't have then. I also got pregnant right after the marriage and I had the baby. It feels more like a family. Because before that I was a student, then I worked and studied at the

same time. I used to go to work in the day time and to school in the evening. I hardly got to see my mother; there was no time to talk to each other. But after I got married, I quit my job, I finished university, became a research assistant. I mean, after I got married I had more time to spare for my mother. You get closer after you have your own family. Old relationships change dimension. (WD8)

After I got married and my mother got rid of my responsibility, we got closer, our conflicts decreased. We had fights about personal freedom but they ceased to exist after I got married. (MD10)

### **9.1.3 Mothers' Aging and Declining Health**

#### **9.1.3.1 Declined Activity / Loss of Strength**

The majority of the daughters recognized that the strength and mental/physical activity of their mothers had declined over the years. The majority of the mothers agreed with this decline in their strength, in terms of a decline in their housework and physical activity.

In time, in the last 6 years, I realized that she doesn't have the strength to handle problems. She was stronger in the past. She would solve problems, she could handle everything. She was either stronger or she seemed stronger to us. We always had a strong mother image who could resist problems. But after I retired and started spending more time with her, I realized that she wasn't that strong anymore. (MD6)

In fact she is a very active person. What I remember was she took care of everything, did all the work, took care of grandchildren, and prepared food for my guests. She was such an active person. But now, because of her age, her actions are restricted and this really gets her down. She doesn't want to accept it. Until she got old, it was her nature to do everything. And now she gets very angry with herself as she can't do what she could. (MD11)

My mother got older. She can't move as fast, she can't think as fast. In fact, she is 70 and she can still run her own errands. (MD12)

I don't do much at home, I only cook and I tidy up the house just a little bit. I can't do housework because of my health. (WM14).

#### **9.1.3.2 Perceived Role Reversal**

1/3 of daughters reported that their roles as mother and daughter have reversed over the years. It appears that daughters took on new functions that were

not part of their role as a daughter, like advising and directing the mother and becoming anxious about their mother's well-being. Mothers, on the other hand, reported their increased need to be loved by the mother just like a child.

She sometimes complains about my father. In those times, I take the role of a mother and give her advice. (MD10)

She always wants me on her side. She exploits me emotionally. She becomes more like a child. In fact, she tells me that I am her mother. We changed roles. I became the mother, she became my daughter. She accepted this. (MD11)

You know how they say 'the food will get stuck in my throat if my child doesn't eat it', that is how it is for me. Now they are like my child. (MD18)

As children grow up, they take the role of the mother generally and mothers become more like a child. This is an age. They become children, we become mothers. Think about it as a cycle. Children take the position of mothering. (MD22)

As I get older, I recognize that roles begin to change. She used to direct me, but as she gets older, I start to direct her. It will be better for you if you do this that way, it will be better for you if go out and get some fresh air. (SD23)

When they were kids, they were in need of a mother's love and compassion so I gave them love. Now I got old and I expect love and respect from them and I get what I expect. (MM23)

Since she is alone now, I get worried about her. I mean, I took on her role. If I can't reach her, I get worried. (MD30)

### **9.1.3.3 Personality Changes of Mother**

The major change in the mothers' personality is their increased sensitivity and touchiness. Another common change in the mothers' personality is their increased tolerance and softness.

For example my mother became very touchy lately; she was not this touchy before. I mean, we could tell everything to her in the past, but now she is hyper sensitive. For example, I call my mother everyday and if I don't call her once, she talks to me reproachfully. Maybe she

thinks that we forget about her when we don't call her. But of course there is no such thing. (MD7)

People become very sensitive as they get old. (WM7)

They become very touchy after a certain age, they act capriciously, you have to check upon them all the time, and you have to ask them how they are doing all the time. (MD18)

My mother used to be very angry and irritable in the past, when she was younger. In those periods, her anger really upset us. But as the years pass, everything becomes mellower, softer. (MD18)

They changed over the years. We are from the east of Turkey and in those periods, society was more conservative, the environment was more conservative. They had different views. But they also changed in time. Their environment, their views began to change. We came to Ankara when I was 11. It has been many years. But no matter what, certain things continue; they are still conservative but not as much. But of course, they were not as tolerant as they are now. Their ideas about everything has changed, their mind set has changed. Now, they are so tolerant that they even tell me to leave my children free. They show the tolerance to their grandchildren that they have not given to me. I mean, they changed in time. They were not this tolerant in their younger years. (MD9)

#### **9.1.3.4 Mothers' Fears**

It appears that mothers' certain activities, especially the ones that require leaving the house, are highly restricted due to the mothers' fear of becoming scared of getting ill if they go out alone.

We go shopping together. She can not go by herself anymore, she doesn't go alone anymore. She can not go out alone. She is scared of being alone on the street. (SD14)

She can't stay outside by herself when it is dark anymore; she used to be very courageous. In our old neighborhood, we didn't have running water at home. We used to bring water from the community fountain. We would go to the fountain after midnight. But now maybe because of her age, or maybe because it is not safe out there any more, she is to scared to stay outside alone. (SD29)

I can't go outside alone anymore for two years.  
Why?

I am scared. I used to go to the fruit market by myself but I have not been there in the last 5-6 years. (WM15)

I use to run all my errands myself until the last 3-4 years, but now I don't want to go out alone. I get dizzy. I always go out with my girls. They meet all of my needs, I don't go out. (WM1)

### **9.1.3.5 Personality Changes of Daughter**

The majority of the co-residing daughters who have conflictual relationships with their mothers and some non-coresidential daughters became more aggressive and lost their ability to tolerate their mothers' behavior as they aged; Some daughters, on the other hand, became more mature in time.

Maybe it is the effect of age, now my age is the age of irritation. I am indeed slightly irritable. (SD1)

Till last the 3 years, I used to be a very quiet and obedient person. But the difficulties I went through taught me to be more assertive and defensive. This disturbs her a great deal. And all I do is to tell her that she is pushing my limits. Oh, she gets a broken heart immediately and tells me that I have changed. (MD17)

She knows when to shut up. She tries to handle things that she doesn't like secretly. She used to be even more docile in the past. But now, I tell Türkan that I can not recognize her anymore. She reacts unreasonably. She used to be a very calm. She went through a lot of trouble and she got older. She became more impatient, but she is still obedient and docile. (WM17)

She changed a lot. She wasn't like this when she was a teenager. She changed a lot after she got married. She became very ruthless. (WM28)

By the age of 50 - which is not so little, it is a half century, you have a clear perception of what life is and consequently, your tolerance threshold decreases. While you are going through some serious problems, your mother's trivial caprices become unbearable and you don't even have the energy to comfort her. Her trivial caprices regarding her neighbors or relatives or whatever tire you out. (MD24)

As I grew older and became an adult fully, my behavior became more controlled as well and probably my mother realized that. That might be the change in our relationship over the years. Things remained the same in the essence. (SD14)

She became softer, milder after she got married and had a child. She began to tolerate certain things. She was more obstinate when she was a teenager. I think this change is due to her husband and her child. (DM5)

### **9.1.3.6 Change in Daughters' Perception**

Daughters recognized that their mothers were not perfect or an absolute figure of authority and they came to understand that they were women with their weaknesses and strengths.

In the past, I used to think that whatever mom said had to be accomplished, she makes the best decisions, and she has a very strong memory. She was the person I trusted most. But now, I have started to think that I should do the opposite of what mom says, she can not make sound decisions, she is forgetful. Of course the same love and respect continues and my mother knows that I respect her. However, that period of "mom knows the best" finishes, now it is more like love and pity. I suppose our relationship has changed direction. (WD8)

As I get older, I stopped seeing my mom as a mother. I think for the last 10 years it has been a total friendship. Sometimes I think to myself, 'this is your mother, act differently' but you know the feelings of two women...maybe that happened to you as well, you start sharing marriages, you start leading same lives and as a result I began to understand her more. I started to understand my mother as a woman. This is even better...After my father's death, I got the feeling that my mother wouldn't be able to lead her life, because my father used to do most of the things. Then I realized that, it was my mother who was leading my father, of course she can run her own life. (MD13)

### **9.1.4 Mothers' Widowhood**

#### **9.1.4.1 Increased Closeness**

Widowed mothers and their daughters reported that they grew closer after the mothers' widowhood and they emotionally "clamped" to each other as they realize that there is only one person left.

After you lose your father, you direct all your love and attention to your mother, it is not easy, when you lose one of them, and there is only one person left. I was probably closer to my father than my mother. I could talk about the things to him that I couldn't tell my mother. But in that period, I was working so it was relatively easy to

overcome the loss. But of course, you direct all your attention and love to your mother when you lose the father. (MD26)

After I lost my husband, I got more attached to my children. They became my whole life. (WM11)

After the death of their father, their attachment grew deeper. (WM13)

We got closer with my daughter after the death of my husband. (WM14)

We got closer to my children after the death of my spouse. (WM21)

We emotionally clamped to each other after the death of my husband. (WM24)

#### **9.1.4.2 Protection & Compensation**

It appears that the majority of the widowed mothers' daughters became preoccupied with their mothers' well-being, solitude and needs. Some of these daughters tried to compensate for the loss of the father by taking on the roles of a husband, yet they were generally aware of the fact that they could never fill the shoes of their fathers.

Before my father's death, we were never concerned about my mother because my father was there and those two were complementing each other. But after my father died, we became more concerned about my mother. For example, I am staying in my home, sleeping, waking up, eating, cooking but I am always thinking of her, wondering what she is doing, what she is eating. You always think of her. We have to meet some of her needs. We started paying more attention to her. (MD7)

Before my husband died, I had company, I had a life friend on my side and we were more concerned about my daughter, we were trying to support her in every aspect, both emotionally and financially. But after the death of my husband, my children began to think of me more, because I was alone and lonely. They wanted to meet my needs, they wanted to accompany me, they insisted that I went to their place to stay, but I don't feel comfortable, because I wake up in the middle of the night, I don't want to wake them up, I am comfortable in my house. (WM7)

After my father's death, I felt like I had more responsibility on my shoulders. I tried to make up for his absence. I didn't want her to feel his absence. The day before my father died he told my mother 'if I die,



there is Hülya and her husband, they will be on your side when ever you need them, you just don't panic.' My father entrusted her to me. I tried to be very close but as far as I am concerned, you just can't fill in his emptiness and her loneliness no matter what you do, no matter how much affection you give. Of course I try to support her, but she gets the blues at home. She gets upset. Of course it is not easy. We try to cover it up but as a child you can only fill it up to a certain extent. You can't do anything beyond that. (MD11)

I tried to do everything that my father had done in the past. I tried to give her everything that she received from him so that she wouldn't feel his absence and she would feel like she is being taken care of. I didn't want her to feel like her wings were broken. But in time, I realized that she got used to his absence. Of course it is impossible for me to replace everything. As a result, she began to hide her emotions from me. I mean there is a pain that she has to live through, but she was fighting it off in order not to upset me. Then I said to myself 'you are on the wrong path, back off!' That is what I am trying to do now. (MD13)

My daughter became very attached to me. She took on the male role of the house. Let's say, the water tap is not working. She goes out immediately to find a plumber. She wasn't like that before because her father was here. Now she is trying to take the entire responsibility of my house and she has. Say, I am going to get my house painted. She says 'I am going to find the painters and get your house painted.' (WM13)

My mother's whole life was my father and my father's whole life was my mother. Especially after we grew up and after my sister got married, their whole life was together. They would go out together, they would go to shopping together, and they would watch TV, read the newspaper together. That was their life. After my father died, someone like my father was needed for my mother. It is a life long habit; she needed someone like him, so now we are doing everything together just like she did with my father. (SD14)

We got closer with her. I think she took on the responsibility of me from her father. I don't know, but she is closer now. We grew closer. She started protecting me; I suppose she trusted her father for that before. She took me under her wing. (WM14)

## **CHAPTER 10**

### **RESULTS – LIFE COURSE**

#### **10.1 Life Course**

The first generation (i.e. mothers) grew up during economic depression and repressive norms, married early and could not get higher education. The second generation (i.e. daughters) grew up during political chaos, protective and conservative family norms, but received higher education. The first generation regretted their ignorance, and felt inadequate. The social lives of the second generation were highly restricted. These women are more relaxed with their own children both because the country is safer and because they suffered from restrictions themselves.

##### **10.1.1 Mothers' Education**

Mothers accounted that during their childhood years, it was not customary to send daughters especially to school. The majority of the mothers only completed primary school, despite their desire to continue their education, and some mothers who attained relatively higher education went to state institutes, where they specialized in domestic education like child-care or sewing and embroidery.

I finished middle school...Nobody in Eregli was going to school. The girls were not sent to school. Parents married their daughters off as soon as they reached to the age of 17-18. Everybody obeyed this situation. I was one of the three people who didn't obey. I was enrolled in Kandilli Girls High School. But if it is not your destiny, it just doesn't happen. They took me out of that school and enrolled me in the Institute. Why? My grandmother said 'we have only one girl, she is going to get married eventually, what good will it do to her if

she goes to school? Of course she is not going to work when she is a married woman, it is very shameful. But she might as well go to the institute; at least she will learn how to sew her children's clothes and how to run a house.' And my father could not say no to my grandmother. The type of school really didn't matter to me as long as I could get an education. (MM12)

That is the way it was in our home town in those days. In our days, girls didn't go to school, but now everybody goes to school. We were the unfortunate ones. (WM19)

I wanted to go to school so much but our elders didn't allow us to go to school. Our grandmother was a very backwards person; she said 'so what? A man can not feed a woman? Why should she go to school? She hardly allowed me to finish primary school. My grandmother's word was the law. (MM20)

#### **10.1.2 Effects of Education Difference between Generations**

It appears that mothers thought that their daughters were smarter, more knowledgeable and more conscious than themselves due to their daughters' higher level of education. It seems that mothers felt too incompetent to give advice to their daughters.

I finished the institute, but my daughter finished university. Probably she thinks better than I do. In terms of education, I only have general knowledge but her knowledge is deeper. How can I give her advice? She knows everything better. (MM2)

But how can I give her advice? They are smarter. They don't need it. (MM9)

There is no need for my advice. They are more conscious because they are better educated. My knowledge is not enough. (WM3)

#### **10.1.3 Personality Differences**

Some mothers noted that their daughters were more outspoken, more assertive and less obedient and less submissive than their mothers due to the differences in the style of their upbringing.

My daughter didn't grow up with stress. She started College, then she finished it, she went to university, then she said that she wanted to

work in a school as a teacher and she did what she wanted. I mean, they were more comfortable in their childhood. For example, they are more outspoken. We, on the other hand, think more before we speak. That is how we are brought up. But my daughter doesn't have to be like me. I mean she speaks when the right time comes. But I always stay in the background and listen. But I like her style. People should not allow others to oppress them; a person should say her word in the right time and right place. The new generation is not submissive; they say what they think and they should. (MM12)

My daughter is more quick-tempered; she was not brought up the way I was. Maybe it is the new generation. We can obey and comply but they don't want to obey. (MM20)

I think it is because we are from old times. We grew up as introverts. You grew up with the teaching 'don't talk around your parents, around your elders.' But she is not like that; she is more outspoken. (WM21)

#### **10.1.4 Political Climate**

The majority of the daughters grew up in an era of severe political conflict and anarchy in 1960s. Most of these daughters were university students in those days and universities were the focal points of the anarchical activities. The mothers' of these daughters reported that they were highly stressed about the well-being of their children.

Two of my children went to M.E.T.U. It was the time of boycotts. It was very difficult to send children to university 25 years ago. One of my sons couldn't complete his education. He couldn't go to school, his life was threatened. Oh, the situation was so horrible in those days but you wouldn't know. You have no idea what we have been through. (WM19)

She was a university student. She was going to Beytepe. She had to go there. Those were the years of intense anarchy. I was worried about her as a mother. Frankly, I was very upset. (WM22)

Her time was the time of terror. It was a very bad period. She would come out of school and participate in those left activities. We realized her political activities a couple of times. (MM25)

### **10.1.5 Economic Conditions**

While the mothers' childhood and young adult years were characterized by economic deprivation of the post-war period, their daughters grew up in the era of relative economic recovery. As a result of this life course difference, mothers were more thrifty and cautious of their expenditure while daughters were more free with their money.

Compared to the young generation of today, we were always very cautious of our expenditure. My husband is a civil servant, a military officer. When he got his salary, we would make a list; this much goes here; that much goes to there; that is what we have left. We only cared about dressing tidily and cleanly. We were not obsessed with brand names like today's young generation. Youngsters of today want all the brand names; they want to have the most beautiful things, they want to go to the best places. We never thought about these sort of things because I was married to a military officer. (MM2)

We spend our money more easily, maybe because we reached a certain level of prosperity after big economic difficulties. We spend it wastefully. But my mother has always been thrifty. She never thought that she reached to a certain level of prosperity. I mean after the Özal period, everybody became more prosperous. The lower class disappeared. People gained higher purchasing power. Of course we are not discussing whether Özal's politics did us good or harmed us, but we all reached to a certain level. However, my mother never went over that line. She never disregarded her principles about money. (MD6)

I often spend money without thinking, but she is not like that; she spends her money cautiously, she buys what she needs. I am not like her; I buy what I have in my mind. She is more cautious. Maybe this was due to the requirements of her age in those days. (MD12)

For example, I tell her to take a taxi, but no, she gets on a bus or minibus. In fact, all the people of her age are like that. We are more used to comfort. They are not like that. (MD30)

### **10.1.6 Technological Advances / Increased Opportunities**

Both mothers and daughters seemed to be aware of the fact that technological advancements, especially the usage of mobile phones, made their life easier. Daughters noted that they are not as worried about the well-being of

their children as their mothers were since they can reach their children whenever they want via mobile phones.

When I look at my mother, I see that she gets worried for no reason. I don't have that sort of worry. I mean, now there are mobile phones and we can reach many things more easily. (MD3)

But now there are more opportunities, there are mobile phones. If I get worried, I call my daughter and hear her voice immediately, but my mother didn't have that chance. (MD7)

#### **10.1.7 Social Activities**

Both mothers and daughters agreed that the third generation (i.e. daughters' children) have more personal freedom compared to the second generation in terms of outside social activities.

For example, they (my children) are freer than us; I had no freedom to go out at night when I was their age. (MD25)

Our childhood was not like the childhood of today's children. We would play normally but we would help our mothers with the housework when we were very young. We would spend time with our parents, we would serve their guests. I mean, in those days we didn't have the freedom of today's teenagers. Everything was more restricted. Today, young people can go out whenever they want, but we couldn't. (SD29)

I wanted my children to be at home on time, I didn't want them to be late. They were not like the young people of today. Now young people go out at night, they go out in day time. We didn't have that. Of course after she finished university, she had to go to excavations but they were exceptions. (MM2)

For example, when my daughter was a teenager, our father was very despotic. My daughter went out very few times compared to the present time. My granddaughter has more normal conditions. She is allowed to do many things, you know, going out and spending time with her friends. It was very limited for my daughter. (MM20)

### **10.1.8 Intergenerational Differences in Communication**

The second generation women had a highly restricted social lives because of both the conservative structure of the society and imperious parents. These women who now are mothers themselves reported that they were more relaxed with their own children, both because the country is safer and because they suffered from strict restriction. They all emphasized being “like friends” with their own children; sharing accounts that they never dreamt of telling to their own parents.

If there is nothing my daughter hides from me, I think I have a more open relationship with my daughter. I can easily tell my daughter what I feel, what I experienced in my teenage years so that they can be an example for her. If she has boyfriends, I know. But we never shared the same thing with my mother because my mother was more authoritarian. I never told my mother anything. Everything was hidden and secret. She didn't have much tolerance of boyfriend and girlfriend issues. But of course, that was the way it is in those days. I am not telling this to criticize my mother. (MD2)

Our children can talk to us very comfortably. Even though I have two sons, they can talk about their boyfriend girlfriend relationships with me very easily and comfortably. We are more like friends. I mean, they can talk about anything, even sexual subjects. Now they are a bit older, and they stopped telling me some stuff. But we talked about them in the past many times. I could never talk about these things with my mother. Or my mother never provided the comfort to me that I provided to my children. We didn't have such an adolescence. But of course it is time difference. (MD9)

For example, when I had my first period, my mother never said anything to me about menstruation. Maybe in those days, mothers and daughters were not talking about these sorts of things. (SD23)

### **10.1.9 Filial Piety**

Some daughters explained that their mothers have higher expectations of them than the expectations they have of their own children. Additionally, these second generation women expressed that they feel obliged to put up with their mothers' capricious behavior yet their children would not feel the same obligation.

We put up with a lot of whims. I don't know, but maybe this will be all over with our generation. Now I think about myself; if I ring my daughters and tell them that I am bored, I think they will say 'none of my business.' and hang up. I mean, this will be the case 20 years later. Our children will do the things that we can not. For this reason, we are using the moral values to their limits and our mothers exploit them. This is how I see it. I mean this is a generation gap. (WMD8)

We are a generation of extreme filial obligation to our mothers and fathers. (MD17)

Of course there is a generational gap. The generation before us has more expectations of their children than we do. We are not like them. We are stuck in between. I sometimes tell my daughter 'we are the most oppressed generation; our mothers as well as our children have a lot of expectations of us.' It feels like we are more oppressed, we get tired more. I mean we were more obedient. We would do things even if we didn't want to. There are so many things in life that you do because you have to do, not because you want to do. (MD19)

#### **10.1.10 Marriage**

It appears that marriage is perceived as a normative adult life stage by mothers. However, mothers seemed to be aware of the fact that times have changed and family arranged marriages are not viable anymore.

In those days we were in Ankara, a more relaxed environment. My mother was aware that it was not the right time to find a spouse by staying at home. Maybe she thought that if she goes out she might make a 'friend' therefore, she didn't restrict me much...But this is my mother's perspective: She (my daughter) is educated, she has finished university, she is good looking so it is time to get married. People of my mother's age expect me to get married. Or if it is a son, he finished his military service, he got a job so he should get married. My mother can't think like 'my daughter doesn't have to marry, she should live her own life freely.' (SD14)

In our days there was no dating. Now if people of our age get divorced, that is fair. Why fair? Because in those days marriages were arranged. But young people of today date for a year or two. (WM4)

Of course we wish that our son would married and we do our duty for him but some things are destiny. Everything desired does not happen.



And also it is not something you can interfere with. Old situations have changed.

Like what?

For example, in the old days, parents would find the spouse and tell the child that he or she should marry him or her and the child would say yes. But it is not like that anymore, if you do a such thing like arranging the marriage now, he will come back to you in three days and say, 'look this is what you found and I am getting a divorce' (MM12)

## **CHAPTER 11**

### **DISCUSSION**

This study aimed to investigate mother-daughter relationships from the point of view of both parties by utilizing dyadic assessment with respect to (i) the type and frequency of solidarity (affectual, associational and structural) and support (functional, financial and emotional) in the mother-daughter relationship and its variations across generations; (ii) the experience of ambivalent feelings in mother-daughter relationships; the sources of ambivalent feelings; and ambivalence resolution tactics employed by both parties; (iii) the sources of conflict and conflict resolution styles; (iv) how mother-daughter pairs differ in the way they feel and think about each other, and in the way they behave in the relationship and if there exists separate patterns of relating between pairs; (v) the influence of time on aging mother-adult daughter relationships. Two different meanings of time were considered:

- a) Historical time, reflecting societal changes including historical events, changing norms related to modernization and urbanization;
- b) Lifecycle time, reflecting changes in social expectations from individuals due to normative transitions such as marriage, parenthood, and widowhood.

#### **11.1 Intergenerational Solidarity and Support**

My study yielded results about three types of solidarity: structural, associational and affectual, and three types of support: emotional, functional, and financial.

In the realm of structural solidarity; 17 out of 30 mother-daughter pairs were found to be either co-residing or living in the same building /neighborhood. This

conclusion is in accordance with Triandis's (1995) remark about collectivists' living arrangements. Moreover, 5 of 6 middle-aged single daughters were found to be living with their parents. It is normative in Turkish society not to establish a separate household prior to marriage.

Associational solidarity was investigated under three headings: face-to-face contact, phone contact and shared activities. It appears that, while high frequency of face-to-face contact is mostly related to the daughters' availability, a low frequency of face-to-face contact is mostly due to time and distance constraints. Moreover, a high degree of phone conversation was very prevalent and on average, mother-daughter pairs had at least one phone conversation per day. In terms of shared activities, the most common activity that mothers and daughters did together was going out for pleasure and visiting relatives. It appeared that mother-daughter pairs enjoyed companionship and good times. It seems like a high degree of associational solidarity is normative and expected; lack of it required explanations (or justifications) and when the rule was broken it led to conflict and tension if the mothers did not attribute the low frequency of contact to demands on daughters' time and showed tolerance.

Questions regarding the affectual solidarity between mothers and daughters were only directed to mothers and the answers revealed that, daughters' availability, obedience, similarity and friendliness were key factors that determined the degree of affectual solidarity. These factors were also mentioned by Sutor & Pillemer (2000) in their study of favoritism in later years. There was a general tendency for mothers not to differentiate between children as if favoritism was unacceptable, however when they did differentiate between children, they had felt the need to justify their preference as if they were breaking some norm.

Intergenerational emotional support included comforting during times of stress, sharing problems, and providing security for each other. While half of the mothers and daughters engaged in reciprocal emotional support, on average daughters gave more emotional support than they received. Emotional support given by daughters sometimes had an obligatory tone such that, some daughters did not really enjoy listening to mothers' trivial problems but tolerated them because they felt they had to. Moreover, daughters confided in their mothers with

certain reservations and concealed certain events from their mothers for two main reasons: to protect their mothers from sadness and stress and to protect their privacy by not giving mothers the opportunity to interfere with their lives. The effort to maintain the balance between truth-telling and the protection of oneself, the other and the relationship was also mentioned in clinical psychology in Surrey's (1993) study.

Functional support includes all types of services exchanged between mothers and daughters. There are both similarities and differences between generations regarding the type of functional support. Support given by mothers generally included help with baby sitting, food preparation, help with house errands, shopping, housework, and support during illness; while functional support provided by daughters included accompanying mother to doctor visits, shopping, food preparation, help with housework, bank/tax errands, help with technology related/novelty products usage, care during illness, home maintenance and transportation. In later life, it appears that daughters gave more functional support than they receive from their mothers while both daughters and mothers agreed that the mothers were at the peak of their helping behavior when the daughters' children were growing up. It appears that, taking care of the grandchildren is the most common and normative type of help given by mothers and not performing this duty needed some explanations like geographic distance and availability of other people who could take care of the children. Furthermore, preparation of food was the second most common type of help given by mothers. It appears that making "stuffed grape leaves" for the daughter had a significant meaning beyond its face value such that it symbolizes the love for the daughter as it is a time-consuming dish to prepare; and it demonstrates the competence of the mother since most daughters don't know how to make it.

As for the type of functional support given by daughters, accompanying mothers to doctor visits had an obligatory element in it; such that it is perceived as a filial duty to assume responsibility of a mothers' health, which also came out in the daughters' accounts of interfering with their mothers' diet and advising them to follow a health-conscious diet. Contrary to Western aging mothers, Turkish

mothers seemed to perceive such interference as a sign of care and love rather than intrusion (Fingerman, 1996).

In the realm of intergenerational financial support, it seems that mothers gave more financial support to their daughters than they received from them. Mothers did not expect financial support from daughters who were unemployed and they did not provide financial support to their daughters if the daughter was not in need of it. On the other hand, daughters who received financial support from their mothers seemed to feel indebted and to try to reciprocate it by compliance. It appears that financial support flows easily from the financially secure to insecure regardless of the generation order or the degree of closeness between parents and adult children. This seems to be a reflection of communal sharing of collectivism, where the resources are shared according to the needs of family members and altruism, caring and generosity are built into the relationship and are perceived as a moral obligation (Triandis, 1995).

It seems as though these adult daughters have more psychological value than instrumental value for their mothers (Kağıcıbaşı, 1982).

## **11.2 Intergenerational Conflict**

During the course of interviews, a very clear intergenerational difference emerged while discussing the conflict and tension between mothers and daughters. Similar to Fingerman's (2001) study, it appeared that daughters were more comfortable with discussing the negative aspects of their relationship, while mothers seemed more reserved about it. Although it is possible that mothers might evaluate their relationship with their daughters more positively -as they did in Fingerman's study, and as discussed by Fingerman (2001, p.156)- such reluctance to talk about negative aspects of the relationship might be due to: the mothers' higher vested interest in the relationship; or due to cohort differences such that the daughters' generation were more open and expressive about their feelings while the norm in mothers' days was to hide negative feelings; or it can be explained with the socioemotional selectivity theory's tenet which predicts that the perception of time as limited softens the experience of negative emotions and increases the gratitude of positive aspects of life (Carstensen & Lang, 1994).

However, during my interviews, and as the interviews progressed, 23 out of 30 mothers also accounted certain incidences that caused them stress in their relationship with their daughter even though their first reaction was “we have no conflict”. Therefore, it may not be completely wrong to link the mothers’ reluctance to discuss tension in the relationship with collectivism, for, as people age they become more collectivistic (Triandis, 1995). Accordingly aging mothers might be more collectivistic when compared with their daughter. Collectivistic people tend to control negative emotions and display only positive emotions in front of mere acquaintances (Triandis, 1995). Furthermore, it is also possible that collectivism was probably more normative when the mothers were young since the society has become more modern with economic well-being, exposure to mass media, social and geographic mobility. Hence, society has become more individualistic throughout the mothers’ life course.

Throughout the analysis of interviews, three main sources of intergenerational conflict emerged: interference; irritating personality traits and behaviors; and differing views.

The most dominant theme in intergenerational conflict was the mothers’ interference in the daughters’ privacy, marriage, husband and permissive parenting style. Mothers’ interference or intrusion in the form of unsolicited advice or criticism appears to cause frustration, anger and distress in daughters as it is perceived as mothers’ efforts of controlling their daughters’ lives and as the mothers’ denial that their daughters have become adults. This incidence is most common between co-residing mothers and daughters, as co-residence allows for more opportunities for exposure to unsolicited advice. Daughters’, on the other hand, interfere with their mothers’ health and diet. Such interference, however, is mostly experienced as pleasant by aging mothers since they perceive it as a sign of loving concern for themselves. Alternatively, a few mothers reflected experiencing slight irritation. Contrary to the findings of Fingerman (2001), mothers didn’t seem to resent their daughters’ efforts to protect them. Such difference in perception of unsolicited advice and support was also noted by Smith & Goodnow (1999). Such patterns of intrusion might be regarded as enmeshed, hence unhealthy by Western standards. However it is important to

remember that Turkey is a collectivistic society and it is perfectly normal for collectivists to be concerned with ingroup members' (i.e. family) personal matters and they believe that they have the right to know and regulate each others' private actions and thoughts (Triandis, 1995).

As for the irritating personality traits, mothers pinpointed daughters' hypersensitivity and overreaction. It seemed that, what mothers labeled as hypersensitivity and reactivity, were: their daughters' reaction in attempting to deal with tension; daughters' assertiveness; or daughters' bursting out after masking negative feelings for so long. It seems that, concealing and hushing up negative feelings are the preferred conflict resolution style of mothers. This pattern is also evident in collectivistic societies. The preservation of the relational harmony is more important than solving the problem itself and the restriction of emotional expressions are viewed as self-disciplined and mature (Triandis, 1995).

Daughters, on the other hand, found their mothers' unnecessary and excessive anxiety about their well-being irritating. Although most daughters' mentioned this behavior while accounting the early years of their relationship, it is vividly remembered and mentioned by daughters even in the later years of the relationship.

In regard to irritating behavior, what mothers expressed as their daughters' unavailability was perceived as mothers' own dependency by the daughters. While mothers conveyed that they felt resentment if their daughters did not spare time to spend with them, daughters complained that they can not maintain a separate life from their mothers because of mothers' desire to be together all the time. Similarly, Fingerman also noted that the central issue in a mother-daughter relationship is being part of each others' lives and efforts in this direction might produce negative feelings as a result of clash between intimacy and demands. She also founded that daughters perceived the persistence of their mothers' calls demanding and tiring, while mothers experienced anger and disappointment when their daughters were unavailable (Fingerman, 2001).

Another source of tension between mothers and daughters were mothers' favoritism of one child over another or different treatment of siblings. It appears

that sibling rivalry is still a source of conflict even in later years of mother-daughter relationships despite the daughters' maturity as they age.

Finally, daughters found mothers' insistence on some traditional code of behaviors irritating, yet these were generally tolerated by the both parties since these behaviors were attributed to "generation gap" rather than to stable dispositional factors.

### **11.3 Intergenerational Ambivalence**

Similar to Fingerman's (2001) findings, in my study daughters appeared to experience more ambivalence in their relationship with their mothers than did mothers. Daughters' ambivalences were compiled under four main headings: "my mothers' well-being versus my comfort", "my desires/my life versus my mothers' limited time", "my family versus my mother" and "we should be together versus I get bored".

The first two aspects of ambivalence appear to emerge from contradictions at the subjective individual level: the first one emerging from the clash between self-interest and other-interest; and the second one resulting from different developmental needs: daughters' desire to be independent and for self-fulfillment and desire to be intimate with the mothers who have limited life expectancy. The third type of ambivalence seems to result from conflicting social roles of the daughters - filial responsibility, parental responsibility and spousal responsibility- which make them feel guiltily torn between their mothers, husbands and their children. Finally, the fourth type of ambivalence appears to emerge from contradiction between social norm of family solidarity and differences of life styles and personal traits between aging mothers and adult daughters. These findings fit closely with the theoretical debates of sources of ambivalence made by Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Connidis & McMullin, 2002 and Lüscher, 2002. Similarly, Fişek (2002) also argued that, changes in the Turkish family system (decreased power, distance and control and a continuing high degree of intimacy and protectiveness) carries the risk of heightened ambivalence, caused by the collision of the desire to maintain a certain distance and intimacy; a desire to



tolerate and the use of power and authority; and the desire to preserve a certain emotional distance and sensitivity (Fişek, 2002).

It seems that daughters prefer to accept or rationalize the ambivalence rather than confront it. Since no active resolution style is employed, the ambivalence seems to continue. Such a secondary and passive ambivalence resolution style is also in accordance with the characteristics of collectivists, who tend to change themselves to fit into situations rather than trying to change the situation, and who are more likely to change their personal goals and meet the requirements of the situation when they are faced with conflicting demands and needs (Triandis, 1995).

Mothers, on the other hand, didn't express an experience of ambivalent feelings in their interaction with their daughters. It was daughters who were more aware of their mothers' ambivalent feelings towards their daughters' marriage. Despite this, it is probably wrong to assume that mothers did not have ambivalent feelings, and the lack of its expression may be explained by another collectivistic feature, which is valuing proper behavior more than behavior-attitude consistency, and considering behavior opposed to attitude for the good of others as a sign of maturity (Triandis, 1995). Furthermore, the values related to the expression of conflict and disclosure to strangers might have changed across generations.

#### **11.4 Maintenance of Relationship**

The maintenance of an adult daughter-aging mother relationship seems to be based on protecting each other from stress and sadness and preserving the harmony of the relationship.

Compliance with mothers' demands, ostensible conformity and concealing or mitigating upsetting events were the most common tactics employed by daughters. Daughters seemed to employ only one tactic to protect their privacy: concealing intra-family problems from their mothers.

While daughters' maintenance tactics aimed to protect the other and the self from stress and sadness, mothers' maintenance tactics were based on preserving the harmony of the relationship and avoiding overt conflict. The tactics mostly used by mothers were: not interfering, tolerating irritating personality or attitude

differences and the son-in-law, not sulking, and concealing certain stressful events from their daughters.

Similar to conflict and ambivalence resolution tactics, it seems that the relationship between aging mothers and their middle aged daughters are basically maintained by passive strategies. Particularly conformity and compliance seem to be the “right” way of preserving the harmony. As Markus & Kitayama (1991) claimed, for the interdependent self of collectivistics, conformity means a willingness to be responsive to others and adjusting one’s own demands and desires to others in order to maintain the ever-important relation rather than an inability to resist social pressure. Moreover, one of the most significant features of the psychology of women is awareness of and sensitivity to others. Therefore, fulfilling an obligation or conforming to the needs of others might be perceived as natural by people who see the interdependent self as an integral part of their self definition.

For daughters, concealing stressful events in order to protect the mothers from sadness might be related to the daughters’ realization that their mothers were not as strong and as resilient as once they were. This topic is discussed under the heading of life stages.

### **11.5 Typologies**

While I was conducting the interviews, I realized that, although each mother-daughter relationship was unique, there were common interaction patterns for some mother-daughter pairs. Some mother-daughter pairs generally had peaceful and close relationships despite conflicts while others did not. Those who did not enjoy their relationship were either troubled and had ambivalent feelings toward each other or they were aloof and withdrawn.

The typology that was constructed in this study grouped mother-daughter pairs under three main headings: Peaceful/Close, Ambivalent /Conflicting, Distant. There was high degree of reciprocal intergenerational functional and financial support regardless of the type of relationship. Furthermore, none of the relationships were free of conflict in any of the groups but they differed on the level of affectual solidarity and how they maintained the relationship.

Almost half of the pairs (47%) appeared to have peaceful/close relationships. The most salient features of these relationships were having high reciprocal affectual solidarity, communicating without speech and attributing conflicts to external factors. This type of relationship was marked by mutual satisfaction of being understood without talking. Reading the other's mind and knowing what the other is thinking or feeling is an important interactional requirement for people with an interdependent self who view themselves as more closely intertwined with others. People with an interdependent self are more sensitive and attuned to the wants and needs of close others (Holtgraves, 1997).

30% of the pairs were classified into the group of ambivalent /conflicting relationships. The most notable characteristics of this relationship were the mothers' high degree of intrusion, the daughters' experience of strong ambivalence and mothers' denial of intrusion. Furthermore, most of the mother-daughter ambivalent pairs were coresiding. As noted before, interference or politely giving "unsolicited advice" was found to be most common between coresiding people as co-residence allows for more opportunities for exposure to unsolicited advice (Smith & Goodnow, 1999). The mothers' act and denial of intrusion might be due to the cognition that "same house" is "living together" and "different house" is "separate lives". It is possible that, since these daughters have not "flown out of nest", mothers might think that, they are still in their territory and under their directorate regardless of the daughters' age and marital status. Furthermore, these mothers might have assumed the role of household head because of their age and hence, felt both responsible and entitled to regulate the lives of other family members. It appears that daughters gained independence through a separation of lives, preferably via marriage and the establishment of separate houses.

And finally, 23% of mother-daughter pairs fit into the third group, named "distant relationship". These relationships were characterized by low affectual solidarity and low structural solidarity. Most of these mother-daughter pairs lived relatively far from each other and most of these daughters were labeled as reserved and aloof by their mothers. Research on intergenerational relationships showed that geographic distance reduces the frequency and type of help

exchanged between generations since there is less opportunity to learn about each others' problems (Rossi & Rossi, 1990), and a daughter in close proximity tends to be the one of the most important people in the lives of elder parents (Aldous, Klaus & Klein, 1985; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). However, despite the physical distance between these mothers and daughters, there was a considerable amount of functional and financial help and exchange, and hence, these pairs appear to be living in enough close proximity to extend help each other. Indeed, high functional support despite low affectual solidarity can be explained by Nydegger's (1991) concept of filial maturity, stating that a child might show understanding to the parent and to his or her needs and meet these needs out of responsibility or a sense of obligation rather than affection. I believe that the distance between these mothers and daughters is more emotional than physical. It is either that they chose to live relatively far from each other or physical distance may be a consequence rather than the cause of emotional distance.

Despite our aim to place mother-daughter pairs in to the typologies described in Chapter 1, we could not find a fit between different types of mother-daughter relationships in our sample and the typologies in the literature. The closest typology to our grouping was Silverstein & Bengtson's (1997) five types of intergenerational family relationships, since both studies investigated the intergenerational relationship from a perspective of a solidarity model. However, our study also examined intergenerational conflict, ambivalence and relationship maintenance tactics as well as solidarity and support and as a result, we tapped the issues that were not included in Silverstein & Bengtson's (1997) model. Moreover, the most striking difference was the presence of intergenerational support regardless of the type of relationship, which was not evident in their model. This unconditional provision of help and support might be culture related such that; collectivists are motivated to adjust themselves to the needs of others since family security, respect for tradition, honoring parents and elders and politeness have priority over individual desires and needs (Triandis, 1995). As noted in Chapter 7, it was the maintenance tactics used to avoid / handle conflicts and ambivalence that determined the tone of the relationship rather than the absence or presence of conflict and ambivalence. It appeared that it was the

mothers' behavior and daughters' personality traits that determined the type of relationship: mothers' interference and intrusion and daughters' unreservedness.

Our typology of mother-daughter relationships did not also fit into the De Vaus' (1994) typology of families which was based on the theme "letting go". "Letting go" seems to be a Western-culture specific adult development phase since independence is generally encouraged by Western families starting from the early childhood years. In collectivistic societies like Turkey, dependence is the most commonly used child-rearing practice and dependence is associated with the "sameness" of the mother and the child. The child's dependency is fostered by parental provision of high rates of interaction, guidance and consultation which enables parents to control the child. In collectivistic cultures, such parental control is associated with parental love and hence, "letting go" might be associated with abandonment. As far as I am concerned, it is natural for Turkish parents to be both parent-centered and child-centered at the same time such that, while parents expect that their children conform to their values and attend to their needs, they also want to be involved in their children's lives. Moreover, parental approval is desired despite an adult child's individuality and probably parental approval and individuality are perceived as orthogonal dimensions and a balance between these two seemingly contradicting desires is achieved with the right maintenance tactics.

Donorfio & Sheehan's (2001) typology of the mother-daughter relationship was based on caregiving approaches which were not the main scope of this study. This study was focused on the relationship between healthy aging mothers and their adult daughters.

When compared with Lüscher's model of intergenerational ambivalence, it appears that what determines the type of the relationship is how personality/life-style similarities and differences between mothers and daughters are perceived and handled rather than their actual concordance and discrepancy.

And finally, there seems to be a connection between the typology that was constructed in this study and attachment theory, and the mental representations of attachment of Bowlby and Ainsworth (Bretherton, 1992). It appears that the Peaceful/Close relationship corresponds to secure attachment. Daughters in this

classification seem to be more able to meet their mothers' demands easily without losing their own autonomy and they can overtly admit the conflicts that they experience. The ambivalent/conflicting relationship corresponds to the ambivalent (resistant) attachment. The daughters in this group appear to be still mentally involved in their early relationships with their mothers and are probably experiencing anger and guilt in their relationship with their mothers. The distant relationship group corresponds to the avoidant attachment type in the sense that these daughters seem to be less willing to spend time with and provide support to their mothers because they see it as a threat to their independence.

### **11.6 Effects of Time**

The relationship changes throughout the life-cycle which were discussed in the developmental and intergenerational relationship literature were also apparent in my study. Mother-daughter relationships were transformed when daughters got married, had children, and mothers became widows, as well as with mothers' and daughters' aging and mothers' declining health.

When daughters got married, mothers began to accept that their daughters were adults with separate lives and decreased their intrusive behavior. In Turkish society, regardless of the age, single daughters are protected, guided and monitored by their parents. It is perceived to be perfectly normal for a mother to interfere with decisions and choices of a daughter until she gets married. Such strict control of single daughters is most probably related with the collective control of female sexuality. As Kandiyoti (1996) explained; parents, siblings, close and distant relatives, even neighbors follow the behavior of girls after puberty by giving girls the message that they are not in charge of controlling their own sexuality. The major reason of collective control of female sexuality is the connection made between a woman's sexual chastity and family honor. The women are ascribed with an enormous negative power such that one undesirable/wrong behavior of a woman can bring dishonor and shame to the whole group or family. Accordingly, this risk is eliminated with the marriage of daughter, as the responsibility of the daughter is transferred from her parents to her husband.

After a daughters' parenthood, they understood the meaning of motherhood and began to empathize with their mothers. The mother-daughter relationship grew closer and became more open, and daughters received the greatest functional support from their mothers in this period. Parallel to these accounted changes, Nydegger (1991) noted that as adult children gain more adult experiences in common with their parents, their comprehension expands. Furthermore, as women's roles converge, they are more likely to share perspectives, and as life experiences become similar with daughters' achievement of positions of authority and responsibility, they may sympathize with the challenges their mothers have faced (Fingerman, 2001).

Widowhood of the mothers also increased the closeness between mothers and daughters, as daughters tried to assume the responsibility of the lost spouse, in order to compensate for his loss and they also became more protective of the mothers. Research also showed that the widowhood of mothers improved the relationship between aging mothers and adult daughters (Gayle & Uhlenberg, 1998; Fingerman, 1998). Daughters' efforts to protect the widow mothers and to compensate for the lost husband may be due to the felt obligation evoked by the new marital status of the mother.

As mothers aged and their health began to decline, both mothers and daughters became aware of the fact that the mothers' activities were becoming more restricted due to loss of strength. Sheehan & Donorfio (1999) also concluded that daughters view aging as gradually eroding their mothers' strength and stamina. Moreover, the research showed that poor health conditions of a parent change the nature of interaction and reciprocity of assistance between an adult child and a parent (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002).

Furthermore, mothers became more fearful, more sensitive and touchy as well as becoming more tolerant. Such changes in personality may be explained with the perception of life time being limited. The socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen, Isaacowitz, & Charles, 1999; Carstensen & Lang, 1994) suggested that older people describe their futures as limited and they recognize that they do not have all the time in the world. Touchiness and fearfulness might be accentuated with the perception that endings are near.

Daughters also expressed that they were getting old, and they have been going through certain personality changes like becoming more intolerant and experiencing changes in their relationship with their mother as their comprehension of these changes increase. Similarly to mothers, when daughters enter midlife, they experience an increased awareness of their own mortality. It appears that, in midlife, some of these daughters came to terms with the reality of growing older and evaluated the progress of their lives so far. Such evaluation of life-goals and desires and consequent feeling of achievement or failure might possibly set the direction of personality changes in adult daughters. Women who did not feel like they missed opportunities in life and who did not postpone their desires for the sake of others might think that their lives had been successful and fulfilling and hence, they might become more tolerant as they mature. Other middle-aged women, who have not managed to follow their dreams and who felt like they had missed opportunities seemed to attribute the cause of “defeat” to external factors like family pressure and obligations. It appears that these women believe they have sacrificed enough of their lives for others and the time to live their lives as they desire has arrived. As a consequence, what mothers labeled as daughters’ intolerance and aggressiveness, might indeed be an assertive expression of desires without suppressing the non-stereotypical aspects of their personality.

Another transformation in the mother-daughter relationship in later years is perceived role reversal. It seems that when daughters are concerned about their mothers’ health and well-being, and when mothers are aware of such concern, they used the term “role reversal”. It seems that, when mothers provide support to their daughters, they perceive it as a natural and continuing mother role. However, when daughters acquire new roles like supporting and assisting the mothers, they might feel like their roles are reversed because such a pattern of interaction feels unusual.

### **11.7 Life Course**

As Elder (2001) proposed, the lives of people and times are interwoven and they represent an ever-changing dynamic across years. The life course of



individuals is embedded in and shaped by the historical times and places they experience over their life time. Historical time and place pose constraints and options in people's lives.

Turkey has undergone tremendous economic and political changes in the last fifty years. Mothers lived their adolescence and young adulthood years in severe economic depression; Turkish society then was much more closed, repressive and did not value the formal education of female children. Since early and family-arranged marriages were the norm for these first generation women, the majority of them getting married as early as age of 16-17. Their daughters, however, grew up in an era of relative economic recovery and severe political conflicts and anarchy in the 1960s. Daughters who grew up in a period of protective and conservative family norms received higher education despite the difficulties caused by political chaos. It appears that the first generation women who were deprived of an opportunity of formal education regretted their ignorance, felt inadequate and, in turn, encouraged their daughters to achieve higher education. These mothers attached such a strong value to tertiary education that they evaluated their daughters as more competent and more knowledgeable compared with themselves. Furthermore, some mothers praised their daughters for being more outspoken, more assertive, less obedient and less submissive than themselves, and attributed this breakthrough to the differences in their upbringing.

The differences in the predominant economic atmosphere of the two cohorts appear to have had consequences. Mothers being thrifty and cautious, daughters being profligate were judgments mentioned by many mother-daughter pairs.

The second generation women's parents were constantly worried about the well-being of their children due to the anarchy and the conservative structure of Turkish society in the past. The second generation women who are mothers themselves in the safer and relatively liberal society of today repeatedly reported that they had very restricted social life and little personal freedom compared to their own children; their relationships with their own children are more friendly and open than what they had with their mothers. Furthermore, these middle-aged daughters were aware of the fact that, because of changing societal norms and

weakening family obligations, their children might not feel obliged to put up with their capricious behavior when they are older, as they do with their own mothers.

It will be interesting to study mother-daughter relationships of the second generation daughters as mothers and their daughters. It is possible that the next generation of mother-daughters might experience more conflict in their relationships as they will be more educated and hence less submissive.

Finally, in this study, both mothers and daughters seemed well aware of a generation gap, since they talked about the rapid societal changes in Turkey and mentioned the generation gap / generation collision frequently. The attribution of conflict to an external factor like the generation gap might reduce the discomfort associated with the conflict. Moreover, it is possible that external attribution might stem from the fact that fundamental attribution errors are less common in collectivists than in individualists.

### **11.8 Limitations of the Study**

The older women in this sample were relatively healthy and free from physical and mental impairments and hence, they were able to exchange support with their daughters. The support that they received from their daughters was not due to poor health, and the tension experienced by both parties was not related to the stress of care-giving. Research showed that poor health conditions in a parent changes the nature of the interaction and reciprocity of assistance between an adult child and a parent (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002), as well as decreasing the closeness and increasing the interpersonal stress between adult children and their aging mothers (Pillemer & Suitor, 2002; Rossi & Rossi, 1990). For these reasons, this study provided a platform for exploring intergenerational support, tension and ambivalence aspects of later life female intergenerational relationships in a normal development course, without the influence of some contextual variables.

Since both daughters and their mothers had to agree to participate in the research, the sample underrepresented problematic relationships. It is highly probable that, when there is a high degree of conflict in mother-daughter relationship, the daughter, the mother or both will refuse to be interviewed. While the selective nature of the sample limits generalizability, the findings provide a

valuable perspective into the subject. The validity of the results may be limited due to participants' reluctance to acknowledge interpersonal conflict in the relationship, however, this situation is indicative of the societal norm. While I had no way of determining the extent to which respondents actively deny the existence of conflict in their current relationship, the respondents freely expressed conflict at earlier stages of their family life cycle.

Although none of the mothers had any obvious cognitive impairment, some mothers were older or had poorer health conditions than others which influenced the nature and reciprocity of intergenerational support.

Due to the retrospective nature of the study, it was not possible to draw any conclusions about shifts, stability or change of themes over time. Although the questions strongly focused on the change and continuity, the retrospective accounts are known to be distorted. However, the accounts of the participants provide valuable information if they are treated as constructions rather than correct reports of past events.

Although our sample size of 30 mother-daughter pairs limits the representativeness of the findings, compared to other qualitative studies of aging parent-adult child relationships (for example Cohler & Grunebaum, 1981 - 4 pairs; Donorfio & Sheehan, 2001 - 11 pairs; Pyke & Bengtson, 1996 - 67 members of 20 three-generation families), our sample size is fairly decent.

### **11.9 Contributions of the Study**

As far as I am concerned, this study is the first qualitative research conducted with adult daughter-aging mother pairs in Turkey that shows similarities and differences to the findings of Western studies.

Second, it is one of the few dyadic studies looking at the effects of life course on parent-child relations in modern societies. To my knowledge, the only other study that focused on the effects of life course on mother-daughter relations in modern times was Fischer's (1991) dyadic comparison of mothers and daughters that investigated the effects of life course with a feminist perspective. Similarly, Hareven & Adams (1996) compared cohorts in terms of the assistance given to aging parents in an American community, however, the parent cohort was born

between 1910-1919 and children cohort was born between 192-1929. There are other studies examining the effect of time on individual lives but there are none on intergenerational relationships as far as I am aware.

Third, maintenance has been studied extensively in the light of friendship, dating and marriage relationships (Rusbult, C.E., 1983; Schriber, J.B., Larwood, L., & Peterson, J.L., 1985; Johnson, D.J., & Rusbult, C.E., 1989; Picklington, C.J., Tesser, A., & Stephens, D., 1991; Daiton, M., 2000). However, throughout my literature review, I have not come across any studies of maintenance of aging mother-middle aged adult daughter relationships. Furthermore, maintenance tactics employed in handling ambivalence and conflict emerged as an important determinant in the construction of aging mother-adult daughter relationship typology.

Fourth, this study offers indications of a changing society and the operation of collectivist norms in relationship maintenance, conflict avoidance, intergenerational support and family obligations.

Fifth, it provides valuable data for women's and family studies with its rich descriptions by both mothers and daughters about their relationship.

Finally, the findings of this study will assist future quantitative studies of aging mother-adult daughter relationships, providing guidance in designing culture-sensitive questionnaires.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A**

#### **A.1. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO MOTHERS (IN TURKISH)**

1. Yaşınız
2. Eğitim durumunuz
3. Çalışıyor musunuz?  
Hiç çalıştınız mı?  
Emekli misiniz?
4. Sağlığınız nasıl?
5. Kiminle yaşıyorsunuz?  
Ne zamandır kızınızla oturuyorsunuz?
6. Kaç çocuğunuz var? Kız, erkek?
7. Çocuklarınız nerede yaşıyor?
8. Eşiniz var mı? Yoksa ne zaman vefat etti veya ayrıldınız?
9. Çevrenizde kendinizi en çok kime yakın hissedersiniz?
10. Çocuğunuzla yaşamının olumlu yanları neler? Olumsuz yönleri neler?
11. En sık görüştüğünüz evladınız hangisi?
12. Ne sıklıkla beraber oluyorsunuz?
13. Beraberken neler yaparsınız?
14. Kızınız size kişilik ve huy olarak benzer mi? Hangi yönleri benzer, hangi yönleri benzemez?
15. Kızınız size hangi konularda yardımcı olur?



Duygusal yönden – dert dinleme, övme, dostluk, şefkat...

Pratik yardım – alışveriş, yemek, ev işi...

16. Siz kızıınıza hangi konularda yardımcı olursunuz?

17. Kızınız kendisinden beklediğiniz her şeyi yerine getirebiliyor mu?

Karşılayamadığı var mı?

Hangi konularda?

Nasıl zamanlarda?

Böyle durumlarda ne yaparsınız?

18. Kızınızın üstünüze fazla düştüğü, sizi kısıtladığını hissettiğiniz olur mu?

Hangi konularda?

Böyle durumlarda ne yaparsınız? Neler hissedersiniz?

19. Kızınızın kocası ve çocukları ile ilgili size daha çok danışıp, sizin tecrübelerinizden daha çok faydalanmasını ister miydiniz?

Evet,... hangi konularda?

Hayır,... neden?

20. Ana-kız arasında anlaşmazlıkların olması kaçınılmaz. Hepimiz yaşıyoruz.

Sizin başlıca anlaşmazlık konularınız neler?

21. Hangi konularda konuşmaktan çekinirsiniz, kaçınırsınız?

22. İstemiye istemiye yaptığınız, size ters geldiği halde sesinizi çıkartmadığınız durumlar var mı?

Böyle zamanlarda neler hissedersiniz?

23. Annenizle ilişkiniz nasıldı?

Kızınızla olan ilişkinize benzer mi?

Hangi yönlerden benzer, hangi yönlerden benzemez?

Siz annenize hangi konularda yardımcı olurdunuz?

Onunla anlaşamadığınız konular nelerdi?

24. Hepimizin hayatta bir den çok rolü var. Çalışıyorsak, iş kadını, evliysek eş, anne olmak, evlat olmak gibi. Annenizi böyle düşündüğünüzde, hangi yönü daha ağır basardı?

Kendinizi bu şekilde düşündüğünüzde sizin hangi yönünüz daha ağır basardı?

Kızınızın hangi yönü daha ağır basıyor?

25. Anneniz nasıl bir anneydi?

Siz nasıl bir anneydiniz?

Şimdi nasıl bir annesiniz?

Kızınız nasıl bir anne?

26. Kendinizi evlat olarak düşündüğünüzde, sizce nasıl bir evlattınız?

Kızınız nasıl bir evlat?

27. Eşiniz vefat ettikten sonra, kızınızla ilişkinizde değişiklikler oldu mu?

Ne yönde? Neler değişti?

28. Kızınız evlendikten sonra kızınızla ilişkinizde değişiklikler oldu mu?

Ne yönde? Neler değişti?

29. Kızınız anne olduktan sonra kızınızla ilişkinizde değişiklikler oldu mu?

Ne yönde? Neler değişti?

30. Bu konuda ilave etmek istediğiniz, paylaşmak istediğiniz başka duygularınız düşünceleriniz var mı?

## A.2. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO DAUGHTERS (IN TURKISH)

1. Yaşınız
2. Eğitim durumunuz
3. Çalışıyor musunuz?  
Hiç çalıştınız mı?  
Emekli misiniz?
4. Evli misiniz?  
Kaç çocuğunuz var? Kız erkek? Yaşları?
5. Çocukluk yıllarınızda, annenizle ilişkiniz nasıldı? Biraz anlatır mısınız?  
Şimdi annenizle ilişkiniz nasıl?  
Neler değişti zaman içinde, neler aynı kaldı?
6. Babanız vefat ettikten sonra, annenizle ilişkinizde değişiklikler oldu mu?  
Ne yönde? Neler değişti?
7. Siz evlendikten sonra annenizle ilişkinizde değişiklikler oldu mu?  
Ne yönde? Neler değişti?
8. Siz anne olduktan sonra annenizle ilişkinizde değişiklikler oldu mu?  
Ne yönde? Neler değişti?
9. Hepimizin hayatta bir den çok rolü var. Çalışıyorsak, iş kadını, evliyse eş, anne olmak, evlat olmak gibi. Kendinizi bu şekilde düşündüğünüzde hangi yönünüz daha ağır basıyor?  
Annenizi böyle düşündüğünüzde, hangi yönü daha ağır basardı?
10. Annenizle ne sıklıkla beraber oluyorsunuz?
11. Beraberken neler yaparsınız?
12. Anneniz size kişilik ve huy olarak benzer mi?  
Hangi yönleri benzer, hangi yönleri benzemez?
13. Annenize hangi konularda yardımcı olursunuz?  
Duygusal yönden – dert dinleme, övme, dostluk, şefkat...  
Pratik yardım – alışveriş, yemek, ev işi...
14. Anneniz size hangi konularda yardımcı olur?

15. Anneniz kendisinden beklediğiniz her şeyi yerine getirebiliyor mu?  
Karşılayamadığı var mı?  
Hangi konularda?  
Nasıl zamanlarda?  
Böyle durumlarda ne yaparsınız?
16. Annenizin üstünüze fazla düştüğü, sizi kısıtladığını hissettiğiniz olur mu?  
Hangi konularda?  
Böyle durumlarda ne yaparsınız? Neler hissedersiniz?
17. Ana-kız arasında anlaşmazlıkların olması kaçınılmaz. Hepimiz yaşıyoruz.  
Sizin başlıca anlaşmazlık konularınız neler?
18. Hangi konularda konuşmaktan çekinirsiniz, kaçınırsınız?
19. İstemiye istemiye yaptığınız, size ters geldiği halde sesinizi çıkartmadığınız durumlar var mı?  
Böyle zamanlarda neler hissedersiniz?
20. Kardeşleriniz var mı?  
Onların annenizle ilişkisi nasıl?
21. Kendi çocuğunuzla ilişkiniz nasıl?  
Annenizle sizin ilişkinizi karşılaştırdınca, hangi yönlerden benziyor? Hangi yönlerden farklı?  
Çocuğunuzla başlıca anlaşmazlık konularınız neler?  
Çocuğunuzla hangi konularda konuşmaktan kaçınırsınız?  
Çocuğunuzla olan ilişkinizde aslında size ters gelen ama uyum gösterdiğiniz konular var mı?  
Evladınızdan hangi konularda destek görürsünüz?  
Evladınızdan beklediğiniz ama karşılanmayan ihtiyaçlarınız var mı?  
Hangi konularda?  
Kendinizi nasıl hissedersiniz?
22. Anneniz nasıl bir anneydi?  
Siz nasıl bir anneydiniz?
23. Kendinizi evlat olarak düşündüğünüzde, sizce nasıl bir evlattınız?  
Kızınız nasıl bir evlat?

24. Bu konuda ilave etmek istediğiniz, paylaşmak istediğiniz başka duygularınız düşünceleriniz var mı?

#### A.1. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO MOTHERS

1. Your age

2. Education

3. Are you working?

Have you ever worked?

Are you retired?

4. How is your health?

5. Who do you live with?

How long have you been living with your daughter?

6. Have many children have you got?

Girl, boy?

7. Where do your children live?

8. Have you got a spouse?

If not, when did he die or when did you get a divorce?

9. To whom do you feel closest to in your surroundings?

10. What are the advantages of living with your children? What are the disadvantages?

11. Of all your children, who do you see most frequently?

12. How often do you get together?

13. What do you do when you are together?

14. Is your daughter similar to you with respect to personality?

In what ways?

15. In what ways does your daughter support you?

Emotionally – sharing problems, love, friendship, encouragement...

Practical – shopping, cooking, housework...

16. In what ways do you support your daughter?

17. Can your daughter meet all your needs and expectations? Are there any times that she can not meet your expectations?

In what aspects?

What do you do at those times?

18. Are there any times that you feel restricted by your daughter's attentive behaviors?

In which areas?

How do you feel at those times?

19. Would you like your daughter to ask for your advice regarding her children and her husband?

If yes,... in which aspects?

If no,... why?

20. It is inevitable to have disagreements or tension between mothers and daughters. We all have it. What sorts of issues create tension / disagreement in your relationship?

21. Which issues do you avoid talking about with your daughter?

22. Are there any times when you have to comply with your daughter's desires?

How do you feel at those times?

23. How was your relationship with your own mother?

Was it similar to the relationship that you have with your daughter?

What are the similarities, what are the differences?

How were you helping/supporting your mother?

What sorts of issues created tension / disagreement in your relationship with your mother?

24. We all have different roles in life. If we are working, we are a businesswoman, if we are married we are also a spouse, and a mother and a daughter. When you think about your mother from this perspective, which of her roles had priority over others?

When you think about yourself from this perspective, which of your roles has priority over the others?

When you think about your daughter from this perspective, which of her roles has priority over the others?

25. How was your mother in terms of motherhood?

How were you in terms of motherhood?

How are you now as a mother?

How is your daughter as a mother?

26. When you think of yourself as a daughter, how would you evaluate yourself as a daughter?

How is your daughter as a daughter?

27. Did you experience any changes in your relationship with your daughter after the death of your spouse?

What changed?

28. Did you experience any changes in your relationship with your daughter after your daughter's marriage?

What changed?

29. Did you experience any changes in your relationship with your daughter after your daughter's parenthood?

What changed?

30. Are there any other feelings, thoughts that you would like to share with us?

## A.2. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO DAUGHTERS

1. Your age

2. Education

3. Are you working?

Have you ever worked?

Are you retired?

4. Are you married?

How many children have you got? Girls, boys? How old are they?

5. How was your relationship with your mother in your childhood years? Can you tell me about it?

How is your relationship with your mother now?

What has changed over the years, what has remained the same in your relationship?

6. Did you experience any changes in your relationship with your mother after the death of your father?

What changed?

7. Did you experience any changes in your relationship with your mother after you got married?

What changed?

8. Did you experience any changes in your relationship with your mother after you became a parent?

What changed?

9. We all have different roles in life. If we are working, we are a businesswoman, if we are married we are also a spouse, and a mother and a daughter. When you think about yourself from this perspective, which of your roles has priority over others?

When you think about your mother from this perspective, which of her roles had priority over others?



10. How often do you get together with your mother?
11. What do you do when you are together?
12. Is your mother similar to you with respect to personality?
- In what ways?
13. In what ways do you support your mother?
- Emotionally – sharing problems, love, friendship, encouragement...
- Practical – shopping, cooking, housework...
14. In what ways does your mother support you?
15. Can your mother meet all your needs and expectations? Are there any times that she can not meet your expectations?
- In what aspects?
- How do you feel at those times?
16. Are there any times that you feel restricted by your mother's attentive behavior?
- In which areas?
- How do you feel at those times?
17. It is inevitable that there are disagreements or tension between mothers and daughters. We all have it. What sorts of issues create tension / disagreement in your relationship?
18. What issues do you avoid talking about with your mother?
19. Are there any times that you have to comply with your mother's desires?
- How do you feel at those times?
20. Have you got siblings?
- How are their relationships with your mother?
21. How is your relationship with your child?
- When you compare it to your relationship with your mother, what are the similarities and differences?
- What are the basic issues of conflict between you and your child?
- What issues do you avoid talking about with your child?
- Are there any times that you have to comply with your child's desires despite your unwillingness?
- In what ways does your child assist you?

Can your child meet all your needs and expectations? Are there any times that she can not meet your expectations?

In what aspects?

How do you feel at those times?

22. How was your mother in terms of motherhood?

How are you as a mother?

23. When you think of your self as a daughter, how would you evaluate yourself as a daughter?

How is your daughter as a daughter?

24. Are there any other feelings, thoughts that you would like to share with us?

## APPENDIX B

### ORIGINAL QUOTATIONS

#### 4.1.2.1 Face to Face Contact

Yani hasta olmadıkları zaman bile haftada en azından 1 veya 2 gün annemleri ziyaret ettim. Hele şimdi (babası hastanede yatıyor) hemen hemen her gün geliyorum (MD2)

Peki siz en sık hangi evladınızla görüşüyorsunuz?

En sık kızımle.

Ne sıklıkta görüşebiliyorsunuz?

Zehra'yla vallaha görüşemesek de haftada mutlaka gelir, haftada bir defa gelir, telefonla hemen hemen her gün, telefonlaşırız.(WM3)

Tabi zaman geçirme açısından komşularımle daha çok evlatlarımdan daha çok ilişkim oluyor.

Haftada görüşüyoruz tabi, yani haftayı geçirmeyiz ama öyle uzun...komşularımle, ahablarımla daha sık görüşüyorum. Yani bu nedenden dolayı sıklıklan görüşemiyorum.(MM10)

Çalıştığım için bir hafta sonları gidebiliyoruz. (MD16)

Çok sıklıkla beraber olamıyoruz. Çünkü Nihal çalışıyor. Hafta sonları da işi oluyor. Haftada bir yada en geç 15 günde bir mutlaka görüşürüz. Ama genelde bir hafta ben bir hafta o gelmeye çalışırız. Zaten telefonda her gün konuşuyoruz.(WM16)

Onunla ne sıklıkta görüşebiliyorsunuz? Kızınızla. Haftada bir mi, on günde bir mi?

Hiç belli olmuyor. Yani pek on günü bulmazdı, bu sefer 11-12 gün oldu. Onun da işi var, gücü vardı. 12 gündür birbirimizi görmedik. (WM28)

#### 4.1.2.2 Phone Contact

Mesela her gün telefonla konuşurum. Hiçbir şekilde görüşmesek de, o telefonlarımız vardır. O telefonda sesimi duymadıkça rahat etmez, her gün telefonlaşırız. (MD11)

Hülya'la telefonla görüşüyorum. Ayda bir gel diyorlar, gitmiyorum. Çünkü onlar evde yoklar (kızının çalıştığını söylemek istiyor).(WM11)

her gün bakın 28 senelik evli, Avrupa'ya da gitse muhakkak bana o telefon edilir. O kadar alıştırmış ki beni olmayınca saate bakıyorum falan kendim açıyorum.

Anne diyor, eve gidip de öyle açacaktım diyor falan. Öyle görüşüyoruz.

Kalıyorum bazı gidip ama çok değil. (WM11)

Kızımın mutlaka günde 1-2 defa telefonlaşırım. O her gün arar. Eğer bir gün aramasın hemen gözlerim dolar. Niye aramadın diye. Niye beni böyle beklettin dedim. (WM16)

Peki, o arada telefonla falan mı görüşüyorsunuz?

Telefonla, telefonla görüşüyoruz. O arar telefonla, ben ararım. Ben de hiç aramadım. Bir defa aradım, evde yokmuş, oğlu vardı görüştük. Söylemedi diyor, bana kızdı sen arasaydın diye. Dedim ki ben aradım bir defa dedim, sen ara. Ben fırsat bulamadım dedi bu gün. Peki gündüz fırsat bulamıyorsun, gece arasaydın dedim. Gece de bilmiyorum artık doğru mu, çok yorgundum filan dedi. Öyle şey yaptı, kapattı.(WM28)

#### 4.1.2.3 Shared Activities

Zaten biz belirli günler de öğlenleri yemeğe çıkarız, gideriz sağa sola, alışverişe gideriz...

Mado'ya gideriz. Migros'a gideriz. Dışarıda yemek yeriz. Alışveriş'e gideriz.

Bazen hafta sonu, eşim burada olmadığı zamanlar, babama oğlanı bırakıp günü birlik bir yerlere gideriz.

Yani sosyal yaşantıda da bir takım şeyleri paylaşıyoruz. Böyle kermesti, yemekti, işte o derneğin yemeği, bu derneğin kahvaltısı tarzı şeylere de gidiyoruz. (MD12)

Bir de gezmeye gitmek istiyor, şimdi eski arkadaşları, eski çevresi falan kalmadı gezmeye gezmeye, onun için diyorum ki, bir yerlere götürmek gerekiyor, gezdirmek, hava aldirmek gerekiyor. (SD23)

Beni balık yemeğe götürür. Ben evde balık kokusunu sevmiyorum. Dışarıya götürür, bana balık yedirir. (WM8)

O benim meyhane arkadaşım bak aslında. Bazen derim "hadi hazırlan, 3 Kalyon'a kafa çekmeye gideceğiz.". Beraber gider, balığımızı yeriz. Aslında çok ilginç ve eğlenceli bir kadındır annem, içki içmez, ama içki içmemesine rağmen sırf bana arkadaşlık etmek için bir kadeh rakısını da ısmarlar. O masada öyle durur ama olsun. Çok enteresandır." (WD8)

Çıkarız tabi işte. Yani bir yere gideceğim zaman onu da alıyorum. Onun gidebileceği yerlere, tanıdığı yerlere onu da götürüyorum. Akraba ziyaretleri, lüzumunda benim arkadaşlarıma, çok seviyorlar. Anneni de getir diyorlar, götürüyorum o zaman.(MD9)

Beraber dolaşıyoruz, bir yere gitmek icabederse beraber gidiyoruz, teyzelere, eşe dosta ziyarete beraber gidiyoruz, her şeyimiz beraber.

-Tatile falanda gitmiyor,

Yok gidiyoruz, birlikte gidiyoruz.

-Yani yok, abinizin yanına mesela,

Yok gitmiyor. Birlikte gidiyoruz, bir yere gitmek icabettiğinde birlikte gidiyoruz.

Alışveriş yapıyoruz, beraber alışverişe gidiyoruz.

Sinemaya gideriz, tiyatroya gideriz veya bir yerde gider oturur çay içeriz, bu tür şeyler.(SD14)

hafta sonları falan birlikte oluyoruz, diğer kardeşlerimle birlikte, annemle birlikte çok güzel vakit geçiriyoruz.

-Neler yapıyorsunuz?

Yemek yiyoruz, hafta sonlar, özel günleri mutlaka bir arada geçiriyoruz, işte erkek kardeşim karısı çocuğu, kız kardeşim, annem, bayramlarda, işte ya da doğum günlerinde mutlaka birlikteyiz, hafta sonu birlikteyiz. Birimizden birimizin evindeyiz. (MD24)

#### **4.1.3 Affectual Solidarity**

En çok Fatoş'a, ortanca kızıma çok yakınım. Şöyle ki, anne için bütün çocuklar aynıdır ama o daha sakindir, sessizdir. Şunu şöyle yap yavrum dediğinde, eğer ona ters gelse bile sizin söylediğiniz, hiç bir zaman tepki vermez. Ama büyük kızımla, küçük kızım biraz sinirli, onlar hemen tepki verirler...yani evlat sizi ne kadar üzse yine ondan vazgeçemezsiniz, en ufak bir sıkıntı gelsin istemezsiniz, o başka da işte içinizden, sizi üzmeyeni, sizi daha çok seveni, daha çok değer vereni daha çok benimsiyorsunuz, yoksa hani ötekileri dışlamıyorsunuz onlar da evladınız.(WM4)

Küçükle daha yakın şeylerimiz var diyebilirim...Daha o bana yakın diyeyim, daha mı anlatamayacağım şeyler. Büyük kızıma göre biraz daha evcimendir öyle diyelim.(DM5)

Büyük kızım biraz içine kapanık. O pek derdini anlatmak istemez, küçük kızım öyle değildir, her şeyini anlatır, ben de o yüzden ona daha yakınım (MM6)

Ama biz her şeyi Özlem. Özlem sanki bizim Hızır. Daha onu yakın hissediyorum herhalde. Bir şey oldu mu hemen Özlem'e açarım.(MM9)

Ama ben ondan eminim ki, o bana yardımcı olacak. Yani sıkıldığım her konuda Sibel bana yardımcı olur. (MM10)

bana biraz daha yakın olduğunu hissediyorum. Belki ben hep elinin altında en büyük olduğum için, ilk sorunu bana söylediği için, daha yakınmış gibi hissediyorum annem bana onlardan. (MD10)

Peki siz çevrenizde en çok kendinizi kime yakın hissediyorsunuz, dertlerinizi, sıkıntılarınızı en çok kiminle paylaşıyorsunuz?

Ben Kader'le paylaşıyorum.

çocuklarım beni severler, iyidirler, hiç sözümünden çıkmadılar daha, benim de onları çok sevdiğimi, onlar bunu biliyorlar (DM27)

Siz etrafınızda kendinizi en çok kime yakın hissediyorsunuz?

H: Valla önce kızıma, eşime, oğluma. (MM12)

Birbirimizi çok severiz. Onlar benim her şeyim.(WM16)

Daha çok yakın olan eşim, kızım, torunum, damadım, ablam, yeğenim. Onların işte ailesi falan. Tabi en önde gelen bunlar oluyor. Sonra da diğerleri geliyor.(MM22)

Ne bekleyelim ki, bugün başımız ağrısa 6 çocuğumun hepsi burada olur. (MM23)

Valla ben en çok çocuklarım. İki çocuğum da yani Allah herkese onlar gibi evlat versin, ikisi de son derece annelerine düşkün, yardım sever, annelerini ihmal etmeyen çocuklar. (WM30)

Oğlumu da kızımı da çok severim ama kızımınla daha arkadaş gibiyiz. Daha yakın bana. Bir kız arkadaş gibi. Nasıl bir kız arkadaşla rahat konuşabiliyorsak, kızımınla da her konuyu konuşabiliyorum. Nilay'a arkadaşına söyleyemediklerimi bile daha rahat paylaşıyorum. Hani ben onu evlat gibi değil de, çok yakın bir arkadaş gibi görüyorum. (WM13)

Tabi ki kızlarım, evlatlarım en yakın arkadaşım benim. (WM17)

Bir kardeşim var, MESA'da oturuyor. O daha çok bana şey oluyor dert şeyi oluyor, yakını oluyor.(MM25)

Çocuklarım var en yakın olaraktan, onlarla. Başka kardeşlerim var...(kızım) benimle pek yakın değil, evvelce daha yakındı.(WM28)

#### **4.1.4.1 Giving Comfort / Sharing Problems**

Bir sıkıntım olduğunda yine ilk koştuğum insan annemdir. (MD6)

Ama insan olarak ya içinize atacaksınız ya da birinle paylaşacaksınız. O yine senin dert ortağın. Yani her şeyimi mutlu yönü de, kötü yönü de, hastalığı da aynı şekilde.(WD8)

Annem ben işte diyorum beni rahatlatır. Çocuklar konusunda bir takım sıkıntıları oldu. Ben daha fazla problem çıkardım. Onu problem haline getirdiğim şeyler oldu. Belki çok basit şeylerdi. Annem beni o konularda çok rahatlatı... Benim çocuklarımla problemleri. Onları annem çok rahat çözüyor bana. Çok rahatlatıyor.(MD9)

paylaşıyorum yani annemsiz yapamıyorum yani. O da bana destek oluyor, kızım şunu şöyle yapma, bunu böyle yapma diyerekten şeyimi hafifletiyor en azından, Yükünüzü?

Yükümü hafifletiyor. Yani benim de tek dert ortağım o diyebilirim yani.(MD18)  
O benden anlar yavrum ben ondan. O bana destek olur, ben ona. Kızım diyor ki anne sen olmazsan ben yaşayamam, sen beni strese her şeyde sen beni şey yaptın diyor, kızım sen yaşıyon ben de yaşıyorum diyorum. İşte biz birbirimize destek oluyoruz.(MM18)

kayınvalidemle olan şeyleri hemen telefon açıp, ilk annemle paylaşırım. Başka da kimseyle paylaşamıyorum, şey yapamıyorum. Çok çünkü şey, problemleri bir şey olduğu için. Hani onunla konuşurum şey yaparım, yani rahatlarım. (MD30)

Aldırış etme diyor. Yaşlı diyor. Ben sanki gencim. Babama boş ver diyor. İşte ondan sonra böyle arada oturup konuşuyoruz. Yahut ta oğlanı çekiştiriyorum. Dertleşiyoruz ...(MM2)

Bir sıkıntım olduğunda, bir şeye sıkılısam falan ona anlatırım bütün derdimi, işte o da beni teselli etmeye çalışır. Bilmiyorum ben Fatoş'la sabahdan akşama kadar oturayım sohbet edeyim bıkmıyorum (WM4)

mesela bir kişi bir şeye kırılıp mesela annemin çok beklentisi vardır, işte beni arasınlar, beni sorsunlar, anne derim yani herkesin kendine göre bir hayat mücadelesi var, yani belki seni düşünüyor, aklından geçiriyor, oturur konuşuruz, hak verir, doğru haklısın da elimde değil der, yani elinde olmadığını söylüyor. Mesela oturup konuşunca o da olumlu bakmaya başlıyor. (MD7)

Manevi anlamda da çok naz çekiyoruz.

Nazını çektiğin, önüne oturtturup elini ayağını ovuyorsun, masaj yapıyorsun, pomatlar sürüyorsun, annesi pamuk annesi, akıllı annesi, sen hala cin gibisin, sen bize akıl vereceğin, onu daima motive etmeye çalışıyorsun falan. (WD8)

Peki Hülya abla ile dertleşir misiniz? Birine kızsanız, sinirlenseniz?

H: Yaparım, konuşurum. O da yapar. Ama Hülya hep böyle iyi yönlerini şey yapar. Sen sinirlendiğin zaman seni telafi eder. Ama anne öyle değil, sen yanlış anlamışsındır da bilmem ne, beni rahatlatır. Diyorum sen benim doktorumsun ,annemsin, hep bunu diyorum.(WM11)

Benle dertleşir. Ben de ona birazcık böyle yarı şöyle...gereksiz yere kızdıkları oluyor. Gereksiz yere duygusal tepkiler verdiği oluyor. Onları işte böyle bana açıklıca. Zaten ses tonundan anlarım. Yine ne oldu derim. O da hemen anlıyorsun der, ondan sonra anlatmaya başlar. Anlatırken de, onları da haklı gösterecek bir

takım şeyler ortaya koyuyorum. Ben onları da ortaya koyduğum zaman da, sen haklısın diyor, bak sen benim annemsin işte diyor. Diyorum gönül koyma, onlar o hatayı yapmış olabilir, şöyle olabilir. Öyle geçiştiriyoruz işte.(MD11)

Valla konuşunca rahatlıyor galiba. Yani bizden bir şey beklediği de yok. Hani bir şey yapmam için söylemiyor onu. Ama o da kendince rahatlıyor sanırım.(MD21)  
İşte dertleşiyoruz, paylaşıyoruz. Bir şey oldu mu, birbirimize soruyoruz, ne yapalım.(WM21)

Ondan sonra işte kuaföre gitmiştir mesela, a ne kadar güzel oldu, ona sık sık iltifatlar ederim.(SD23)

Yani aramızda hiçbir gizli şey yoktur. Şengül' le benim aramda ne benim gizli bir şeyim vardır. Ne de Şengül'ün gizli bir şeyi. İkimiz de tamamen açığız birbirimize karşı...Her türlü sıkıntımı paylaşıyorum. Neye üzüldüğümü anlatırım, neye üzüldümse ona anlatırım, o da bana üzüntülerini anlatır ama. Üzüntüyü sıkıntıyı ben de ona anlatırım, o da bana anlatır.(WM30)

#### **4.1.4.2 Friendship**

arkadaşça hiçbir zaman işte ben annemle oturup da ne yapacağım demem. Yalnızsam mutlaka gelirim, annemle kendi başıma evde oturacağıma ya da oğlanla bir şey yapacağıma onun da işi yoksa gelirim sohbet etmeyi de severim. Oturup annemle de çay içmeyi severim. Yani öyle sıkılmam da annemden. (MD6)

Ya da yani, birisi gelecekse, ya anne, o kişi ile fazla şeyim yoksa, ee muhabbeti götüremeyeceğimi hissedersen, anneme söylüyorum aa anne gelsene sende, onlar konuşsun, ben servis yapıp... Böyle bazı şeylerde paslaşmamız çok güzel oluyor o konuda yani bunu arkadaşından bile talep edemezsin sonuçta yani bir de çok açıklıkla ben o kişiyi çok fazla tıklamayacağımı belirtirim anneme. Annemde onu anlayıp kapar olayı yani idareci pozisyonunda bir insan.(MD13)

sevgi desteği, arkadaşlık desteği veriyorum en önemlisi.(MD13)

onun beklentisi aman gelip evimdeki bulaşık yıkansın falan değil, birisiyle konuşsun, karşısındaki onu dinlesin. Onun için mesela gittiğim zaman birlikte dizi seyreliyorum. O sevdiği diziyi soruyorum, a ben aslında o diziyi hiç ilgili değilimdir ama, ya işte ne oldu asmalı konak, geçen hafta seyrelemedim, o büyük bir heyecanla anlatıyor. Veya işte bilmem ne dizide bilmem ne olmuş, a işte ne oldu, ben ne zamandır seyrelemedim. Yani o dizileri falan onunla birlikte seyretmem ona çok büyük bir keyif veriyor... o ona çok büyük bir zevk veriyor. Yani oturup birlikte o diziyi seyretmek. Paylaşmak diyelim. Paylaşmak ve konuşmak. Anlatacak işte, komşularını anlatıyor, onun komşularının yaptığı aslında beni pek de ilgilendirmiyor, komşu dedikoduları, ama yakın, en yakın anlatabileceği sen varsın. O zaman dinlemek zorundasın. (SD23)

birde şöyle bir şey oluyor, komik bir şey, beni zaman zaman arkadaşı gibi, iki çocuğuyla ilgili sorunları benimle konuşuyor, ben birde büyük olduğum için



herhalde, pek çocuk olma şansına da sahip olmuyorum. en büyük kızım; öyle oluyor aynı bir yerden sonra beni arkadaşları yerine koyuyor, benim de aslında onun çocuğu olduğumu unutuyor, işte Ayşe'ye böyle oldu, Sinan'a şöyle oldu diye çocuklarının problemlerini benimle şey yapıyor (MD24)

ben annemin en yakın arkadaşayım, en yakın arkadaşı benim şu anda. Kendisi, hayatta kendisini en çok anlayanın, en çok bilen ben olduğumu düşünür, her konuda hemen hemen yani (SD27)

#### **4.1.4.3 Trust / Security**

işim gereği yurtdışına gittiğim dönemler oldu, seyahatlere çıktığımda, annemin evdeki varlığı benim için bir güven duygusuydu. Hiç bir şeyin aksamayacağını düşünüyordum.(MD17)

Yani ben şu anda gecenin bu saatinde telefon etsem o yaşlı haliyle, size ihtiyacım var desem, annem atlar gelir. Yani o hissettim, onun için diyorum anneme-babama bir şey olsa ben kendimi çok yalnız hissederim.(SD23)

Yapacağımızda sen yaparsın, edersin, işte şöyle olur, böyle olur, yani o desteği, çocuklarına güveni hep verdi. Biz bildik ki, biz bir hata yapsak bile eve geldiğimizde, annemiz babamız yanımızda olurlar. Her zaman da bulduk yanımızda.(SD23)

ama bir sıkıntım ne zaman olsa hani annem yanımdadır, onu bilirim. Onun da ne zaman bir ihtiyacı olsa ben onun yanındayım. (MD22)

Valla bir kere ben kızıma güveniyorum, şöyle güveniyorum.Hani bizi arayan var, bize destek olacak var.(MM12)

Yani en azından güvencesi. Benim gördüğüm kadarıyla, yani benim Ankara dışına çıkıyor olmam bile, onu çok rahatsız ediyor. Yani ben Ankara'da olduğum zaman o kendini çok daha rahat hissediyor. Çünkü bana bir iki sefer böyle seyahatlerde oldu. Bana söylediği tek şey, ay geldin ya çok şükür, şimdi daha rahatım filan. Hani sanki böyle eli kolu kırılmış gibi, daha bir böyle boşta gibi oluyor. Ama ben Ankara'daysam, biliyor ki ben oradayım, bir şeye ihtiyacı olduğunda ben yanındayım. Yani ilk baştaki en büyük etken güven duygusu. Yani kendini sırtını dayayacağı birinin olması. O çok önemli... Yani hiçbir şekilde, nasıl diyim... o eksikliğini, yalnızlığını, yalnız kalmasını istemiyorum. (MD11)

#### **4.1.5.1 Functional Support Given By Mothers**

Geçmişte en büyük yardım Tolga ile Ceylan'ın büyütülmesi, çünkü ben çalıştığım için. Annem aldı birde hiç gözüm arkada kalmadı. Tolgayı da, Ceylanı da 16-17 sene fiilen.(MD2)

Torunlara bakıyordum, baktım amma bir şey olmadan çıkardım, gözünün önüne. Evet çok mesuliyetli bir iştir, çünkü başkasının çocuğu, benim de canım ama anneye babaya herhangi bir şey olsa ödüm patlar. (MM2)

Kızımı, büyük kızımı. Gece gündüz baktı. Diğer kızıma gündüz hep o baktı. İkisini de o büyüttü çocuklarımın. Yani ben emekli olana kadar yani hep onun elindeydi, onlarla birlikte bize de baktı. (MD6)

Torunlarınız büyürken siz baktınız mı?”

- Evet. Ben büyüttüm...Ama büyük kızımın, büyük torunumun 12 yaşına kadar ben baktım, ben büyüttüm. Onun için çok fazla emeğim var. (MM6)

şimdi ben çalışmadığım için, hani öyle bir problem olmadı, ama ablamın çocuklarını annem büyüttü. Bir de ben kıyamadım anneme, hani hiçbirimiz, ablamdan sonra, altı biz, ikide onlar sekiz çocuk büyüttü kadın, işi çok fazla şey. O yüzden yani öyle bir şey olmadı, ama taşınma durumlarında falan çocukları bırakırdım anneme...Veyahut bir yere gitme durumu olur bırakırdım yani, bakar. Sıla'ya bile, bir yere gideceğim zaman, onu anneanneye bırakırım. Orada oturur işte, yemeğini verir anneanesi, şey yapar ilgilenir yani, onun burada olması benim için çok büyük bir nimet.(MD19)

kendileri de çalışmadığı için bakıyor kendi ama bana koyduğu zaman bir yere giderse ancak o zaman bakarım. Yoksa öyle başlı başına bakmadım.(WM19)

çocuklarımıza da çok düşkündük yani, baba da öyle ben de öyle. Hiç yardımcı eline sürekli bırakmak düşüncesi olmadı. Tatil olur, biz hemen çocukları hop buraya göndeririz veya annem gelir bir şekilde babam da o zaman sağdı ve o şekilde benim çocuklarımda annemin çok emeği var (MD15)

Torunların İkisini ben okuttum... Torunları Onları yetiştirdim, kendime çok pay çıkarıyorum. Çünkü hakikaten benim yanımda yoğruldu. Çünkü Lale çalışıyordu, tatiller, yazlar, şeyler de hep benim yanımda geçti çocukların. (WM15)

Yok çocuklarını ben büyütmedim, o zaman kayınvalidesi ile oturuyordu, onlar yardım etti (WM16)

meselâ yemeklere yetişemediğimde onun yaptığı yemekleri alıp götürdüğüm olur falan... onun dışında ne bileyim işte evle ilgili, yemekle ilgili bir sürü konuda desteğini alıyorum (MD5)

Yerine göre yemeklerine yardımcı oluyorum. Gerekirse burada ağırlamalarını sağlıyorum.(DM5)

Çoğu zaman yani akşamleyin işten geliyorduk, işte kızı almaya geliyorduk, oturun yemek yiyin, yemek yiyorduk ve orada yemesek illaki eve yemek yapar gönderirdi ya da eve geldiğimde bakardım yemek yapılmış hazır görürdük. Hazırlardı, yapardı. Temizliğime yardım ederdi, çamaşırama, yani her, akla gelebilecek her şeye. Bir evi vardı, ben evlendikten sonra iki evi oldu. (MD6) Ama, elimden geldiği kadar işini yapmaya çalışırım. Yemeğe misafiri gelecekse, bir tencere dolmasını yaparım. (MM6)

Mesela ben yaprak sarmasını çok severim. Onu hazırlar onu getirir. E, çocuklara, torunlarına kurabiye şuydu buydu filan onları yapar, biriniz uğrayın, gelin alın, çocuklara şunu yaptım der. Yani o tip şeylerde yardımcı oluyor.(MD11)

Yemek falan yaparım. Hemen gönderirim. Dolmasını sararım. Gelir alır gider.(WM11)

en basiti temizliğe kadın gelecek. Ben her gün çalışıyorum. Haftada 5 gün yokum evde. Örneğin kadının başında bir saat iki saat durup, burayı yap, şurayı yap der (MD12)

Bir boya badana olacak, beceremem, evi nasıl toplayacağım, annem geldi birlikte yaptık her bir şeyi. O böyle beş dakikada, o yaşlı haliyle hemen organize etti, bütün evi topladı. (SD23)

mesela ben kollarımda sorun yaşıyorum çok fazla halı silemem, koltuk silemem, belki yıllardır hareketsiz, o işleri yapmadığımız için, işte koltuklar kirlendi dediğim zaman, bakıyorum ertesi gün bezi almış koltuk silmeye çalışıyor. Öyle yapıda bir insan.(MD6)

Tabii o bana yardım etmiyor değil ediyor büyük temizliklerde. Temizliklerde yardımcı oluyor. Temizlik işlerinde ben böyle fazla yukarı merdivene çıkıp bakamadığım için onun bir tansiyon problemi yok. Onun için öyle uzanamadığım yüksek yerlere o yapıyor işlerin, diğerlerini ben yapıyorum. Yani camı o siler. Elektrik süpürgesinde o süpürür. Ben böyle yukarı çıkıp fazla, yaparım yapmam değil ama rahatsız oluyorum diye o onu yapar. (SD29)  
ev süpürmesini, cam silmesini devamlı ben yaparım. Ha onları ben yaparım bırakmam ona. (WM29)

Peki beraber alışverişe falan gider misiniz, veya onun banka işlerini halleder misiniz?

A: O benimkileri hallediyor maalesef.(MD10)

Annem her zaman için arkamda. Ben şimdi evlenmeyip yalnız olduğumuz için her türlü, bir işim olduğu zaman, bir yere gideceğim zaman destek yani.

SORU- Yani meselâ bir örnek verebilir misiniz bana?

DİLEK HANIM- Ne örneği vereyim? En basiti meselâ hastalanayım diyeyim, hastalandığım zaman benimle birlikte sabaha kadar oturur, öyle mi oldu, böyle mi oldu benimle bekler.(SD29)

Özlem'in ayağı kırılmıştı mesela biz 3 ay kaldık orada. (MM9)

#### **4.1.5.2 Functional Support Given By Daughters**

A tabi doktora götürüyorum ben götürüyorum çünkü dalgın ve çok unutkan.(MD7)

Anne dedi sen böyle çekimser kaldıkça, ben ona çok ısrar ettim, kızım ben şuradan GATA'ya giderim, Haydarpaşa'ya, oradan servis kalkıyor Çamlıca'ya. O servisle ben Çamlıca'ya giderim, tekrar servisle gelir, şu köşede iner, evime gelirim, taksiye de binebilirim ben. Annecim niye böyle yapıyorsun, ben seni bir doktora da götürmedikten sonra niye evlatlığımız nerede kalacak falan. (WM7)

Hastaneye falan gittiği zaman, doktor ihtiyacı olduğu zaman mutlaka birlikte gideriz.(MD12)

Veyahut da mesela ben bir ne bileyim hastaneye gitmeye kalksam, bir yere gitmeye kalksam gelebilir misin derim, o bana arkadaş olur gelir. (MM12)

Doktor konusunda işte, muhakkak, yani ihtiyacı olduğu zaman mutlaka, tabi hiçbir şekilde bırakmıyoruz annemi. Muhakkak doktorunu, ilacını her şeyisini takip etmeye çalışıyoruz. Tabi o bizim görevimiz ve bunu yapmaya da çalışıyoruz. (MD15)

hep yardım ederler. Hep götürürler beni. Bir doktora gideceksem onlar götürür, yoksa ben siftin sene gitmem doktora. Yok anne gidelim derler, işte tansiyonunu ölçtür. Gözlerimi ameliyat ettirdiler, şey yaptılar. Yani yaparlar onları.(WM15)

Alışverişlerini yapmaya gayret ediyorum, büyük alışverişlerini (MD2)

Şimdi çıkamıyorum ben, mesela her şeyi Leyla'yla aldirtıyorum ben. Bana o bakımdan da yardımcı oluyor, giyim...Şimdi Leyla'da çok yardımcı oluyor. Bir de oğlum var evde, o da hastaneye getiriyor. İlaçlarımızı alıyor. Mesela vergiler var, şunlar bunlar var, o yatırıyor. O meşgul oluyor onlarla. Leyla'da hastalığımızda, işte böyle üst baş şeylerinde bize yardım ediyor.(MM2)

alışverışı beraber yapıyoruz, ya da ben alıp ben yapıyorum bana söylüyor, şunları şunları getir diye, alıyorum getiriyorum... Mesela yalnız çarşıya, pazara, mesela Çarşamba günleri pazarı, ben mesela anneme geleceksem mutlaka Çarşamba gününü seçerim ki, geldiğim zaman pazarını yapayım. (MD7)

mesela gelirken sorar, anne bir şey alayım getireyim, ne var ne yok evde. Ben mesela der Carfur'a gidecem, megamarkete uğrayacağım, senin de isteklerin ne. Benim de hakikaten isteğim varsa söylerim, alır getirir, fazlasıyla verir. (WM7)

bir misafir geleceği zaman hamur işi falan gibi o tarz şeylerde yardımcı oluyorum yani. (MD19)

Kendisine aldığı zaman bana da getiriyor. Mesela yemek evde yapıyor, bir bakıyorum koyuyor kaplara bana da getiriyor. Sevebileceğim bir şey olduğu zaman. Hani devamlı eli üstümde derler ya o şekilde oluyor.(WM13)

Ev işinde, temizlik işte. (SD1)

Peki bu kızınız, Nezihe Hanım size hangi konularda yardımcı olur?

FATMA HANIM- Ev işinde.

SORU- Ev işinde.

FATMA HANIM- Evi siler, süpürür, ütü yapar. Yani rahatsızsam bulaşığı yıkar, yoksa ben yıkarım. Yani ev işinde çok yardımcı.(WM1)

ben geliyorum, mesela annemin mutfakı temizlenecek, geliyorum mesela mutfakını temizliyorum. Mesela annemin perdelerini ben gelirim yıkarım indiririm. (MD7)

Şimdi mesela, ben bu kansere yakalanana kadar her işimi kendim yapardım. Ben eve kadın sokmazdım. Gelir perdemi yıkar, ben nevresim falan değıştirmedim. (WM7)

banka işleri tamamen bende.(SD29)

Bazen banka işlerimi hallediyor. E sonra bu şeyimi sosyal sigortalarımı, şeyi tanzim etmeyi falan o daha çok yapıyor. Kendim yapmaya kalksam yaparım da ben de zevk alıyorum herhalde onun yapmasından. (WM13)

Bankamatığı kullanamıyorum. Kartım var ama ona bir türlü, çok çekiniyorum nedense. Çok yardımcı oluyor kızım bana, çok konularda. (WM3)

ne bileyim günlük hayatta, bazı pratik anlamda çok alışkın olmadığı şeyler var. Belki ne bileyim yetişemediğı şeyler. Olay olarak net somut bir şey hatırlamıyorum ama.

SORU- Alışık olmadığı derken bu teknolojilerle ilgili mi?

KIZI- O tip şeyler olabilir. Atıyorum bankadaki meselâ fon alıp satışı gibi pratik şeyler diyeyim. Hani o çok basit şeyler.(MD5)

evinde işte ne bileyim konserve açamaz, eğer gitmişsem konserve açarım. İşte telefon kartını doldurmasını bilmez, onu doldururum. Yani, öyle fazla bir yardımım yok bu konularda.(MD30)

Nazlı mesela geliyor tabi gözüme damla, eşim yaşlı, mecburen gözüme Nazlı damlalarını koyuyor falan filan... Destek oluşu şöyle evladım, tabi ki sağlık sorunlarım çok oldu, tek çocuk olduğu için, hatta bir keresinde, keşke bir kardeşim de olsaydı, ne de olmasa manen, maddeten, yani bedenlen, ruhen diyebileceğim çok yoruluyorlar. Haliyle onlara düşüyor benim. (MM22)

Diyelim ki, mesela şimdi en basitini söylüyorum, evimiz var bir tane kirada, doğalgaz yapılacak diyelim mesela, mesela bakın halen beni bekliyorlar, daha gidip ölçü alınacak, bir takım şeylere karar verilecek.(MD28)

Bir yere gitmek isterse, ya gelip alıyorlar ya ben götürüyorum bırakıyorum, gidip alıyoruz.(MD26)

#### **4.1.6 Financial Support**

Ondan sonra ben ev alırken annem bana çok yardım etti (MD4) hadi dedim ben size biraz para vereyim, bütün birikimimi ben onlara verdim. Fatoşlar burada kooperatife girdiler, Eryaman'da evlendikleri zaman, yine ben para verdim, 1-2 sene kendileri ödediler, onu sattılar Çayyolunda daire alırken, onun yarı parasını yine ben verdim.(WM4)

Yani icabında maddi de yardımcı oluyor. Ondan sonra daha ileriki yaşlarda, elinde parası varsa o anda maddi de sana, anne şöyle bir şey alacam, bana destek

olur musun? Arabamı deęiřtireceęim mesela. Hemen kızım deęiřtir tabi ki. O konuda son derece açık. (MD8)

zaman zaman maddi problemler yařadığımız zaman ben hiçbir řey istemiyorum, gözümünden anlayıp yardım ediyorlar... Zaman zaman maddi olarak da yardımcı oluyor. Yani para olarak deęil de, bir eksięimizi tamamlamak řeklinde yardımcı oluyor. (MD12)

Saę olsunlar, Yalova'da evimizi dayadı döřediler, temizlięini yaptırdılar, bize tamam dediler, biz kurulu döřeli eve gittik. Hep bunlar onların sayesinde oldu. (MM9)

ilaçlarımı falan aldılar. Ben mesela benim aldığım paraylan ilaç almaya kalksam, hiç neyime yetecek, sigarama yetmiyor zaten.(WM26)

E zaten çalışmıyor, maddi hiçbir řey beklenmez Gülay'dan. Nihayet kocasının eline bakıyor.(MM7)

onların bana maddi açıdan falan hiçbir ihtiyaçları yok (MD2)

#### **5.1.1.1.1 Daughters' Privacy**

sizin çok özeliniz olabileceęini, ayrı bir hayatınızın olabileceęini, hayır her an o hayatın içinde var olmak istiyor, ve yani niye anneyle kız çatışıyor, bir kadın olarak ben bunu görüyorum. Kadının daha az toleransı olduęu için mi, kadın olarak hayatta, erkeklere bakın kadınlar daha toleranslı olabiliyorlar, onun için babalara daha toleranslı davranabiliyorsunuz. Ben bir kadın olarak annemin bütün numaralarını biliyorum yani. (MD24)

(Beraber otururken) Arkadařların geliyor, onlar da o evin bireyi, mümkün olduęu kadar sen yalnız bırakıyorlar arkadařlarınla ama, bazen de öyle olmuyor. Oturup annem de onlarla sohbet etmek istiyor. Bir anlatıyor,yani, mesela annemin komřusu benim arkadařımı hiç ilgilendirmiyor. Ama olsun o gün yařadığı olay çok önemli. Ama sen arkadařınla başka bir řey konuşacaksın, geliyor orada o konuyu açıyor. O konular karřıdakini hiç ilgilendirmiyor ki. Diyemiyorsun tabi ki. Sen istersen yat, otur, diyemiyorsun yani. O anlatsın diye bekliyorsun. (SD23)

ben sana karışmıyorum, sen de bana karışma dediğiniz zaman ne diyor anneniz? Şey yapıyor, surat asıyor filan yani, bayağı bir gerginlik oluyor. (MD18)  
Mesela, kimi zamanlar mesela o, demin de söylediğim gibi Cumartesi mesela bir konsere gidecem, ne işin var derler konserde, o hani sevmediği için deęil de kendi gidemediği için mi, artık onu bilmiyorum, yani o türdeki şeyleri karışıyorlar, e karışınca da ben kızıyorum. (MD18)

Mesela biz bir yere gittiğimiz zaman eve geliř saatimize sınırlama koyuyor. Yani eřim 53 ben 50 yařındayım, bir sonraki gün geç geldiniz diye surat asıyor bu da beni çok rahatsız ediyor. Gerginlik yaratıyor bizde de onda da.(MD17)

bir yemek yapılacak mesela hala kendisine sorulsun istiyor. Dinliyor, fırsat yok, şöyle ağız tadıyla bir konuşamıyoruz. Diyorum ya onu hissediyorum, gerçekten zaman zaman sinirleniyorum,(MD15)

#### **5.1.1.1.2 Daughters' Marriage and Husband**

bir bizim ağır ceza reisinin oğlu, doktor çocuk, ki senelerdir de tanıyoruz, ailecek de görüşüyoruz, o istedi bir de avukat bir çocuk, bir de şimdi ki evlendiği eşi, o da mastırdan arkadaşymış, okuldan değil de mastırı beraber yapmışlar, yapmaz olaydılar. Yavrum dedim bak bunu tercih et dedim, bak doktor çocuğun ailesini tanıyorum dedim yavrum, aileler de uyumlu olursa evlendikleri zaman gençler arasında yine pek pürüz çıkmıyor.(WM4)

üç kız doğurdum diyecem dedim, üç kızım da beni ayrı ayrı kazığa oturttu. Yani bekarken çok iyidiler, güzel okudular, ilk sınava girişte üçü de üniversiteyi kazandılar, öyle özel ders almalar, dershaneler falan yok çok güzel okudular. Fatoşla büyük kızım hep takdimnameyle liseyi bitirdiler, hep sınıf birincisiydiler, Funda da teşekkür alırdı. İlk girişlerinde de girdiler, üniversiteye, yani hiç problem olmadılar ama şu evlilik konuları benim gönlümün istediği gibi olmadı yavrum.(WM4)

Eskiden arkadaşlığı vardı eşiyle. Bazı nedenlerden dolayı ben şundan sonra daha sorun çıkarır diye dayatıyordum, karşı çıkıyordum. Ben karşı çıktıkça da hem maddî yönden yetersiz oldukları için, hem de benden destek göremedikleri için yani manevî olarak duruyorlardı. Küçük kızımın zoruyla olayı rayına oturttuk. (DM5)

Mesela biraz soğuktur eşim, çok fazla iletişimi sevmez, insanlar olduğu zaman, diyelim ki annemde bir sürü kalabalık varsa hiç gitmez, sürekli kendini çeker, şey yapar falan, o tip durumlarda kızıyor, yani çok soğuk diyor, niye gelip şey yapmıyor, daha sıcak olsa, ilişkileri şey yapsa falan diye eleştirdiği oluyor.(MD19)

onun (kocamın) biraz sinirli davranmasına üzülüyorlar ama kendileri de sinirli yani, başkalarını görüyorlar ama (MD25)

Herşeyini paylaşabiliyorum onunla ama yalnız zaman zaman eşimle olan sorunlarda özellikle gereksiz tepkili, beni etkilemeye çalışan bir tarz içinde oda beni rahatsız ediyor.(MD17)

#### **5.1.1.1.3 Daughters' Permissive Parenting Style**

bazen kızlara müsamahalı davrandığımı düşünüyorlar. Masraflarına karşı, onlar ne istese biz hemen almak istiyoruz, senin kızların masraflı işte her dediklerini alıyorsun, şımartıyorsunuz onları filan. (MD25)

çocuklarımla olan ilişkimde biraz şey yapıyor, yani işte kendini çok ezdiriyorsun, çocuklara bu kadar şey yapma, işte bu kadar fedakar olma... zaten çok üzüntü sıkıntı çektim, maddi sıkıntı çektim, işte onlara biraz sorumluluk yükle, yani o açıdan, o konularda biraz ufak tefek şey, çok fazla para harcamasınlar, oraya

buraya gitmesinler gelmesinler, biraz daha düşünceli olsunlar, işte o tip konularda biraz oluyor ama yine de onu, anlatıp ikna edebiliyorum. (MD19)

Mesela Gizem'in işte. Mesela Gizem'in evde hafta sonu yalnız kalıyor, ben onu katiyen tasvip etmiyorum biz yokken. Onlar Abant'a gidiyor. Ben olsam çocuğumu oturur beklerim gitmem yani. Ama onlar bırakıp gidiyorlar. Diyorlar ki seneye üniversiteye gidecek, anne niye... Bak bunu söylüyorum, bak bundan ben rahatsız oluyorum, bu çocuk niye evde yalnız kalıyor diyorum. Bu seneye kadar kalmıyordu, bırakmıyorlardı. Ben buna takıyorum kafamı. Niye bu burada kalıyor biz yokken, biz buradayken gel, bazı da gelmiyor ben evimde kalacağım anneanne diyor. E kızım bize gel, evimde kalacam, daha rahat ders çalışıyorum diyor. Sibel bunu çok normal karşılıyor, ben bunu normal karşılayamıyorum... Gizem konusunda. Onu söylüyorum. Ona çok söylüyorum ama. Bu kızı böyle boş bırakıyorsun diyorum. (MM10)

#### **5.1.1.2 Daughters' Interference with Mother**

İşte anlaşımadığım konu, onu söylemek istemiştım, bu hastalık dolayısıyla şimdi aman cereyanda kalma anne, sonra başımız ağrır. İşte sırtına bir şey giy anne... O öyle dediği zaman tabi ki, ben de bunalıyorum, aman kızım yeter falan filan oluyor tabi. Oluyor. (MM22)

Yemek konusunda anlaşımıyoruz. Yağlı yemek yemeyeceksin, beslenmene dikkat edeceksin. O konularda anlaşımadığımız oluyor. Biraz benim anneciğim ona pek dikkat etmiyor kendisine, annem kendisine dikkat etmiyor yani. Onun için biraz anlaşımadığımız konular var. (SD20)

bana karışılmasına kızarım. Yani hele yaşlandıktan sonra, şunu şöyle yapsın dedikleri olursa, buna müthiş içerlerim. (MM2)

Aşırı ilgili sağlığımla; aman anne tansiyonun yüksek mi, güneşe çıkma, tansiyonunu ölçtür, öyle yap, böyle yap  
Bu sizi rahatsız ediyor mu?  
Yo, hayır benim iyiliğim için söylüyor, normal karşılıyorum. (MM18)

#### **5.1.2.1.1 Disliked Personality Features**

Çok ani fevri hareket etmesine kızıyorum. Yarını düşünmeden bugün parlıyor. Onun sonuçlarında da kendisi zarar görüyor. Onun için zarar görmesini istemiyorum. Yahut meselâ kendi dik başlılığı yüzünden üniversiteyi bitiremedi. Son sınıfta 3-4 dersten bıraktı okulu. Ona çok üzüldüm, ama sırf kendi dediklerimi yürüteceğim, her ikisini de yürütüm düşüncesinde olduğu için dinlemedi. (DM5)

bir şeyden dolayı bakıyorsun Lale alıniveriyor bir şey söylersem. İşte o da onun huyu öyle, diyorum ya çok hassas. Ben onu öyle söylememişimdir fakat o ters çekiyor yani, ters çekiyor. (WM15)

#### **5.1.2.1.2 Daughters' Unavailability**



Bazen yoruluyorsun, ya da sen onun beklentilerini karşılayamamış oluyorsun, o da sana kızıyor. (SD23)

Annem de bana kızar bak o konuda, anlaşıyoruz. Sizle konuşmak için randevu almak lazım.

“ Telefon hep meşgul.”

- Yani bir şekilde hani benim de dışarıda da işim çok oluyor. Yani koşturuyoruz falan, altlı üstlü oturmamıza rağmen annem onu diyor, sizden randevu almak lazım konuşmak için.(MD22)

size, siz çağırmışsınız, iyi gelirim demiş, ama işi çıkmış gelememiş veya siz gidememişsiniz?”

- Yani onu bazı zamanlar kendi kafamda kuruyorum. Ona söylemiyorum.

“ Ne kuruyorsunuz?”

- Yani iye gelmedi. Ondan sonra da diyorum ki, onun evi var. Ama tabi kafamda kuruyorum.

“ Neler düşünüyorsunuz?”

- Bu niye gelmedi? Niye beni dinlemedi? Niye bu olmadı? (WM21)

Niye gelmedi? Bunu yüzüne de söyleyemem. Bozulur, yani üzülmür, bozulma değil de. Üzülmesin diye şey yapmıyorum, yani söylemiyorum. Kızıyorum, çok kızıyorum kendisine.(WM21)

Beni bırakıp gidiyor. Oradan bazen alınıyor. Diyorum, işte sabah gidiyor, akşam geliyor falan, ondan mesela işte ne yapayım...(WM15)

Hülya de bağlıdır ama şimdiki şey oluyor yani ,bu çalışmalarını mı nedir, tabi ki biraz kopuluyor akrabalarından. Gidemiyor gelemiyor. Ben bunlara üzülüyorum. (WM11)

#### **5.1.2.2.1 Mothers' Anxiety**

yalnız şu şeyi vardı, okuldan çıktığım zaman oyalanmadan vaktinde eve gelmeliydim. Eğer 5 dakika 10 dakika geçecek ki yola çıkardı. O şeyi vardı. O evhamı vardı, o hali vardı. Onu da biz bilirdik, yalnız benim için de değil, abim için de geçerliydi. Dediğimiz saatte mutlaka evde olmalıydık. Geçirdiğimiz zaman o çok kötü oluyordu. Hep aklına kötü şeyler geliyordu. Ama şimdi de öyle. Mesela ben anneme geleceğim diyeyim, ve dediğim saatte gelmeyeyim hemen telefona sarılır, bir şey mi var, niye gelmedin. O herhalde yapısından, o disiplinden veya katı kuralcılıktan değil, onun kendi evhamından. (MD7)

Evin içinde 10 dakika görmese nerdesin diye arıyor. Dün mesela iki tane misafir vardı. Ben muayenehaneme gitmek üzere hazırlandığım sırada “nerdesin, niye gelmiyorsun” diye müthiş bir panik ve bu beni artık çok rahatsız etmeye başladı. Boğuluyorum. (MD17)

Ama şey annemin şeyinden çok sıkılırdım. Yani evhamlı birisi. Merak eder. İşte nereye gidersek gidelim, işte serbestti her yere gitmek, ama dönüş saatini kesin

bilmek isterdi. Eğer ki on dakika gecikirsem annem sokakta beklerdi. O beni rahatsız ederdi.(MD30)

o annemin bir merak huyuydu. Hala bir yere gitsem mesela geç kalacak olsam eve, bilirim ki o biz eve gelene kadar bekleyecektir. Bize hissettirmez ama onu, bekler karanlıkta, biz geldikten sonra yatar.(MD6)

#### **5.1.2.2 Mothers' Dependence**

Bir yere gidildiği zaman yani oturmuyor veyahut ben bir yere gideyim dediği zaman ben şimdi ne yapacağım diye sorunlar yaratabiliyor. Yani yalnız ne yapacağım diye, yalnız ne yapacağım ben diyor. Giderken çabuk gel diyor. Tabii ki yolluyor, gidiyorum geliyorum ama onu da söyleyip huzursuz ediyor. O huzursuzluğu da veriyor yani, o yönden birazcık anlaşılamazlığı oluyor.(SD29)

mesela yani biz mesela çok bağımlı yaşıyoruz, mesela bir tarafa giderken hep birlikte gideriz. Böyle bir bağımlılık da hoş değil, beni en çok sıkın şeylerden biri budur, işte ben gidiyorum anne sen de oraya git, yok o gitmez, eee anne ben buradayım sen git, o gitmez. Böyle bir şeyimiz var, birlikte, ilahla birlikte gideceğiz, o biraz sıkıyor işte. İlahla biz olacağız yanında. O bağımlılık sıkıyor insanı. Ben yani işte hep birlikte olmayalım, evde hep birlikteyiz zaten, insanın annesi bile olsa bazen. (SD27)

Arkadaşları ile ilişkileri zayıfladı, herşeyi ile bana çok bağılandı. Ve biz hep birlikte tatile gidiyoruz. Kısacası benim eşimle, kızımın özel bir hayatım kalmadı. Bu da bizim evliliğimize yansımaya başladı. (MD17)

Halen bir program yaparken bana işte sizin ihtiyacınız var mı, şu gün biz şuraya gideceğiz diye hala danışarak yapıyor ve hatta bu beni rahatsız ediyor. Artık biraz daha özgür yaşamasını istiyorum. (MD10)

#### **5.1.3.1 Siblings**

Bir tanesi hiç olmuyor, eczacının. Ufak olan biraz olmaya çalışıyor. Ne kadar oluyor onu da bilemiyorum. Yani şimdi küçüğünü fazla görmüyorum, annem onu çok fazla sevdiği için.

Yani arar sorarlar mı, gelip giderler mi sık sık?

Eczacı olan gelmez. Küçüğü olan arar, sorar. Hemen hemen her gün arıyor.

Duyuyorum annemden. Yani görmüyorum, duyduğum için.

Ben de inanıyorum. İnanmıyorum da bazı şeylere. Çünkü neden diyeceksiniz? Onu çok fazla tutuyor. Büyük bir ayrıcalık var yani arada, her konuda.

En küçük mü o?

Evet. Her konuda ayrıcalık var yani. (MD28)

Hadi kızım bir yere gidelim. Şimdi mesela, Kader senle işte Beyhan Teyze'ne gidelim, peki gidelim anne, Zeynep gidelim aaaa anne gelemem ben tenise gideceğim, o sana öyle dediği zaman hadi gidelim demiyorsun da diyor, bana ısrar ediyorsun ki hadi Beyhan teyzene gidelim. (DM27)

Kardeşler arasında çok güzel uyum sağlar ama mesela abim hafta da 3 defa uğruyor da sen gelmiyorsun falan gibi. Bu tip tavırlar koymak, daha çok insanı geriye çekiyor.

Evladın bile olsa bazı şeyleri “keep it to yourself”, söylemeyeceksin, yutacaksın. Öbür kardeşimle ilgili. Çünkü iki kardeşi birbirine düşürür o olay. Dememek lazım. (WD8)

şimdi ben küçük kızımı bunu bırakamıyorum, ben bundan ayırlamıyorum, gideceği yere de bensiz gitmez zaten, nereye giderse beraber gideriz. Ne yaparsak beraber yapıyoruz, böyle bir bağlantımız var. Çocuk da şey, özel (küçük kızın oğlu otistik) bir çocuk, o bakımdan o da bensiz yapamaz. İşte bundan büyük kızım huylandı bize karşı biraz, niye bu kadar birbirinize bağlısınız, niye işte birlikte bir şey yapmak istiyorsunuz?... Büyük kızım da bunlara karşı, niye siz birbirinize bağımlımanız bu kadar, niye yalnız bir şey yapmıyorsunuz? Bunda anlaşıyoruz. (MM6)

#### **5.1.3.2 Adherence to Tradition / Lagging Behind Times**

Annem meselâ dini konularda birazcık daha fazla inançlı olmam gerektiğini düşünüyor. O konuda çok fazla anlaşılamayız. İşte o tip şeylere önem vermiyorsunuz der. Bir tek belki bizi ciddî olarak eleştirdiği şey o diyebilirim. Ona biraz bozulur. O yüzden o konuları konuşursak bir tek o konuda inatla ... şeylerdir. (MD5)

anlaşımadığınız konular olur mu?

A: Oluyor zaman zaman ama yani çok şey değil, belirgin bir şey yok. İşte kuşak çatışması şeklinde olabiliyor.

S: Bir örnek verebilir misin?

A: Şimdi yani nasıl söyleyim, mesela o oruç tutuyor, kızım bir seferde sen tut diyor mesela. Hani bütün ramazanı oruç tutarak geçirmemi asla şey yapmıyor ama yani mesela özel bir gün, bugün kandil diyor. Bugün arife gün, kurtlar kuşlar oruç tutuyor diyor. Anne diyorum yani ben buna gerek duymuyorum ondan sonra bir şey demiyor ama tutsam çok hoşuna gideceğinden eminim. (MD10)

Kuşak çatışması mı diyorlar, nedir. Yani oluyor, onun fikirleri ayrı oluyor, benimkiler ayrı oluyor. Biz çok eskiden mesela daha başka bir şeylerle büyüdük. Bizim mahallemiz daha bir başkaydı, tutucuydu falan.(WM14)

Bir gün gittim, böyle kısa bir buluz giymiş, ayıp dedim, böyle göbeği dışarı çıkmış. Kocası da görüyor evde. Böyle şeyler giyip dışarı çıkmayın.  
“ Nasıl?”

- Yani dar pantolon giymeyin, hatlarınız çıkmasın. O kadar da şey değilim yani. Bazen derim bacaklar da çok açık olmasın, başka ne diyeyim.(WM21)

#### **6.1.1.1. My mothers' well-being versus my comfort**

Annem çok sorumluluk alıcıdır, mesela çocuğun sorumluluğunu da çok fazla aldı, böyle bir şey yapar annem, böyle bir yapar, sonra her şey birden onun üstüne kalıverir, hani siz bunu istemeseniz bile, yani siz de insansınız, biri bir şey

yapıyorsa, o da işinize geliyorsa, annenizin yorulmasını istemeseniz bile, çok fazla o konuda titiz davranmıyorsunuz; yani nasıl olsa yapıyor diye... ben onun yorulmasını hiçbir zaman istemedim ama, yorulmasına bir yerde de göz yumdum, işime geldi; akşam geliyorum yemeğim hazır; işte bir takım hobilerim var, çocuğum var ama hala okumaktan kopmak istemiyorum, okumak istiyorum, o akşam oturur biraz kitap okurum, bilmem ne işinize geliyor bir yerde, ses çıkarmıyorsunuz annenizin yorulmasına. (MD4)

ben evin içine hemen yayılırım. Hatta annem benim evime geldiğinde bile ben yayılırım, annem takılır, hadi ev sahibi. Burada ev sahibi yok, kendi eviniz, istediğiniz gibi rahat edin, yemekleri yapın, şunu yapın. Diyorum ya bir sürü çelişki. Yemek yapmayı ben iş olarak görmediğim için, zevk olarak görüyorum, ama diyelim ki yani bir bulaşık yıkama, yani elleri yara oluyor. Ya onu makineye koy, makine onu yıkasın. Veya çıkıp işte parkta bir yürüyüş yapın, bir dolaşın. Yani giyin kuşan otur. Temizlik yapılacağında yapılsın, edilsin. Yani biraz daha şey olsun, yani daha kendini düşünsün. Kendini düşünsün, fırsat vermesin, fırsat verince ben bile hemen yayılıyorum. Hem üzülüyorum, hem de işleri yapmıyorum. Yapıyor sonuçta. Ya insanoğlu bencildir. (SD23)

#### **6.1.1.2. My desires/my life versus my mothers' limited time**

Bazen sıkılıyorum, çoğu zaman sıkılıyorum yani ben kendi hayatımı kendim planlayım, bir şeyler yapayım. Ben de tatile gitmek istiyorum, yurt dışına gitmek istiyorum, gezilere katılmak istiyorum ama bunları yapamıyorum. Annemi yalnız burada bırakamıyorum. (SD14)

Çok gerekirse ben kendi kendime gidiyorum, çok kaçırmak istemediğim bir film varsa ona gidiyorum. Sonra şey düşünüyorum, nasıl olsa evde bir DVD var, bu filmlerde nasıl olsa çıkacak 6 ay sonra, orda seyredirim, değmez diye düşünüyorum, yani annemi kırdığıma, yalnız bıraktığıma değmez. (SD14)

Ama bazı akşamlar o kadar yorgun gidiyorum ki, annem bir konuşmasa, bir sormasa, bir söylemese yahut bir televizyon izlemesek diye içimden geçmiyor değil, şimdi Allah biliyor ya. Bazı akşamlar, benim odamda bir bilgisayar masası var, bir sandalyesi var, bir de yatağım var, annem benim yatağıma oturuyor. Ben bilgisayar sandalyesinin başında oturuyorum. Bazı zamanlar bir yatsa da, ben de şuraya ayaklarımı uzatsam dediğim oluyor. (SD14)

İşte bırakıp gidiyorum, onun vicdan azabını duyuyorum. Ama evde kalsam hırslaşacağım, onun farkındayım. Zaman zaman böyle gerçekten tedirginlik hissetmiyor değilim. Zamanı daraldı diyorum. İşte daha bir evde olsam, yanında yöresinde olsam. (MD15)

Tabii ben de düşünüyorum da belli bir yaşa geldim; 55 yaş. Şöyle ben bir on sene daha belki bir sağlıklı, aktif olabilirim ve aynı zamanda annem benim yaşıma gelinceye kadar bayağı bir seyahate de gitmiş ve daha bir fırsatı olmuş. Yurt dışına da gitti geldi, Yunanistan'a. Benim o fırsatım olmadı biliyor musunuz? Hâlen daha, işte ödeme plânlarımı ayarlayayım, işte annemi yalnız bırakmayayım. Bir de oğlum çok düşkün anneanneye. Bırakıp gitsem, oğlum çok daha bir düşüyor. "Nereye gidiyorsunuz: Anneannemi niye bırakıp...Yalnız kalmaz, alayım götüreyim kadını." Bütün bunlar bir şey oluyor. Düşünüyorum, ama benim

de çok zamanım kalmadı. Benim de kendi hayatımı yaşamam lâzım artık. İçimde bir şeylerin kalmaması lâzım. Ama kalıyor, şu anda kalıyor. Biraz daha erteliyorum, bakalım nereye kadar.(MD15)

Yani bir evde anneyle babayla beraber yaşamamanın hem birtakım çok büyük kolaylıkları hem zorlukları var; siz bunların hangilerini yaşıyorsunuz?

GÜLŞEN HANIM- Kolaylarımı yaşıyorum, zorluklarını da yaşıyorum, içinde yaşıyorum.

SORU- Biraz anlatır mısınız onları?

GÜLŞEN HANIM- Kolaylıklarını yaşıyorum. E, en azından yalnız yaşayan bir insanın güvencesi yok. Hayatta kendine pek güveni olamıyor. Ama dezavantajları da var tabii. Bunları her an bırakıp meselâ bir yere gitmeye kalksam tek başıma bir yere gidemiyorum. Onların da gidemeyeceği bir yer varsa ben de gitmiyorum, oturuyorum. Zorluklarını da yaşıyorum tabii. (SD20)

#### **6.1.1.3. My family versus my mother**

benim de suçum var, hep iyi niyetle yaklaşmam, aman kırılmasın, incinmesin yıpranmasın, kendini evinde hissetsin. Çünkü babamın ölümünden sonra kendi evini kapatıp bizim yanımıza taşındı. Bana çok büyük desteği oldu, maddi de manevi de. O nedenle onu kırmayı hiç istemedim ama bunun sonucu bana evliliğimi kaybettirme noktasına geldi.(MD17)

şimdi mesela annemler sürekli mesela şey, hani ille bizi yoklasınlar, şöyle yapsınlar, böyle yapsınlar. E bu sefer de çocuklar bana kızıyor, en azından mesela evde olan, her türlü her şeyi onlar gördüğü için, yani çocuklar biraz şey yapıyor yani hani nasıl diyeyim, isyan mı ediyorlar; hani her türlü, her şeyimizi görmek zorundalar mı, işte paylaşmak; yani iyi yanları da var bunların, kötü yanları da (MD18)

çocuklarda tabi zaman zaman, burda bir arada olduğumuz için, misafiri gelse beni çağırıyor, çocuklarda işte anne sen her dakika oraya gidiyorsun, şöyle de böyle de , onlar da tabi biraz şey, aradayım ben yani sürekli. Eşimden dolayı da aradayım, çocukların durumundan dolayı da aradayım, aralardayım, (MD19)

bu gezme konusunda. Onların şeyleri yok, mesela bir sorunları yok. ikisi (annem ve babam) birlikte karar verdiler mi çıkıyorlar mesela askeriye'nin tesislerine, asker emeklisi olduğu için, gelip gidiyorlar beni de yanlarına çağırıyorlar gelmemi istiyorlar, eşim ona bozuluyor bazen. İşte ben gitsem mi gitmesem mi, gitmesem onlar bekliyor, üzülecekler, gitsem eşim emekli evde yalnız bırakıyorum diye ona bozuluyor, o yönlerden biraz arada kalıyorum, onlar oluyor işte.(MD25)

#### **6.1.1.4. We should be together versus I get bored**

Gittiğim zaman (anne ve babası ile bir yere gezmeye gittiği zaman) da öyle çok konuşacak bir şey de bulamıyoruz ama değişiklik olsun diye, bana da faydası olur açık havada otururuz, bir şeyler yeriz falan diye. (MD25)

E hadi illa bana yemeğe gelin, e gidiyorsun, kadıncağız özenmiş hazırlanmış, yiyorsun yemeği, e sonra sıkılıyorsun, kalkıp gitmek istiyorsun, gidemiyorsun (WD7)

Ben de fazla durmak istemiyorum yanında. Hani bir şey vardır. Kızıma giderim mesela ben veya bir arkadaşına giderim, orada zevk aldığım için otururum. Oturursunuz, çayınızı içersiniz, yemeğinizi yersiniz, saatin nasıl geçtiğini ile anlamazsınız. Ben buraya geldiğim zaman kasılıyorum. Geçenlerde sanki görev yapar gibi, gitsem de biraz otursam. Hani bir de kalkamazsın pat diye.(MD28)

### 6.1.2 Mothers' Ambivalence

Karışır ama mesela evlenirken de benim bu eşimi çok beğenmedi ama karşı da olmadı, o zaman da beğenmediğini söylüyordu, evlendikten sonra da söyledi. Ama mesela ben evlenmişim 3-4 sene olmuş, hala annem bana diyebiliyor bak işte, ben evlenmeden önce de sana söylemişim falan gibi. Ay bir keresinde dedim ki anne ama bak artık 3 sene geçmiş, 4 sene geçmiş ve sen bunu bana hala söylüyorsun, ne yani bunun, o zaman ayrıl mı diyorsun, boşanayım mı diyorsun. Onu da demez. (MD4)

mesela işte eşime kızıyorlar işte, onun bu sorumsuz davranışlarına kızıyorlar ama hiçbir zaman, hani işte sen bu adamdan ayrıl diye bir zorlama getirmediler.(MD19)

Kız başladı ağlamaya. Ben dedi bunlarla evlendiğimden beri yokluğunu çektim, her şeyini çektim iki senedir dedi, hiç bana sahip çıkmıyorsunuz dedi ve niye yamuldun öyle dedi Ünalçım da şudur budur diye Gülay. Dur bakalım kızım dedim, sonra geldi. Sonra döndü geldi, tabi suratlar çevrili, ben dedi gidiyorum Tuzla'ya dedi. Kullandığı araba da bizim araba Volsvagen. Yalnız gidilmez Ünalçım, karımı da çocuğunu da alır gidersin dedim. Ama bunun aksini yaparsan iş büyür dedim. Çocuğu aldı gitti, benim arabama bindi. Neler çektik biz, dışarıdan gören çok iyi, çok iyi. Ondan sonra çabuk dedim, çabuk o arabayı çalıştırıncaya kadar git kocanın peşinden, evine git, o dedim daha bir yere giderse, sen evinde oturacaksın dedim. (WM7)

#### 7.1.1.1 Compliance

Zaman zaman onu kırmamak için, üzmemek için onun istediği yönde hareket ettiğimiz oluyor. Mesela ben o gün evde oturup kitap okumak istiyorum, ama o şuraya gidelim, çok ayıp oldu dediği zaman e hadi kalkıp gidelim diyebiliyorsunuz. Yani yapabileceğiniz ya da bu gün şu şeyi almam gerekiyor, o bir şeyi kafasına koyarsa o gün hallolması gerekir. Onu erteleme imkanımız olmuyor mesela. Erteler ama, kendi kendine üzüntü yapar. (MD6)

Evet evet, 100% aman üzülmesin kırılmasın diye yani kesinlikle itiraz etmem, hayır bu böyle olmayacak gibi değil, tamam onun dediği gibi yapsam, gene yarı yolda kendi bildiğim gibi yaparım (WD8)

rica ettiđi şeyleri istemesem de yapıyorum. (MD21)

Onun bir işe kalkıştığı zaman, yani bir işi hemen anında bitmesini istiyor. İçi çok tez. Ben yani daha ağır, daha sakinim. Ne olursa olsun yani içine sinerek yapayım istiyorum. E o öyle yapıldığı için aman biran evvel yapayım onun dediđi olsun da ne olursa olsun dediğim oluyor tabii.

SORU- Ev işlerinde oluyor.

DİLEK HANIM- Ev işlerinde de oluyor, gezmekte de oluyor. Bir yere gitmek istiyor, o anda ben gitmek istemiyorum meselâ. O bir iki söyleyince aman gideyim de yani gönlü olsun, sussun diye gittiğim veyahut yaptığım iş oluyor. (SD29)

#### **7.1.1.2 Concealing Events to Protect Mother**

Ben öyle çok anlatmam. Ben komik tatlı şeyler olursa anlatırım ama beni üzdüler beni bilmem ne hiç bahsetmem.(MD2)

Bahsetmiyor bize, hiç bahsetmiyor. Yani kızımın evinin içinde bazı şeyler oluyordur fakat bize hiç bahsetmez. Sıkılacağımızı bilir, onun için hiç bahsetmez.(MM2)

Yani size dertlerini, sıkıntılarını anlatır mı, anne işte şöyle şöyle oldu, çok üzüldüm falan diye,

Anlatmaz, huyumu biliyor benim, nasıl anlatsın ki, şu kadarcık şeyi büyütüyorum, üzüldüyorum, onu bildiđi için belki de, keşke bütün onu bilmese, huyumu bilmese daha iyi olurdu, sıkıntılarını daha rahat yansıttı bana.(WM4)

Şimdi üzücü konuları hiç anneme duyurmam ben. Çünkü çok üzüldüyör, çok piyeyi deve yapıyor. Hiç olumlu yönden bakmıyor. Bir de bana karşı zaafı olduđu için, hep karşı tarafa düşman olduđu için, o konuları anneme hiç duyurmamaya çalışırım. Bir de niye üzmem istemiyorum yani. Üzülmesin. Söylemediğim için. (MD7)

ben de biraz ketumum. Çok fazla anlatmam. Anlatılacak şeyleri anlatırım ama onları üzecek şeyleri anlatmam, konuşmam yani. Üzmek istemem çünkü, üzülecekler nihayet, yapabilecekleri bir şey yok. Onun için, çok böyle anlatılacak genel şeyler olursa konuşuruz. Onun dışında anlatmayız yani. (MD9)

Aile içerisindeki onların üzülecekleri konuları söylemek istemem. Eşimle bir sıkıntım olsa, çocuklarımla bir sıkıntım olsa söylemek istemem onlar üzülmessin diye. Kendim çözecek durumdaysam söylemem. Çok çaresiz durumda kalırsam tabi ki anlatırım birisi ile paylaşırım muhakkak ki.(MD9)

Dertleşiriz, anlatırız ama şimdi bir şey ki öyle fazla da derdimiz, bir şeyimizi anlatmayız. Onlar beni üzmesin diye söylemezler. Mesela ben başka yerden duyarım, derler biz biliyorduk ama söylemedik üzülmeye diye. Üzülmesin diye. Ama tabi ki dertleşiriz. (MM9)

Hayatta her şey oluyor. Bir ölüm olsun, hastalık olsun, bir şey olsun, öyle her şeyi benim çocuklarım haber vermezler.(MM9)

#### **7.1.1.3 Concealing Events to Protect Self / Privacy**

Paylaşırım tabî. Yani arkadaş gibi dediğim için ben bir arkadaşım ile konuştuğum hemen hemen her şeyi konuşurum. Sevdiğim şeyleri, üzüntülerimi, arkadaşlarımla ilişkilerimi, onlarla olan hani çok özele girmedikçe sorunları falan bilir. Hemen hemen her şeyi ilişkilerimde bilir.(MD5)

Her şeyini paylaşabiliyorum onunla ama yalnız zaman zaman eşimle olan sorunlarda özellikle gereksiz tepkili, beni etkilemeye çalışan bir tarz içinde oda beni rahatsız ediyor.(MD17)

ben genelde de özel hayatımdan, özel hayatımla ilgili soru sorulmasından, yani erkek arkadaşlarımla ilgili birisi sorsun nasıl gidiyor, ne oluyor, işte ne yapıyorsunuz veya işte bugünlerde, pek hoşlanmam, pek anlatmam yani, pek tarzım değildir. Ya bir şeye üzüldüysem de, yaşıyorsam da kendi kendime yaşıyorum, kendi içimde kalsın, bitiyorsa kendi kendime bitireyim, onu daha çok tercih ederim.(SD23)

fevri hareketleri olabilir, eğer benim üzüldüğümü hissederse telefon açabilir, yani böyle bir şeyi var annemin, bundan korktuğum için yani işte her şeyi anlatmayabilirim. (SD27)

#### **7.1.1.4 Postponing / Mitigating Unpleasant Events**

Sağlık sorunlarımda mümkün olduğu kadar abartmadan ama biraz sorun olduğunu hissettirecek şekilde söylüyorum. Çünkü ben bir hekimim, neyin sonucunun ne olacağını az buçuk biliyorum. Ama bir hastalık duyduğu anda annem babam benden çok daha fazla dramatize ediyorlar olayı. Trajik bir hale getiriyorlar.(MD10)

Sağlık konusunda ben de aynı şekilde. Yani mümkün olduğu kadar yansıtmamaya kendi işimi kendim halletmeye çalışıyorum. Bir problem olduğu zaman da söylüyorum ama kelimeleri yumuşatarak, değişik kelimeler seçerek, böyle indirect söylüyorum ki çok fazla da panik olmasın diye. Çünkü o da çok fazla üzülüyor, bir şey yapamayacağını zannediyor, onun için ben de sağlık konusunda biraz daha temkinli yaklaşıyorum. Ama diğer konularda ben de söylerim.(MD12)

Maddi konularda, çocukların harcamalarını çok fazla konuşmıyorum, onları biraz daha saklamak zorunda kalıyorum, işte tepki gösteriyor, çünkü sonuçta maddi bağımlılığımız söz konusu olduğu için, şimdi o da bu konuda müdahale etme hakkı görüyor kendinde, o yüzden de onları birazcık daha, ayrıntılara girmeden, biraz saklayarak anlatmaya çalışıyorum.(MD19)

#### **7.1.1.5 Ostensible Conformity/ Agreement**

zaman zaman böyle çok şeylere ortak olur girerse müdahale ediyor tabi farkına varmadan bir şey söylüyor muhakkak ama artık bir zamandan sonra ben de duymuyorum onun söylediklerini. Dinliyorum, bildiğimi yapıyorum...50 yaşındayım artık yani. Benim de kendime göre bir fikrim var, olur falan diyorum, tamam anne diyorum ama sonuçta kendi bildiğimi yapıyorum. (MD9)



hep peki derim. Benim adetim öyledir. Yalnız annem değil, başkası için de. Bana bir şey yap dediğimi kafama ne koyduysam onu yaparım. Hep peki derim, hiç hayır demem ama kendi bildiğimi yaparım.(MD12)

Ben ona ne söylersem tamam der, yapamayacağı bir şeyi zaten söylemem de, öyle bile olsa tamam anne der, her şeye peki anne der. (WM7)

#### **7.1.2.1 No Interference**

İlgisini hissederim, baskıcı karakteri hiç yoktur. Yani, yerinde çekilir, benim o anda yalnız kalmak istediğimi hissediyorsa, hiç aman da kızım bilmemne yapmaz. (MD13)

Şimdi hoşlanmadığım konularda, hani benim söylemek istemediğimi karşımdakinin de söylemesini istemiyorum. Fazla kızıma mesela şunu yapma, bunu yapma diye sevmem, çünkü ben de istemem öyle karışılsın. İkimiz birbirimizin şeyine karışmıyoruz, huyuna. (WM13)

Annem çok anlayışlıdır, yani mesela ben eşimle içeride oturuyorsam çoğu zaman o yanımıza bile gelmez, o kendi dünyası içerisinde şey yapar. O tür şeylere çok saygılıdır. (MD26)

Vallahi konuşmayarak. Nasıl anlatayım size? Şimdi bir şey olduğu zaman, bir tartışma falan, ben alır başımı çıkarım dışarı. Hani onların tartışmalarına falan karışmam.

S: Karı koca tartışmaları?

M: Karı koca tartışması, oğlunlan bazı oluyor tabi ev hali. Torunla olduğu zaman gitmem de, ben de girerim araya da, damatla olduğu zaman aram bozulmasını diye şey yapmam, karışmam. Karı koca halletsinler sorunlarını.(WM26)

Anlaşamadığınız konular olur mu?

M: Hiç olmaz. Ben çünkü hiçbir şeye karışmam. Evin içinde var mıyım yok muyum hiç belli olmaz. Onun için de böyle sorun da olmuyor.(WM26)

Yok hiç merakım yok öyle şeyleri hiç merak etmem, sormam. Karı koca arasındaki olan şeyi ben ne yapayım, kız söylerse o zaman.(WM26)

#### **7.1.2.2 No Tenacity / Tolerance**

Yani anlayışlı olmak durumundayız ikimizde. (DM27)

Belki bana uymayan tavırları olur ama onun da bir kişiliği var. Ama saygı duyduğum için, ters gelmiyor bana.(WM13)

Yani birbirimize ters düşen yönlerimiz vardır ama o bana söylemiyordur ben ona niye şunu şöyle yapmıyorsun diye tartıştığımız bir konu olmuyor. (MM10)

Onlar bana ben onlara uymaya çalışırım yani. Zamana da uymak için gayret gösteririm.(MM10)

#### **7.1.2.3 No Sulking**

şeydir, annem de mesela çok söylenir falan ama kırılmaz, küslük falan bizim çocukluğumuzdan beri olan bir şey değildir.(MD4)

Yani her zaman fikir ayrılıklarımız olmuştur ama hep bir orta yolu bulmuşuzdur ve hep o orta yoldan yürümüşüzdür ve onun için çok öyle hani bazı anneler gibi kızar, konuşmaz, bizde hiç öyle bir şey olmadı, küslük falan asla hiçbir şekilde olmadı.(MD12)

Ondan sonra ben gidip gene gönüllerini alıyorum, ediyorum, anne-kız yani sonuçta. Bir de hani çok sevildiğim için, cidden olay olmuyor yani.(MD18)  
Ufak tefek, sinirlenirim, sonra gelir geçer, hiç üstünde durmam. Hiç küsmem.  
(MM18)

Kızım ile da şimdi bazen şey oluyor yani, bir kırgınlık, bilmem ne az çok, ama hiç birimiz üstünde durmayız. Ne o durur, ne ben dururum. Beş dakika sonra gene konuşuruz.

“ Küslük olmaz.”

- He. İçimizde tutmayız, yani gerekeni birbirimize anlatırız. Ona göre anlaşıyoruz.  
(WM15)

#### **7.1.2.4. Concealing events to protect daughter**

Evde bazen tatsızlık olur, üzülmeyin diye saklarım.

Eşinizle olan bir şey mi veya,

Eşimle çocuğumla olan herhangi bir şeydir. Duymasın, üzülmeyin, boşuna söylemeyim. Ama bir müddet sonra çıkar meydana. (MM2)

Kısacası, özeti, mümkün olduğu kadar duyurmamaya çalışıyorum. (WM7)

Peki siz Gülay abla ile dertleşir misiniz oturup sıkıntınızı, şeyinizi, sevincinizi...

N: Tabi tabi ama onun üzülmeyeceği şekilde.(WM7)

mesela ben oturup da ona üzüntümü hiçbir zaman anlatmam.(WM7)

Çok konuyu söylemem. Çok mesela ben bazen geceleri korkar gibi oluyorum ama onlara hiç söylemiyorum.(WM7)

O da bana pek üzücü şeyleri söylememeye gayret ediyor kendi çapında. Ama anlıyoruz, biliyoruz her şeyi de. Mesela böyle üzücü bir şeyi hemen anında söylemez, bizi üzmemek için, sizi üzmemek için söyledim der sonra sonra.(MD7)

Üzmemek için mesela ne bileyim amcan hasta olur, ama ona gizleyemeyeceğimiz bir hastalık olursa, gizleyebileceğimiz bir hastalık olursa, biz onu bir kendimiz halletmeye çalışırız, ufak tefek şeyleri ama büyükleri tabi. Yani ne bileyim insanın bazı üzüntüleri olur, Derya'dan bir üzüntüm olur, Süheyla'dan (diğer kızı) bir üzüntüm olur insanın hali olur yani ama ben onu hissettirmeden ben üzüldüm o da üzülmeyin gibilerde bazı şeyleri. (MM10)

mesela ben başım ağrır söylemem, üzüldüyüm diye. Gece uyuyamam, söylemem.

Niye üzülsün, niye uyuyamadım diye düşünsün, kafasını yorsun diye söylemem öyle şeylerimi.(WM14)

Peki rahatsızlıklarını, şuram ağrıyor buram ağrıyor,

Hiç bilemezsiniz,

Veya tansiyonum çıktı,

Hiç, hiç bilemezsiniz. Ancak böyle son noktaya gelir, yani tansiyon veya şeker çıkar, bilir ki üç dakika sonra bir şey olacak, o zaman bana bir şey oluyor galiba telaşlandırmadan, bir tansiyonuma baksana bir şeyim yok ama bir işte merak ettim, öyle söyler. (SD14)

Hiçbir zaman ben annemin hastayım, şuyum var dediğini duymadım. Hiç söylemez. Neden biliyor musun, rahatsız etmemek, korkutmamak için bizi, paniğe kapılmayalım, üzölmeyelim, onun için söylemez. (SD14)

#### **7.1.2.5 Tolerating Son-In-Law**

Mesela biraz soğuktur eşim, çok fazla iletişimi sevmez, insanlar olduđu zaman, diyelim ki annemde bir sürü kalabalık varsa hiç gitmez, sürekli kendini çeker, şey yapar falan, o tip durumlarda kızıyor, yani çok soğuk diyor, niye gelip şey yapmıyor, daha sıcak olsa, ilişkileri şey yapsa falan diye eleştirdiğı oluyor. Bunu size mi söylüyor, eşinize mi?

Bana söylüyor, eşime hiç söylemez, eşimle hiç bir şekilde muhatap olmadı bugüne kadar, bana söyler. Ondan sonra, eşime hiçbir şey olmamış gibi, sanki her şey normalmiş gibi davranır yazık. Oraya gittiğı zaman ikramını yapar, ne bileyim şey yapmaz, öyle duygusal tepkiler vermez. (MD19)

Şeyi çok güzel becerdi annem, nasıl becerdi bilmiyorum; gelinini ve damadını yani el üstünde tutuyor. Onlarla ilgili bize pek bir şey söylemiyor. Yani ikisinde de, yani hem gelininde de, hem damadında da kusurlar var tabi ki. Hiç onları söylemiyor, şey yapmıyor. O bakımdan bizle de hiç sürtüşmesi olmuyor. Yani bizim bildiğimiz kusurlar, şeyler, ama başkası söyleyince insan rahatsız olur. İşte o söylemiyor, onun için de şey, hoş oluyor.(MD30)

#### **8.1.1 Type I – Peaceful / Close Relationship**

Siz etrafınızda kendinizi en çok kime yakın hissediyorsunuz?

H: Kimlerden?

S: Bu eşiniz, dostunuz, akrabanız, arkadaşınız, çocuklarınız herkes olabilir.

H: Şimdi en çok Hülya. İlk başta Hülya gelir. Daha çok ilgilenen, daha çok şey yapar. (WM11)

Yani en çok güvendiğim evvel Allah Hülya. (WM11)

Peki size hangi konularda destek oluyor Hülya abla?

H: Valla sevgisi yetiyor. (WM11)

gereksiz yere kızdıkları oluyor. Gereksiz yere duygusal tepkiler verdiği oluyor. Onları işte böyle bana açtıkça. Zaten ses tonundan anlarım. Yine ne oldu derim. (MD11)

paylaşıyorum yani annemsiz yapamıyorum yani. O da bana destek oluyor, kızım şunu şöyle yapma, bunu böyle yapma diyerekten şeyimi hafifletiyor en azından, Yükünüzü?

Yükümü hafifletiyor. Yani benim de tek dert ortağım o diyebilirim yani.(MD18)

O benden anlar yavrum ben ondan. O bana destek olur, ben ona. Kızım diyor ki anne sen olmazsan ben yaşayamam, sen beni streste her şeyde sen beni şey yaptın

diyor, kızım sen yaşıyon ben de yaşıyorum diyorum. İşte biz birbirimize destek oluyoruz.(MM18)

Ama Hülya'la yok öyle bir şey. Yalnız çocukları şey yaparım. Bırakıyor. Anne işte sizin zamanınız bizim zamanımız değil, şimdi değişik zaman diyor. O belli etmez ama ben üzülmeiyim diye de, ben söyleniyorum böyle geç geliyorlar, buna kız diye, beni yatıştırmaya bakar ama kendi üzüldüğünü tahmin ediyorum. (WM11)

Hülya de bağıdır ama şimdiki şey oluyor yani ,bu çalışmaları mı nedir, tabi ki biraz kopuluyor akrabalarından. Gidemiyor gelemiyor. Ben bunlara üzülmüyorum.(WM11)

Ne bileyim, bazen ben de şey yaparım, emekli ol yeter diyorum... kızım emekli olsa da daha iyi gezsem (MM18)

kızım kendin ettin kendin buldun, büyük sözü dinleseydin diyom, o da diyor tamam anne, yaptım bir hata diyor. O zaman ben üzülmüyorum tabi, kızım yazı bu, kaderimiz bu diyorum ne yapayım. Evet kaderin önüne geçilmez. (MM18)

Gözükmedin falan diyor tabi imalı, taşı gediğine vuruyor, esasında tabi o da alınıyor, yani yoklanmadıkları zaman, kendilerini kimsesiz gibi mi hissediyorlar, ne yapıyorlar bilmiyorum, yakın olduğundan dolayıdır herhalde. (MD18)

Şimdi şimdi bazen işte ilaçlarında şusunda busunda hani bir takım şeylerde söylediğim zaman kendi bildiğini yapmak daha hoşuna gidiyor. Onlarda biraz müdahale edersem, kızıveriyor. Sen zaten anlamasın diyor. Peki diyorum bende geçiştiriyoruz. Onlar oluyor yani. Ama o da zaten yaşının gereği olan şeyler. (MD11)

Zaten küslüğümüz hiç olmadı. Gönül kırıklığımız hiç olmadı. Bir de ben yapı olarak küslüğü hiç sevmem. Hani annem bazen takar kafasına ama, hani ben bir iki konuşma ile yüzünü güldürürüm. Hani arada bir böyle sinirleniverdiği zaman, bilhassa ablama, ağabeyime yapar onu, ben dayanamadığım için, hemencecik ortalığı yatıştırırırım. (MD11)

Siz hani böyle ben sana karışmıyorum, sen de bana karışma dediğiniz zaman ne diyor anneniz?

Şey yapıyor, surat asıyor filan yan, bayağı bir gerginlik oluyor. Ondan sonra ben gidip gene gönüllerini alıyorum, ediyorum, anne-kız yani sonuçta. Bir de hani çok sevildiğim için, cidden olay olmuyor yani. (MD18)

Ufak tefek, sinirlenirim, sonra gelir geçer, hiç üstünde durmam. Hiç küsmem. (MM18)

Eskiden anlatırdım. Yani nasıl söyleyeyim. Babamın vefatından da öncesine gidersek, herhalde bir 20 senedir anlatmamaya çalışıyorum. Çünkü çok fazla

etkileniyor, çok fazla üzüyor. Ben eskiden mesela, ilk evlendiğim zamanlar, genç kızlığında her şeyi anlatıyordum, fakat sonra sonra ben problemleri çözmeye başlıyordum kendim, ama ben böyle rahatlamış vaziyetteyken, o hala orada problemle kalmış oluyordu. A bu sefer bakıyordum ki o hala üzüyor ama ben burada problemleri kendi kendime çözüyorum. Yani daha ziyade o kadar çok üzülmüyorum. Halletmeye çalışıyorsun, çünkü ortamın içindesin ve dolayısı ile de söylememeye karar verdim. Ama söylememekteki nedenim onun üzülmesine mani olmak, çünkü o çok fazlaydı. Şimdi mesela olaylarda olsa, mümkün olduğu kadar... Mesela çocukların bir kazası oluyor, ta ki zaman geçiyor, bilmem ne oluyor da, ben ondan sonra a olmuştu bir kaza şu olmuştu diye anlatıyorum. Yani mümkün olduğu kadar ona yüzeysel, daha sonrasında olayın en basit şekliyle. Yani biraz böyle hani acısını şeyini çektikten sonra, sende soğuduktan sonrasında anlatması daha kolay oluyor. Daha basit şekilde anlatıyorsun, o da bakıyor ki anlatırken, önemli bir şey değil. Yani hiçbir etkisi kalmamış. Hani sen de o tepkiyi göstermediğin için, o da ha öyle mi diyor falan. (MD11)

Olacak bazı şeyleri anlatır. Ama o içine atar, pek söylemez. Ama bazı mühim olan, beraberliğimiz, akrabalar ile olduğu zaman söyler ama kendi arkadaşları ile olanları söylemez.(MM11)

Ben üzmemek istemem. (MM18)

Valla genelde anlatıyor ama gizli dünyasında var mı bir şey bilemem. Hani belki sezersiniz, bundan da bahsetmiyor herhalde ama falan diye, soruyorum onu? Onu bilmiyorum yani, hani beni üzdüğünü düşünerek bir takım şeyler saklıyor mu ondan çok emin değilim ama genelde dertleşiyoruz, her türlü her konuda. (MD18)

### **8.1.2 Type II – Ambivalent Relationship**

İşte bırakıp gidiyorum, onun vicdan azabını duyuyorum. Ama evde kalsam hırslaşacağım, onun farkındayım. Zaman zaman böyle gerçekten tedirginlik hissetmiyor değilim. Zamanı daraldı diyorum. İşte daha bir evde olsam, yanında yöresinde olsam. (MD15)

Tabii ben de düşünüyorum da belli bir yaşa geldim; 55 yaş. Şöyle ben bir on sene daha belki bir sağlıklı, aktif olabilirim ve aynı zamanda annem benim yaşıma gelinceye kadar bayağı bir seyahate de gitmiş ve daha bir fırsatı olmuş. Yurt dışına da gitti geldi, Yunanistan'a. Benim o fırsatım olmadı biliyor musunuz? Hâlen daha, işte ödeme plânlarımı ayarlayayım, işte annemi yalnız bırakmayayım. Bir de oğlum çok düşkün anneanneye. Bırakıp gitsem, oğlum çok daha bir düşüyor. "Nereye gidiyorsunuz: Anneannemi niye bırakıp...Yalnız kalamaz, alayım götüreyim kadını." Bütün bunlar bir şey oluyor. Düşünüyorum, ama benim de çok zamanım kalmadı. Benim de kendi hayatımı yaşamam lâzım artık. İçimde bir şeylerin kalmaması lâzım. Ama kalıyor, şu anda kalıyor. Biraz daha erteliyorum, bakalım nereye kadar.(MD15)

Yani benim de suçum var, hep iyi niyetle yaklaşmam, aman kırılmasın, incinmesin yıpranmasın, kendini evinde hissetsin. Çünkü babamın ölümünden

sonra kendi evini kapatıp bizim yanımıza taşındı. Bana çok büyük desteği oldu, maddi de manevi de. O nedenle onu kırmayı hiç istemedim ama bunun sonucu bana evliliğimi kaybettirme noktasına geldi. (MD17)

Mesela biz bir yere gittiğimiz zaman eve geliş saatimize sınırlama koyuyor. Yani eşim 53 ben 50 yaşımdayım, bir sonraki gün geç geldiniz diye surat asıyor bu da beni çok rahatsız ediyor. Gerginlik yaratıyor bizde de onda da. O zamanda gitmeyiveririz ya da daha sonra gideriz diyoruz. (MD17)

beraber komşu ziyareti, akraba ziyareti yapma konuda anlaşıyoruz. Annem çok seviyor, gezmeyi seviyor hakikaten. Götürsek şey olacak. Ben yapamıyorum. Alışmadığım için mümkün değil. O konuda işte biraz, tabi arada oluyor, annemle çatışmalarımız oluyor, şöyle; yani çok yakınlarla kendisi gidebiliyor, işte bitişik apartmana filan gidiyor. Eğer çok zorunlu kalırsak eşim götürüyor bırakıyor, akşam gidip alıyor. Bazen de tabi kıramıyorum. Benim de halalarım falan, uzağım da değil. Kızıyor bana işte, senin halan benim görümcem, ben gidiyorum sen niye gelmiyorsun diye? Gidiyoruz işte arada da. Bu şekilde dengelemeye çalışıyoruz. Gezmeyi sevmem ben, ev gezmelerinden hoşlanmıyorum. Kendi de biliyor yani. Böyleyim, o da öyle.(MD15)

Anneme çok kızıyorum, pişmanım ama, çok üzülüyorum, çok üzülüyorum. O kadar iyilik de insana zarar veriyor. Hep korumacı, ben hala onun gözünde küçük bir kızım. Büyümedim, hala öyle tepkilere veriyor ki gözümün önünde ben şaşırp kalıyorum. (MD15)

Geçen gün misafir gelecek, benim arkadaşlarım, ben de istiyorum ki, kendim hazırlanayım, içerde diyor ki, ben şimdi mutfaktayım, ortalığı topluyorum, sen bu gün hiçbir şey yapma otur kızım, sen ne biliyorsun diyor benim için. (MD15)

işte arada bir benim gelinime sataşılıyor, ona sinirleniyorum. Söylüyorum da yani. Kendi gelininden beklemediği şeyleri Leyla'dan bekliyor. E canım, ne bekliyorsun... giyim tarzını beğenmiyor meselâ. Daha böyle abiye giyinmeyi seviyor Leyla. Renkli, böyle şıkır şıkır. Hoş, ben çok seviyorum. Döndürüyor dolaştırıyor ona getiriyor. (MD15)

Türkan'ın geçirdiği bazı stresler sebebiyle o da huy değiştirdi. Herhalde benim de pek fazla eski sabrım yok, bazen çatışıyoruz fikir ayrılığı oluyor. (WM17) Ben şu 3 yıl öncesine kadar gayet sessiz, her şeye peki diyen bir insandım. Yaşadığım güçlükler olaylar beni artık kendini savunmaya iter, sesini yükseltmeyi öğrenir hale getirdi. Onlardan müthiş rahatsız oluyor. Yaptığım bazen çok üstüme geldiğini söylediğim zaman kırılıveriyor, sen değiştin artık diyor falan.(MD17)

Dün mesela şeyden bir akrabam geldi bize İstanbul'dan. Türkan uzun zaman ortadan kayboldu. Merak ettim çünkü onda bazen şeker düşmesi oluyor. Hani seste çıkmayınca acaba bir fenalık mı geçirdi diye. Tabi yukardan sesimi aşağıya duyurmak için sesim biraz yüksek çıktı. O da tuvaletteymiş, bilmiyorum. O da bir şey söylemedi. Anne tuvaletteyim dedi. Tamam işte. Sonra ben o sevdiğim

ahbabıma arkadaşşıma gittim geldim, böyle bir sert çıkış yaptı bana anne diye o kadar yüksek sesle şeyettin diye, tuvaletteydim işte niye arıyorsun falan diye bir sert çıkış yapınca. Ben de kızım senin kızacağını bilemedim özür dilerim dedim. Merak ettim biliyorsun dedim. (WM17)

Evin içinde 10 dakika görmese nerdesin diye arıyor. Dün mesela iki tane misafir vardı. Ben muayenehaneme gitmek üzere hazırlandığım sırada “nerdesin, niye gelmiyorsun” diye müthiş bir panik ve bu beni artık çok rahatsız etmeye başladı. Boğuluyorum. (MD17)

mesela eşyalarına karşı aşırı bağımlılığı, evdeki otoriter tavrı, her şeye karışması beni rahatsız ediyor.(MD17)

Ben onların mesela ahabplarına, arkadaşlarına karışmam.(WM15)

onlar bir mecbur olsalar bile, gitseler bir yere ben gitmem, ben çok o kadar şey değilim yani. Onların da yalnız kalmaya ihtiyacı var, onu biliyorum. (WM15)

artık onların da kendilerine göre şeyleri var tabi, hayatları var, yaşantıları var, onun için ben pek şey yapmam yani müdahale etmem. (WM15)

Şimdi gelip burada benimle evcilik oynayamaz yani. Komşuya gidelim, komşu gelsin. Bunları kaldıramıyor tabi. Ben de hoş görüyorum yani. Başka anneler belki bunu sorun yapar, ben yapmıyorum. Haklı buluyorum. Yapamaz diyorum. Yani o bizler gibi olamaz. Çünkü ev hanımı olarak hiç oturmada evde, ev hanımı olsa bile çalıştı gene. (WM15)

Onun için bana uymayan bir şey, beni üzen bir şeyse mümkün mertebe karışmam söylemem hiçbir şey ama sabrım taşınca da bir tek kelime söyler hemen odama çekilirim.(WM17)

Siz iyi niyetle herhangi bir şeyi söylediğiniz zaman onlar onu karıştı, her işimize karıştı demeye getiriyorlar. O bakımdan yani üzülyorum. Doğrusu çok üzülyorum. Çok iyi niyetle yani fikir beyan etme kabilinden söylediğim zaman böyle bir tepki ile karşılaşsam çok üzülyorum. Ve güceniyorum ve surat asıyorum. (WM17)

### **8.1.3 Type III – Distant Relationship**

Büyük kızım biraz içine kapanık. O pek derdini anlatmak istemez, ama küçüğü öyle değil, küçük en ufak bir şeyde hemen koşar anne şöyle oldu, böyle oldu. Sevinci olsun, üzüntüsü olsun, her şeyini anlatır.

Küçük kızım daha şey olur.

“ Daha mı rahat konuşursunuz?”

- Daha rahatız.

“ Neden o öyle sizce, o fark nereden kaynaklanıyor?”

- Bilmiyorum daha yakın, herkese aslında büyük kızı yakın, ama bu daha her şeyini anlattığı için, hiçbir şeyini saklamadığı için, ben de onla rahat konuşuyorum. Büyük kızım biraz dediğim gibi içine kapanıktır. (MM6)

annemle ben ne tartışacam, mesela gelini tartışabiliriz, gelin böyle arada bir, çok da sever gelinini ama huyu herhalde onunda , onu da benimle paylaşmak ister. Orda da çok fazla benden açık kapı bulamıyor, açıkçası. (MD24)

Yani çok fazla özelimi konuşmak istemem, annem bilmez yani benim eşimle çok özel şeylerimizi bilmez.

Bu kendi özelinizi korumak adına mı yoksa ay üzülmesin,

Hayır, üzülecek bir şeyden değil, tabi ki bu bana ait bir şey olduğu için. (MD24)

Görürsem arada sırada, o da tesadüf ederse. Fakat kendiliğinden kalkıp da şu şöyle, şu böyle olur demem. O zaman aramızda bir parça gerginlik olur. Sen niye kendi kendine halletmeye çalışıyorsun, niye bizden kaçıyorsun, niye bize derdini anlatmıyorsun. O zaman biraz aramızda şey olur. (MM6)

Ama işte annemle de zaman zaman bazı şeyleri paylaşmadığım zaman diyor ki, iyice kabuğuna çekildin, artık kendin halletmeye çalışıyorsun ya da tam olayın üzerine geliyor. Bir evde olduğumuz için o anda birden her şeyi değiştiremiyorsunuz, ister istemez aksettirmek zorunda kalıyorsunuz. O zaman da sen hiçbir şeyini anlatmıyorsun zaten, kendi başına halletmeye çalışıyorsun diyor. O zaman bu yönlü kırılıyor. İşte zaman zaman bazı şeyleri anlatarak böyle telafi ediyoruz. (MD6)

Omuzlarım tutulur, sırtım bazen, hakikaten yatakta sağdan sola dönemiyorum ve uyuyamıyorum da. Dün bir yere gidecektim gezmeye, akraba ziyaretine gidecektim, dedim ki küçük kızıma böyle böyle yavrum sırtım çok tutuldu, o da çıkmış ablasına söylemiş, aslında ben bunu birkaç gündür çekiyordum, ablası indi aşağı anne niye söylemiyorsun, niye saklıyorsun bizden, sen niye böyle yapıyorsun diye biraz kızdılar.(MM6)

O da hiçbir zaman bize benim şu sıkıntım var, bu sorunum var, hiçbir zaman aksettirmez bize, yansıtmaz. (MD6)

Peki siz kendi sıkıntılarınızı paylaşırsınız annenizle?

Hayır, kesinkes hayır, hiçbir şeyi, yani görüneneler var tabi, görünenleri o da gördüğü seviyede ancak haberdar olabilir, onun dışında kesinlikle.(MD24)

Onun için biz ondan herhangi bir sıkıntımız olduğunda saklıyoruz, ona aktarmıyoruz. Şimdi bazı anne tipleri vardır, daha soğukkanlı ve o dönemde elini kolunu sıvayarak işe gire, sizin yanınızda olan, annem öyle değil. Annem hastalanır, kıyıya çekilir ve mızımızlanmaya başlar. Öyle olunca, tabi annemin de etkilenmemesi için saklıyoruz ve söylemiyoruz. (WM24)

annem üzülmesin diye çoğu şeyi benden gizlerler. İyi de yapıyorlar, çok hassas bünyem var, tahammül edemiyorum, çok üzülüyorum.(WM24)



şimdi ben bunu bırakamıyorum, ben bundan ayrılamıyorum, gideceği yere de bensiz gitmez zaten, nereye giderse beraber gideriz. Ne yaparsak beraber yapıyoruz, böyle bir bağlantımız var. Çocuk da şey, özel bir çocuk, o bakımdan o da bensiz yapamaz. İşte bundan büyük kızım huylandı bize karşı biraz, niye bu kadar birbirinize bağlısınız, niye işte birlikte bir şey yapmak istiyorsunuz? Büyük kızım da bunlara karşı, niye siz hep beraber geziyorsunuz? Buralarda anlaşıyoruz. (MM6)

Yok siz de hayatı sırtlanmış oluyorsunuz, bir takım problemlerinizi oluyor, iş hayatınız oluyor şu oluyor bu oluyor ve bütün bunlarla cebelleşirken annenizin ufak kaprisleri, işte beni aramadı etmedi, hastalandım ilgilenmedi gibi, hastalık da ciddi boyutlarda asla değildir; böyle ufak ufak nazlarına, kaprislerine zaman zaman isyan ettiğimiz anlar oluyor.

ben Bursa'da yaşıyorken, anneme telefon ediyorum, çok hasta olduğunu söylüyor mesela, ben yetişemeyecek durumdayım, kız kardeşim Amerika'da, benim çok üzüldüğüm günler oldu ve o üzüntüyle benim okula gittiğim oldu, gelip çılgın gibi telefonlara sarıldığım zamanlar oldu ve gördüm ki annem, o anda geçici bir şey, bitmiş, e buna sinirleniyorum tabi. (MD24)

#### **9.1.1.1 Decrease in Mother Interference**

Şimdi çok daha farklı tabi. Ne bileyim, müdahalesi kesinlikle yok, karışması. Eve geldiğinde zaten misafir gibi oturuyor, ilişkilerimize karışmaz. O anlamda çok memnunum. Hani bazen görüyorum diğer annelerle çocuklarının ilişkilerinde, kızlarının. Hala müdahaleciler ama pek o anlamda değil.(MD21)

Evlendikten sonra evet. Kendilerine yuva kurdular. Kendilerinin bir yaşantısı var, karışmak istemem yani hiçbirisine de, hiçbirisine karışmam.(WM19)

A: Yok. Yani evlenene kadar evet, ama evlendikten sonra benim evli bir kadın olduğumu kabul etti.

S: Evlenene kadar hangi konularda kısıtlayıcı oluyordu?

A: Evlenene kadar, mesela benim geliş gidiş saatlerim çok kısıtlıydı. Akşam hiçbir yerde bir arkadaşım da kalamazdım. Belki bu ilk çocuk olmanın da şeyi, sıkıntısı. Benim kardeşlerim hani benim kazanımlarımla daha rahat bir genç kızlık geçirdiler. Belli bir saatte evde olmak durumundaydım. Çok özel durumlarda akşam çıkmama izin verilirdi. Bu beni çok üzerdi...Evlendikten sonra, senin dedi bundan sonraki sorumluluğun kocan dedi. O neye izin veriyorsa, ne kadar izin veriyorsa. Yani hiç ondan sonra karışmadı. (MD10)

Niye mesela ben Sibel'i genç kızlığında filan öyle kısa giydirmemiştim. Ama şimdi giyiyor fakat ben onu şey etmiyorum, niye bu böyle demiyorum. Çok şeyini şey edemiyorum.(MM10)

Yani çocuk yetiştirirken daha farklı, o sorumluluğu üstünden attıktan sonra, yani evlendirdikten sonra anne kız ilişkileri çok daha farklı oluyor. Bir defa üstünden o sorumluluğu o mesuliyeti atıyor, bir başkasının üstüne yüklüyor yani. Senin üstüne yüklüyor en azından... Evlendiriyor diyor ki, evlendirdim, ondan sonra yetiştirdim evlendirdim, işim bitti diye bakıyor... O zaman tabi yani daha

tutucular. Kadın erkek ilişkileri konusunda tutucular. Evlendirdim, kocası var daha rahatladılar. O konuda rahatladılar yani başka türlü olaylar olup başka türlü şeylerle karşılaşmadılar. (MD9)

S: Peki şimdi nasıl siz evlendikten sonra?

O: Bana da daha toleranslı. Hiçbir şeye karışmadılar. Belki benim yapım la alakalı, karakterimle alakalı. Ama hiçbir şeye hiçbir zaman karışmadılar. her şeye çok güvendiler. Yani aramızda hiçbir şekilde annemle de babamla da aile içerisinde böyle bir sorun hiç yaşamadık. (MD9)

Kesinlikle ben genç kızken bunları düşünemezdim. Bunları konuşamazdık bile. Ama şimdi son derece rahatlar, son derece doğalları, o kadar rahat konuşuyorlar ki, o kadar boş veriyorlar ki, artık onlar onlar için önemli şeyler değiller, çok basit şeyler haline geldi. Ama biz büyürken basit değildi.(MD9)

#### **9.1.1.2 Acceptance of Daughter as an Adult**

İkinci çocukta biraz benim de anne olduğumu kabul etti. Yeni yeni daha benim de erişkin bir insan olduğumu kabul etmeye başladı. Yani en çarpıcı değişiklik bence bu. 40 yaşından sonra. (MD10)

Bir aradalar her zaman, benden daha yakın artık eşi, evlenince.(WM28)

Ne almış, ne harcamış, o artık evden çıkmış. Yani evlendikten sonra bu para konusunda benimle hesabı olmaz. (WM21)

SA: E tabi, eski o kadar şeyi kalmadı. Olmuyor yani çünkü kendinin sorumluluğu çoğalıyor. Kendi sorumluluğu artınca bize ilgisi biraz daha azaldı tabi. Ama bu çok da normal, her annede olan şey. (MM10)

#### **9.1.2.1 Increased Understanding of Motherhood by Daughter**

Zaman insanı o kadar olgunlaştırıyor ki o yaptığınız çocukça şeyler geliyor insana. Bir de insan anne olunca, keşke şunları yapmasaydım, annemi üzmeseydim diyorsun.(MD16)

Tabi bende anne oldum, bir annenin neler hissedeceğini insan daha iyi görebiliyor. (MD2)

bazen çocuk olarak tenkit edebiliyorsun anneni. Aman bu niye böyle yapıyor, ben olsam hiç böyle yapmam diyorsun. Ama seneler geçtikçe, bakıyorsun bir şeyler farkında olmadan o yol üzerinde yürümeye başlıyorsun. bir şeyleri alıyorsun herhalde.(MD11)

Ben geçmişte de bir takım tutucu olan taraflarını şu anda son derece doğal karşılıyorum. Belki o zaman daha kızıyordum, ay niye böyle yapıyor falan diye. Ama şimdi düşünüyorum kendim anne olduktan sonra düşünüyorum, olay o kadar görüldüğü gibi değil. O zaman onları, o endişeleri yaşamakta haklıymış. Zaman içerisinde o da değişti, o da anladı bir takım şeyleri ama o anda o şeyi ben şu anda kendi çocuklarıma duyuyorum. Aynı endişeyi ben duyuyorum. (MD9)

Ama Gizem doğduktan sonra annem bana hep derdi ki, işte anne olunca anlayacaksın, işte onları anladım. Bir yere gittiği zaman, akşam bir yere çıktığı zaman, o gelmeden uyuyamıyorum. O zaman anlamıyordum annemin bu şeylerini, davranışlarını, ne olacak diyordum ama şimdi ben aynı şeyleri yaşıyorum. (MD10)

Anne ve çocuk büyütürken anlıyorsunuz yani özellikle çocukluk döneminde değil de, o çocuk böyle hafif hafif ergenliğe geldiğinde, o zorlukları, annenizin yaşadığı zorlukları anlıyorsunuz.(MD24)

Şimdi bir anne olunca, annenin kıymetini zaten biliyordu ama şimdi daha çok anlaşılıyor diyor. Zaten bilirdi de, bana çok düşkün evladım, anne olduktan sonra daha iyi anlaşılıyor diyor annenin kıymeti.(WM24)

#### **9.1.2.2 Increased Functional Support Given by Mother**

Daha fazla yükü arttı onun. Bir bendim üzerinde yük, ben ve ailem olduk, yine her konuda destek ver di annem bize. Hem maddi hem manevi bize destek oldu. (MD6)

çocuklarıma bakıyordum, her an evimin içinde dışında ama işte çok gençti, en potent yaşıydı yani ben evlendiğim vakit herhalde annem şu andaki benim yaşımdaydı. Evet onun için haldır haldır koşturduğu bir dönem.(WD8)

Ve işte iş hayatı, çocuk olunca, annem daha bir sahiplendi bana, yardımcı oldu, çocuğumun tarafından belli bir yaştan sonra.(MD26)

tabi evlendi gitti işte. Yani biz ona destek olmaya çalıştık devamlı. Tabi büyük şehirden gitti kazalara falan. Üzülüyorsun tabi. Devamlı şeyine, destek olmaya çalıştık yani, dünyayı iyi göstermeye, hayatı iyi göstermeye. (WM15)

Peki evlendikten sonra evlenip başka eve gidince bir ayrılık oldu mu?

N: Yo zaten onu tatmadık, yani öyle bir şey ki, küçük evlendi, hemen hamile oldu, doğum yaptı falan. E ilişki şöyle daha çok yardımcı olmamız gerekti.(WM7)

#### **9.1.2.3 Increased Closeness & Openness**

Aslında bazen çok intim konuları da konuştuğumuz oluyor ama onu da belli yıllar içersinde ya da size çok şey geldiğinde konuşabiliyorsunuz (MD3)

Daha yakınlaştık çünkü bir de bu sefer dertleşiyorsun artık. O zamana kadar konuşamadığın şeyleri konuşmaya başlıyorsun. Bir de hemen hamile kaldım ben, hemen işte bebek oldu falan, annen daha böyle ailevi şeyler araya giriyor, hani şey gibi değil. Öbür türlü ne bileyim kolejde öğrenciyim, arkasından gelmişim üniversiteye, haldır haldır hem çalıştım hem okudum ben çünkü. Bir de benim öyle bir defectim var. Sabahleyin işteyim akşamleyin okula gidiyorum. Düşünebiliyor musun yani ne kadar zor bir iş. Annemi falan görmüyorum yani öyle bir konuşacak vakit yok. Zaman yok. Onun için evlenip de, okul bitti, çalışma hayatı bitti, çalışmayı bıraktım, üniversiteyi bitirdim, hemencecik asistanlığa başladım, yani tek bir işim oldu, anneme daha çok vakit ayırabildim. E

bir ailen oldu daha bir samimi oldun falan. Eski ilişkiler daha farklı bir boyut alıyor. (WD8)

Peki sen evlendikten sonra annem bütün sorumluluğu attı üzerinden dedin ya, o zaman neler değişti?

A: Daha yakın olduk. Yani çatışmalarımız azaldı.

S: Çatışma konusu herhalde özgürlüklerdi...

A: Özgürlüklerdi, onlar bitti, yok oldu.(MD10)

#### **9.1.3.1 Declined Activity / Loss of Strength**

O zaman, zaman içinde, bu 6 sene içinde baktım ki çok fazla sorunları kaldıracak gücü kalmamış, eskisi kadar. Eskiden daha dayanıklıydı. Sorunlara karşı, problem çözer, şey eder, halleder. Daha sağlamdı ya da bize öyle görünüyordu. Hep karşımızda bir sağlam, sorunlara dayanıklı, problemlere karşı ezilmeyen bir anne imajı vardı karşımızda. Ama bu birliktelik, emeklilikten sonraki beraberlik onun gerçekte öyle olmadığını, hala öyle devam etmediğini fark ettirdi. (MD6)

Esasında çok hareketli bir insandır. Yani benim hatırladığım, annem her işe koşar, her işi yapar, torunlarına bakar, bizim evimize misafir gelsin, yemeği hazırlar gider, evinde yapar getirir. Böyle faal bir insandı. Şimdi yavaş yavaş yaşın gereği, hareketler kısıtlanmaya başlayınca, biraz da o onun moralini bozuyor. Yani kabullenmek istemiyor gibi. Yani niye yapamıyorum diye. Hani onun verdiği bir şey var... Çünkü annem de o yapıdaydı. her şeyi o yapsın, her şeyi yaşlanıncaya kadar yani. Şimdi zaten yapamadığı için, çok sinirleniyor kendine. Yani her şeyi yaparken şimdi neden yapamıyor. her şeye koşturmak, her şeye yetmek, her şeyi onun şeyi, nasıl diyim, kimseye yük olmadan her şeyi kendi işini kendi görsün falan. (MD11)

annem bir kere artık yaşlandı. Eskisi kadar hızlı hareket edemiyor, hızlı düşünemiyor. Gerçi 70 yaşında, bir takım şeyleri kendisi tek başına yapabiliyor. (MD12)

Ben evde, pek bir şey yaptığım yok, bir yemek falan, ortalığı yalan yanlış topluyorum. Yapamıyorum, sağlığım yüzünden.(WM14)

#### **9.1.3.2 Perceived Role Reversal**

Bazen babamı şikayet ettiği olur. O zaman ben anne rolünü üstleniyorum. O zaman ben ona işte nasihat ediyorum.(MD10)

o sürekli yanında olsun istiyor. Daha duygu sömürsü yapıyor. Daha böyle çocuksu oluyor. Zaten bana diyor, sen benim annemsin diyor. Biz rolleri değiştik. Ben anne oldum, o benim kızım oldu. Yani onu kabullenmiş durumda.(MD11)

hani derler ya boğazımdan geçmez, evladım yemedi mi diye, şimdi onlarda benim evladım gibi oldu. (MD18)

büyüdükçe çocuklar annelik rolünü üstleniyor genel olarak, anneler daha bir çocuk oluyor. Bu bir çağ. Herkesin uyduğu gibi bizde de hafif bir uyum oluyor. Onlar çocuk, biz anne oluyoruz... Artık siz devri daim olarak düşünün. Başlangıçta çocuklar, daha sonra annelik pozisyonuna onlar geçiyor. (MD22)

Yani yaşım ilerledikçe şunu fark ediyorum ki, roller değişmeye başlıyor. Yani bir süre sonra o beni yönlendirirken şöyle, mesela giyimde, şunda bunda, ama o yaşlandıkça artık ben onu yönlendirmeye başlıyorum. Şöyle yaparsan daha iyi olur, işte sokağa çıksın mesela, gezersen daha iyi olur bir yere gidersen daha iyi olur. (SD23)

artık benim ona değil, yani benim de ona ihtiyacım var, ama benim ona ihtiyacım, çok ihtiyacım olduğunu ona ne kadar hissettiriyorum bilemiyorum da onun da bana ihtiyacı var, yani o ihtiyaç maddi ihtiyacın falan çok ötesinde birisi ile konuşmaya ihtiyaç var, bir arkadaşına ihtiyaç var. (SD23)

Çocukken, çocuklar ananın sevgisine, şefkatine muhtaç, o zaman ben onlara sevgi gösterirdim; şimdi ben yaşlandım, onlardan sevgi ve saygı bekliyorum ve onları da görüyorum kızım. Onları da görüyorum.(MM23)

Ama şimdi yalnız olduğu için, tabi ben de merak ediyorum. Yani şimdi onun rolünü ben üstlendim. Hani şey yapıyorum. Yoksa ben de birazcık telaşlanıyorum. (MD30)

### 9.1.3.3 Personality Changes of Mother

Şimdi mesela annem son zamanlarda çok alıngan oldu, eskiden böyle alıngan değildi. Yani rahatlıkla biz annemize her şeyimizi söyler, yapardık. Şimdi mesela çok alıngan. Ben mesela annemi her gün ararım telefonla, yani bir aramasam hemen bana sitemli konuşur, yani neden aramadım. Belki onu aramadığımız zaman onu unuttuğumuzu ihmal ettiğimizi düşünüyor halbuki değil yani. Öyle başka bir şey yok.

insan yaşlanınca çok hassaslaşıyor. (WM7)

yani alıngan oluyorlar, belli bir yaştan sonra, ya sana kapris yapıyorlar, sürekli işte şey gibi onları yoklayacaksın, ondan sonra da yani hallerini hatırlarını soracan. (MD18)

Zaman içerisinde değiştiler. Şimdi biz doğuluyuz tabi, Elazığlıyız. Ondan sonra, o dönemlerde onlar daha tutucuydu, çevreleri öyleydi. Onun için görüşleri daha farklıydı. Zaman içerisinde onlar da değişmeye başladılar. Çevreleri, görüşleri farklılaşmaya başladı. Biz, ben 11 yaşında geldim Ankara'ya. Yani çok sene oldu. Fakat ne olursa olsun bir takım şeyler devam ediyor onların tutucu tarafları devam ediyordu ama çok sıkı, tutucu, sıkı bir aile değildi. Ama bugünkü gibi de değillerdi tabi ki. Bugün mesela torunlarına bize yaptıklarının çok dışında fikirleri bile değişti. Kafa yapıları bile değişti. O kadar toleranslılar ki şimdi annem bana akıl veriyor, niye çocuklara böyle yapıyorsun, şöyle yap, şöyle serbest bırak, boş ver. Ondan sonra bana yapmadıklarını şimdi torunlarına yapıyorlar. Yani zaman içerisinde değişti onlarda... Bakıyorum ben şimdi durumlarına bakıyorum çok fazla toleranslılar. O toleransları eskiden yoktu gençlikte. (MD9)

#### 9.1.3.4 Mothers' Fears

Alışveriş yapıyoruz, beraber alışverişe gidiyoruz. Artık gidemiyor, evvelden gidiyordu, artık gidemiyor... artık gitmiyor. Yalnız yola çıkamıyor annem, sokağa çıkamıyor. Ondan korkmaya başladı.(SD14)

Yalnızken dışarıda kalamıyor, yani evin içine giremiyor geç olduğu zaman korkuyor, ki eskiden çok cesaretlidir. Bizim eski oturduğumuz yerlerde böyle evlerde su yoktu. Mahalle çeşmesinden su taşırdık ve gece akardı, gündüz akmazdı suyumuz. 12'den, 1'den sonra çeşmeden su taşırdık. Fakat şimdi yaş itibariyle veyahut ortamın kötülüğünden herhalde korkmaya başladı, korkuyor herhalde.(SD29)

Siz yalnız gidemiyorum derken fiziken mi zorlanıyorsunuz?”

- Evet, ben yolda yani, biri iki senedir artık sokağa yalnız çıkmıyorum.

“ Korkuyor musunuz?”

- Korkuyorum evet. Korkuyorum.

Pazarıma hep kendim giderdim, işte beş altı senedir artık gitmiyorum. (WM15)

Şu 3-4 senedir. Ondan önce ben her işimi giderim, gelirim, şimdi bu sene pek öyle çıkmak da istemiyorum yalnız. Başım dönüyor falan. Ondan hep kızlarla çıkıyorum. Onlar karşılıyor benim her şeyimi çıkmıyorum.(WM1)

#### 9.1.3.5 Personality Changes of Daughter

Biraz yaşı artık etkisi mi var, artık yaş da biraz sinirlilik yaşı herhalde. Biraz sinirliyim aslında. (SD1)

Ben şu 3 yıl öncesine kadar gayet sessiz, her şeye peki diyen bir insandım. Yaşadığım güçlükler olaylar beni artık kendini savunmaya iter, sesini yükseltmeyi öğrenir hale getirdi. Onlardan müthiş rahatsız oluyor. Yaptığım bazen çok üstüme geldiğini söylediğim zaman kırılıveriyor, sen değiştin artık diyor falan.(MD17)

Susmasını iyi bilir. Mümkün mertebe şeylerini yani kızgınlıklarını, hoşuna gitmeyen şeyleri تنها da halletmeye gayret eder, yani uysaldır. Hele eskiden çok daha. Şimdi bazen Türkan'a bazen diyorum kızım ben seni tanıyamıyorum artık diyorum.(WM17)

Böyle yerli yersiz tepki gösterdiği zamanlar, kızım seni ben artık tanıyamıyorum diyorum. Çünkü o kadar hazımkar bir insandı ki. E tabi şimdi geçirdiği şeyler, yaş da olgunlaştı. Biraz daha sabırsız oldu, ama yani gene de uysaldır, uyumludur. (WM17)

O kadar değişti ki, kızken böyle değildi diyorum. Çok fazla değişti evlendikten sonra. Yani evvelce böyle değildi, çok acımasız oldu. (WM28)

siz de artık hayatı algılamış kavramış oluyorsunuz, elli yaş az bir yaş değil yarım yüzyıl, dolayısıyla artık sizin de tahammülünüzün azaldığı şeyler oluyor. Annenizin ufak tefek kaprislerine, saçma sapan size gelen, çünkü orada çok önemli anneniz için saçma sapan bir konu, sizin de yaşadığınız problemler

nedeniyle, sizi artık yani onu teselli etme enerjisini bile bulamayacağınız dönemleri yaşıyorsunuz. Onun için, yüzde yüz annenize katılmadığınız çok zamanlar oluyor, tamamen o anki duygularınıza ve durumunuza şey, eğer rahat bir gününüzdeyseniz, ha tamam ,işte şey yapayım diyorsunuz ama genelde annenizin o ufak tefek, konu komşu akraba bilmem ne kaprisleriyle artık sizi yoruyor, anlamsız geliyor. (MD24)

Annemde hani ben büyüdüm, iyice yetişkin oldum, ne bileyim hareketlerim biraz daha kontrollü olmaya başladı, hani belki annem de bunu farketti. Bu tür şeyler, özde çok şey değiştiğini zannetmiyorum.(SD14)

Daha yumuşak yani daha mutedil olmaya başladı evlendikten, hatta çocuğu olduktan sonra. Bazı şeyleri daha yumuşak karşılamaya başladı. Çocukluğunda ve genç kızlığında daha dediğim dedikti. Herhalde eşinin, çocuğunun olması nedeniyle.(DM5)

#### **9.1.3.6 Change in Daughters' Perception**

Hani eskiden böyle bir annen, onun dediği olur, en doğru kararı o verir, işte annemin hafızası çok güçlüdür, şudur budur. Çok güvendiğim bir insanı zamanla yavaş yavaş hayır annemde diyorsa tam tersini yapmak lazım, doğru kararı vermiyordur, efendim unuttandır, bir acıma duygusu, hani o saygı, tamam sevgi hep gidiyor da, o saygı annem çok iyi bilir, her şeyi o bilir dediğin safha bitiyor, artık sevgi ve acıma. Öyle bir ilişki yani farklı bir yön alıyor herhalde.(WD8)

Benim yaşımın büyümesi ile annem gibi görmemeye başladım annemi. Kaç senedir 10 senedir annemi tümü ile arkadaş gibi falan herhalde. Bazen şey yapıyorum, ya bu kadın benim annem hani biraz farklı olayım ama hissetmedim yani daha böyle iki kadının duygularını...(MD13)

hani evlendikten sonra bilmiyorum belki size de olmuştur da, bir evlilikler paylaşıyor, aynı yaşantılar sürülmeye başladıktan sonra, onu daha bazı şeylerini anlamaya başladım.. Yani kadın olarak annemi anlamaya başladığım için daha iyi oldu bence.(MD13)

sanki annem yapamaz duygusuna kapıldım, hep babam yapıyordu ya bazı şeyleri. Aa bir baktım, kadın adamı götürüyormuş, kendini de götürür yani. Ee o zaman... Ya, koruma içgüdüğü oluşuyor insanda. (MD13)

#### **9.1.4.1 Increased Closeness**

babayı kaybedince, tabi daha farklı anneye düşüyorsun. Ben babamla da çok ilişkilerim iyiydi, yani hatta o dönem öyle söyleyebilirim ki anneme söyleyemediğim, anlatamadığım şeyleri babamla konuşan bir insandım. Babam o konuda çok yakındı bana. E bir anda tabi kolay olmuyor, bu sefer anneye daha çok bağlanıp düşüyorsunuz, birini kaybedince tek bir kişi kalıyor. Ama işte o dönemde de iş hayatım falan olduğu için, tabi biraz daha kolay atlattım. Ama tabi yani anneye daha fazla bir düşkünlük oluyor babayı kaybettikten sonra.(MD26)

Ben sadece Hülya abla için soracağım bunu, duygularınızda bir değişiklik oldu mu eşinizi kaybettikten sonra?

H: Çocuklarım için mi?

S: Evet

H: Yok hiç olmadı. Daha çok bağlandım.

S: O da bir değişiklik.

H: O da bir değişiklik değil mi? Onlara daha çok bağlandım. Onlarla yatıp kalkıyorum.(WM11)

Baba öldükten sonra, çok fazla düşkünlüğü ilerledi.(WM13)

Eşiniz vefat ettikten sonra kızınızla ilişkinizde değişiklik oldu mu?

Daha yakınlaştık. (WM14)

(genel olarak tüm çocukları ayırmadan konuşuyor) Daha yakınlaştık.(WM21)

(genel olarak tüm çocukları ayırmadan konuşuyor) İşte birbirimize kenetlendik. (WM24)

#### **9.1.4.2 Protection & Compensation**

Çünkü biz daha önce annemizi hiç düşünmüyorduk. Babam vardı, onlar ikisi birbirini tamamlıyordu. Ama babam öldükten sonra biz annemizi çok düşünüyor olduk. Yani hep mesela ben evde yatıyorum kalkıyorum, yemek yiyorum, ama aklım hep onda, yiyor mu, ne yapıyor. Yani hep onu düşünüyorsun, hep o şekil düşüncelerin oluyor. Bir takım eksiklerini, ihtiyaçlarını bizim karşılamamız gerekiyor. Yani ilgi artırma yönünde oldu. (MD7)

Önceleri ben nihayet yoldaşlıydım. Benim bir hayat arkadaşım vardı yanımda, biz onu daha çok düşünürdük Gülay'ı yani her yönden destek olmak, maddi ve manevi. (WM7)

Ramiz öldükten sonra onlar beni daha çok düşünmeye başladılar. Yalnız diye, işte ihtiyaçlarımda olsun, mesela gelip bana yoldaş olmaktan, anne biz de kal ısrarları çok, ben de rahat edemiyorum, gece kalkıyorum, onları uyandırırım diye ben evimde rahatım (WM7)

Vallahi babamın vefatı hiçbir şey değiştirmede. Tabi daha fazlalaştırdı. Daha bir sorumluluk benim sırtıma yüklendiğini hissettim. Yokluğunu hissettirmemeye çalıştım. E, babam vefat edeceği günlerde, bir gün öncesiydi. Zaten anneme onu söyledi.Eğer bir şey olursa dedi, bak dedi Hülya ve Ümit var, onlardan istersen, ne istersen onlar senin yanındalar, sen sakın telaş etme. Yani bir de babamın emaneti benim için. Annemin ötesinde bir de babamın emaneti annem. Yani, yakın olmaya çalıştım. Ama tabi ara ara gözlediğim şeyler, bazı şeyleri şey yapamıyorsun, kapatamıyorsun. Ne kadar yakın da olsan, onun o içindeki o yalnızlığı, o moral bozukluğu var. Yani onu böyle takviye etmeye çalışıyorum ama o kendi kendine bazı şeylerde evde hüzünleniyor yani. Üzüntü yapıyor. Yani kolay bir şey değil esasında. Hani biz onu örtbas etmeye çalışıyoruz ama evlat olarak da belli bir yere kadar dolduruyorsun. Bir yerden sonra yapamıyorsun.(MD11)

Babamın yaptığı her şeyi yapmaya çalışıyordum. Böyle anneme verdiği, sunduğu şeyleri, ay eksikliğini hissetmesin, ilgilenildiğini, bir anda işte kanadı kolu



kırılmış olmasın falan diye. Ama baktım ki ona alıştı bazı şeylere. Çünkü ben yerine koyamıyorum ki bazı şeyleri mümkün değil tabi. Onun için o da benden gizlemeye başladı bazı şeylerini, hani yaşaması gereken acısını göstermemek için savaş veriyor. Ya dedim yanlış yoldasın. Geri çekil. Yavaş yavaş çekiliyorum. Karşındaki insanı inceleyerek yapmaya çalışıyorsun da, ne kadar başarılıyım bilemem.(MD13)

Demin dediniz, eşim vefat ettikten sonra Fatoş daha farklı oldu gibi.

A: Evet bana daha düşkün oldu.

S: Açıklar mısınız?

A: Mesela bütün evin bir erkek rolünü. Ne diyeyim sana mesela musluk bozuldu di mi? Hemen anında gidip geliyor. Eskiden o derece, tabi baba olduğu için. Şimdi evin sorumluluğunu da o almaya çalışıyor, aldı da. Mesela evin boyası olacak. E, anne hemen bulayım ben boyatacağım.(WM13)

yani değişme şöyle oldu annem daha bir şey yaptı, yani, annemin bütün hayatı babamdı, babamın da annemdi, özellikle biz iyice büyüdükten sonra, ablam abim evlendikten sonra bütün hayatları beraberdi. Beraber gezerler, beraber alışverişe giderler, gündüz beraber televizyon izlerler, gazete okurlarsa beraber konuşurlar, böyleydi hayatları. Babam ölünce anneme böyle birisi gerekti, tabi alışkanlık, böyle birisi gerekti, onu da biz birlikte yapıyoruz artık.(SD14)

Biraz anlatır mısınız, neler değişti? Bu yakınlık nasıl oldu?

O daha bir babasının da aldığı mesuliyeti aldı herhalde. Yani bilmiyorum, daha yakın anlatacak bir şey bulamıyorum. Daha yakınlaştık. Daha bir beni korur oldu, önceden babaya güveniyordu herhalde... Daha bir kanatlarını gerdi, gibi oldu. (WM14)

### 10.1.1 Mothers' Education

ben orta okulu bitirdim. Hiç kimse Ereğli'de okumuyordu. Kızları okutmuyorlardı. 17-18 yaşına geldi mi evlendiriyorlardı, herkes boyun eğiyordu. Ama ben bu boyun eğmeyenlerden biriydim. 3 kişi vardı Ereğli'de. Biri doktor oldu. Kandilli Kız Lisesi'ne kayıtlarım yapıldı. Kısmet olmayınca olmuyor. Bir hafta sonra geri alındı ve Enstitüye yapıldı. Neden?. Büyük annem dedi ki, bir kızımız var dedi. Nasılsa evlenecek, ne olacakmış okuyunca dedi. O dedi çalışacak mı evlenince, olmaz ayıp olur dedi. Onun için dedi madem böyle bir mektep varmış gitsin hiç olmazsa çoluğunun çocuğunun dikişini dikebilecek, evinin düzenini yapabilecek bir yermiş bu enstitü, biz oraya verelim dedi. Ve babamda hayır diyemedi. Ama ben de okuyayım da neresi olursa olsun, ister enstitü, ister...(MM12)

Memlekette eskiden öyleydi, bizim zamanımızda, şimdi herkes okuyor, bizeymiş şansızlık işte. (WM19)

büyüklerimiz bizi okutmadığı için ben bunları hiç şey yapmadım. Burada okula gideceğim, okuyacağım diye...

SORU- Siz okuttunuz okusunlar diye.

ANNESİ- Ben kendim çok istedim fakat, babaannemiz falan o zaman çok geri düşünceli. Ne olacakmış, bir kızı bir erkek besleyemez miymiş? Niye okusun?.. İlkokulu zor bitirtirdi bana. Babaannemin sözü geçerdi. (MM20)

#### **10.1.2 Effects of Education Difference between Generations**

Şimdi kızım ben lise mezunuyum, onlar üniversiteyi bitirdi. Herhalde benden daha iyi düşünüyorlardır. Hem kuşak değişti hem de tahsil bakımından ben umumi maluma sahibim, onlar daha derin. (MM2)

Ama şimdiki gençler kendi bildiğini...Daha akıllılar. İhtiyaçları yok ki. (MM9)

Vallaha, şimdi onlar daha böyle yani tabi, onlara gerek bile kalmıyor şimdi bilmiyorum, kendileri daha bilinçli, daha okudukları için her şeyi, benim ona yetmiyor bile şeyim. (WM3)

#### **10.1.3 Personality Differences**

Mesela Nazan böyle sıkıntılı yetişmedi. Nereye...İşte Kolej'e başladı, arkasından orayı bitirdi, ben orada çalışmak istiyorum dedi. Yani onların çocuklukları daha rahat geçti. Mesela daha açık sözlüler. Bizler yetişme tarzına göre hep biraz düşünüyoruz. Gene ben de hazırcevabımdır ama benim yetişme, beraber yetiştiğim kimseler arasında öyleyim ama yani Nazan'a göre değil. Ama şimdi ben öyleyim diye kızımın da böyle olması gerekmez. Yani o böyle zamanında sırası geldiğinde söyler. Ben eskiden beri mesela geri dururum hep dinlerim, dinlerim, ona göre şey ederim. Ama ben onu beğeniyorum. Yani insan kendini ezdirmemeli, yerine ve zamanına göre konuşmalı. İşte yetişme tarzı ile o daha rahat bir şey geçiriyor. (MM12)

Ama şimdi ki nesil öyle değil, söylüyor ve söylemesi lazım.(MM12)

Kızım biraz daha aceleci. Yani benim yetişiş tarzım gibi değil, onlar daha; yani nesil gençliği mi diyeyim ne diyeyim. Biz boyun eğebiliriz ama onlar istemez boyun eğmek. (MM20)

Daha eski olduğumuz için herhalde. Eskiden hep böyle içimize kapanık yetiştik. Annenin yanında bir şey söylenmez, babanın yanında söylenmez diye büyüdük. Sevgimiz olsa da dışa vurmakta zorlanıyoruz. O daha açık söyler.(WM21)

#### **10.1.4 Political Climate**

Orta Doğu'da okudular iki tanesi, arkadaşları geliyordu, onlara yemek hazırlıyordum, boykotlar oluyordu o zaman. 25 sene önce çocuk okutmak biraz zordu yani, çok zordu.(WM19)

gönderemedim olur mu, kendi gidemedi çocuk; öldürürüz kaldırırız o zaman o kadar fenaydı ki durum, siz bilemezsiniz,

Tabi ben ancak okuduklarımdan,

Siz bilemezsiniz, biz neler yaşadık yavrum; onun için zor. Kardeşleri Orta Doğu'da ya, Orta Doğu'nun da adı çıkmış, solcular şunlar bunlar diye, çocuğa rahat vermediler ki okulda, ya. (WM19)

Öğrenciydi, Beytepe'ye gidiyordu, gitmek zorundaydı. Anarşi yıllarıydı, çok şiddetle devam eden yıllardı. Bir anne olarak elbette düşünmek zorundaydım, üzülüyordum açıkçası.(WM22)

onun zamanı da terör zamanıydı. Çok kötü zamandı. Okuldan çıkıyordu, şeylere katılıyordu, sol şeylere katılıyordu, bir iki defa farkında olduk. (MM25)

#### **10.1.5 Economic Conditions**

Ama bir bakıyorum onlar rahatlar, ben de karışmıyorum. Sonra şimdiki gençle biz, daima hesaplı kitaplı giyen insanlar. Benim kocam memur, subay. Maaşı aldığı vakit bir liste yapılır, şu şuraya şu şuraya gidecek, şu kadar para kaldı. Biz temiz giyinmeye bakıyoruz. Şimdiki gibi marka düşkünü değildik. Şimdiki gençler hep marka, en güzeli benim olsun, en iyi yerlere gideyim. Biz de subaylan evli olduğumuz için bunu hiç düşünmedik.(MM2)

biz belki çok sıkıntılı bir yaşamdan, sonradan belli bir refah düzeyine ulaştığımız için daha rahat para harcayabiliyoruz. Biraz savrukçasına harcayabiliyoruz. Ama o her zaman tutumludur. Hiçbir zaman ben belli bir refaha geldim, ya Özal döneminden sonra herkeste bir refah oldu. Zaten o eski çok alt tabaka kalmadı. Herkes bir şeyleri, alım gücünü daha fazla elde etti. Tabi bize iyilik mi etti, kötülük mü etti, bu Özal tartışması değil aslında ama, bizim geldiğimiz bir seviye, annem onu asla aşmadı. Yine o konuda da prensiplerinin dışına çıkmadı.(MD6)

Ben düşünmeden çok zaman para harcadığım olur, o öyle değildir, düşünerek harcar, ihtiyacını alır, ben öyle değilim, ben dediğim gibi kafamı koyduğumu yaparım. O öyle değil, daha temkinli bir insan, daha belki benim hatırladığım zamanki yaşı gereği öyleydi.(MD12)

Mesela taksiye bin, derim bir yere giderken, işte o otobüs, dolmuş, bilmem ne. Aslında bu yaştaki insanların hep böyle, işte biz tabi rahata alıştık. Onlar öyle değil.(MD30)

#### **10.1.6 Technological Advances / Increased Opportunities**

annemlere bakıyorum çok gereksiz şeylere evhamlanıyorlar. Benim o tarz yok, yani evham şeyimde, güveniyorum çocuğuma da. Yani belli şeyleri doğru yapması konusunda. Yani şimdi artık cep telefonları falan var, bir çok şeye daha kolay ulaşıyoruz.(MD3)

ama şimdi imkanlar çok, cep telefonu var, hemen arayıp sesini duyabiliyorum ama annemin o şansı da yoktu (MD7)

#### **10.1.7 Social Activities**

Mesela onlar bizden daha özgürler, benim çıkma özgürlüğüm yoktu zaten o yaşlarda gece. (MD25)

Vallahi bizim çocukluğumuzda öyle şimdiki gibi değildi tabii. Normal oyun oynuyorduk ama, ev işlerine de küçük yaştan beri yardımcı oluyorduk, ondan

sonra. Oturup sohbet ediyorduk, gelenlere hizmet ediliyordu. Yani şimdiki gençliğin verdiği bir serbestlik yoktu o zaman. Her şeylerimiz daha kısıtlıydı.(SD29)

Tabii tabii kısıtlarımız vardı, yani böyle rahat değildi evvelden yaşama hayatı şimdiki gençlik gibi.

SORU- Evet hangi konularda kısıtlamalar geliyordu?

DİLEK HANIM- Ee, meselâ şimdi vakitli vakitsiz saatlerde gençler gidebiliyor. Bizim o zamanlar kısıtlıydı. (SD29)

İşte dediğim gibi geç kalmasınlar, zamanında evde olsun. Şimdiki gençler gibi değil. Şimdiki gençler çıkıyorlar gece geziyorlar, gündüz geziyorlar. Bizde yoktu. Tabi üniversite tahsili yapınca, arada seyahatleri oluyordu, kazılar bilmem neler, istisna gidiyordu.(MM2)

mesela bizde genç kız durumlarında babamız çok despottur. Şimdiki duruma göre, bu zamana göre Nazlı çok daha az izin kullanmıştır. Tuğçe daha normal. Normal kullanır aileden izni. Arkadaşlarıyla vakit geçirme izni falan. Bu bizde çok daha kısıtlı olmuştur. Hani o yüzden diyorum. (MM21)

#### **10.1.8 Intergenerational Differences in Communication**

kızımın benim, eğer onun benden gizlediği bir şey yoksa hayatında, biz daha şeyiz, birbirimize daha açığız. Yani en azından ben kendi açımdan söylüyorum. Ben hissettiklerimi, genç kızlığında yaşadıklarını filan, çok rahatlıkla Ceylan'a anlatırım. Ona örnek olsun diye. Eğer onun erkek arkadaşları varsa, ben bilirim. Ama annemle biz aynı şeyi yaşamadık. Çünkü o (annem) biraz daha otoriter bir tiptir. Ben hemen ağzımı kapatırdım, daha doğrusu hiçbir şey anlatmazdım, gizli. Gizli vaziyetteydi. Annemin o konuda pek hoşgörüsü yoktur. Ama tabi yani o zaman öyleydi. Annemi tenkit etmek için söylemiyorum. (MD2)

Onun dışında çocuklarımı o konularda...Bizimle çok rahat konuşurlar. Yani 2 erkek çocuğum olmasına rağmen, kız erkek ilişkilerini bile anneleriyle benimle çok rahat konuşabiliyorlar. Arkadaş gibi, çok arkadaş gibi oldum. Yani her türlü, en açık konuları bile, cinsel konuları bile rahatlıkla konuşabiliyorlar. Şimdi artık daha büyüdüler, bir takım şeyleri artık anlatmamaya, konuşmamaya başladılar. Ama zamanında bunları çok konuştuk. Annemle ben bunların hiç birini kesinlikle konuşamazdım. Veya yani bugün benim sağladığım şeyleri, annem bana, bize sağlamamıştır. Öyle bir gençliğimiz olmadı bizim. Arada tabi dönem farklılığı. (MD9)

mesela ben regl oldum, olduğumda diyelim ki annem bizimle o konuları hiç konuşmadı. Bizim o yaş dönemimizde belki anneler kızlarıyla öyle şeyleri hiç konuşmuyorlardı. (SD23)

#### **10.1.9 Filial Piety**

Manevi anlamda da çok naz çekiyoruz. Bilmiyorum yani belki de bizim nesille bu olay tamamen bitecek. Ben şimdi kendimi düşünüyorum, evlatlarıma dönüpte telefon edip, yavrum ben sıkılıyorum desem, bana ne der, telefonu kapatır. Yani.

Bundan bir 20 sene sonraki durum. Allah ömür verirse. Bizim yapamadığımız şeyleri evlatlarımız çok rahat yapacak. Onun için manevi değerlere hakikaten sonuna kadar kullanıyoruz, onlar da bunu istismar ediyor benim gördüğüm bu. Yani bu bir “generation gap”. (WD8)

bizler çok anacıl babacıl yetişmiş bir nesiliz.(MD17)

bir nesil farkı da var, tabi onların yani bizden önceki jenerasyonun beklentileri daha fazla çocuklarından. Biz öyle değiliz. İki arada bir derede, ben bazen kızıma hep şeyi derim, en çok ezilen nesiliz, hem annemizin bizden beklentisi fazla, hem çocuklarımızın beklentisi, şeyden dolayı yani, ortalığın durumundan ya da genel durumdan kaynaklandığı gibi daha fazla, yani biz çok böyle şey yaptık, daha ezildik gibi geliyor bana, daha fazla yoruluyoruz gibi geliyor.

(MD19)

yani biz daha şeydik diye üşünüyorum. Hani istemesek de yapıyorduk. Yani her şeyi isteyerek, severek yapmıyorsun ki hayatta, yapmak zorunda kaldığın bir sürü şey var. (MD19)

#### **10.1.10 Marriage**

O zaman, bir Ankara'daydık biz, daha rahat bir ortam, iki artık hani evde oturarak koca bulma zamanı geçti, dolayısıyla hani çıkarak dolaşarak, belki bir şey bir arkadaş edinebilir yani bu gibi düşüncelerle belki. (SD14)

annemin yaşam görüşü bu. Okudu, işte üniversiteye üniversiteyi bitirdim, elim yüzüm düzgün bakılır, e benim artık evlenmem gerek, benden beklenen budur, annem yaşındaki insanlar bunu beklerler. Oğlansa, askerliğini bitirdi, eli ekmek tutuyor hadi evlensin o zaman, kızsı üniversiteyi okuyacaksa okusun, okudu zamanı geldi artık evlensin, annemin düşüncesi bu. Ama benim kızım evlenmesin de özgür yaşasın, kendi hayatını yaşasın diye düşünemez ki annem. (SD14)

ha bizim zamanımızda çıkma yoktu, bizim yaşımdakiler ayrılırlar haklılar, nasıl haklı olan görücü usulü ile evleniliyordu ama şimdiki gençler öyle değil ki, bir sene, iki sene çıkıyorsunuz. (WM4)

Ama tabi biz de arzu ediyoruz tabi oğlum evlensin, bir de ona vazifelerimizi yapalım diye, ama işte bazı şeyler kısmet. Her istenen bir arada olmuyor. Çünkü bu çok karışılacak bir konu değil çocuklara. Eski şartlar değişti.

S: ne gibi?

H: Hayır mesela anne baba bulurmuş, bununla evleneceksin dermiş, çocukta peki peki dermiş. Ama şimdi öyle değil, eğer evlendirirseniz, böyle bir şey yapmaya kalkarsanız, üç gün sonra karşınıza gelir, bak bulduğunuz böyle ben ayrılıyorum der mesela.(MM12)