



## EDUCATION AND FILIAL NORMS: ADULT DAUGHTERS AND OLDER MOTHERS IN TURKEY\*

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### Abstract

In the light of contemporary ageing societies, intergenerational solidarity is becoming more crucial for welfare states. Intergenerational solidarity is a multi-dimensional and multidirectional concept affected by various micro and macro level factors. Education is one of the micro level factors that affect intergenerational normative solidarity and this qualitative study seeks to understand in what ways attitudes differ among different education levels. In this study, 17 pairs of older mothers/mother-in-laws and their adult daughters/daughters-in-law from different educational backgrounds are recruited for semi-structured interviews. Consequently, 5 themes have emerged for adult women: "life aspirations", "attitudes towards care work", "attitudes towards domestic labour", "pull factors" and "push factors". For older women, 3 themes have emerged: "gender of children", "value of children" and "views on care homes".

**Keywords:** Education Level, Intergenerational Solidarity, Turkey, Women Filial Norms.

### 1. Introduction

Intergenerational relationships have gained significant attention with the demographic and structural changes taking place within the family and society. As a country going through demographic transition, Turkey has started paying attention to intergenerational studies at the micro level. However, current research is still very limited (for e.g. see Adıbelli, Türkoğlu, Kılıç, 2013; Aytaç, 1998; Goerres & Tepe, 2010; Görgün-Baran et. al., 2005). And yet, most of these studies are either theoretical or the empirical studies do not employ a theoretical framework in their analysis. For this reason, there is an outstanding gap in the literature that needs to be filled in regarding both theory and evidence. This study, focusing on the normative attitudes of Turkish women on parental and filial norms, tries to contribute to this gap-filling effort. In this respect, this study aims to reveal intergenerational normative attitudes among Turkish women, which is crucial to find out given the need for social/family policy changes within the light of changing demographics. While providing a basis for policy making, this study aims to contribute to the literature of intergenerational relationships in Turkey, both theoretically and empirically.

Education is a variable that is frequently used in gerontological studies to look at the association between normative attitudes and educational levels (Silverstein, Gans & Yang, 2006). However, the effect of educational level on intergenerational norms has mixed evidence. One body of literature suggests that higher education is an indicator for higher normative affiliations since educated people feel more compelled to pay back the investment that their parents have made for them and educated people are more likely to have the resources to provide help for their older parents (Rossi & Rossi, 1990; Ward, 2001; Zhan 2004). On the other hand, there is another stream of evidence that indicates a negative correlation with education level and strong normative affiliations based on the notion that educated people are more likely to lead an autonomous and individualistic life style (Kohn 1977; Lee, Netzer & Coward, 1994). And yet, education level is mainly an indicator of class status and lower class families are more likely to indicate stronger affiliation towards family norms due to their need to be self-reliant (Connidis, 2010). A cross-national study indicated that in Norway and Hungary educated adult children have stronger normative attitudes whereas the opposite is the case for Netherlands, Germany, Romania and Bulgaria (Herlofson, 2011).

The international literature provides mixed evidence on the effect of education level on filial normative attitudes and the findings from different countries do not follow a pattern. On the other hand, national data from Turkey shows that the attitudes towards intergenerational norms and obligations become milder as the education level increases. For instance, according to the Turkish Family Structure Survey, the number of respondents, who strongly agrees with the statement that "children should take care of their parents in old age" increase as the education level decreases (TFSS, 2011). In other words, respondents with lower levels of educational attainment state stronger opinions about filial responsibilities. However, there is

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a need for further research that provides a deeper understanding for the effect of educational level on filial norms given the increasing level of education in Turkish society. In this respect, this paper not only attempts to address the influence of education on normative attitudes, but also seeks to understand in what way education level affects the normative affiliations of Turkish women.

## 2. Methodology

In the scope of the study, semi-structured interviews are designed for a qualitative enquiry to addresses the following question: "How does education level affect intergenerational normative attitudes of older Turkish mothers and their adult daughters?" The ethical approval is received from the relevant ethics committee. A topic guide is prepared in advance for the interviews based on the Intergenerational Solidarity Approach (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991). Since the interviews required dyads and questions on care, a geriatrics clinic is chosen to reach the sample and conduct the interviews. After receiving approval from the general directorate of the hospital, the interviews started at Ankara University Geriatrics Clinic. This clinic was chosen due to its diverse patient profile in terms of socio-economic backgrounds. The sample consisted of both in-patients and out patients. In total, 17 dyads (17 older mothers/mothers-in-law and 17 adult daughters/daughters in law) were interviewed. For the study, only women are included in the sample as the intergenerational exchanges intensely operate between women in Turkey (Mottram & Hortacsu, 2005; Oztop & Telsiz, 2001) and in most parts of the world (Brandt, Haberkern & Szdlík, 2009; Eggebeen & Hogan, 1990; Finch, 1989). The participants' informed consent is taken after explaining the objectives of the study. The identities of the participants are kept confidential. The interviews are conducted in Turkish and verbatim transcriptions are coded into themes by the researcher.

## 3. Intergenerational Normative Attitudes among Adult Women

In the attempt to determine attitudinal differences, initially the responses of adult daughters/daughters in-law are analysed and 5 themes emerged as diverse attitudes between educated and less educated adult daughters. These 5 diverse attitudinal themes are "life aspirations", "attitudes towards care work", and "attitudes towards domestic labour", "pull factors and push factors" (see Table 1). All these themes are introduced with quotations from the interviews in the following section.

Table 1. Motivational Differences among Adult Women

Adult daughters	Educated	Less educated
<i>Life Aspirations</i>	More individualistic	More familistic
<i>Care Work</i>	Mostly seen as professional occupation	Mostly seen as part of the intergenerational solidarity
<i>Domestic labour</i>	Mostly regarded as drudgery work	Mostly regarded as the part of the intergenerational solidarity and a tool for self identification
<i>Pull Factors</i>	More emphasis on affection and positive sentiments	More emphasis on religion and religious obligations
<i>Push Factors</i>	Mostly conscience	Mostly social disapproval

As it can be inferred from Table 1, less educated adult women have more family-oriented life aspirations whereas educated adult women would like to pursue an individualistic life, which may constitute an obstacle for traditional intergenerational obligations. Moreover, less educated adult women regard care work as a duty that comes with the intergenerational obligations while for the educated adult women caring for the older people requires special skills and should be done by professional staff, which again stands as an obstacle for upward intergenerational transfers. And finally, less educated adult women perceive domestic labour and thus practical help as a part of the intergenerational norms (as it was the case for care work) and domestic work is part of their identity as a housewife. On the other hand, educated adult women regard domestic labour as a drudgery burden, that can be done by anyone and it is not necessarily a part of the intergenerational norms.

### 3.1. Life Aspirations

One of the emerging themes is individual life aspirations. Life aspiration refers to the goal or expectations that a person desires or would like to achieve throughout their life. In this context, life aspiration is used as the life style that a person would like to lead in relation to other people. Individualism and self-interest were the main concepts that emerged from the interviews that were conducted with more educated women. They envisage a different type of life style compared to those who are less educated. For instance, for educated women, career and independence is a priority and these aspirations constitute a



challenge for the intergenerational responsibilities.

A 35-year-old lawyer, who is single and working full time at a private company, indicates that her education life has led her to follow a career path that is incompatible with physical work. She thinks her personal contribution to the world and to her life can be realised by her professional skills. This individualistic element prioritises personal interests and goals in life.

"You know I have different expectations from life. I have studied this far and I believe I can further contribute to the world through my own job and career rather than doing manual work. I cannot imagine myself sitting at home and physically taking care of my parents. Of course I can spend time with them, help them with stuff or give money to them. But giving personal care is something different. It is a hard manual work, not everyone can do it" (Y.S. 35).

Another participant, who is a married graduate student in architecture, stated that she wants to travel around the world and she thinks her priorities are really significant. For her, individualism is really important and she believes people should pursue their own unique desires. However, she is hesitant about the reconciliation of her parental duties and personal life.

"I love travelling and I have been to many places and quite a few countries in the world. I also travel for my job a lot. I would like to see more and travel all around the world. I do not know how it would go along with my ageing parents" (L.B. 31).

On the other hand, when less educated women were asked about their life goals, a settled and a happy family life emerged as the common theme. Familism and family solidarity prevail over personal interests. Ş.T. is a 43-year-old woman who works in civil service. She is a high school graduate. When she is asked about where family stands in her life, she replies:

"At primary school they taught us that family was the keystone of the society. I would make fun of the expression as a child and make jokes about family being a stone literally [she laughs]. But as I am an adult now, I can see how important family is, how it is actually the keystone of the society" (Ş.T. 43).

In another case, R. D., who is a single 40-year-old adult daughter, replies when she is asked what makes her happy in life:

"I do not need much to be happy actually. What I have is enough to make me happy. I have a great family; I am so lucky. Even though my parents are sick, it just makes me happy to see them smile. I love my sister and I adore my niece. He is very smart and starting university this year. What else can I ask for?" (R.D. 40).

### 3.2. Care Work

Diverging attitudes on the perceptions about care work was another theme that emerged among adult daughters. As professionals themselves, educated adult women believe that care work is a hard task that requires certain skills and they recognise care-work as a distinct branch of work. Since they are not equipped with the necessary skills to care for an older person, they think a professional person who is trained should be doing the job.

This 38-year-old woman, who is an economist, stated that care work is a distinct type of work that requires certain set of skills.

"Long-term care is hard work. It requires certain skills and training; I do not think everybody is capable of doing that. I know people get trained for this. Even lifting my mother is a big issue for us. The carers have techniques for that" (A. L. 38).

In another case, this woman is aware of the challenges that a specific sickness might cause and she thinks professional help is a better option for the better care of the parent. She foresees a supervisory role for the care of the parent rather than being the primary care giver.

"This really depends on the level of sickness. They (children) surely should financially and emotionally support them in every level of sickness. However, if they should hire a nurse, they should closely monitor their situation, and show their emotional support every day" (D.M. 29).

The same example from the "life aspirations" section can also be given as an example. 35 year-old Y. S. states that 'giving personal care is something different, it is a hard manual work, and not everyone can do it'.

On the other hand, most of the less educated counterparts did not mention a distinctive opinion



about the care work. When they were asked, they were happy to do the manual care work for their parents. For them, it was another chore that had to be done.

In one of the cases, the adult daughter (M.N. 32) is a high school graduate; she works part-time at a shopping mall, in a clothing store. She is single and she lives with her parents. Her mother (Y.N. 67) has diabetes and needs regular injections throughout the day. The disease has affected her legs and feet so she has difficulty in walking and doing house chores. When she talks about her daily routines, she talks about the injections she (M.N) gives her mom, giving her a bath and all the other care activities. For her, care work commitment is another item on the list and she arranges her working hours according to her mother's needs.

"My mother has diabetes and she needs regular insulin injections. She is really scared to give herself shots so unless I really have to be away, I do the shots. I do not mind doing them I am happy to help her. It is no burden, just another job I have to do daily" (M.N. 32).

Similarly, this daughter-in-law sees care as a part of the intergenerational obligations that come with marriage and takes pride in the care work as a way of self-identification and locating her role in the marriage union.

"As a daughter in-law, it is my duty to take care of my mother-in-law. I knew what I was getting into when I got married, that is part of the deal. It is not that I have to do it but also I am proud to take care of the house and my mother-in-law" (Z. T. 36).

### **3.3. Domestic Labour**

Another subject that more educated and less educated adult women did not converge on is the understanding of domestic labour. The educated sample regards daily domestic labour as a means to an end that has no benevolent value whereas less educated women regarded serving for older people as a way of showing respect and gratitude for them. For that reason, educated adult women resort to outsourcing the practical help activities by hiring maids and caretakers because for them manual work is a waste of time and they prefer to spend quality time with their mothers. On the other hand, less educated house-wives prefer taking on such responsibility for the practical help activities including care. They see it as their duty, as a part of marriage and intergenerational obligations.

This 50 year-old woman who is a professor at a university states that she prefers spending more interactive time with her mother instead of doing "time-wasting" chores.

"I prefer spending more quality time with my mother. I like engaging in conversations, shopping together, doing other activities. Cooking or cleaning is a waste of time. Anyone can do it. So why should I be bothered with that. I even can't do my own cleaning at home let alone doing my mother's" (S.H. 50).

On the other hand, this daughter and a daughter in-law talk about their obligations to their mother/mother in-law and claim that they take pride in doing the house work and care work which is a part of the intergenerational duty.

"Of course I will serve my mother. That is my duty as a daughter. Who else can do it any better than I am? A good daughter should always take care of their parents in every single way" (F. Ç. 34).

Another daughter in-law indicates that taking care of older in-laws is "a part of the deal", claiming that caring roles come naturally with marriage. In other words, getting married is consenting to the carer role in the future or in the case of need.

"As a daughter in-law, it is my duty to take care of my mother-in-law. I knew what I was getting into when I got married, that is part of the deal. It is not that I have to do it but also I am proud to take care of the house and my mother-in-law". (Z. T. 36)

Similarly, a young daughter in-law, who is a primary school graduate, states strong opinions about her duties as a daughter-in-law. For her keeping the traditional roles and images of older women is important. For this reason, it is not convenient for older women to do housework when younger women are present. This situation is regarded as a shameful and disrespectful conduct in the traditional culture:

"It is my duty to do the housework and it is not appropriate for an older women to perform housework when youngsters are around" (M.A. 33).

As it can be observed from the quotations, less educated women regard housework and taking care of older people as a way of consolidating their status and increasing their self-worth as a respectful, caring human being, which is an appreciated value in the family context. Assuredly, there might be other factors that influence the views of these adult women such as financial restrictions, inadequate time due to work,



mobility etc. However, the objective is to point out how normative attitudes diversify among women from different educational backgrounds.

### 3.4. Pull Factors

Another distinction that reveals itself as the discrepancy between educated and less educated women is the motivations of "religion" and "affection". In this context, these motivational drivers are described as 'pull factors' that encourage and motivate women to perform intergenerational duties. When the subjects were asked about the reasons for intergenerational transfers, less educated adult/older women had a tendency to give religious references for such behaviour. God (Allah) and the holy book (Koran) constituted the basis of religious tradition of filial piety. On the other hand, educated women stressed the role of affection and love for intergenerational support and exchange. For them, intergenerational transfers can be made out of personal will and affection.

Turkey is a predominantly Muslim country where religion plays a big role in determining social life. According to Islam, total respect and sympathy should be shown to older parents since they put a lot of effort in bringing them up. However, regardless of the parents' earlier investments or attitude towards their own children, Islam requires mercy and respect for older people since parents are the ones who brought them up.

"And your Lord has decreed that you not worship except Him, and to parents, good treatment. Whether one or both of them reach old age [while] with you, say not to them [so much as] 'uff' [i.e., an expression of irritation or disapproval] and do not repel them but speak to them a noble word. And lower to them the wing of humility out of mercy and say: 'My Lord! Have mercy upon them as they brought me up [when I was] small' (Koran 17:23-24).

In some of the interviews, people mentioned religion and stated that Allah (God) would not like people who do not take care of their older parents.

"How can I not take care of my mother? It is not acceptable before God" (H.G. 60).

"God knows what we do, we can run away from our responsibilities, but we cannot run away from God. We will have to give account of everything we have done and have not done in the afterlife" (R. N. 54).

As it is clear from the quotations, fear of God and religion is also important in shaping attitudes towards responsibilities to older people. However, since religious and cultural norms are highly blended, it is hard to come up with an argument about the prevalence of one over the other. However, the interviews show evidence about the significance of religion as a motivation.

Affectual solidarity is described as the type and degree of positive sentiments and feelings that are held about family members, and the degree of reciprocity of these sentiments (Bengtson & Roberts 1991). Previous research shows that positive sentiments and reciprocation of these sentiments are positively correlated with intergenerational exchanges (Katz et al., 2010). In this context, love and affection were more articulated by the educated adult women as opposed to the religious connotation raised by the less educated adult women.

"Even though sometimes we have arguments with my mother, I still love her. How can I not? She is my mother" (L.P. 41).

"We have a very strong bond with my mom; I think we can overcome any difficulty if we pair up" (A.L. 38).

### 3.5. Push Factors

Another motive for intergenerational obligation that diverged among educated and less educated women was the discrepancy between social disapproval and conscience. In this context, these factors are described as 'push factors' that oblige women to perform intergenerational duties when otherwise is not acceptable either by them or by the society. Educated women mentioned conscience as a motivation for intergenerational obligations whereas the risk of social disapproval was articulated more frequently by the less educated women. For the less educated women, social pressure from their environment is much more important whereas for the educated women self-judgment was more prevalent.

The strength of normative obligations revealed itself at two different levels. At the individual level, "conscience" emerged as an evidence for personal guilt. In some of the interviews, the interviewees brought up the term "conscience" and said that their conscience would not let their older parents be neglected. They argued that it is personal responsibility to take care of the older parents and no one can be obliged to take care of their parents against their will.



"Children should take care of their older parents if they have conscience, no other person can force them" (Ş.Ö. 38).

"I think it is all about conscience, not religion. I get upset and restless if something happens to them"(K.D. 30).

While conscience was the main push factor for educated adult women, social pressure was more prevalent among less educated women. Since refraining from intergenerational responsibilities is socially disapproved, women with less education were very much concerned about the social pressure. Here again the individualistic characteristic for the educated women can be observed. Educated women care less about the opinion of the society and primarily focus on their self-judgment whereas less educated women rely on normative social rules as a reference point for intergenerational behaviour. Another factor that pushes people for intergenerational transfers at the societal level is the social disapproval by the society. The social discrimination that an adult child might face because of neglecting his/her older parents, especially when need for personal care is in question, is an immense pressure regardless of the felt obligation and affectual sentiments. In that respect, it can be argued that social pressure is another push factor for intergenerational transfers. One of the interviewees, when asked what would happen if she would not take care of her older mother in need, replied:

"Not taking care of your mother? I cannot even imagine such a thing. She is my mom, how can I not take care of her and besides what would everyone say?" (M.N. 32).

The quotation above shows that the interviewee is very much concerned about the opinions of others and the shame of not taking care of your parent over-weighs other motivations. Shame and approval by the society reveals the importance of norms at the societal level. This cultural disapproval about elderly care can be further understood by looking at the views on care homes in Turkey.

#### 4. Intergenerational Normative Attitudes among Older Women

Having analysed the divergence of attitudes among adult women, it is appropriate to have a look at the varying intergenerational normative attitudes among older women. In line with adult women, compared to their educated counterparts, less educated older women also stated more conservative and traditional views of family obligations, which can be collected under three headings: value of children, gender of children and views on care homes (Table 2).

Table 2. Attitudinal Differences among Older Women

Older Women	Educated	Less educated
Value of children	Social/Psychological network at old age	Financial/Practical/Care network at old age
Gender of children	Equal treatment and expectations	Son favouritism
Views on care homes	Sympathetic	Biased

##### 4.1. Value of Children

As far as the different perceptions of the educated and less educated older women are concerned, value of children and expectations from them emerge as the main theme of disparity. Educated older women or mothers regard their children as social and psychological support network whereas less educated older mothers regard their children as future investments for practical help and financial help. This disparity is very similar to the historical change in the perception of children in Turkey. Before moving on to the interviews, it is appropriate to talk about the historical change in the values of children to point out the similarities.

The VOC (Value of Children) Survey (1978- 2002) has well presented the changing attitudes of parents towards their own children in time (In Nauck & Klaus, 2008). With the shift from agricultural societies to the industrial societies, children have lost their significance as manpower that contributes to the household economy. Studies show that the meaning that is attributed to a child has radically changed from economic value to psychological and social value. A study by Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı (1982) has suggested three different dimensions of the value of children: psychological, social and economic. According to her, psychological and economic dimensions are very important in explaining fertility behaviour in Turkey. Especially in rural areas, children are very important investments for future risks such as unemployment, illness and old age since social security and social services are very limited. However, according to the study by Nauck and Klaus (2008) both financial and instrumental help expectations from daughters and sons have decreased over time and psychological and social aspects of bearing children have started to prevail. This distinction can also be observed from the older interviewees.



The interviews show that there is a considerable difference between the expectations of educated and less educated older women. Less educated women have stronger beliefs about the normative obligations regardless of their age whereas educated women have fewer expectations from their children. An illiterate older woman replies when she is asked if her children should take care of their parents when they are old and dependent:

"Why do we give birth to children? Why do we call them sons and daughters? Did I give birth to them in vein? I brought them up in the middle of scarcity and tried to provide everything, rocked the cradle all night long on top of all the housework. What a shame on them if they do not take care of us!" (D.A. 83).

On the other hand, interviews with educated women clearly indicate less filial expectations from their children. One of the respondents, who is a professor at a university, stated the following regarding intergenerational responsibility.

"I do not think there is an obligation for children to take care of their older parents. I have two adult daughters and I live with them. But if I had a chance, I would live in separate households. It is hard to get along when everybody has their own life" (S.H. 50).

#### **4.2. Gender of Children**

As it is stated above, less educated women are more likely to cling to the traditional norms of filial obligations. This situation reveals itself in the case of "son favouritism". Son favouritism can be explained as the favouring of the male children over female children where downward transfers mainly flow to the sons and upward transfers are expected from the daughters (Cong & Silverstein, 2014). In the Turkish context, less educated women are more likely to adopt traditional patterns of gender discrimination against their own children and favour their sons over their daughters. On the other hand, educated older women treat their children equally and have similar expectations from both genders. This situation assuredly affects the relationship between older mothers and adult daughters.

None of the educated older women mentioned or stated treating their daughters and sons differently. On the other hand, there were cases of less educated older women who favoured their sons over their daughters. This mother confirms not giving money to her daughters, giving the traditional customs as an excuse:

"I would lie if I said I give money to my daughters. I just give money to my sons. You know, it is not common in our culture to give money to daughters. Maybe it is wrong but what can you do? This is our custom; it has always been like this" (T.B. 68).

However, there are also cases where women are forced to follow the traditional patterns of son favouritism. One of the cases in the interviews illustrates this situation perfectly. This 60-year-old woman migrated to Ankara years ago and has 4 children, and 3 sons. She secretly gives money to her daughter, who is in a financially bad condition. And obviously, the sons and the husband are not happy with her giving money to the daughter. The family of the respondent has also been discriminating against her and that is why she is trying not to discriminate against her own children.

"I also give her (daughter) money secretly from my husband. My eldest son gets jealous. But I tell him that he has no right to say that because I also bought him a house, furniture and a car. They are both my children; how can I discriminate? Last year they sold some property of my father's. And they did not give me anything, not even a pair of socks. My mom also discriminates against her children but look, in the end, it is me who looks after her in the hospital" (H.D. 60).

#### **4.3. Views on Care Homes**

As far as the institutional care is concerned, there is immense prejudice against care homes and nursing homes in Turkey (Mottram & Hortaçsu, 2000). For that reason, another emerging interview theme that diversified educated and less educated older women was the attitudes for the old age living arrangement preferences. Educated older women were relatively keener on going to a nursing home or receiving services at home when they become sick and dependent in old age. On the other hand, less educated women stated that they would prefer to be taken care of by their children when they are sick and dependent. Going to a nursing home is considered as a taboo.

This older participant, who is illiterate and has 2 daughters and 3 sons, talks about her later life or dependent living arrangement:

"Heaven forbid being really sick and tied to bed. But if it ever happens, I would like my children to take care of me. They are the only people whom I can trust. I am sure they can take



care of me better than anyone else" (T.B. 68).

When she is asked if going to a nursing home is an option, she immediately responds negatively:

"No, no, that is not an option. I do not even want to think about going there. And my children would not let me go there anyway. God prevent me from going there and help those who happened to go there. We see every day on television what happens to the older people in the nursing homes. It is terrible" (H.D. 60).

As far as the educated respondents are concerned, nursing home was among the considerable options.

"If I get old and become dependent, I would prefer to be taken care of in a nursing home. I would not want to be a burden for my daughters" (S.H. 50).

## 5. Conclusion & Discussion

This quest to investigate the effect of educational level on intergenerational normative attitudes revealed significant differences between the educated and less educated adult women. The previous literature has mixed evidence regarding the effect of education on intergenerational normative attitudes; however, this study confirms that both older women and adult women with a lower level of education (high school and less) have strong opinions about filial normative obligations compared to more educated ones (university and higher). In other words, there is a negative relationship between the level of education and commitment to filial norms, which is in line with one particular stream of literature (Kohn 1977; Lee, Netzer & Coward, 1994). However, this qualitative study takes a further step and examines the ways in which intergenerational norms differ between educated women and less educated women.

The findings of this study shows that the attitudes of adult women towards filial norms vary in terms of their life aspirations, attitudes towards care work and domestic work, and other push and pull factors. On the other hand, educated older women and less educated older women diverge in terms of their views on value of the children, gender of the children and their attitudes towards care homes. These findings show how more educated people are open to alternative ways of intergenerational support whereas less educated people are more in favour of traditional norms of intergenerational transfers.

These findings are important given the fact that educational levels of women are increasing in Turkey. Changes in intergenerational attitudes well may be a predictor for behavioural changes in the future. Previous research shows that there is a positive correlation between the level of normative commitment to filial responsibilities and intergenerational support (Katz, Gur-Yaish & Lowenstein, 2010; Silverstein, Gans & Yang, 2006). For this reason, examining intergenerational normative attitudes is significant for predicting intergenerational behaviour and shaping future policies for future generations. Policies that appeal to generations from different socio-economic backgrounds will be necessary to address the diverse needs of especially women. Especially policies that promote work-life balance will be extremely crucial for contributing to intergenerational solidarity between generations.

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