

INTERGENERATIONAL FATHERHOOD AND FATHER-CHILD RELATIONSHIP

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Abstract

This study aims to analyze the perceptions of fathers from different generations towards fatherhood and the father-child relationship they founded. Nine fathers of three families from three generations participated to the study. Case study as a type of qualitative research was used with face to face and in-depth interviews for data collection. Based on content analysis, regarding the perceptions of fathers towards fatherhood, it was found that the ways of earning income, workload, the distance between father and child, faith and customs and sex were determinants. Old generation fathers mainly perceived fatherhood as an economical status however new generation fathers evaluated it on relationship and communication focus. Although new generation fathers accepted their children as precious beings regardless of their gender and perceived their care as their own responsibility, old generation fathers accepted boys as more valued and have a better relationship with them and more support for their care.

Keywords: *Child, Father, Intergeneration, Relationship, Role*

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KUŞAKLARARASI BAĞLAMDA BABALIK VE BABA- ÇOCUK İLİŞKİSİ

Öz

Bu araştırmanın amacı, farklı kuşak babaların babalığa ilişkin algılarını ve kendi babaları ve çocuklarıyla kurdukları ilişkiyi incelemektir. Çalışma grubu üç aile ve her aileden üç kuşak baba olmak üzere dokuz katılımcıdan oluşmaktadır. Araştırmada nitel araştırma desenlerinden durum çalışması kullanılmıştır. Katılımcılarla yüz yüze ve derinlikli görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Elde edilen veriler içerik analizi yöntemi ile analiz edilmiştir. Araştırmada babaların babalığa ilişkin algılarında gelir elde etme yolları, iş yoğunlukları, baba- çocuk arasındaki coğrafi mesafe, inanç ve gelenekler ve cinsiyetin belirleyici olduğu sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Eski kuşak babaların babalığı daha çok ekonomik bir statü olarak algıladıkları, yeni kuşak babaların ise babalığı ilişki ve iletişim odaklarında değerlendirdikleri bulunmuştur. Eski kuşak babalar erkek çocuklarını daha değerli kabul etmektedirler. Erkek çocuklarla daha iyi ilişki kurmuş ve bakımlarına daha çok destek olmuşlardır. Yeni kuşak babaların ise cinsiyete bağlı kalmaksızın çocuğu değerli bir varlık olarak kabul ettikleri ve çocukların cinsiyetine bağlı kalmadan onların bakımlarını kendi sorumlulukları olarak algıladıkları tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çocuk, Baba, Kuşaklararası, İlişki, Rol

Introduction

Family systems are formed by the effect of the environment and time in which people live. The changes in the family systems result in alterations in fatherhood. Then, how do these factors reflect on the father-child relationship?

Individuals are nourished by not only their own entities but also other individuals, institutions, rules, culture and time by which they are surrounded. According to the bio-ecologic systems theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979), there are systems (sub-cultures) that encircle the individuals in shapes of layers. These systems are microsystem, mesosystem, exo-system, macrosystem (1979) and chronosystem (1986). The first layer, microsystem, represents the variables that affect the child directly such as mother, father, school, teacher and baby-sitters. The second layer, mesosystem, expresses the connections which are formed between the legal and social services, media, family friends in the microsystem and the third layer, exosystem (Trawick-Smith, 2013). For example, the connection which occurs by the parents' getting psychological support about a problem from an expert for their child is related with mesosystem. The fourth layer, macrosystem, involves the systems values, ideologies, traditions and customs related with culture and society. The last layer, chronosystem, states the individuals' changes in time and their positions they take within the historical changes (Trawick-Smith, 2013). In brief, individuals are the reflections of the world that surround them.

The families in the microsystem are the systems which are affected deeply by each others' emotions, opinions and behaviours and similar emotional situations (Kerr, 2000). Individuals belonging to the same family obtain approvals and support of each others' about their preferences and show various reactions to their expectations, happiness and sadness (Kerr, 2000). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), understanding the child means understanding the world around him/her (Trawick-Smith, 2013). That is, the individuals are affected by the other individuals who encircle them. Therefore, it can be said that it is inevitable for family members not to affect each others' feelings, opinions and behaviours. Since the child considers himself/herself as a whole with his/her mother, the mother-child relationship forms the first relationship of the child. The father-child relationship generates the child's

first relationship apart from his/her own self (Stone, 2008; cited in Okray, 2015). Freud (1991) says that the father is not only a person who is envied or an early identification object but also a person who provides care, supports the mother, sets a precedent for the child and becomes a play friend for the child. These functions reveal the father-child relationship again in parallel with the son's reaching puberty and this gives opportunities for the son to behave like his father without breaking the rules (Okray, 2015). This way, the values, behaviours and roles about fatherhood are transferred from generation to generation.

According to the bioecologic systems theory, the relatives, another system in microsystem, also affect the development of the individuals. The power of these relationships built by these systems might show variability according to the family structure. For example, extended family structure used to be adopted in the previous century in our country in which male stream was dominant and almost three-generational family was living in the same house under the authority of the eldest male. The individuals were dependent on this authority in regards of production-consumption and socio-economic context (Ortaylı, 1985). Following the 1950s, Turkey experienced a radical change socially and demographically and became a modern, industrialized and democratic society (Sunar and Fişek, 2005). Today, on the other hand, we can see that mothers, fathers and children live in different houses and there are more independent family structures socially and economically (Bengtson, 2001). It is inevitable for the changes in the family structures to affect the dynamisms about fatherhood and father-child relationships.

Another important variable about bringing up children is the culture in which the individuals live (Okagaki and Luster, 2005). The values, attitudes and belief systems of the culture in which the individuals live express the macrosystem. The values and attitudes about being a father and father-child relationship are affected by the culture in which the individuals live. For example; the fathers play an important role in daily care of the children in the new understanding of fatherhood which has been observed in America since 1970s. However, the Arabs living in America also carry the role of authoritative father from their own culture in addition to the new understanding of

fatherhood (Bosh, 2008). In the southeastern part of our country, it is seen that the word “child” is used instead of “boy” and the fathers are considered as the sustainer of the lineage and the authority (Ökten, 2009). In short, it is obvious that cultures and sub-cultures are important factors on the roles of fatherhood. Accordingly, culture is a variable which needs to be evaluated to understand fatherhood and father-child relationship better.

We see that fatherhood and father-child relationship is affected by the period in which individuals live and processual changes confront us as chronosystem in the bioecological theory. From past to present, societal systems have made various propositions to men about responsibilities related with the quality of father-child relationship or child (Zeybekoğlu, 2013). The authoritative ethics teacher role of the father in the past has evolved to the role of the father who looks after his child (Güngörmüş-Özkardeş, 2010). Although some changes are observed in these roles, the meaning, behaviours and habits which are assigned by father to being a father result from their relationships with their own fathers basically. Besides, it also becomes a source for the next generation. In conclusion, dynamics, values and applications of parent-child relationship which act as a source in the reproduction of the societal gender dynamics are also affected by the processes of intergenerational transfer (Koh et al., 2009).

When the related literature is considered, it is seen that there are plenty of studies conducted abroad on the fatherhood in different aspects (Doumani, 2003; Koh et al., 2009; Lamb, 1987; LaRossa, 1997; Suwada, 2015; Pleck and Pleck, 1997; White, 1994). In our country, on the other hand, there are a limited number of studies that investigate the fatherhood in the intergenerational context (Sunar, 2009; Yalçınöz, 2011; Sever, 2002) Sunar (2009) concluded in his study in which the similarities and differences of upbringing styles of urbanite middle class parents from three generations and their effectiveness or ineffectiveness on self-esteem were investigated that tendencies about showing affection, providing support of autonomy and questioning the role of control increase from generation to generation. Yalçınöz (2011) carried out a study with two generation fathers and compared the fatherhood practices and attitudes intergenerationally. In this study, the researcher reached two fatherhood models, one of which is called “traditional” and the other is called

“new”, which represent the first and second generations. During the process of intergenerational change, it was concluded that the new generation does not reject the values and ideals of the previous generation completely and they are in a struggle for integration. Sever (2002) investigated how the experiences of fathers from three generations about fatherhood fictions and practices reflect on the education of their children. Consequently, it was found that three generations have similar characteristics but they also had distinctive features. Moreover, it was found by the researcher that fathers’ styles of constructing themselves affect the children’s participation to the educational process and expectations from the children. It is also seen that the mentioned studies are limited in explaining father-child relationship and fatherhood roles and responsibilities in intergenerational context.

In our country, some studies in which the data were obtained through direct interviews with fathers were found (Zeybekoğlu, 2013; Yalçınöz, 2011; Sever, 2002; Evans, 1997). However, it was found that these studies were mostly conducted on the fields of psychology (Altın, 2014), psychiatry (Şireli and Soykan, 2016) and nursing (Çalbayram, 2013). Furthermore, these studies were about the perception of fatherhood role, increasing fathers’ awareness about parenthood and adolescents’ acceptance of parents. In addition, these studies gave place to the fatherhood fact in the family focus (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Kağıtçıbaşı and Ataca, 2005; Kağıtçıbaşı, Bekman & Sunar, 2013). The existing study was carried out with fathers from different generations and data from both father role and child role were obtained from the participants. Our study is believed to provide information about the variables that form the fatherhood system, how they function, what kind of change they undergo and father-child relationship. On the basis of this information, it is aimed in this study to investigate the fatherhood and father-child relationship in the intergenerational context.

Purpose

Answers to the following questions will be sought in this study which aims to investigate the fatherhood of fathers from different generations and father-child relationship:

- How do fathers from different generations perceive the fatherhood?
- How do fathers evaluate the fatherhood of fathers from another generation?
- What is father-child relationship like in different generations?

Method

Research Design

This study was designed as a case study, one of the qualitative research designs. Case study expresses the in-depth investigation of a limited system (Stake, 2005). In this particular study; it is aimed to investigate the perceptions of fathers from different generations about fatherhood. In line with this purpose, case study design, which is one of the qualitative research designs, was used in this study.

Sample

The sample of this study was assigned by purpose sampling method. So as to get direct information, nine individuals (three families), three generation fathers (grandfather, father, son) from the same family who were volunteer to participate in the study and who had same cultural characteristics and who were living in the province of Hatay were selected as the population of this study. The other points which were taken into consideration while defining the population were that the spouses of the fathers were not working and they were continuing to live intergenerationally (living in same or nearby houses). It was believed for living intergenerationally to provide information about dominant culture, values and beliefs and this would release the perceptions of the fathers about fatherhood more clearly. The information about the population is given in the table below:

Table 1: The Information about The Sample Group

Generation	1. Family	2. Family	3. Family
1.	Mithat Age: 93 Literate Farmer	Faik Age: 90 Dropped out from secondary school Farmer	Haydar Age: 77 Literate Retired worker from Germany
2.	İsmail Age: 64 Graduate of elementary school Retired worker	Nazım Age: 57 Dropped out from secondary school Bus driver	Akif Age: 50 Graduate of elementary school Authorized Automobile Service
3.	Serdar Age: 37 Graduate of elementary school School Bus Driver	Suat Age: 31 Graduate of secondary school Truck Driver	Hüseyin Age: 28 Dropped out from associate degree Authorized Automobile Service

Nicknames were used instead of the real names of the fathers in the population of the study. As it was believed to be useful to know the anecdotes of the families to understand their family systems, they were presented below:

In the first family, the mother of Mithat, the first generation father, died when he was ten and his father did not get married again so that his children would not be harmed. Mithat was a son a very poor family but he got ten acres of field in exchange for cultivating from the government as a result of policy in that period. He lived off by farming on that field. Mithat's wife died and he is living in the same house with his single daughter at the moment. The second and third generation fathers are living in different flats in the same buildings with their families now. İsmail, the second generation father, worked by shifts in a factory for long years and had very limited time to spend with his children. Serdar, the third generation father, is working as a driver in a private company.

Faik, the first generation father of the second family, was a son of a very rich village headman and he was the only child in his family who were sent to school to get education as he was believed to be the cleverest among his siblings. After he had finished elementary school, he was sent to Adana at a very young age since there was not a secondary school in that region. However, he returned to his hometown as he could not finish his school. As he was a person the opinions of whom were considered valuable when he was young, he was well-respected. Nazım, the second generation father, worked in Arabia for long years and he took the financial responsibility of his root family. He has been working as a long distance bus driver at a bus company since he returned to Turkey. The second generation family first had maternal twin sons and then they had two more daughters consecutively. The birth of daughters resulted in some changes in their family system. Their relationships with Suat, the third generation father are distant. Suat is living in his grandfather's house with his wife and he is working as a truck driver for company which exports to abroad.

Haydar, the father of the first generation of the third family, worked in a car factory in Germany from 1973 to 1993 but his wife and children led their lives in Turkey. Haydar established a car repair garage for his sons with the money he earned in Germany. Akif, the second generation father, was a second grade student at an elementary school when his father went abroad and he was an adult with three children when his father returned to Turkey. Arif's son, Hüseyin (the third generation) is a mechanic like his father and he is working in the same garage with his father and he lives in a flat on the bottom floor of his father.

Data Collection

The data of the research was collected by interview method. First, semi-structured interview questions were prepared by the researchers. These questions were presented to an expert for approval. After the necessary editing had been done, the interviews with the fathers were made in their own houses so as to make them feel comfortable. The interviews with the participants were made in their mother tongue in order to make them express themselves well. As the mother tongue of the first generation fathers was Arabic and they could not use Turkish actively, the interviews were made by the researcher who was

an Arabic native speaker and accompanied by an interpreter for eliminating any misunderstanding or being misunderstood. So as not to lose any data, the interviews were recorded by a tape recorder. One interview was made with each father. The interview durations showed variations because some fathers gave short responses to the questions but some fathers descanted on the questions. The shortest interview took about 10 minutes and the longest one took about 50 minutes. About 180 minutes of recording in total was obtained from the interviews.

Data Analysis

The data obtained from the interviews was analysed by content analysis method. All of the voice recordings taken during the interviews were put down in paper in Turkish by a researcher whose mother tongue was Arabic. The accuracy of the translations was checked by the interpreter who accompanied the interviews. Inductive method was followed during the analysis. First, the codes were reached. Then, the categories were formed from the codes. Finally, the themes were reached in line with the research questions. After the second coder's evaluating the codes, category and themes that were shaped, it was put into the final form.

Findings

Perceptions of fathers from different generations about fatherhood

When the perceptions of the fathers from three generations about their own fatherhood were analysed, the themes about *value of the child*, *responsibilities about the child and fatherhood practices* were reached. These themes will be considered respectively. The categories and codes about the value of the child are presented in Table 2:

Table 2: The findings about the value that the fathers from different generations put on the child

Category	Codes		
	1. Generation	2. Generation	3. Generation
Indicator of the value that is put on the child	Education (1) Relationship (2) Providing care (1) Economic (2) Child Priority (1) Selecting a good spouse (1)	Economy (2)	Providing care (2) Economy (buying the things the child want) (1) Doing the things the child want (1)

When the findings were analysed, it was determined that the father from three generations considered the value that they put on their child *economically* more. Haydar, a first generation father, expressed this as “*establishing a business for his children*”, Mithat explained this as “*We used to be very poor that time but I used to put quite a lot of food in front of my children*”. The economical indicators did not change from the first generation to the third generation but the indicator of the value that is put on the child was presented as “providing care” by two fathers from the third generation. Mithat, a father from the first generation, emphasized also on “*selecting a good spouse*” as an indicator of the value that is put on the child. The fathers from the first generation presented different indicators for the value that they put on their children. For example; Mithat told that he had sent one of his children to school (education) although the access to schools was very limited that time and another father Fuat said that he had waited for his children to eat their meals and hadn’t eaten anything before his children were full up (child priority). The fathers from the second generation, on the other hand, grounded on the value that they put on their children on *economic* situations such as working in shifts for long years (İsmail) or being obliged to work abroad.

During the interviews, it was determined that the responsibility perceptions of the fathers from different generations about their children varied. The findings about the theme of fathers’ responsibility about their children are presented in Table 3:

Table 3: Fathers’ Responsibilities about Their Children

Category	Codes		
	1. Generation	2. Generation	3. Generation
Responsibility	Purveying food (1) Meeting needs and providing care when needed (3)	Providing financial support(1) Providing moral support (1) Giving the children in marriage (1) Providing care (1) Making the children play (1) Helping the mother when needed (2)	Providing financial support(1) Providing moral support (1) Providing care (3) Helping the mother when needed (1)

When the fathers’ responsibilities about their children were analyzed, it was found that the first generation fathers perceived *purveying food* for their children and *meeting the needs of the children finitely when needed* as their responsibilities. Mithat, a first generation father, expressed this situation as “I have never put a diaper on my child but I used to shake my child on my lap and give his/her teat when he/she was crying”. It was seen that two of the third generation fathers accepted *providing care* as their responsibilities. For example; Suat emphasized that he took all kinds of responsibilities about his child by saying “My first child was a girl. I put diapers on her and fed her. For example... She didn’t sleep until 3 in the morning. She had a problem so I didn’t sleep until morning and waited next to her bed. I took her to the hospital early in the morning”.

When the evaluations of the fathers from different generations about their own fatherhood practices were analyzed, the first and second generation fathers made some evaluations about their own fatherhood practices but the fathers from the third generation did not make any evaluations about their own fatherhood practices.

Perceptions of the fathers about the fathers from the other generation

The second question of the research is about the perceptions of the fathers about the fathers from the other generation. The responses to the questions asked in this context became resources to two separate themes. These themes are “*perceptions of the fathers about their own fathers*” and “*perceptions of the fathers about the new generation fathers*”. The perceptions of the fathers about their own fathers are presented in Table 4:

Table 4: Perceptions of the fathers about their own fathers

Category	Code		
	1. Generation	2. Generation	3. Generation
Positive about the father	Character (1)	Character (1)	Character (1)
	Skill (1)	Being a father-ancestor (1)	Knowledge (1)
	Interest (3)	Being literate (1)	Skill (1)
Negative about the mother	Bad habit (3)	Character (3)	Character (1)
	Behaving the mother badly (1)	Prohibitions (2)	Inequality of children (1)
	New marriage (1)		Spending earnings with some other people (1)
	Character (2)		
	Discriminating against children (1)		
Expectation from the father	Economic (1)	Willingness to be a good father (1)	Being disciplined (1)
		Interest (1)	Economic (1)

It was defined that the fathers had some positive and negative perceptions about their own fathers. The situations which the fathers from three generations perceive *positively about their own fathers* are their fathers’ personality traits such as being a good person (İsmail) and being a peaceful person (Nazım). The situations which the fathers from three generations perceive *negatively about their own fathers* are again their fathers’ personality traits. For example;

the second generation fathers, Akif and Nazım stated that their fathers were too much disciplined and the third generation father, Hüseyin said that his father was obsessive about some issues. It was also found out that the first generation fathers emphasized on their fathers' *bad habits* and the second generation fathers emphasized on *the prohibitions* imposed to them. Hüseyin, a third generation father, claimed his father's not behaving equally to him and his siblings as a negative: *"My father used to bring toys and bicycles for me and my twin brother by discriminating my sisters. At first, this was nice because he was prioritizing us... but things changed when my sisters were born. He began to show more interest to my sisters. The girls were prioritized first this time, then me and my brother. This used to make me feel sad..."*.

When the fathers were asked about their expectations from their own fathers, it was revealed that the first and third generation fathers expected economical steps like their fathers' *investing in their children's future* (Mithat and Hüseyin). A second generation father, Akif, expressed that he expected from his father to be *a better father* and *show interest* to him.

It was determined that the fathers evaluated the new generation (third generation) fathers as different from the previous generation fathers. Positive and negative perceptions of father about the new generation fathers are presented in Table 5:

Table 5: The fathers' perceptions about the new generation fathers

Category	Code
Positive perceptions about the new generation fathers	Education (1) Economy (1) Attitude towards the child (1) Providing care for the child (1) Usage of technology (1) Communication (1)
Positive perceptions about the new generation fathers	Bringing up the children too much free (3) Not listening to elder people's advice (2) Insisting on something when they want (1) Not getting on well with friends (1) Inability in living on his life (1) Not worrying about future (1) Usage of technology (1) Getting married to somebody from a different culture (1) Societal change (1)

The fathers stated that the new generation fathers are *more educated* (Mithat), they earn more money (*economy*-Mithat), and they have better *attitudes towards the children* (Mithat), they are more interested in their children's *care* (Akif), they use *the technology* better (Akif) and they have better *communication* (Hüseyin).

It was found that the fathers also have some **negative** perceptions about the new generation fathers. For example; the fathers considered the following issues negative about the new generation fathers. They *bring up their children too much free* (Haydar, Akif), they *don't listen to elder peoples' advices* (Faik), they *don't worry about the future* (Faik) and they *use the technology too much* (Faik). A second generation father, Akif, expressed his negative perception about *societal change* as "Our life style, culture, living accommodation and the increase in our welfare level changed some things basically. We became unsatisfied. It didn't use to be like this before. People used to be contented with less".

Findings about Father-Child Relationship in Different Generations

It was determined that there are some factors that affect the relationships of fathers with their children. These factors differed according to the generations. The findings about father-child relationships in different generations are presented in Table 6:

Table 6: The Factors Affecting Father-Child Relationship

Category	Codes		
	1. Generation	2. Generation	3. Generation
Factors affecting the relationship with the child	Gender (2) Beliefs, traditions (1) The way of earning income (1) A new marriage (1)	Beliefs, traditions (3) Working conditions (2)	The way of earning income (1)

When the factors affecting the relationships of fathers with their children are analyzed, it was seen that **gender** constitutes an important place. For example; when Faik said “*When I was a child, I used to bathe them and I used to carry them on my arms more than their mother*” during the interview, the researcher asked if this situation is applicable with their daughters and the father responded as “*No, this was applicable for only my sons*”. This expression shows that gender plays an important role in the relationships of the first generation fathers with their children. Another factor affecting the father-child relationship is **beliefs** and **traditions**. Both the first generation and the second generation fathers frequently emphasized on **beliefs** and **traditions**. However, it was seen that beliefs and traditions were not emphasized by the third generation fathers. A second generation father, Akif, expressed how beliefs and traditions affect the relationships with the children as:

“I couldn’t touch my child. It was disgraceful and it wasn’t okay religiously. It wasn’t okay to touch the child until he/she became 40 days old. We used to go next to him/her, look at him/her and felt happy when there was nobody around but we couldn’t take him/her on our arms. My children grew up but I couldn’t take him/her on my arms. We had our fathers, mothers and elders around us. We used to live in the same house. I used to take my child on my arms when there was nobody around us. This would be an insulting behaviour for our elders”.

Another factor affecting father-child relationship is **working conditions**. All fathers from three generations stated that they had to work abroad or in shifts for a long time to earn their livings and this affected their relationships with the children negatively. For example; A second generation father, İsmail, expressed his opinions about the working conditions as “*I always worked. I didn’t have any children then. I started to work. My children have grown up but I’m still working. I worked until 2001, I have been working since I was 7. I was working as a hodman. I went to Mersin and Adana to pick up cotton*”.

Another finding about father-child relationship is about the reactions that the fathers give against their children’s pleasant and unpleasant behaviours. The reactions that the fathers from different generations give to their children’s behaviours are presented in Table 7:

Table 7: The Reactions That The Fathers From Different Generations Give To Their Children’s Behaviours

Category	Codes		
	1. Generation	2. Generation	3. Generation
The reactions given to pleasant behaviours	Social reward (3)	Social reward (3)	Social reward (3)
	Financial reward (2)	Financial reward (1)	Financial reward (1)
The reactions given to unpleasant behaviours	Physical Punishment (3)	Physical Punishment (3)	Speaking (3)
	Speaking (3)	Speaking (3)	Emotional punishment (2)
	Emotional punishment (3)	Emotional Punishment (2)	

When the reactions of the fathers against their children’s pleasant and unpleasant behaviours were analysed, it was identified that the fathers mostly used *social rewards* such as showing love, kissing and hugging and used financial rewards such as treating a meal, buying what they want and giving some money when their children displayed **a pleasant behaviour**. On the other hand, it was observed that all of the fathers from three generations referred to *emotional punishments* such as *warning*, *getting angry* and *yelling* when their

children displayed *unpleasant behaviours*. However, the first and second generation fathers referred these kinds of punishments more frequently. It was found out that while *physical punishments* such as beating and smacking are seen among the first and second generation fathers, the third generation fathers generally prefers emotional punishments such as talking and suspending the communication with the child for some time.

Discussion and Recommendations

Many results were reached in this study which aims to present a view to fatherhood and father-child relationship in intergenerational context. The fact of fatherhood that is affected by many variables has undergone so many changes in time. As a result of this change, father-child relationship and societal gender patterns have also changed. The results obtained in this study were discussed in an integrated approach as follows:

From past to present, it was determined that the fathers' perceptions about fatherhood and the responsibilities they take about the children have undergone some changes. In this particular study, it was found that the fathers' opinion of "looking after the child is the mother's task" has changed for today's fathers. Nowadays, the fathers perceive the duties related with the child as their own responsibilities, too. LaRossa (1997) stated that daddyhood model of father who brings up children is on the rise in this era. LaRossa (1997) emphasized that the fathers take more responsibilities about looking after the children and accompanying them at home but this never means societal gender equality. This situation was also seen in this study and it was found out that most of the responsibilities about the house and children are still accepted as the mothers' although the fathers today take more responsibilities about the children care. The new generation fathers play more active roles in meeting the basic care needs of their children and they communicate with their children more. Cabrera, Tamis- LeMonda, Bradley, Hoffenth and Lamb (2000) investigated the fatherhood in the twenty-first century and they revealed that the changes in the family structures also resulted in the changes of parentage roles and the effects of the parents on the children were understood better.

It was identified in this study that the first generation fathers' disciplined behaviours and imposing bans were perceived negatively by the fathers from other generations. On the other hand, the new generation fathers' bringing up their children without any rules and too much free is also evaluated as negative by the first and second generation fathers. It is believed that this situation might be resulting from the change in the fathers' perceptions about fatherhood and the discipline conception of the current period. Baumrind (1966) defined three types of parentage. These are authoritative, democratic and permissive parents' attitudes. In this study, it was identified that the first and second generation fathers were authoritative and there were more permissive attitudes among the third generation father. Authoritative parents have weaker communication with their children and rules, punishments and excessive discipline are indicative in their attitudes. It was observed that permissive attitude was more significant among the third generation fathers. Permissive parents have closer relationships with their children about communication. However, too much tolerance that this kind of parents shows towards their children may cause the loss of respect in the relationships with their children (Baumrind, 1966). Querido, Warner and Eyberg (2002) investigated the effect of the parentage styles of Afro-American families on the behaviours of children aged between 3 and 6. The researchers designated that the authoritative and permissive parents attitudes highly correlated with each other and the authoritative parents attitudes were rather connected with low education and income levels. It was seen that the findings of Querido et al. (2002) overlap the results of this study. The second family in the study group had rather low income and the third family had high income. In both families, the authoritative attitudes of the fathers were mentioned. Therefore, the authoritative attitude of the second family can be explained by low education level and the authoritative attitude of the third family can be explained by low income and low education level. This situation is believed to be resulting from the changed fatherhood perception.

It was concluded that the new generation fathers' taking more responsibilities in the care of their children and building better communication with them are evaluated as positive by the fathers from the other generations. Many studies associated the participation of the fathers in the care of the children with

the mothers' joining working life (Evans, 1997; Basow, 1992, etc.) However, this is not valid for this present study because one of the spouses of the first and second generation fathers in the study group was working as a seasonal agricultural worker and none of the spouses of the new generation (the third) fathers was working. Therefore, it can be said that associating the change in fatherhood roles with the spouses' working is an insufficient sight. The main reason in the change of fatherhood roles is believed to be the differentiation of the fatherhood perception and family structure. Eagly and Stefan (1984) revealed that the perception about the societal roles of females and males had changed. Day, Lewis, O'Brien and Lamb (2005) determined that the concept of fatherhood is connected with the individual and social dimensions in the father's life and it also has a dynamic, in other words a changeable structure. Williams, Hewison, Wildman and Roskell (2013) stated that the fatherhood experiences can be affected by historical, cultural, sociological and local variables. Williams et al. (2013) reached in their study in line with this study that a change in fatherhood attitudes today has been experienced from past to present and old distanced discipline conceptions were replaced with relationship and communication. Accordingly, it mustn't be ignored that the mother's joining in working life might affect the change in fatherhood role and the responsibilities the fathers take and the fatherhood also has historical, cultural, sociological and local dimensions. It can be said that father-child relationship has improved as a result of scientific studies about children, the increase in social awareness and fathers' having opportunities to become closer to their children in nuclear family.

It was concluded that father-child relationship is affected by fathers' incomes and working conditions, beliefs and traditions. According to Bowen (1966), occupations and social groups (mother, father, relatives, friends etc.) are quite effective on the family systems. In fact, the ways of income generation represent the occupations of the individuals and social groups represent the traditions. Beliefs and traditions are fed by religious and cultural structures. Pedük (2004) found out that the numbers of terms of affection used by the fathers are fewer than the ones used by the mothers and emphasized that this can be resulting from the fathers' being the authority figure at home in the traditional conception. Besides, it is also thought in the present study

that this change can be connected with the Arabic culture which they come from. Suwada (2015) compared the relationship between the family policy systems, two fatherhood models and the men's parentage behaviours in the sample of Poland and Sweden. It was concluded that there were great changes in the men's expectations about parentage roles and related practices and these changes were affected by the countries' policies and cultures.

Geographical distances (living in different places) and intense work pressure may cause emotional distances in the father-child relationships. The participants expressed that the father's working heavily and in shifts in the first family and the father's working abroad (Germany, Arabia) in the second and third families were the situations that affected the father-child relationship negatively. Barnett, Scaramella, Neppl, Ontai and Conger (2010) precipitated in their study that the geographical distance affected the parent participation negatively. Lawton, Silverstein and Bengtson (1994) presented in their study that contact and the frequency of social communication in relationships were effective on emotions. Aydın (2003) inferred from his study that the active participation of the fathers in their children's caring processes develop the father-child relationship. Yeung, Sandberg, Davis- Kean and Hopperth (2001) investigated the time the fathers spend with their children. The researchers presented in their study that the working hours of the fathers affected the time they spend with their children on weekdays negatively but their relationships with their children were not affected at the weekends (when they do not work). In short; it was concluded in this study that the father-child relationship is developed by direct communication and the lack of direct communication might cause a distance in the father-child relationship. These results in the related literature overlap the findings of this study.

It was also found that the reactions that the fathers give against their children's behaviours have also undergone a change intergenerationally. It was seen that the fathers from the first and second generation referred to physical punishments more such as beating and the fathers from the third generation referred to discussion (communication) or emotional punishments when their children displayed unpleasant behaviours. This situation is believed to be resulting from the change in the discipline understandings of the fathers.

As distinct from the past, today, communication (discussion) occupies a more important place in the father-child relationship. Hauri and Hollingworth (2009) expressed that the North Asian and black fathers used to be the authority in the family in the past, but the new generation fathers took the communication into the center of the relationship. Besides, they support that relationship and communication must be the basis of the fatherhood perception (Hauri and Hollingworth, 2009). This also reflects on the problem solving strategies of the fathers. The fathers used to prefer beating and hitting to solve the problems in the past but today they prefer discussing and communicating to solve the problems. Baumrind (1996) stated that the beating and other tough discipline practices originate from authoritative upbringing conception. According to Baumrind (1966), authoritative parents are the center of obedience and role; they expect everybody to obey their requests unquestioningly. They tend to take their children under control by embarrassing, depriving the children of their loves or giving other punishments and they don't generally prefer clarifying why they set up rules. On the other hand, the fathers from other generations evaluated the new generation fathers too much permissive and not enough disciplined. This can be why permissive parenting role is adopted more today. The permissive parents can be protective, sincere and they can sometimes display inconsistent behaviours in delimiting (Baumrind, 1966). The permissive parents do not consider themselves as the authority and they make their children do something by presenting the reasons and manipulations. In this study, the different reactions that the father gave overlap the parent attitudes which Baumrind (1966) defines.

It was determined that gender used to affect the relationship of the father with his children and the responsibilities they took in the children's care but today this is less effective. On the contrary to the past, today's fathers mind the gender less, they provide care for their children and they have developed the communication and relationship with their children. While the relationship of the fathers from the first and second generation with their children was affected by gender, this situation has changed today. Gender is no longer too much effective in father-child relationships. Dwairy (2004) investigated the parenting styles of Palestinian Arabs in Israel and found that the parents' attitudes towards the girls and boys were different from each other. The researcher

concluded that the Palestinian Arabs displayed authoritative manner towards the girls but they were permissive to the boys. Barnett et al. (2010) investigated the relationships of intergenerational parenting and found that the participation of the first generation parents was influenced by gender. In other words, the child's being a girl or a boy affected the quality of the relationship between the father and the child. The results of both of these studies do not overlap the findings of this study.

The value assigned to a male child has undergone a change today. The child's value originates from his/her existence now. Kağıtçıbaşı (1982) concluded in his study of "the child's value" which he conducted in our country in the 1970s that the male child's value came from the desire to make their descendants continue, being an indicator of higher fertility and being economically significant. It can be said that the results of this study overlap the result that claims the first and second generation fathers consider male children more valuable. It is thought, however, understanding that the belief of having a male child means a higher fertility in women, the new generation fathers' being more open to communication might have resulted in the perception of the child as a "valuable entity" independently of gender by the help of the women's active participation in the business life, the increased educational level and social awareness.

This study was carried out with a limited number of families who live in Hatay, who come from a sub-culture level and the mothers of which do not work. It can be recommended to study with a larger participant group for producing a richer information source. Besides, there are very few studies like this in our country although there are plenty of studies which were conducted with fathers from different cultures and generations in abroad literature. Conducting more studies in our country about the role of "father" of the men in our country will help us to have in-depth information about fathers in our literature.

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