

## Perception of Intergenerational Conflict in Turkey

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### Abstract

*Intergenerational conflict has long been neglected as an intrinsic part of intergenerational relationships since the focus was mainly on the solidarity aspect. Addressing this gap in the literature, we attempted to explore the determinants of intergenerational conflict in Turkish society. Using the EQLS 2016 , we conducted a series of analyses, including logistic regression to examine the impact of sociodemographic factors, functional and associational solidarity indicators in shaping the perception of intergenerational conflict. The results of the present analysis indicate that after controlling for the other factors, gender, age cohort, financial adequacy, marital status, employment status, educational attainment level, responsibility of caring for older family member, number of children, regular face-to face interaction have an impact on acknowledging intergenerational conflict. The results show that compared to those who are: male, younger (64 and younger), having higher income and educational attainment level, divorced, single parent, caring for elderly family member, having 4 and more children, people who are: female, older (65 and older), living in rural surrounding, coming from rural and disadvantaged socio-economic background, widowed, working at family business have higher likelihood of acknowledging intergenerational conflict in Turkey.*

**Keywords:** *Intergenerational conflict, Turkey, Logistic regression*

## Türkiye’de Kuşaklararası Çatışma Algısı

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### Öz

*Kuşaklararası ilişkiler çalışmalarının genellikle ilişkinin dayanışma boyutuna odaklanması, ve kuşaklararası çatışma kavramının olumsuz çağrışım yaratması, ilişkinin içsel bir parçası olan kuşaklararası çatışmanın bir araştırma alanı olarak ihmal edilmesine sebep olmuştur. Literatürdeki bu boşluktan yola çıkan bu çalışmanın amacı Türk toplumundaki kuşaklararası çatışmanın belirleyicilerini araştırmaktır. EQLS 2016 veri setini kullanarak, sosyodemografik faktörlerin, işlevsel ve ilişkisel dayanışma göstergelerinin kuşaklar arası çatışma algısını şekillendirmedeki etkisini incelemek için lojistik regresyon da dahil olmak üzere bir dizi analiz gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu analizin sonuçları, diğer faktörler kontrol edildikten sonra, cinsiyet, yaş grubu, yaşamsal mekan (kır-kent), mali durum, medeni durum, istihdam durumu, eğitim düzeyi, aile büyüğüne bakım sağlama, hanedeki çocuk sayısı, düzenli yüz yüze etkileşim gibi faktörlerin nesiller arası çatışmanın algılanması üzerine bir etkisi olduğunu göstermektedir. Sonuçlar, erkek, genç (64 yaş ve altı), daha yüksek gelir ve eğitim düzeyine sahip, boşanmış, kentsel bölgede yaşayan, bekar ebeveyn, yaşlı aile üyesine bakmakla yükümlü, 4 ve daha fazla çocuk sahibi olan bireylerle karşılaştırıldığında, kadın, yaşlı (65 yaş ve üzeri), kırsal kesimde yaşayan, dezavantajlı sosyo-ekonomik geçmişe sahip, dul, aile işinde çalışan bireylerin Türk toplumunda kuşaklar arası çatışma vardır deme olasılığının daha yüksek olduğunu göstermiştir.*

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** *Kuşaklararası çatışma, Türkiye, Lojistik regresyon*

## Introduction

At the beginning of the new era, the UN initiative on ageing drew the attention to challenges of ageing population and highlighted the importance of family cohesion to confront the demographic challenges (UN, 2002; Lowenstein, 2005). Parallel to demographic ageing, noticeable changes have occurred in the family structure and its functions. These changes have raised the issue of disentangling the factors behind intergenerational conflict/tension, experiences of older people and their families at the micro level and societal responses at the macro level (Stacy, 1999; Lowenstein, 2005). Detangling the key factors behind the intergenerational conflict is important as they have an important consequence for formation and implementation of the policies addressing older people in particular.

Addressing this aforementioned need, this article deals with the determinants of societal perception of intergenerational relationships, more specifically intergenerational conflict/tension. It tests the relative importance of sociodemographic factors, functional and associational solidarity indicators in shaping the perception of intergenerational conflict.

## *Literature Background*

In an everchanging society due to globalisation and demographic ageing, family structure has increasingly become fragile, which, in return, brought about dissolution in intergenerational relations and uncertainty for older generations. The intergenerational relationships echo a number of arrangements that are related to individual, familial, and societal characteristics. Under the scope of intergenerational relationship studies, the nature and the context of the relationship are the main focus. While studies at the micro level focus on the distribution of family responsibilities, care relationships and generational differences (Birditt et al. 2009; Rahman, 1999; Walker, 1996), the focus is shifted to cultural and demographic changes and their economic and social policy implications at the macro level. At the micro level individuals, having agency to construct and re-construct their own realities, are under constant influence by the surrounding social context (Clarke, 2003; 2005). Cultural, and social context, therefore, plays an important role in shaping intergenerational relationship, the way it is developed and maintained (Szydlik, 2008). In the

earlier writings of Sussman (1965), he suggested that some components of intergenerational relationships may either boost or hinder the mutual exchange between older parents and adult children. Therefore, factors such as socio-economic status, religion, common values, generational culture in a given social environment affect the intergenerational relationship, alongside the socio-demographic factors (Cruz-Saco and Zelenev, 2010). Intergenerational relationships are also known to change as a function of divorce, widowhood, traumatic life events and natural disasters (Cruz-Saco, 2010). These events are innately life changing events, in which, the families usually develop strategies to overcome the adversity (Cruz-Saco and Zelenev, 2010; Silverstein and Bengtson, 1997; 1994).

Intergenerational conflict, which is defined as the tension, conflict and disagreement among the generations, can be measured by the expression of negative feelings towards each other, number of arguments and the level of imbalance in the exchange of support (Bengtson & Achenbaum, 1993; Cowan et al. 1993). Conflict in family relationships can be traced back to the early works of Engels (1885/1972) where the conflict between genders are at the core of his discussion. Conflict theory suggests that conflict is an inherent part of the family relationship as long as there is an interaction. Even though the conflict has a negative connotation, some perceive it as an evolving concept that helps to maintain the relationship by creating opportunity for dialogue and amicable resolutions (Simmel, 1955; Coser 1956; Katz and Lowenstein, 2010; Cruz-Saco and Zelenev, 2010).

Theoretical framework on intergenerational conflict has emerged from the debates on intergenerational relationships (Katz and Lowenstein, 2010). The intergenerational solidarity model, which devises the intergenerational relationship with the notions of belonging and close connection, was coined by Bengtson and Schrader (1982) and was further developed by McChesney et al. (1988). The most commonly used intergenerational solidarity approach was introduced through the collaborative work of Bengtson and Roberts (1991), in which, six domains of solidarity in intergenerational relationships was identified. For a long time, these domains were the only grounds to explore intergenerational relationships. And yet, it was heavily criticized for neglecting the conflicting aspects of familial interactions (Marshall et al., 1993; Clarke et al., 1999). Especially, Connidis and McMullin (2002) criticized the

model for focusing only on the positive aspects of intergenerational relationships and not acknowledging the conflict as an intrinsic part of intergenerational relationships. In response to such criticism, Bengtson and his colleagues (2002) incorporated the conflict aspect into the intergenerational solidarity model as the 7th dimension.

There are many factors affecting the occurrence and the perceptions of intergenerational conflict and tension. Alongside the generational cultural differences, lived experiences due to increased longevity, unequal distribution of resources between the young and older generations and lack of social policies such as pension, health care and long-term care systems are cited as the potential cause of intergenerational tension and/or conflict in particular (Borsch-Supan, Dumas and Turner, 2009; Heller and Reil-Held, 2011; Silverstein et al. 2000; Phillipson, 1996; Naumann, 2011; Hess et al, 2016). In their study on conflict and tension between older parents and adult children, Clarke and his colleagues (1999) listed communication and interaction style; habits and lifestyle; childrearing practices and values; politics, religion and ideology; work orientation and household maintenance as the domains that have the potential to create intergenerational tension and/or conflict. The same study also showed that the conflict mostly arises over the interaction and lifestyle. Surprisingly, older parents were found to be more secretive about reporting intergenerational conflict compared to their adult children (Clarke et al, 1999). This situation was explained by the intergenerational Stake Hypothesis, which suggests that parents are more emotionally invested in the relationship than are their children. Moreover, Farrington and Chertok (1993) associate this to the social desirability, which is the tendency to reflect more positive thoughts than the negative ones (Scruggs et al., 1996, Hernandez et al., 2000; Grimm, 2010). For them studying the intergenerational relationship later life is harder to explore as parents tend to be secretive especially when it comes to the conflict with their children. Both Clarke and his colleagues (1999) and Lowenstein (2007) revealed supporting evidence while investigating intergenerational conflict. In both studies older parents reported the nature of exchange more positively than it really is.

The factors affecting the occurrence and the perceptions of intergenerational conflict and tension were investigated in an EU-wide cross-national comparative study and macro level evidence of intergenerational conflict on social expenditure was sought. The results suggest that compared to young

people, older generations have slightly higher support for increased old age expenditure, as compared to educational spending after controlling for gender, educational level and GDP (Hess et al., 2016). Moreover, the literature review on intergenerational conflict at the micro level has demonstrated that care relationships and intergenerational contact along with socio-demographic characteristics can determine intergenerational conflict both at the attitudinal and behavioural level. The care provided later in life, provided mostly by adult children (Katz and Lowenstein, 2010), is believed to put strains on intergenerational solidarity and cited as a potential source of conflict, especially when the parent's health is poor (Katz and Lowenstein, 2010; Lehr, 1984; Fingerma, 2004; Merrill, 1996; Lieberman and Fisher, 1999). It is also found out that conflict led to decreased willingness to provide care, decreased frequency of visits, and decreased duration of care activities (Clarke, et al., 1999). The conflict arising from the care giving responsibilities also have an impact on the quality of the care provided by adult children to an ailing parent (Merrill 1996; Lieberman and Fisher, 1999). To some extent, availability of the extensive governmental support and/or funds seems to lessen the adverse effects of the constraints arising from the reversed roles (Bengston and Putney, 2006). According to Emerson (1962), this kind of behavioural exchange creates an imbalance and the party who is more dependent on the other starts to feel less powerful. Ailing power dynamics between adult children and older parents creates a dependency (Hirdes and Strain, 1995) and this, in the long run, imposes further constraints on both parties (Hirdes and Strain, 1995; Parrot and Bengston, 1999). As a response, the party who feels less powerful tends to develop strategies to rebalance the relationship or to avoid feeling dependent which does not always bring about desirable outcomes (Parrot and Bengston, 1991; 1999; Emerson, 1962).

The ongoing intergenerational conflict, in particular, is reported to have a detrimental effect on both older parents and adult children (Clarke et al., 1999). Older adults are particularly vulnerable to mental health problems if intergenerational conflict occurs later in the life course (Fu and Ji, 2020). In OASIS study, familial relationship, especially the emotional sphere, is found to be strongly correlated with quality of life of the older parents, suggesting familial relationship is more important for older generation (Lowenstein and Ogg, 2003 cited in Katz and Lowenstein, 2010). For the adult children, the ad-

verse effect of intergenerational conflict is found to have an effect on educational attainment level in the long run (Lui, 2015; Cruz-Saco and Zelenev, 2010). The OASIS survey (Lowenstein and Ogg, 2003 cited in Katz and Lowenstein, 2010), which evaluates the quality of life from the perspectives of adult children and their parents, found out that parents who are in the position to provide support for their children were observed to have higher quality of life, while being in need of support from adult children was found to have an adverse effect. Limited intergenerational contact is also found to be associated with intergenerational conflict (Lin et. al., 2015). The opposite, i.e. the high contact, is correlated with higher degree of solidarity between generations (Magnum and McChesney, 1988). On the other hand, there is a body of literature that suggests that conflicts mainly arise when different generations live in the same household (Suitor and Pillemer, 1991)

Turkish literature on intergenerational relationships does not have a long history. Intergenerational conflict in the Turkish literature has presented itself with the cultural and attitudinal differences between generations (Özdemir, 2013; Özdemir-Ocaklı, 2017). In her research Cangöz (2008) found out that there is a conflict between younger and older generations in terms of resources, goals and values in Turkey at the macro level. At the micro level, studies on attitudes towards older people in Turkish context suggests that there is a positive correlation between the intensity of contact with older people and positive attitudes towards them (Erdemir et al., 2011; Erol et al., 2013, Kilic and Adibelli, 2011; Ozkaptan, Altay, and Cabar, 2012). There is also an emerging body of research that relates the intergenerational conflict in Turkey to the changing attitudes between generations (Adıbelli, Türkoğlu and Kılıç, 2013; Göçer and Ceyhan, 2012; Kulakçı, 2010; Özdemir, 2009; Ünalın, Soyuer and Elmalı, 2012; Vefikuluçay, 2008; Yılmaz and Özkan, 2010).

Ageing population worldwide necessitate to develop strategies to overcome the associated challenges. Parallel to this demographic challenge, intergenerational relationship, has become a prominent topic in scientific research area. Under the scope of these studies, intergenerational solidarity and conflict has been studied extensively (Abu Aleon et al., 2019; ChenFeng, Knudson-Martin and Nelson, 2015; Law et al. 2019; Silverstein et al. 2000). As previously mentioned, intergenerational relationship studies in Turkey has recently started to emerge. However, they are limited both in numbers, and more importantly, in the scope of the research. These studies only reflect the

perceptions of young people towards older individuals and not vice versa. Thus, the results cannot be generalized to the whole population.

As suggested by Farrington and Chertok (1993), Clarke and his colleagues (1999) and Lowenstein (2007), studying the intergenerational later in life is harder, as parents tend to reveal biased information due to social desirability. To overcome this deficit, present study conducts the study at the macro level. Rather than the conflict between older parents and their adult children, the conflict between young and older generation in the society is at the core of the present analysis. Aiming to fulfil the above cited gaps in the literature, this paper sets its main objective as to identify the factors behind the perception of intergenerational conflict in Turkey. In this respect, this study will provide with theoretical, empirical and methodological contributions to the body of literature on intergenerational relationships in Turkey. The findings will also constitute an evidential base for the design of social policies to increase inter-generational cohesion and solidarity.

## **Methodology**

Within the scope of the present paper, the perception of intergenerational conflict/tension was investigated at the societal level from the perspectives of sociodemographic factors, functional (care help) and associational solidarity (contact frequency) indicators. Descriptive statistics (frequency and Chi-squared tests) and Inferential statistics (logistic regression analysis) were adapted to investigate the extent to which intergenerational conflict can be predicted by individual characteristics and other related factors. Data for this study is taken from EUROFOUND's European Quality of Life Survey (EQLS) 2016 fourth wave. The series has been conducted every four years since early 2000s to explore European citizens' lives and their approach to life circumstances. The fourth wave data was collected from September 2016 to March 2017 using a stratified multistage sampling. It covers individuals who are over 18 and who live in private households in 33 countries including Turkey, as an acceding country. In total, 2019 Turkish respondents from the micro dataset was extracted to conduct a country-based analysis. IBM SPSS v27 was utilized for the statistical analysis. The sample was weighted according to the national metrics prior to statistical analyses.



### *Dependent Variable*

Under the scope of the analysis, intergenerational conflict dummy variable was created as a dependent variable, based on the answers given to the question addressing the tension between old and young generations.

‘In all countries there sometimes exists tension between social groups. In your opinion, how much tension is there between old people and young people in this (Turkey) country?’

For the purpose of the analysis, the three-point Likert-type answer category was collapsed into two. The respondents who acknowledged there is a tension between young and old people were allocated to the conflict category and coded as one (1) and zero (0) the otherwise.

### *Independent Variables And Their Expected Effect On Perception Of Intergenerational Conflict*

**Socio demographic determinants:** To operationalise the individual level background factors, we reviewed the literature and allocated the respondents into subdivisions accordingly. Age is an important factor that creates a difference in the attitudes of different generations. Studies show that older people tend to report less conflictual relationship with their children compared to their children (Fingerman, 1996; Giarrusso et al., 1995; Bengtson and Kuypers, 1971; Silverstein et al. 2000; Clarke, et al., 1999; Farrington and Chertok, 1993). As previously cited, gender is another socio-demographic factor that displays variation in attitudes regarding intergenerational conflict. Studies show that women are more likely to report intergenerational conflict compared to their male counterparts (Lehr, 1984; Chung, 2001; Szydluk, 2008). This phenomenon can be linked to the gendered care relationships, where women are the main care givers to older adults (Lehr, 1984; Brandt et al., 2009; Eggebeen and Hogan, 1990; Mottram and Hortaçsu, 2005; Öztop and Telsiz, 2001). Care relations intensify and put strain into the intergenerational relationships between women and older parents or kin (Pillemer and Suitor, 1992; Szydluk, 2008; Connidis and McMullin, 2002). Moreover, the same study indicated that adult children stated feeling more conflict with their mothers than with their fathers (Szydluk, 2008). Similarly, another study indicated that families with

daughters reported more conflict than families with sons only (Birditt et al. 2009).

Marital status also emerges as an explanatory factor in reporting intergenerational conflict. Research suggests that divorced or separated parents are more likely to report intergenerational conflict compared to their single or married counterparts (Szydlik, 2008). Education is another explanatory socio-demographic factor in reporting intergenerational conflict. A study conducted in Germany indicated that children with advanced, secondary or university education are considerably more likely to have conflict with their parents compared to children with a basic education level (Szydlik, 2008). Socio-economic status emerges as another factor that affects intergenerational conflict. According to the study of Görgün-Baran et al. (2005), older people from higher socio-economic status experience less conflict with their kin than older people from lower socio-economic status. Görgün-Baran et al. (2005), in their study conducted in Ankara, also found out that older adults prefer to be taken care of by their relatives rather than strangers in an institutional setting. Being taken care of by a relative causes less conflict in the care process as a result of social pressure and patriarchal values (Görgün-Baran et al., 2005). Similarly, a study conducted in Germany reported that adult children with debts are twice as likely to be in conflict with their older parents (Szydlik, 2008).

***Intergenerational determinants:*** Studies on family solidarity and conflict suggest that certain aspects of familial behaviour, structural arrangements and/or attitudes between younger and older generations can predict the quality of family cohesion. As presented in the above literature, perceived health, need of care for either counterparts, or the financial cash transfer between adult children and older parent, the frequency of the interaction either face to face or through the phone and geographical proximity are associated with intergenerational solidarity and conflict (Clarke, et al., 1999; Boersch-Supan, Dumas and Turner, 2009; Heller and Reil-Held, 2011; Silverstein et al. 2000; Philipson, 1996; Naumann, 2011; Hess et al, 2016, Merril, 1996; Katz and Lowenstein, 2007; Lieberman and Fisher, 1999). The way the individual interacts in society is believed to be the reflection of the familial interaction (Farrington and Chertok, 1993). Therefore, studying intergenerational conflict at the macro level can be regarded as an exploration of the reflection of the familial

processes. It will also minimize the effect of social desirability when reporting intergenerational conflict between older and younger generations.

The EQLS 2016 fourth wave questions enable to explore associational solidarity (face-to-face and phone/internet interaction), functional solidarity (assistance either in cash or care form, and structural solidarity (health status). In the light of the existing literature and availability of the EQLS data, the following factors were set as independent variables:

Gender; age groups; educational attainment level; household structure, number of children in the household size, legal marital status, income percentile, financial adequacy; employment status; subjective urbanization; perceived health status; caring for disabled person aged 75 and older, caring for grandchildren; cash transfer between relatives; face-to-face contact with family members/relatives; phone/internet contact with family members/relatives.

For the carer status variable, asking if the respondents providing long term care for disabled family member aged 75 and older are computed into a single variable and those who have never provided care were coded as zero (0), and those providing care for older disabled person on a weekly basis or less often were coded as one (1). The same approach was applied for caring for grandchildren. Those who provide care for their own grandchildren were given one (1) and the rest is coded as zero (0). It is worth to note that only those who have a grandchild were the subject of this analysis. Cash transfers between relatives are also investigated. Those who reported such transfer were coded as one (1) and zero (0) the other way around. All of the independent variables were recoded into dummy variables and treated as categorical variables in the equation. The reference subcategories were selected either in the light of the current literature or according to the lowest likelihood of agreeing with the proposed statement.

Initially, exploratory data analysis (frequency) was conducted over the weighted data to explore the characteristics of the respondents in Turkish data subset. Later on, Chi-squared test was performed to investigate the unique relationship between each independent variable and dependent variable. Although Chi squared tests provide information on the significance of the relationship, it is limited in the sense that it can investigate the association between the variable pair one at a time and controlling for external factors is limited only with one variable. More importantly, it lacks the probability calculation feature. In the real world nothing can be brought about by a single

factor, thus, we conducted logistic regression analysis. It does not only test whether the simultaneously presented independent variables have a significant effect on intergenerational conflict but also quantifies the probability of occurrence of this outcome after controlling for the other factors.

In the light of the literature and research findings, intergenerational conflict is estimated to differentiate according to the subdivisions of independent variables after controlling for the other factors in the equation. Thus, 'no significant effect' stands for the null hypothesis. We also acknowledge the fact that in the real world, no single factor can predict an outcome. Thus, we prefer to draw our conclusions based on logistic regression analysis, in which, predictions are calculated after controlling for the other factors.

## Results

As presented in the previous sections, the literature implies that the intergenerational conflict and societal response differentiate as a function of socio-demographic factors, functional, associational, normative and/or affectional relationships. In order to explore the intergenerational conflict and understand the factors that lead to differentiation in respondent's answer, two different statistical techniques were employed for the present study. While descriptive statistics were used to provide information on the general patterns of intergenerational conflict (frequency) and the unique relationship between variable pairs (Chi-squared tests), the logistic regression analysis was utilized to see who are more likely to acknowledge the intergenerational conflict. Prior to the logistic regression analysis, the subgroups that are known to display or found out to be displaying the lowest agreement with the proposed statement in the Chi Squared tests were set as a reference group within the variable.

Prior to discussing the impact of the factors on perception of intergenerational conflict, observed percentages over the same variables are worth to be presented. Results of the preliminary descriptive statistical analysis showed that 65% of the respondent believed that there is a conflict between younger and older generations in Turkey. Among those who acknowledge the tension, 15% reported amplified conflict. Across the sample, 4 out of 10 respondents reported that they provide care for disabled older family member on

a weekly basis or less often. Among those who have grandchildren, 61.2% said that they provide care to their own grandchildren. Another indicator for intergenerational relationship is the cash transfer. Among the Turkish sample, only 7.5 % of respondents said that there has been money exchange between relatives. When it comes to frequency of interaction, majority of the respondents revealed regular face-to-face or phone/internet contact with their family members who are not living in the household. A summary of the descriptive statistics is displayed in Table 1.

*Table 1. Results of descriptive statistics*

Factors	Subdivisions	%
<b>Intergenerational conflict</b>	No	35.5
	Some	49.2
	A lot	15.3
<b>Inter-generational conflict (2 categories)</b>	No	35.5
	Yes	64.5
<b>Age cohort</b>	64 and younger	88.6
	65 and older	11.6
<b>Gender</b>	Female	50.2
	Male	49.8
<b>Subjective urbanization</b>	Rural	18.7
	Urban	81.3
<b>Legal marital status</b>	Never married	24.9
	Married	64.9
	Separated	1.1
	Widowed	7.9
	Divorced	1.1
<b>Employment status</b>	Employed	47.9
	Unemployment	2.2
	Work at family business or farm	2.0
	Homemaker	26.1
	Student	8.1
	Retired	13.5
<b>Household structure</b>	Single	5.8
	Couple	12.1
	Singe with children	1.2
	Couple with children	23.4
	Other	57.5
<b>Number of children in the household</b>	No children	57.2
	One child	18.7
	Two children	17.8
	Four and more children	1.5
<b>Educational attainment level</b>	Primary	38.6
	Secondary	40.5
	Tertiary	20.9

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A Macro Level Analysis of Determinants

<b>Income (equalized percentile)</b>	First percentile	37.1
	Second percentile	22
	Third percentile	22.3
	Fourth percentile	18.7
<b>Financial adequacy</b>	Uncomfortable	53.6
	Comfortable	46.4
<b>Perceived health status</b>	Fair/good/very good	94.9
	Bad/very bad	5.1
<b>Cash transfers between relatives</b>	Yes	7.5
	No	92.5
<b>Caring for disabled elderly family member</b>	Never	65.5
	Yes	34.5
<b>Caring for own grandchildren</b>	Never	38.5
	Yes	61.2
<b>Face-to-face contact (family/relatives)</b>	Yes	97.5
	Never	2.5
<b>Phone/internet contact (family/relatives)</b>	Yes	96.5
	Never	3.5

At the second phase of the analysis, Chi-squared tests were employed to explore the unique relationship between intergenerational conflict and each of the independent variables (Table 2). Excluding the household size, cash transfer between generations, and phone/internet contact with family members, all other factors yielded a statistically significant effect. In addition to the older generation (65 and older), females were more likely to report intergenerational conflict in Turkey. Similarly, people living in rural areas and people who work in family business or farm were more likely to say that there is a conflict between younger and older generations in Turkey. Groups with lower levels of educational attainment level reported higher levels of intergenerational conflict in Turkey. Not surprisingly, households who have single parents with children were found to be less likely to report intergenerational conflict. Again, divorced individuals were the group whose agreement with the intergenerational conflict was dramatically lower than the other subgroups of the factor. This may imply the latent intergenerational support within the families. The variables tackling the intergenerational care support, i.e. caring for own grandchildren or disabled older family member were found to be less likely to say there is a conflict between younger and older generations in Turkey. When it comes to contact frequency, those who said that they don't have any face-to-face contact with family members reported less intergenerational conflict in Turkey. Income percentile variable revealed

that an increase in the income percentile yielded less likelihood of reporting intergenerational conflict. This may be related with the fact that in an abundance of resources, people were less likely to have conflict.

*Table 2. Results of bivariate analysis*

Factors(codes)	Inter-generational tension (%)	
	No (0)	Yes (1)
<b>Age cohort</b>		
64 and younger (reference)	37.1	62.9
65 plus	23.2	76.8
	$\chi^2=16.638$ , df(1), p<.001	
<b>Gender</b>		
Male (reference)	40.5	59.5
Female	30.4	69.6
	$\chi^2=21.529$ , df(1), p<.001	
<b>Subjective urbanisation</b>		
Rural	28.5	71.5
Urban (reference)	36.9	63.1
	$\chi^2=9.232$ , df(1), p<.05	
<b>Legal marital status</b>		
Never married	37.4	62.6
Married	35.3	64.7
Separated	38.1	61.9
Widowed	23.2	76.8
Divorced (Reference)	78.3	21.7
	$\chi^2=29.465$ , df(4), p<.001	
<b>Employment status</b>		
Employed	36.8	63.2
Unemployed	31.8	68.2
Work at family business or farm	18.4	81.6
Homemaker	29.2	70.8
Student	37.4	62.6
Retired (reference)	44.8	55.2
	$\chi^2=24.298$ , df(5), p<.05	
<b>Household structure</b>		
Single with children (reference)	81.3	18.8
Single	33	67
Couple	38.1	61.9
Couple with children	33	67
Other	35	65
	$\chi^2=16.833$ , df(4), p<.05	
<b>Number of children in the household</b>		
No children	33.7	66.3
One child	47.3	52.7
Two children	31	69
Three children	20.5	79.5
4 children and more	65.5	34.5

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A Macro Level Analysis of Determinants

	$\chi^2=44.853, df(4), p<.001$	
<b>Educational attainment level</b>		
Primary	31.6	68.4
Secondary	37.4	62.6
Tertiary	39.2	60.8
	$\chi^2=8.399, df(2), p<.05$	
<b>Income quartile</b>		
First percentile	32.9	67.1
Second percentile	29.5	70.5
Third percentile	38.6	61.4
Fourth percentile (reference)	41.8	58.2
	$\chi^2=15.281, df(3), p<.05$	
<b>Financial Adequacy</b>		
Uncomfortable	36.8	63.2
Comfortable	33.5	66.5
	$\chi^2=2.332, df(1), p>.10$	
<b>Perceived health status</b>		
Fair/good/very good	35.3	64.7
Bad/very bad	38.6	61.4
	$\chi^2=.447, df(1), p>.10$	
<b>Cash transfer between relatives</b>		
Yes	36.6	63.4
No	34.5	65.5
	$\chi^2=.253, df(1), p>.10$	
<b>Caring for elderly disabled family member</b>		
Never	31.4	68.6
Yes (Reference)	41.7	58.3
	$\chi^2=19.650, df(1), p<.001$	
<b>Caring for own grandchild</b>		
Never	27.3	72.7
Yes	36.5	63.5
	$\chi^2=5.530, df(1), p<.05$	
<b>Face to face contact with family and relatives</b>		
Yes	34.7	65.3
Never (reference)	48.9	51.1
	$\chi^2=15.369, df(1), p<.001$	
<b>Phone/internet contact with family and relatives</b>		
Yes	35.1	64.9
Never	36.5	63.5
	$\chi^2=.053, df(1), p>.10$	

Source: European Quality of Life Survey 2016 wave, Turkey subset, EUROFOUND (2018)

So far, the results of the descriptive statistics (frequency and Chi-squared tests) were presented. At the next step, logistic regression analysis was fitted to explore the intergenerational conflict on the basis of individual level fac-



tors. The results of the bivariate analysis showed certain subgroups of the factors displayed differentiated level of intergenerational conflict, thus they were re-coded and set as reference category prior to running logistic regression analysis (See Table 2). As the chi squared test did not reveal statistical significance, for cash transfer between generation, financial adequacy; perceived health status and phone/internet contact variables, they were not included at this stage of the analysis. The number of missing variables in the caring for own grandchildren variables necessitates the exclusion of this particular variable. In total 11 independent variables were included in the last phase of the statistical analysis.

Logistic regression analysis was carried out in different phases (Table 3). Initially, goodness-to-fit of the analysis was assessed to ensure the accuracy of the estimated probabilities and reliability of the results. All the goodness-to-fit indicators for the present analysis suggested a good model fit. Thus, the results of the present logistic regression can be regarded as valid and generalizable to Turkish population. Having the goodness-to-fit, the factors were introduced to the equation simultaneously to explore their effect on perception of intergenerational conflict in Turkey. The results revealed statistically significant effects of age cohort on acknowledging intergenerational conflict in Turkey after controlling for the other factors in the equation. Compared to younger generation (i.e. people who are 64 and younger), the odds of a person reporting intergenerational conflict between young and old generation in Turkey was two times higher compared to older generation (i.e., 65 years and older). From the perspectives of gender, results showed that compared to males, the odds of acknowledging intergenerational conflict in Turkey was 72% higher among the female respondents when other factors in the equation are controlled for. Similarly, legal marital status was found to have a statistically significant effect on dependent variable after controlling for the other factors. Compared to divorced people, those are widowed have dramatically higher odds of reporting intergenerational conflict. When the household structure was investigated, the results suggested that compared to single parents with children, couples (with or without children) and singles have the conflict reporting odds up to five times higher. Increase in the number of children in the household also have an effect on the dependent variable. Compared to people who have more than 4 children living in the household, those who have 3 and less children have up to 6 times higher odds of

reporting intergenerational conflict between younger and older generations. Employment in the family business or farm also revealed statistically higher odds of reporting intergenerational conflict. People who live in the rural surrounding had 30% higher odds of reporting intergenerational conflict in Turkey, after controlling for the other factors.

Coming from higher socio-economic background also suggests statistically significant effect on the dependent variable. After controlling for the other factors in the equation, people who are at the lower end of income quartile had higher odds of reporting intergenerational conflict. Educational attainment level also revealed results that suggest that the higher the educational attainment level, the lower is the amount of change in reporting intergenerational conflict.

Compared to people who provide care for disabled older family members, people who have no such responsibility had 80% higher odds of saying there is an intergenerational conflict between older and younger generations. In terms of the contact with family members and relatives, the results showed that compared to people who never have contact with family members, those who have regular contact had twice higher odds of reporting intergenerational conflict. In other words, people who have regular contact with a family member have more odds of acknowledging intergenerational conflict in society.

Overall findings on the determinants of intergenerational conflict revealed that the effect of the socio demographic, functional and associational solidarity indicators are partially supported by the present analysis. While gender, age cohort, marital status, number of children, educational attainment level, subjective urbanisation were in line with the literature, caring for older family member and face-to-face contact with family revealed ambiguous support. Contrary to what literature suggests, some factors such as cash transfers between relatives, perceived health status, phone/internet contact, financial adequacy did not reveal statistically significant effect at the second phase of the analysis where the unique relationship between the variable pairs were investigated. As a whole, it can be concluded that compared to those who are male, younger (64 old and younger), having higher income and educational attainment level, divorced, single parent, caring for elderly family member, having 4 and more children, people who are female, older, living in rural sur-

rounding, older (65+ generation), coming from rural and disadvantaged socio-economic background, widowed, working at family business have higher tendency to acknowledge intergenerational conflict in Turkey.

**Table 3. Results of logistic regression analysis**

Factor	Model 1 Exp (B)
<b>Age cohort (64 and younger reference)</b>	2.165***
<b>Gender (Male reference)</b>	1.722***
<b>Subjective urbanization (Urban reference)</b>	1.307*
<b>Legal marital status (Divorced reference)</b>	
Never married (1)	3.205
Married (2)	3.561
Separated (3)	5.096*
Widowed (4)	3.118
<b>Employment status (Retired reference)</b>	
Employed (1)	2.389***
Unemployed (2)	2.400**
Work at family business or farm (3)	4.184**
Homemaker (4)	1.762**
Student (5)	2.106**
<b>Household structure (Single with children reference)</b>	
Single	
Couple (1)	3.009
Couple with children (2)	6.406**
Other (3)	3.819
<b>Number of children in the household (No children reference)</b>	
No child (1)	5.736***
One child (2)	2.241*
Two children (3)	3.393**
Three children (4)	5.902***
<b>Educational attainment level (tertiary education reference)</b>	
Primary education (1)	.824
Secondary education (2)	.721**
<b>Income percentile (4<sup>th</sup> percentile reference)</b>	
First percentile (1)	1.848***
Second percentile (2)	1.891***
Third percentile (3)	1.456**
<b>Carer status for 75± disabled person weekly or less often (yes reference)</b>	
Never	1.892***
<b>Face-to-face contact with family and relatives (Never reference)</b>	
Yes	2.158**
Number of valid observations	1359
*p<0.10, **p<0.05, and p<0.001 ***	
Source: European Quality of Life Survey 2016 wave, Turkey subset, EUROFOUND (2018)	

## Discussion and Conclusion

Intergenerational conflict is a common and yet understudied field due to the negative connotation and dominance of intergenerational solidarity approach. The same is true for Turkey. In order to address this gap in the literature, we examined the dynamics of perceived intergenerational conflict from the socio demographic and relational perspectives in EQLS 2016 Turkey sub-dataset. Present research is the first analysis that conducts advanced statistical analysis on the intergenerational conflict in the Turkish context. While verifying the existence of intergenerational conflict between younger and older generations, present research also shows that there are socio-demographic and relational factors that are associated with it. Some of the results of our analysis displayed consistent results with the existing literature while others were not in line with what the literature suggested. This could be attributed either to the contextual factors or the features of the employed advanced statistical technique.

Literature suggests that care support, as a sub-dimension of intergenerational functional solidarity, does not always facilitate positive relationships between adult children and their older parents but cause tension and conflict. Even though care relationships are suggested to be a factor constraining the intergenerational relationships (Katz and Lowenstein, 2010; Lehr, 1984; Finerman, 2004; Merrill, 1996; Lieberman and Fisher, 1999), our study revealed contrary findings. People who provide care to older disabled family members on a regular basis have decreased the odds of reporting perceived intergenerational conflict. One of the reasons for this disparity may lie in the fact that positive relationships constitute a precondition for care relationship. In other words, people who have positive attitudes towards their older parents or kin are the ones who commit to the act of caring. Moreover, social desirability, which is the tendency to reflect more positive thoughts than the negative ones (Scruggs et al., 1996, Hernandez et al., 2000) may be a more plausible explanation for this disparity.

When it comes to the frequency of interaction, the findings of the present analysis confirmed the paradoxical nature of this relationship. Contrary to the claim of intergenerational associational solidarity, people who have face-to-face contact on daily basis were found to have considerably higher odds of acknowledging the intergenerational conflict in Turkey compared to those

who have no contact with their older parents. In the same manner, people who work in the family business or farm, which necessitate daily interaction, reported the highest odds of intergenerational conflict. When it comes to the caring for older family member, where the caring roles are reversed, regular interactions seemed to lessen the probability of reporting intergenerational conflict. Overall, these findings suggest that frequency of interaction does not necessarily suggest existence or lack of intergenerational conflict. This may imply that Turkish cultural context, where traditional familial relationship with strong hierarchical ties, are still intact. Females reporting higher odds of intergenerational conflict may also suggest that the Turkish women are still fulfilling a gender assigned role in Turkish society. Having the lowest agreement with the proposed statement, divorced, single parents, or those who have more than 3 children have dramatically lower likelihood of acknowledging intergenerational conflict in Turkish society.

As far as the socio-demographic factors are concerned, the literature suggests that age, gender, marital status, and educational level are the main socio-demographic factors that explain intergenerational conflict. The effects of face-to-face contact on perceived intergenerational conflict also turned out to be discordant with the current literature. While other studies showed that intergenerational contact fostered positive attitudes (Erdemir et al., 2011; Erol et al., 2013, Kilic and Adibelli, 2011; Ozkaptan, Altay, and Cabar, 2012, the results of the present study revealed that less contact facilitates lower rates of intergenerational conflict. Those who have no interaction with their older parents were found to have lower levels of perceived intergenerational conflict. In Syzdlik (2008), this was explained as paradoxical, in which, reporting no conflict between generations suggested to be linked with no interaction. When it comes to the regular contact that is bound to constant negotiation of autonomy of action, the intergenerational conflict is redefined, which may be against the will of the other party who are at the lower end of the defined/redefined power hierarchy (Syzdlik, 2008). The results showing higher level of intergenerational conflict between younger and older generations for those who work for family business could be attributed to the autonomy of the involved persons. It can be argued that contact frequency has a negative impact on perceived intergenerational conflict when it involves older generations who are usually at the higher end of the power hierarchy. Contact frequency

acts in a different way in situations where the power is either restored or reversed. Results showing lowest agreement with the proposed statement, in the care relationship indicators (caring for grandchildren or caring for elderly disabled family member) may be implicitly related with the restored/reversed power relations suggested by interaction theory (Szydlik, 2008).

As far as the socio-demographic variables are concerned, age, as an important factor that displays generational differences in attitudes, have revealed contradictory results with the literature. The literature suggests that younger people are more likely to report conflict compared to older counterparts (Fingerman, 1996; Giarrusso et al., 1999; Bengtson and Kuypers, 1971; Silverstein et al. 2000; Clarke, et al., 1999; Farrington and Chertok, 1993); however, our study showed the exact opposite. The fact that older people are more likely to report perceived intergenerational conflict might be explained with the higher demand and expectations of the older generations from the younger generations. And also, with cultural change taking place in the Turkish society, younger people are described as disobedient, rebellious and disrespectful (Karagöz, 2006; Kıpçak and Dedeli, 2016). Gender, as a significant socio-demographic factor in intergenerational relationships, brought about parallel results with the literature. Women reporting more intergenerational conflict compared to men (Lehr, 1984; Chung, 2001; Szydlik, 2008) can be explained by the gendered care relationships (Lehr, 1984; Brandt et al., 2009; Eggebeen and Hogan, 1990; Mottram and Hortaçsu, 2005; Öztop and Telsiz, 2001). Marital status as a socio-demographic factor revealed parallel results with the current literature. The results of the logistic regression showed that separated people are more likely to report intergenerational conflict compared to single people with children, which is also supported by the literature (Szydlik, 2008). This phenomenon can be explained by the possible atomizing relationships with the in-laws, which might have led to or contributed to the separation of the individuals. However, since there is no such information available in the dataset, we can only speculate on that issue. Moreover, the finding that widowed people report more conflict compared to married people can be explained by the possible moving in together with the parents after the passing of the spouse. Starting to live in the same household, as suggested by Suitor and Pillemer (1991), might have contributed to the perceived or lived experiences of intergenerational conflict. The effects of socio-economic status on perceived intergenerational conflict displayed similar results with

the current literature. People from lower socio-economic backgrounds report more perceived conflict compared to more well-off counterparts (Görgün-Baran et al. 2005; Syzdlik, 2008). This phenomenon can be explained by the possible financial expectations from the older generation since financial transfers usually operate downwards in the Turkish society (Özdemir Ocaklı, 2017).

These are the foremost findings of the present analysis. Such evidence might be open to variety of explanations. Having dramatically lower odds of reporting intergenerational conflict among certain subdivisions of society might also be related with the explanations of interaction theory which places ‘the dual enforcement of independence and autonomy of action in mutual dealings of two subjects’ (Syzdlik, 2008,). Another explanation could be attributed to the reflection of everchanging societal structures in the face of globalization. In consequence, some findings from our research showed some similar results with the current literature while others displayed contradictory outcomes. Even though every variable might have a unique explanation for this regarding the Turkish cultural context, our design might also have had an effect on these contradicting results. The literature we presented mainly focused on the actual lived experiences of the participants whereas our study employed perceived intergenerational conflict at the macro level. The repercussions of micro experiences on macro level perceptions are particularly helpful in eliminating the social desirability bias. Since filial respect is a traditional part of Turkish culture, even at the macro level, the respondents might have been reluctant to disclose their opinions on intergenerational conflict. For this reason, innovative research designs to study intergenerational relations should be used for future research.

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