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Sabahat Ölcer

Women in the Kurdish Family

Expectations, Obligations and Values

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In der Familienforschung lassen sich zwei Grundpositionen zu Familie identifizieren, die seit Jahrzehnten das Spektrum bilden, in dem sich die Untersuchungen zu diesem Gegenstand bewegen: Einerseits eine institutionelle Perspektive, die Familie als eine Institution betrachtet, die auch unabhängig von ihren Mitgliedern gedacht werden kann, und andererseits die mikrosoziale Perspektive, innerhalb derer Familie als Zusammenleben miteinander interagierender Familienmitglieder interpretiert wird. Die Reihe „Familienforschung" präsentiert Buchpublikationen in der gesamten Breite der Forschungsthemen zu Partnerschaft und Familie. Die Veröffentlichungen umfassen dabei sowohl sozialwissenschaftliche Grundlagen, als auch angewandte praxisorientierte Forschung. Einer interdisziplinären Sichtweise auf Familie Rechnung tragend werden neben der Soziologie auch Untersuchungen aus anderen Fächern wie z. B. der Psychologie, Pädagogik und den Wirtschaftswissenschaften in die Reihe aufgenommen.

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This dissertation was accepted by the Faculty of Behavioural and Social Sciences at Chemnitz University of Technology in February 2020.

Abstract

This study specifically focuses on female-female bonds, as the basis of in-laws' relationships in the Kurdish family system, by comparing Kurdish families in Turkey and Germany. Given the rarity of research on family relationships, I concentrate on a province in the country of origin, Van province in which the majority of Kurds live, to investigate which dynamics determine in-laws' relationships, and how the institutional regulations and cultural norms of the Kurds affect the relations between in-laws. Regarding kinship-based relations and family-centred values, in line with the benefits of the current opportunities for women in education and employment, this study examines how these areas have an impact on in-laws' relationships. In order to better understand how relationships differ in different societal contexts, I centre upon relationships between Kurdish immigrant in-laws coming from the same region in Turkey. In this context, this study aims to throw light on the similarities and differences in relationships between in-laws living in the country of origin and a host country, resulting from the collision of old and new patterns in social, economic, and cultural areas, associated with the countries in which women live.

Through in-depth interviews with Kurdish women in Turkey and Germany and guided by the intergenerational solidarity and conflict model, intergenerational in-laws' relationships have been comprehensively scrutinised at both regional and international levels. Considering the specific conceptual dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model (Roberts et al., 1991), my investigation focuses on in-laws' relationships in association with the dimensions of normative, functional, and structural solidarity and with three indicators, educational level, labour force participation, and the timing of marriage that are not directly related to the solidarity model. Moreover, by comparing different groups of in-laws, differing

according to residence rules and socio-economic status, this study touches on the dynamics of the various forms of relationship between in-laws.

The relationships between in-laws' in different social contexts reveal that there are differences between Kurds living in Germany and in Turkey, in terms of normative obligations and expectations (e.g. patriarchal beliefs), exchange of assistance (e.g. instrumental and emotional support), and opportunity structure (e.g. co-residence), depending on the social development of both countries and the socio-economic status of individuals. New social realities (e.g. women's access to educational institutions and labour force participation) offer the possibility of flexibility in in-laws' relationships, which are modified by individual-centred values. Even though research has focused mainly on structural, functional, and normative types of solidarity, the actions and behaviours performed by respondents have also underlined other dimensions of the solidarity model (i.e. associational, consensual, and affectual solidarity) and have revealed the connections of dimensions to each other.

Zusammenfassung

Diese vorliegende Studie konzentriert sich insbesondere auf weibliche Bindungen als Grundlage für die Beziehung zwischen Schwiegertochter und Schwiegermutter im kurdischen Familiensystem, indem sie kurdische Familien in der Türkei und Deutschland vergleicht. Angesichts der Seltenheit der Forschung über Familienbeziehungen konzentriere ich mich auf eine Provinz des Herkunftslandes, die Provinz Van, in der die Mehrheit der Kurden lebt, um zu untersuchen, welche Dynamik die Beziehungen von Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter bestimmt und wie sich die institutionellen Regelungen und kulturellen Normen der Kurden auf die Beziehungen zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter auswirken. In Bezug auf verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen und familienzentrierte Werte, im Einklang mit den Vorteilen der aktuellen Chancen für Frauen in Bildung und Beschäftigung, untersucht die Studie, wie sich diese Bereiche auf die Beziehung zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter auswirken. Um besser zu verstehen, wie sich die Beziehungen in verschiedenen gesellschaftlichen Kontexten unterscheiden, konzentriere ich mich auf die Beziehungen zwischen kurdischen angeheirateten Verwandten von Einwanderern, welche aus derselben Region in der Türkei kommen. In diesem Zusammenhang zielt diese Studie darauf ab, die Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede in den Beziehungen zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter, die im Herkunfts- und im Aufnahmeland leben, aufzuzeigen, die sich aus der Kollision alter und neuer Muster in sozialen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Bereichen ergeben, die mit den Ländern, in denen diese Frauen leben, verbunden sind.

Durch eingehende Interviews mit kurdischen Frauen in der Türkei und in Deutschland und unter der Leitung des intergenerationellen Solidaritäts- und Konfliktmodells wurden die generationenübergreifenden Beziehungen zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter sowohl auf regionaler als auch auf internationaler Ebene umfassend untersucht. In Anbetracht der spezifischen konzeptionellen Dimensionen des intergenerationellen Solidaritätsmodells (Roberts

et al., 1991) konzentriert sich meine Untersuchung auf die Beziehungen zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter in Verbindung mit den Dimensionen der normativen, funktionalen und strukturellen Solidarität sowie mit drei Indikatoren, dem Bildungsniveau, der Erwerbsbeteiligung und dem Heiratszeitpunkt, die nicht direkt mit dem Solidaritätsmodell zusammenhängen. Darüber hinaus befasst sich diese Studie durch den Vergleich verschiedener Gruppen, die sich je nach Aufenthaltsregelungen und sozioökonomischem Status unterscheiden, mit der Dynamik der verschiedenen Formen der Beziehung zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter.

Die Beziehungen zwischen Schwiegertochter und Schwiegermutter in verschiedenen sozialen Kontexten zeigen, dass es Unterschiede zwischen den in Deutschland und in der Türkei lebenden Kurden gibt, in Bezug auf normative Verpflichtungen und Erwartungen (z. B. patriarchalische Überzeugungen), den Austausch von Hilfe (z. B. instrumentelle und emotionale Unterstützung) und die Opportunitätsstruktur (z. B. Koresidenz) betrifft, abhängig von der sozialen Entwicklung beider Länder und dem sozioökonomischen Status des Einzelnen. Neue soziale Realitäten (z. B. der Zugang von Frauen zu Bildungseinrichtungen und die Erwerbsbeteiligung) bieten die Möglichkeit der Flexibilität in den Beziehungen zwischen Schwiegermutter und Schwiegertochter, die durch individuell zentrierte Werte modifiziert werden. Obwohl sich die Forschung hauptsächlich auf strukturelle, funktionale und normative Formen der Solidarität konzentriert hat, haben die von den Befragten durchgeführten Handlungen und Verhaltensweisen auch andere Dimensionen des Solidaritätsmodells (d. h. assoziative, konsensuelle und affektive Solidarität) unterstrichen und die Zusammenhänge der Dimensionen untereinander aufgedeckt.

Acknowledgements

First of all, I would like to thank deeply the women who sincerely shared their thoughts and life experiences with me. We experienced different feelings together; sometimes, we laughed together, sometimes we wandered into their memories together. With their great contribution, this study came into existence.

Contents

Abbreviations

AD	Anno Domini
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, Justice and Development Party
BBOG	Baba Beni Okula Gönder, Daddy Sent Me to School
CEE/CIS	Central-Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States
FBD	Father's Brother's Daughter
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
KA-MER	*Kadın Merkezi*, Women's Center
KRI	Kurdistan Region Iraq
KRG	Kurdistan Regional Government]
LTCI	Long-Term Care Insurance
MHSS	Matlab Health and Socioeconomic Survey
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OASIS	Old Age and Autonomy: The Role of Service Systems and Intergenerational Family Solidarity
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PKK	Partiya Karkerên Kurdistan, Kurdistan Workers Party
TDHS	Turkey Demographic and Health Survey
TSI	Türkiye *İ*statistik Kurumu, Turkish Statistical Institute
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
VAKAD	Van K*adın Derneği*, Van Women's Association

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Introduction

Intergenerational family relations are one of the issues that have attracted attention in family studies in recent years, due to interest in the prolongation of the average life expectancy and decrease in fertility rates (Antonucci et al., 2007; Bengtson & Martin, 2001; VanderVen, 1999), the low age gap between generations, long-term co-existence and different generations spending time with each other (Nauck & Arránz Becker, 2013), changes in family structures associated with widespread divorce, remarriage, and step-families (Bengtson & Martin, 2001), and new forms of relationships between family members. Furthermore, other new factors have affected family relations, such as geographical mobility (distance and proximity between family members), increased racial and ethnic variety (minorities) found within families, changing conceptions of family roles and gender roles, adaptation to new social policies and reduced governmental resources especially for elderly people (Antonucci et al., 2007), changing societal values, and the impact of environmental factors on family members (VanderVen, 1999). Based on the factors mentioned above, in-laws' relationships constitute a significant part of these studies (Costanzo & Hoy, 2007; Cotterill, 2005; Erkal, 2006; Fingerman et al., 2012; Rew et al., 2013; Rittenour & Soliz, 2009; Santos & Levitt, 2007).

Previous studies have concentrated on the relationships between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law in terms of the quality of communication between them to shed light on the connection between the frequency of contact and developing closer bonds (Rittenour & Soliz, 2009; Santos & Levitt, 2007). But in some studies, relationships between in-laws have been examined in association with the opportunity structure (i.e. residential proximity) and differences in values and opinions and the factors possibly owing to the increase in the level of

stress or conflict (Marotz-Maden & Cowan, 1987). Ambivalence in the relationship between in-law dyads, no doubt, is another matter from the point of relationship quality in the context of kinship relations structured by gender (Turner et al., 2006; Willson et al., 2003). Concerning the birth of a grandchild, the difference between the mother/daughter and mother-in-law/daughter-in-law dyad relationships is also one of the essential issues investigated with regard to interactive involvement, interpersonal boundaries, and relational strain (Cotterill, 2005; Fischer, 1983). Further, in relation to role expectations, caregiving is a subject for some studies on the relationships between in-laws, particularly in the matter of who is/should be responsible for taking care of elderly parents-in-law (Cong & Silverstein, 2008; Cotterill, 2005; Merrill, 1993, 1997).

However, studies on mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships mostly focus on Asian and Western societies (Bryant et al., 2001; Cong & Silverstein, 2008; Cotterill, 2005; Fingerman et al., 2012; Lee et al., 2003; Rew et al., 2013; Santos & Levitt, 2007; Turner et al., 2006). The general characteristics of Western and Southeast Asian societies include bilateral descent and bilateral kinship systems (Therborn, 2004). This means that "the intergenerational relationships of married women are relatively free of institutional regulations that restrict choices regarding residence, social contact, mutual support, control rights, or inheritance" (Nauck, 2014: 648). By contrast, China and the other East Asian inheritors of Sinic Confucian civilisation – Korea, Vietnam, and Japan– trace patrilineal descent, i.e. father to son kinship, patrilocal residence, and normative patriarchal ideology (Therborn, 2004). Research indicates that kinship-based female relations are impressed with normative institutional regulations and cultural norms (Nauck & Arránz Becker, 2013). Of course, apart from the characteristics of the fundamental rule of descent, there are other factors which affect the relationship between in-laws, based on current socio-economic conditions and cultural values.

Judging from the research detailed above, studies on the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship have emphasised the negative aspects (such as conflict, ambivalence, and stress) of relationship in general and have been limited to specific research areas. However, this dissertation aims at a holistic analysis of in-laws relationships, i.e. both the positive and negative aspects of the relationships. The purpose of the existing study is to examine intergenerational relationships between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law in the Kurdish family system within the context of structural, behavioural, and emotional components, by comparing the Kurdish families in the countries of Turkey and Germany.

1.1 Why in-Laws Relationships in the Kurdish Family System?

The Kurds have been a subject for many social scientists from different disciplines in recent years, and this trend is continuing. It varies by subject; in particular, it can be stated that more studies are done in areas such as politics (e.g. conflict, nationalism, the Kurdish issue, or the Kurdish Diaspora) (Ayata & Yükseker, 2005; Başer, 2013; Beşikçi, 1990; Yildiz, 2005), history, literature (e.g. classical Kurdish literature), and folklore (e.g. the Kurdish oral literature) (Allison, 2001; Bayezîdî, [1963] 2012). When the research on the Kurdish family structure is examined, it can quickly be observed that the studies are rare, in contrast to the diversity encountered in other areas. Furthermore, research on the family structure has been limited to specific forms of family relations, particularly the matters of kinship system and the *eşîret* system and its functions (Beşikçi, [1969] 2014; van Bruinessen, 1992; Kaya, 2011; Özer, 2003; Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002). Therefore, there is a gap in the empirical research on the Kurdish family system in the area of family relationships in general and specifically women's relations in the household.

In the existing studies, women have been only addressed as actors who assume responsibilities concerning domestic affairs and fulfil household chores according to the normative expectations and practices (Beşikçi, [1969] 2014; Özer, 2003). Female-female bonds have been ignored. In fact, female-female bonds and mother- and daughter-in-law roles have been a subject of research, but there has been no dedicated and specific study, the existing data forming a very small part of the research on different subjects related to the Kurds. It has also been limited to the normative obligations that are expected from in-laws. In order to better understand the relationship between in-laws in the Kurdish family system, a holistic analysis of this issue is needed.

The relationship between in-laws is one of the most remarkable female-female bonds in the Kurdish family system. The typical regulations of the rule of descent, tracing patrilineal descent and inheritance, and the patrilocal residence norm (Weintraub & Shapiro, 1968), have a significant impact on in-laws' relationships. In particular, the status of women, who leave their natal families and become a new member of their husbands' families (Izady, 2015), increases further the possibility of in-laws' domestic co-existence. Under the circumstances, according to normative gender stereotypes, expectancies for the daughter role decrease, whereas expectations of the daughter-in-law role increase, particularly by her husband's family. Even though there is a common perception concerning

the status of woman and the relationship between in-laws due to general fea-
tures of patrilineal kinship systems traces by Kurds, differences are encountered
in everyday life. The effects of institutional norms and traditional values on role
expectations of in-laws may differ depending on current social factors of the soci-
eties in which they live and on the socio-economic status they have. Therefore, it
is important to explore both the in-laws' relationship in daily life and the effects
of normative regulations and values on their relationships.

Regarding the aspect of the in-laws' relationship, studies have given the
impression of disagreement or tension arising from patriarchal relations and nor-
mative expectations (Khuri, 1970; Çağlayan, 2006), because they have addressed
the negative aspects of their relationships in general. Put another way, there is
no research on the positive aspect of their relationships. In-laws' roles have been
broadly, with the mother-in-law cast as an oppressor and the daughter-in-law as
an obedient. However, some rare studies have focused particularly on expecta-
tions and definitions for roles of in-laws (Beşikçi, [1969] 2014; Khuri, 1970;
Özer, 2003). Indeed, depending on the normative obligations and expectations,
it can be considered that the dominant perception presents the characteristics of
traditional patriarchal ideology. Yet role expectations and definitions change from
the point of the form of residence and the socio-economic status of individuals,
beyond a shadow of a doubt. In this sense, no research has been conducted spe-
cifically concerning definitions and expectations for the roles of in-laws. At the
same time, there is no study on definitions and expectations for in-laws' roles
according to their own perceptions.

Furthermore, the research has largely been ethnographic studies associated
with the rural area in general (Beşikçi, [1969] 2014; Khuri, 1970; Özer, 2003;
Yalçın-Heckmann, 2002). It is striking that the relationship between in-laws in an
urban context is not even mentioned. In a sense, the lack of focus on this relation-
ship in the urban area can be seen as a gap in the literature. Given today's condi-
tions, in fact, examining the relationship between in-laws in both urban and rural
areas with regard to the effects of social, economic, and political developments
is also significant. It is impossible that social changes and the new opportunities
available have not reflected on family relations in general and on intergenera-
tional relations in particular.

Additionally, differences in in-laws' relationships are also likely to be encoun-
tered between the different countries in which Kurds live, depending on the
characteristics of economic development, welfare policies, and cultural patterns.
Even though the majority of Kurds live in their homeland, that is in the territo-
ries of four countries (i.e. Turkey, Iran, Syria, and Iraq), Kurds also live in many
parts of the world, especially in Europe, due to the oppression they have faced

these states (Beşikçi, 1990; van Bruinessen 1992; Gunter, 2004; McDowall, 1996, 2007). While Turkey has the largest Kurdish population among the four countries (Gunter, 2004; McDowall, 1996; Uzun, 2014), Germany has the highest number of the Kurdish population in Europe (Başer, 2013). It is therefore important to examine the similarities and differences in mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships in different countries with a comparison between Kurdish immigrant in-laws coming from the same region in Turkey and Kurdish in-laws living in their homeland.

Within the context outlined above, it is important to examine female-female bonds, i.e. mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationships, in the Kurdish family system in terms of: (a) the *regional* context, to better understand the dynamics of their relationship at a regional level associated with distinctive institutional regulations and cultural values and to shed light on how women's relationships are affected by social changes and current opportunities (especially educational level, participation in labour force, and the timing of marriage); (b) the *migration* context, to reveal the positive and negative aspects of relationships depending on the possible transformation in normative regulations and cultural values related to the general features of countries in which women live; and (c) the *comparative* context, to compare immigrant and non-immigrant in-laws' relationships and to determine similarities and differences in their relationships in the context of the culture of origin and of migration.

Therefore, the present study aims to conduct comprehensive research by comparing conditions in Turkey and Germany, in order to scrutinise the relationships between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, guided by the intergenerational solidarity and conflict model. That is, to reveal both positive and negative aspects of in-laws' relationships by way of the antonyms of dimensions of intergenerational solidarity model. This study thus focuses on explaining the relationship between in-laws in Kurdish family structure, particularly in connection with spatial proximity or spatial distance (structural solidarity), fulfilling familial roles and obligations (normative solidarity), and exchange of assistance and mutual support (functional solidarity). Moreover, the study concentrates on examining the relationship between in-laws in terms of the factors of educational level, participation in labour force, and the first marriage age, that are not systematically the indicators of the dimensions of intergenerational solidarity model. Apart from these, this study also contributes to both the literature on intergenerational solidarity within the context of in-laws' relationships and develops the intergenerational solidarity model through the findings of this research.

Theoretically, presuppositions associated with normative regulations, cultural norms, and social factors (e.g. economic development and welfare policies) will

be thoroughly investigated in different contexts, the regional and international migration respectively. The comparison of the countries, i.e. Kurdish immigrant in-laws coming to Germany from the same region in Turkey and Kurdish in-laws living in their homeland, will contribute to the studies on intergenerational relations, specifically on immigrant in-laws' relationships concerning how their relationships are affected by different societal contexts. Implications obtained from the comparison with the origin will also give an insight into the dynamics of intergenerational in-laws relationships in immigrant minority groups. Further, by comparing different in-laws groups which vary according to the indicators of the residence rule (i.e. co-residence, spatial proximity (such as the same apartment and the same street), and geographical distance) and their socio-economic status, the in-laws' relationships will be comprehensively scrutinised. Thus relationships between in-laws, who are a part of the same socio-economic status groups but live in different countries, will also be examined in terms of the similarities and differences between them. On the other hand, considering the research area in Germany, this study will contribute to understanding transnational in-laws' relationships, in which the parents-in-law live in the home country.

   Methodologically, the present study is guided by the intergenerational solidarity and conflict model. This study is of the first attempt to apply the solidarity model in terms of examining: (a) the relationships between in-laws, in contrast with most of the research which concentrates on the dyadic relationships between (often elderly) parents and their adult children; (b) specifically distant relations, i.e. immigrant or transnational in-laws' relationships; and (c) a culture that has yet to be addressed. The study is quite innovative with regard to the existing research design. The present cross-sectional study is conducted by the exploratory qualitative method and the in-depth interview technique, in order to better understand in-laws' relationships from their living experiences, sentiments, and behaviour.

1.2   Outline of the Study

This study, presenting comprehensive research on intergenerational relations by focusing on the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law roles, consists of eight chapters after this. Chapter 2 describes the theoretical framework of the dissertation, the intergenerational solidarity and conflict model—the dimensions of the model, historical background, and why this model can be a core theory for analysis of intergenerational relations, are discussed. Furthermore, concerning the broad-spectrum of in-laws' relationships, the current chapter in aiming to

shed light on intergenerational relations contributes to the theoretical platform by drawing on elements of role theory (e.g. role expectations).

In order to better understand and to examine in detail the empirical data obtained from both periods of fieldwork, Chapter 3 provides a literature review regarding normative regulations and cultural values characteristic of Kurds. For instance, the structure of the tribal system, i.e. the *eşîret*, the importance of the *mal* which is the smallest unit of the system, relations in patrilineal kinship systems, marriage as an institution that is shaped by traditional values, gender role expectations, and how all of those are reflected on in-laws' relationships, are explored. At the same time, the matter of social change in Turkey, associated with social reforms, chronological waves of migration, increased educational level, and participation in the labour force, is discussed thoroughly with the contribution of statistics comparing past and present conditions to demonstrate the differences based on the provinces in which the majority of Kurds live.

In a similar vein, Chapter 4 explores the role expectations in in-laws' relationships according to the different fundamental rules of descent within the dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model, normative, structural, and functional solidarity. Moreover, the influence of social developments on in-laws' role expectations, arising from possible changes in the normative regulations and values, are considered.

In parallel with Chapter 4, Chapter 5 is predicated on the methodology and technique of the research. Given the research problems, for the purposes of the study, which type of method can achieve the appropriate detailed material for exploring and understanding the in-laws' relationship? How can the research area best be chosen within the scope of research objectives in order to present clear data for the analysis and evaluation phases of the study? The process of the selection of the sample is described, including the identification of participants, determination of the sampling strategy of the study conducted, pilot study, and how participants were reached. Finally, the procedures of data collection and techniques of data analysis are presented. This chapter also provides details relating to the profiles of participants concerning their demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

Chapters 6 and 7 contain the empirical analysis of in-laws' experiences in everyday life in Turkey and Germany. The analysis illustrates the conceptualised dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model (i.e. normative, structural, and functional solidarity, respectively) and certain socio-demographic variables which are characterised by social changes and current opportunities (i.e. increased levels of education, labour force participation, and later marriage

of women). Additionally, regarding the narratives of participants, these sections focus on the relationships between in-laws based on gender roles, fundamental rules of descent (i.e. patrilineal kinship systems), and migration within the context of normative experiences and practices.

Chapter 8 takes a closer look at similarities and differences in the empirical analysis of both rounds of fieldwork regarding the in-laws' relationships, considering the differences between the two countries arising from economics, welfare policies, and cultural patterns. This chapter sheds light on how the relationship between in-laws of the same ethnic identity with set cultural patterns and normative regulations is differentiated or similar in different societal contexts (e.g. Turkey and Germany) and across different social classes. In particular, differences in the two countries and the socio-economic status of participants in terms of access to educational institutions, participation in the labour force, and different perceptions of care roles associated with the role expectations, are found to stand out.

The last chapter consists of three subsections: (a) summarising the findings in relation to include the research questions, (b) the evaluation and discussion of the general findings, revealing the contribution of this study to the existing literature on intergenerational relations between in-laws; and (c) suggestions for further research on intergenerational relationships, taking into consideration the limitations of the study.

Theoretical Framework of the Empirical Study

2

2.1 The Intergenerational Solidarity-Conflict Model

The intergenerational solidarity and conflict model has in recent years presented a wide-ranging schema to explain and to analyse emotions, behaviours, attitudes, values, and structural regulations specifically in intergenerational relationships (Silverstein et al., 2010). The intergenerational solidarity paradigm also explains the existing potential causes and consequences of intergenerational relationships (Antonucci et al., 2007). Furthermore, Nauck and Arránz Becker (2013) articulate the importance of the intergenerational solidarity paradigm in intergenerational studies:

> [T]he solidarity paradigm is even more powerful than previous research has suggested, because it has proven its usefulness as a unifying framework for the description of [intergenerational] relations between very different types of kin across quite diverse areas worldwide. (p. 589)

For analysing intergenerational relationships, there are six dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity paradigm: (1) *associational solidarity*, the contact frequency between intergenerational family members (Giarrusso et al., 2006) and types of common activities shared between family members (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991); (2) *affectual solidarity*, the emotional closeness or the sentiments and valuations which family members express about their relationships with other members (Giarrusso et al., 2006), including rating of affection, attachment, closeness, understanding, loyalty, trust, respect, etc. felt for family members (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991); (3) c*onsensual solidarity*, agreement in opinions, values, and orientations among family members (Giarrusso et al., 2006); (4) f*unctional*

solidarity, exchanges of instrumental-financial assistance and support between intergenerational family members (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997); (5) *normative solidarity*, the degree of significance of familistic roles and of fulfilling familial obligations (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991); and (6) s*tructural solidarity*, factors such as spatial proximity or geographical distance that restrict or increase the interaction between family members (Silverstein & Bengtson, 1997), the number of family members, and health status of family members (Bengtson & Roberts, 1991).

According to Mancini & Blieszner, "[t]he intergenerational solidarity paradigm contains independent statistical components that divide substantially into two general dimensions of intergenerational solidarity: (1) Structural-behavioural (associational solidarity, functional solidarity and structural solidarity), and (2) Cognitive-affective (affectual solidarity, consensual solidarity, normative solidarity)" (Mancini & Blieszner 1989; cited in Lowenstein et al., 2001: 25). In this case, the paradigm enables two important opportunities for studies on intergenerational relationships: firstly, measures centred on the dimensions of the solidarity model make available methodologically credible and valid instruments to assess the family relationships, and secondly, its structure allows a broad perspective, including latent forms of solidarity (Lowenstein et al., 2001).

According to Bengtson and Martin (2001), solidarity does not continually show stability in intergenerational relations, and conflict is in fact of an inevitable part of intergenerational relations. In their theoretical framework, solidarity is composed of—a horizontal dimension, in terms of emotional and supportive ties within families and conflict—and a vertical dimension, arising from differences and disagreements in conditions, expectations, and equality between family generations. These two dimensions can display different degrees of cohesion based on the family dynamics and conditions, such as ranging from high solidarity to high conflict or from low solidarity to low conflict.

The recent studies on intergenerational relations have given rise to criticisms of the solidarity model and have added a new dimension to analyse and to understand intergenerational family relations. This is related to "understand whether intergenerational families are characterised by solidarity, conflict, or ambivalence" (Lowenstein & Daatland, 2006: 206). Differences in opinions have occurred between the social psychologists who advanced and tested the long-standing solidarity-conflict paradigm in the studies on intergenerational family relations and critical theorists who have upheld the necessity of the concept of ambivalence in intergenerational family relationships (Lowenstein, 2007).

It is thus necessary to define the concept of ambivalence in intergenerational relations. As a form of critique, the notion of ambivalence is significant according

to both social psychologists and critical theorists in terms of identifying the differences and similarities between each approach. Bengtson et al. (2002) state as follows:

> Ambivalence is an apt term to describe the contradictions we experience in our intimate social relationships. We can feel it: the paradox between closeness and distance, the push and pull between intimacy and setting boundaries. Ambivalence is a phenomenological reality, a universal human experience, a reflection of the dilemmas we face in close relationships. (p. 568)

Smelser (1998) points out that

> Ambivalence is inclusive in that it can focus on people, objects, and symbols. Experience alone demonstrates the importance of this phenomenon. We may, for example, divide the world into people we love and people we hate, but on close examination that distinction fades. If we think only of those we love or like most, we almost always discover this feeling accompanied by something we do not like; and even the most hateful people turn out to hold out some morbid attraction or redeeming feature. (p. 5)

On the other hand, the literature on family studies reveals that *psychological/individual ambivalence*, which is experienced on the individual level (e.g. in terms of emotions, cognitions, and motivations) and *sociological/structural ambivalence*, which is apparent in social structural positions (e.g. with regard to status, norms, and roles), are the two prominent dimensions related to the research of intergenerational relations (Lüscher & Pillemer, 1998; Lüscher, 2002). The components are not independent of each other, for example, "individual ambivalence refers to the feelings or sentiments experienced by individuals when faced with structural ambivalence" (Bengtson et al., 2002: 569). Indeed, family relationships serve as a case of the connection between components (Lüscher, 2002).

Connidis and McMullin (2002), suggesting that the concept of ambivalence is highly appropriate in the studies of intergenerational relationships, have criticised Bengtson and his colleagues within the context of the solidarity model on particular points, such as ignoring the negative aspects of family relationships, causing a restriction in family diversity, and general theoretical weakness. On the other hand, Bengtson and his associates have tried to respond to their claims in this manner: firstly, the intergenerational solidarity paradigm is not a unidimensional model based on the positive aspects of family relations; by contrast, it provides researchers with the opportunities to examine family relationships by way of multiple solidarity dimensions. In parallel with this feature, the dimensions of the sol-

idarity model represent dialectic relationships: intimacy and distance (affectual solidarity), agreement and dissent (consensual solidarity), dependence and autonomy (functional solidarity), integration and isolation (associational solidarity), opportunities and barriers (structural solidarity), and familism and individualism (normative solidarity). When family members develop a positive relationship, the dimensions of solidarity are positively revealed in family relations. But when the family relations are not constructive, the dimensions of the solidarity model present the family relations negatively in specific dimensions (2002). In this case, conflict is a part of the intergenerational solidarity framework. The combination of solidarity and conflict (e.g. both high levels of solidarity-conflict and low levels of solidarity-conflict) varies depending on the family dynamics and conditions (Lowenstein & Katz, 2003).

Secondly, the intergenerational solidarity model is multidimensional; thus the diversity of family relationships is almost unlimited. The dimensions of the model are associated with each other but not in an orderly manner; they can be rather complicated. Disassociation between any of the six dimensions of solidarity can further be described as ambivalence (Bengtson et al., 2002). Last but not least, Bengtson and his associates have indicated that "the term of solidarity has become reified far beyond what we had originally intended" (2002: 575). Accordingly, the intergenerational solidarity and conflict model is being tested with new studies and is being theoretically restructured.

Theoretical and Empirical Developments

The intergenerational solidarity and conflict model is derived from a variety of sociological and psychosocial theoretical traditions, which deserve greater attention than can be provided here. However, I will briefly elucidate the relevant traditional perspectives: classical theories of social organisation, the social psychology of group dynamics, and family sociology approaches.

Classical Theories of Social Organisation
When referring to the classical social theories on the concept of solidarity, first encountered are the forms of solidarity devised by Durkheim as "mechanical" and "organic" concepts ([1893] 1984), and the distinction between two types of social groups which have been discussed in detail by Tönnies as "*Gemeinschaft*" and "*Gesellschaft*" ([1887] 2001) concepts. In Durkheim's ([1893] 1984) view, social solidarity emerges from the division of labour. There is a direct relationship between the division of labour and the individual, because when the division of

labour in society develops, the individual becomes more independent and auton-omous. However, as the independence of the individual increases, the bond with the society also strengthens. Mechanical solidarity is based on analogy, and the division of labour is quite limited. The members of the community are similar, feeling the same emotions, having the same values, and sharing the same sacred convictions. In these societies, collective consciousness usually dominates. Con-versely, organic solidarity is based on differentiation, and consensus dominates in this type of solidarity. In conclusion, Durkheim's distinction between traditional and modern industrial societies "identified two bases of solidarity-normative pre-scriptions toward cohesion and functional interdependency of group members" (Roberts et al., 1991: 14).

According to Tönnies, there are two contrasting systems of collective social order. The first is *Gemeinschaft*, in which social ties are based on accord and wishes of human, and they are developed and cultivated by roles, values, and beliefs. The fundamental root of this social order is in the family. Relationships among individuals are primary and are based on emotional bonds such as depend-ence, affection, and association. In this social order, the legal system enforces the system of positive law and norms regulating the relationships of individuals with each other. Moreover, religious ideas and forces determine the morality that links to the conditions, customs, and family status ([1887] 2001). For Tönnies, in *Gemeinschaft* relations, individuals have stronger bonds in their relationships with each other, due to normatively prescribed obligations (Roberts et al., 1991). By contrast, *Gesellschaft* relations are based on indirect interactions such as for-mal values or rational desires. The second system is determined by positive law; it is thus guaranteed and protected by political legislation. The core root of the second system is the formal regulation of trade and similar business. Relation-ships between individuals are official and are not determined by emotional bonds, but on consensus based on written rules (Tönnies, ([1887] 2001)). In this context, Tönnies' distinction between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft "provides a theoreti-cal basis for explaining the observed independence between attitudinal consensus and the other solidarity components among family members" (Bengtson & Rob-erts, 1991: 860).

Combining of Family Sociology Approaches and Social Psychological Formula-tions
The literature on small groups directed Homans and Heider to concentrate on the concepts of three solidarities, namely emotion (affection), contact (association), and agreement (consensus), that are mutually reinforcing in interpersonal rela-tionships. The social psychological theories of Homans and Heider posited that

intergenerational solidarity consists of high levels of affection, association, and consensus and that it has a unidimensional structure (Homans 1950; Heider 1958; cited in Bengtson & Roberts, 1991). In this formulation, "higher levels of any of the three sub-constructs would lead to higher levels of the other two constructs and solidarity as a whole" (Roberts et al., 1991: 21).

According to Homans (1950), there are four important components of human interaction determining group solidarity: (1) *interaction*, associated with the level of interconnectedness among the actions of group members; (2) *activity*, related to the extent of mutual activities among group members; (3) *sentiment*, referring to the level of mutual affection between group members; and (4) *norms*, shared similar normative commitments between group members which simplify their interaction. In other words, the compatibility of group members points to the frequency of contact between group members, the dependency of group members, the frequency of leisure time activities they performed, and the similar normative responsibilities shared by group members (Homans 1950; cited in Lowenstein et al., 2001; Roberts et al., 1991).

Heider (1958) also emphasised the significance of the components of *interaction* and *sentiment* between group members. He indicated that the similarities between individuals provide cohesion between group members. In Heider's view, his most important contribution was that particular configurations of interaction, likeness, and sentiment might be more stable than others because group members will exhibit greater solidarity depending on the frequency of interact and similar interests (Heider, 1958; cited in Roberts et al., 1991). At this point, five dimensions of intergenerational solidarity model can be determined by the contributions of classical and social psychological formulations: normative integration, functional interdependence, similarity or consensus, mutual affection, and interaction (Lowenstein et al., 2001; Roberts et al., 1991). However, these dimensions of the solidarity model have been completed by adding the sixth element to this formulation. A single conceptual framework was realised by the contribution of Nye and Nushing (1969), its dimensions being associational integration, affectual integration, consensual integration, functional integration, normative integration, and *goal* integration (Nye & Nushing, 1969; cited in Roberts et al., 1991). On the other hand, Bengtson and Schrader (1982) identified the dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model by positing structural solidarity instead of goal interaction. These are the ultimate dimensions of the paradigm: associational solidarity, affectual solidarity, consensual solidarity, functional solidarity, normative solidarity, and structural solidarity (Lowenstein et al., 2001; Roberts et al., 1991).

2.2   The Role Theory

The role theory is interested in the study of behaviours that "are characteristic of persons within contexts and with various processes that presumably produce, explain, or are affected by those behaviors" (Biddle, 1979: 4). The role theory has analysed the social construction of gender categories, identified as "sex roles" or "gender roles" in social structures, and to how these are enacted (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Gender role, containing the descriptions defined by the culture in which it exists, is learned through the process of socialisation and is consolidated permanently throughout the lives of individuals (Facio et al., 2012). Accordingly, "[t]he role theory concerns one of the most important features of social life, characteristic behavior patterns, or *roles*. It explains roles by presuming that persons are members of *social positions* and hold *expectations* for their own behaviors and those of other persons" (Biddle, 1986: 67).

Role theorists concentrate on five key concepts to investigate the issues of social positions, expectations, effects of roles, etc.: (1) *consensus* symbolises the agreement in expectations among individuals; (2) *conformity* states compliance with some patterns for behaviour such as norms, beliefs, and preferences; (3) *role conflict* is defined as the contradictions between two or more incompatible expectancies for the behaviour of an individual (Biddle, 1986); (4) *role-taking* occurs that "a person holds veridical expectations in which he or she (correctly) maps the expectations of a sentiment other" (Biddle, 1979: 189), and it contributes to the personal development and social integration for construction of the self (Biddle, 1986); and (5) *role expectations* represent the behavioural events in the social system (Bibble, 1979). These concepts play a pivotal role in studies of role theory, and they denote one of the strengths of role theory, because it incorporates the examinations of wider concepts. This powerful feature has influenced the approaches of many studies (Biddle, 1986) within the context of small groups, families, communities, classrooms, kinship systems, formal organisations, counselling, education (Biddle, 1979), and division of domestic labour.

For example, Burr (1971) investigated whether the discrepancies between role expectations and role behaviour affect marital satisfaction by using the role theory perspective. Goldscheider and Goldscheider (1992) examined the effects of gender role attitudes among young men and women within the context of education and residential independence. Serovich and Price (1994) analysed the quality of in-law relationships by applying the role theory perspective. According to Lowenstein and Daatland (2006), role theory is one of the parts of the intergenerational solidarity paradigm:

> A variant is role theory, as applied to gender-specific roles and to the interactional roles of [intergenerational family members]; it may be particularly useful for understanding how filial norms in families are constructed. (p. 207)

Silverstein et al. (2006) analysed the effects of familial obligations on adult children in terms of caring for elderly parents. They discussed the results in terms of the persistence of gender role differentiation and the contingent linkage between latent solidarity represented by cognitive-emotional factors (such as feelings of obligation and emotional closeness), and manifest solidarity represented functional aspects of family life (such as exchanges of assistance). In addition, Lee et al. (1994) examined the association between two dimensions of the intergenerational solidarity model, normative solidarity (such as filial responsibility expectations) and functional solidarity (such as exchange of assistance and mutual support).

In this dissertation, the role theory will contribute to analysing the roles of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, being two different generations, within the context of role expectations and familial obligations in Kurdish families. Role expectations affect the behaviours of individuals. Therefore, exploring expectancies for mother-in-law and daughter-in-law roles should demonstrate the consensus and conformity in their relationships and allow us to understand the familial obligations and familistic norms that have to be fulfilled by them. Thus the concept of role expectation, being one of the critical concepts of role theory, will have a prominent place in terms of examining the relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Notably, it will present significant contributions to analysing normative values and obligations.