Transmission of Family Culture "The Case of Grandmother, Mother and Granddaughter"*

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Abstract

Culture is the guide that enables us to understand and describe the formation process, gualities and conditions of society, which is expressed as a structure that contains systems and norms. Tradition, on the other hand, allows us to observe the reflections of culture in society and individuals. Traditions maintain their continuity in society by reinforcing cultural values and norms. In this sense, the transmission of values and culture between generations is possible with the family, the smallest subsystem of society. In this respect, the family contributes to the progress of societies. As a role model for children, the family institution guides future generations to learn their culture in shaping societies. In this context, the main purpose of the study is to examine the communication and interaction between grandmothers, grandmothers' daughters and grandmothers' granddaughters living in the same family chain in the transmission of family culture. For this purpose, face-to-face and online interviews were conducted with three generations, 30 grandmothers, 30 mothers and 30 granddaughters, who are in constant interaction. These interviews were carried out with three different interview forms prepared by the researchers to be applied to each group separately. The phenomenological method was used in the study, which was planned in a qualitative design. The data obtained were processed and analysed in MAXODA program. Themes were formed by the analyses. As a result, it was thought that increasing studies on intergenerational culture transmission and intergenerational communication and interaction would provide new generations with awareness of family culture.

Keywords: Generation, Grandmother, Mother, Granddaughter, Cultural Transmission, Family Culture

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INTRODUCTION

The existence of societies that have emerged with the history of humanity and that contain norms and systems, the qualities they possess and the culture of the period they belong to are transferred to future generations through traditions that can be described as a mirror of culture. Although traditions, which can be expressed as social elements, deteriorate over time, they continue to function as cultural reinforcements. In this sense, the transmission of values and culture between generations is possible through the family, which is the smallest subsystem of society. In this respect, the family contributes to the progress of societies. As a role model for children, the family institution guides future generations to learn their culture in shaping societies. In other words, the family institution forms culture, culture forms tradition, and together they form daily life (Burç, 2018). The reason why daily life experiences are affected by culture and tradition is the perception of society and vital needs that every social formation has had from the past to the present (Berger & Luckmann, 2008; Burç, 2018).

Today, with modernisation, the family, which is the key point of culture transmission, has passed from traditional family dynamic to nuclear family. Depending on this change, the issue of individualization of family members within the nuclear family structure has come to the fore. The concept of "individualization" is that family members have a sense of "I" rather than a sense of "we". This has caused family members' own expectations and wishes to take precedence over the expectations of the family, and thus, with the advancing technology, the number of lonely and alienated individuals who do not spend quality time in the family has increased (Capcioğlu, 2018). Rationality, a concept that comes with modernization, has led the modern individual to prioritize himself/herself in his/her preferences instead of having a collective identity or collective preferences. In this understanding, the individual demands unlimited freedom in his/her own preferences and is reluctant to share this freedom with his/her relatives (Touraine, 2014). However, the "traditional extended family", which is the family structure that includes many family members and is dominated by extensive kinship ties, includes comprehensive networks such as parents-children, grandparents, cousins (Canatan & Yıldırım, 2013). A family dynamic that gives importance to role and experience sharing, culture of living together and value transmission within the family is dominant in the extended family structure, which is built on traditional values. After the industrial revolution, individuality has been more prominent, although the existing values in the nuclear family model, which has increased in number, are tried to be preserved and transferred to other generations (Çapcıoğlu, 2018). Factors such as industrialization, mechanization in agriculture, educational needs, internal and external migrations, increased participation of women in business life, the expansion of communication and transportation networks and the changes in the urban structure have been effective in the increase in the nuclear family structure. The effect of this on the family institution and individuals is seen as late marriages, low number of family members, marriage decisions, spouse selection, first meeting styles in marriage, the change of the balance in the distribution of roles between spouses and the increase in the effectiveness of the qualities idealized by modernity on individuals (Canatan & Yıldırım, 2013). When the 2010-2014 data of the World Values Survey is examined, it is observed that there is a change in the beliefs and values of the traditional family in our country, which ranks first among the countries that attach importance to values. When the data of the Turkish Statistical Institute [TUIK] are analysed, it has been determined that with the increasing single person or nuclear family structure, there is an increase in the preferences of grandparents for nursing homes in their old age (Çapcıoğlu, 2018; TUIK, 2021).

The meaningful communication established by grandparents in the society with their grandchildren and children is effective in connecting them to life (Arpacı & Tezel, 2015). Especially with the women's involvement in the working life, parents entrust the care of their infants or their supervision in the presence of a caregiver, to their grandmothers due to their safety. This situation is associated with the role of grandparents in child development (Hazer, 2012; Yavuzer, 2005), the value given to grandparents, the trust shown in their life experience and the cultural value judgments of the society (Çiftçi, 2008). In this way, the grandparent provides material and moral support to the nuclear family by undertaking the care of the grandchild. In addition, studies indicate that caring for

grandchildren provides positive social and psychological benefits to grandparents and contribute to their life satisfaction (Durak, 2016). In his study on grandparents, Kartal (2010) stated that grandparents who take care of grandchildren tend to be less depressed. This can be explained by the fact that elderly individuals who take care of their grandchildren can feel themselves as part of the society and gain a sense of belonging, as stated in the United Nations Principles for the Elderly (1991) (Ministry of Family and Social Policies, 2014). The time spent by grandparents with their children and grandchildren is beneficial for themselves and their children. Bandura states that imitation, observation and modelling processes are required for learning (Santrock, 2011). Vygotsky, the pioneer of sociocultural theory, emphasises the necessity of interpersonal interaction for learning and cultural transmission (Kibar, 2008). Therefore, children learn values such as good-bad, right-wrong, justice, honesty, tolerance, modesty, respect, love, responsibility, benevolence at an early age by modelling and observing family members and spending quality time with them (Altan & Tarhan, 2018). At this point, grandparent-grandchild interaction is very important in transmitting cultural values and knowledge (Aydın, 2010; Canatan, 2008; İçli, 2008; Sweeting et al., 2005).

In their study, Tunca and Durmus (2019) determined that raising grandchildren has a positive effect on grandmothers, and that grandparents are a supportive factor in marital and spousal relationships, and they also contribute to their grandchildren's affective and cognitive development. In another study examining the reflections of grandmother-mother and grandmother-granddaughter interaction, it was stated that grandmother was an important factor in supporting the parenting role of the mother. In addition, it was found that the increasing quality of the grandmother's relationship with the mother strengthened the grandmother-grandchild interaction (Choi & An, 2020). In the study conducted by Uğur (2018), it was stated that grandmothers not only provide the basic needs of their grandchildren, but also support their personality development. In addition, while it was stated that the grandmothers conveyed their experiences in line with their own experiences, they also benefit from the current pedagogical knowledge under the influence of the middle generation. When an evaluation is made in this context, the fact that the definition of "responsible parent" is attributed not only to parents but also to grandparents indicates the need for them (Uğur, 2018). In this context, based on the importance of the existing relationship in the triangle of grandmother-mother-granddaughter in the transmission of family culture, this study aims to examine the views of grandmother-mothergranddaughter, who have a decisive role in the transmission of family culture, about family culture. In line with this main purpose, the following questions were sought to be answered:

1. What are the views of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters on the basic qualities of being a family?

2. What are the family perceptions of grandmothers and mothers, who left the family of origin, before and after having children?

3. Do the views on the transmission of family culture vary according to generational differences?

METHOD

In this section, explanations about the research design, study group, data collection process and analyses are given.

Research Design

The study was carried out in the "phenomenological" design, which is one of the qualitative research methods. In this design, it is generally aimed to describe individual perceptions, i.e. perspectives, which are generally directed towards a certain phenomenon (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005). In the phenomenological design, it is important to focus on phenomena that we do not have detailed information about, although we have a general awareness of a subject. From this point of view, phenomena can sometimes be events that we encounter in life, sometimes our perceptions and

experiences, or concepts and situations (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005). In this context, the phenomenological design was used to obtain information about the experiences and perceptions of three generations, namely grandmother, mother and granddaughter, the concepts of family institution and cultural transmission, which are important values in our lives. The study was approved by the KTO Karatay University Faculty of Medicine Non-Pharmaceutical and Medical Device Studies Ethics Committee (Project number: 2021/001). Faculty of Medicine Non-Pharmaceutical and Medical Device Studies Ethics Committee (Project number: 2021/001). Declaration of Helsinki was complied with at all stages of the study. Consent form was obtained from the individuals participating in the study.

Study Group

In studies conducted with the phenomenological design, the interviewees, groups and other sources of data should be selected from among those who have experienced and can explain the phenomenon in question, and who can express the details with their feelings and thoughts (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2005). Therefore, 90 people from three generations, 30 grandmothers, 30 daughters of the same grandmother, and 30 daughters (grandchildren) of the same grandmother's daughter, were included in the study. While determining the study group, criterion sampling method, one of the purposive sampling methods, was used. Specific criteria for determining the study group are as follows;

1. Participating grandmothers and mothers should be the birth parents of the individuals,

2. Participating grandmothers and mothers should be in regular contact/interaction with each other and with their grandchildren.

Data Collection

In order to collect data in the study, a personal information form developed by the researchers, which includes demographic information, and three different semi-structured interview forms, which are expressed in clear language and contain similar questions, were used to determine the perceptions of the participants in different groups about the same qualities and situations. The interview form was finalized after pilot interviews were carried out with three grandmothers, three mothers and three granddaughters in accordance with the criteria of the study group and the views of experts in the relevant field. The interviews, which were conducted on a voluntary basis and lasted an average of 30 minutes with each participant, were recorded. The research data were collected between July and November 2021.

Analysis of Data

The records created during the interviews were converted into written documents without any changes or corrections, and codes were given to three generations separately by numbering according to the order of application (GM1, GM2, GM3; M1, M2, M3; GD1, GD2, GD3, etc.). A total of 110 pages of data were obtained from 90 interviews. MAXQDA program was used to analyse the data. In the analysis of qualitative data, the answers given by the three generations were first coded in the focus of the participants' own answers. Then, the answers of all interviewees were divided into groups and the sub-codes were reviewed and categorically evaluated with the answers of other interviewees. Similar data were brought together within the framework of certain concepts, codes and themes, and then organised and interpreted.

RESULTS

Findings on the comparison of the views of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters on the basic qualities of being a family

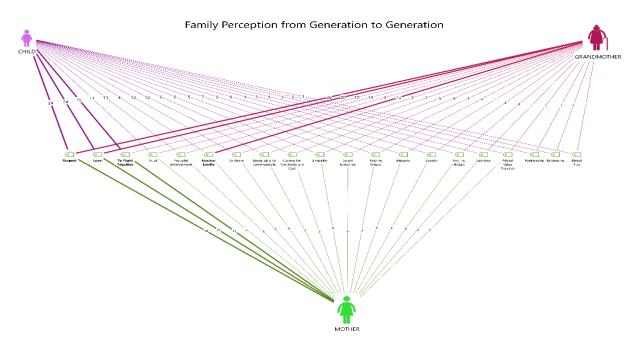


Figure 1. Three-generation code matrix of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters' views on the basic qualities of being a family

There are 20 different subcodes in the matrix, which consists of the answers of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters on the basic quality of being a family. While 17 of the subcodes of the three generations intersect in the answers of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters, 3 of them intersect in the answers of grandmothers and granddaughters.

Code System	GRANDMOTHER	MOTHER	CHILD	SUM
Samily Perception from Generation to Gene	ration			
💽 Respect	26	18	24	68
💽 Love	20	21	24	65
💽 To Fight Together	10	14	15	39
💽 Trust	10		11	26
🚭 Nuclear family	13			24
🚭 Peaceful Environment	9		11	23
💁 To share	3		13	22
💽 Empathy	4			19
💽 Being able to communicate	2		12	18
Caring for Traditions and Cust	5			13
💽 Feeling Valued	2			12
💁 Social Existence	5			12
💽 Loyalty	2			11
💽 Feeling Happy	4			11
💁 Integrity	1			11
💁 Belonging	6			9
🚭 Moral Value Transfer	3			9
💽 Partnership	3			8
💁 Sacrifice	4			7
💁 Blood Ties	1			2
Σ SUM	133	111	165	409

Figure 2. Three-generation code system of the views of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters on the basic qualities of being a family

The codes in the code system of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters regarding the basic qualities of being a family are as follows: respect (f=68), love (f=65), to fight together (f=39), trust (f=26), nuclear family (f=24), peaceful environment (f=23), to share (f=22), empathy (f=19), being able to communicate (f=18), caring for traditions and customs (f=13), feeling valued (f=12),

social existence (f=12), loyalty (f=11), feeling happy (f=11), integrity (f=11), belonging (f=9), moral value transfer (f=9) partnership (f=8), sacrifice (f=7) and blood ties (f=2). The 3 most frequently repeated sub-codes in the participants' answers are respect (f=68), love (f=65) and to fight together (f=39). The most frequently repeated codes of the grandmothers are respect (f=26), love (f=20), nuclear family (f=13), to fight together (f=10) and trust (f=10). The most frequently repeated codes of the mothers are love (f=21), respect (f=18) and to fight together (f=14). The sub-codes most frequently repeated codes of the granddaughters are respect (f=24), to fight together (f=15), to share (f=13), being able to communicate (f=12), peaceful environment (f=11) and trust (f=11). The least repeated sub-code is blood ties (f=2). Sample statements of the participants are given below.

"When you found a family, everyone should respect each other."...(GM10)

"Respect is unquestionably necessary. Although it may be your mother, father, or husband, respect should always be shown. Everyone has a certain limit and it should not be exceeded."...(GM11)

"The prerequisite for being a family is that everyone is respectful to each other."...(M10)

"To be a family, family members must respect each other and approach each other with love." \dots (M12)

"It is to live in a family environment with our traditions and customs, within the framework of respect"...(GD7)

"Raising good children is to teach them respect, love and struggle together. Even children should have a say in a home."...(GD18)

Findings on the comparison of the family perceptions of grandmothers and mothers separated from the family of origin before and after having children

Two-Cases Model for Emotion-State Before Becoming a Mother

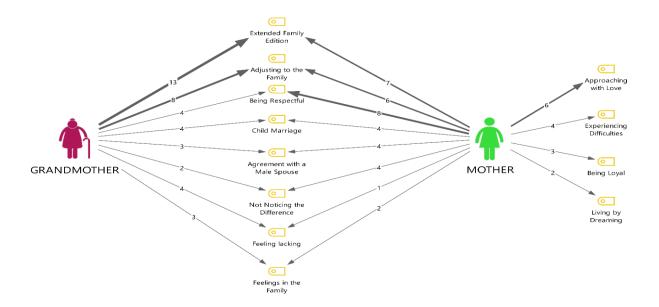


Figure 3. Two case models of grandmothers' and mothers' perceptions of family before having children

It is seen that there are 8 codes in the intersecting sub-codes related to the family perceptions of grandmothers and mothers before they have children: living in an extended family, adapting to the family, being respectful, marrying at a young age, getting alongwith the spouse, having no differences, feeling incomplete, feeling belonging to the family. In mothers, the sub-codes of approaching with love, experiencing difficulties, being loyal and living by dreaming were excluded from the intersection sub-codes. Among these subcodes, the most frequently repeated subcodes for grandmothers were living in an extended family and adapting to the family, while for mothers, the most frequently repeated subcodes were being respectful, living in an extended family and adapting to the family. Sample statements of the participants are given below.

"I used to live with my mother-in-law, I didn't know what family means. I was a child, I used to fill the stove bucket, burn it, do housework, look after the sheep, cook. It was like labor, not marriage, or family."...(GM2)

"I was just a child because I got married at the age of 14."...(GM3)

"For me, family was a home consisting of two people."...(GM28)

"It was to obey my husband."...(GM30)

"Before I had a child, I did not understand what marriage meant. I said, "Is this what marriage is?" I thought of family as my parents and siblings. My mother said, "You got married, you have a family too. When I said "You are my family," she said "You will understand in the future."...(M11)

Two-Cases Model for Emotion-State After Becoming a Mother

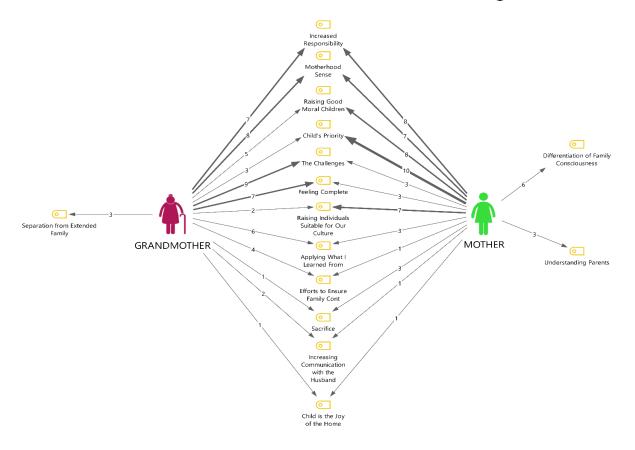


Figure 4. Two case models of grandmothers' and grandmothers' daughters' (mothers') perceptions of family after having children

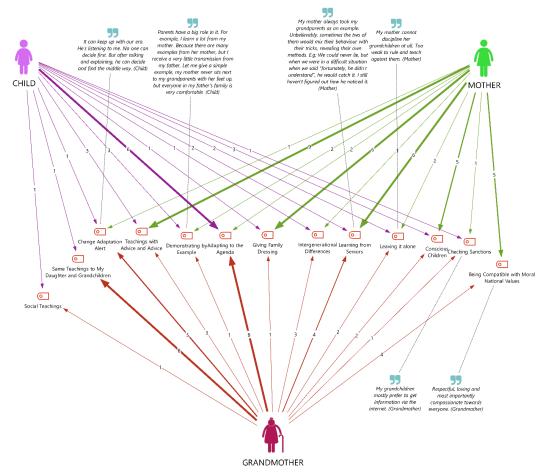
12 codes were found in the intersecting sub-codes regarding the family perceptions of grandmothers and mothers after having children: increased responsibility, sense of motherhood, raising children with good morals, prioritizing the child, challenges, feeling complete, raising individuals in accordance with our culture, applying what I learnt (from my mother), efforts to ensure the continuity of the family, sacrifice, increase in communication with the spouse, child is the joy of the house. The sub-codes of separation from the extended family in grandmothers, differentation in family consciousness and understanding parents in mothers were excluded from the intersection subcodes. Among these sub-codes, the most frequently repeated sub-codes for grandmothers were challenges, sense of motherhood, increased responsibility and feeling complete, while the most frequently repeated sub-codes for mothers were prioritizing the child, increased responsibility, raising children with good morals, the sense of motherhood and raising individuals in accordance with our culture. Sample statements of the participants are given below.

"After having children, we realised that the concept of family is more important as our responsibilities increased."... (GM24)

"It is the delicious taste inside the walnut shell."... (M4)

"My perspective on life changed. She was a part of my life, I started to think of everything for her."... (M18)

Findings on the comparison of views on the transmission of family culture according to generational differences



The Effect of Generational Differences on the Cultural Transfer

Figure 5. Three-generation code matrix of family culture transmission according to generational differences

There are 13 different sub-codes in the matrix, which consists of the answers of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters regarding the transmission of family culture according to generational differences. 10 of the subcodes of the three generations intersect in the answers of grandmothers, mothers, and granddaughters. While 2 of the other codes intersect in the answers of grandmothers and granddaughters, 1 intersect in the answers of grandmothers and mothers.



Figure 6. Three-generation code system of cultural transmission according to generational differences

The codes in the code system consisting of the answers of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters regarding the transmission of family culture according to generational differences are as follows: adapting to the agenda (f=16), through recommended teachings (f=15), learning from elders (f=12), raising conscious children (f=10), being compatible with moral national values (f=9), applying the same teachings to my daughter and grandchildren (f=9), disciplining the family (f=8), being ready for change (f=7), setting free (f=6), demonstrating by example (f=6), intergenerational differences (f=5), checking sanctions (f=3), social teachings (f=2). The 2 most frequently repeated sub-codes in the participants' answers were adapting to the agenda (f=16) and through recommended teachings (f=15). The most frequently repeated codes of the grandmothers were applying the same teachings to my daughter and grandchildren (f=8) and adapting to the agenda (f=8), while the most frequently repeated codes of the mothers were through recommended teachings (f=9), disciplining the family (f=6), and learning from elders (f=6). The most frequently repeated sub-code by the granddaughters is adapting to the agenda (f=6). The least repeated sub-code among the sub-codes obtained is social teachings (f=2). Sample statements of the participants are given below.

"I taught my children what I learnt. I always told them 'this is appropriate, this is the proper way to do it', and they got used to it day by day."...(GM2)

"In the extended family my daughter grew up in, her moral and national values were passed on by her elders. The fact that she spent time with our elders reduced our responsibilities to some extent. It enabled her to benefit from the experiences of the elders and to get along better with them."...(GM5)

"In order to transmit the family culture, we should apply the traditions and customs we learnt from our mothers and ensure continuity to apply them to our own children."...(GD7)

"Family culture is the legacy left to us by our elders. It is to incorporate the behaviours and discourses reflected by them into our lives."...(GD12)

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This study aims to examine the views of grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters living in the same family chain, about family culture. Therefore, in the study, answers were sought by considering the basic qualities of being a family, family perception, and cultural transmission methods. In the light of the findings obtained, the results of the study were discussed in the context of the relevant literature.

When the views of the participants on the basic qualities of being a family were analysed, it was determined that the three generations mentioned common elements. The concepts that grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters frequently mentioned in their answers were love, respect and to fight together. The least frequently mentioned concept was blood ties. A woman who leaves her family of origin through marriage enters a new process of adaptation. This process is a multidimensional and educational process that enables generations to transmit culture to each other. It is considered as the beginning of many changes. Individuals' evaluations of this process may differ according to their previous experiences. For some, it is a period of time full of difficulties to be overcome, while for some it is a normal course of life (Marshall, 1999). Socially transmitted culture, depending on its own way of existence, evolves marriage and thus the family institution in its favour (Benedict, 2003). In Turkish society, traditions and culture construct the individual and social dimensions of marriage, which means the bonding of families as well as individuals.In this way, family culture becomes an indispensable quality of life. Love, which is an essential emotion for individuals to show closeness to each other and to realize internal bonding, contributes to the development of positive behaviors such as satisfaction, understanding and sacrifice in individuals. The concept of respect, which can be defined as a positive view towards the opinions and behaviors of individuals, is a culture as well as being an emotion. For this reason, unconditional and unrequited love and respect are the cornerstones for the protection and maintenance of family unity based on interaction (Özgüven, 2000; Satir, 2018). In a healthy family model, in case of any problem, family members should come together to seek solutions and overcome difficulties by making decisions together. The first of these steps is to face the problem and accept the existence of the problem. Acceptance will ensure the continuation of healthy communication between family members and prevent possible conflicts. In other words, by making decisions together, the experiences of the family are shaped in line with common values (Yiğit Sezgin, 2009). However, due to the decrease in the importance given to experience today, the need for traditional methods and knowledge has also decreased. While various factors such as globalization and technology have changed the social order, they have also made it inevitable for family structures to change. Depending on the changing economic, social and cultural conditions, the methods of education within the family have also changed with the participation of women in working life. Extended families, which are the most important environment in which traditional transmission and education are provided, have decreased rapidly (Oğuz, 2008). Undoubtedly, grandparents are the most valuable teachers of extended families, where education is provided without a specific plan and program. As models, they provide information to the next generations about their experiences and actions. Today, day care centers and nurseries have replaced grandparents who support mothers in education and care. The existence of educational institutions in our lives has enabled individuals in the same family to develop different perceptions and perspectives. Thus, the transmission of family culture has gained importance in the development of common values and thoughts of the family. In a study conducted at Akdeniz University, the fact that university students differ in their understanding of elders and grandparents according to their family culture (Tufan, 2007) reveals the importance of culture transmission to the next generations. While it was seen that grandmothers and mothers focused on common elements in the answers given about the basic quality of being a family, it was noteworthy that the third generation granddaughters also had the same opinion with them. This result is an indication that cultural transmission within the family still continues today. In this sense, it is understood that the family pattern, in which children's first socialization experiences take place, is the main actor in their lives.

In the statements of the grandmothers and mothers regarding their perceptions of family before having children, it is seen that there are common elements such as living in an extended family, adapting to the family, being respectful, marrying at a young age, getting along with the spouse, having no differences, feeling incomplete, feeling belonging to the family. In their statements after having children, there are common elements such as increased responsibility, sense of motherhood, raising children with good morals, prioritizing the child, challenges, feeling complete, raising individuals in accordance with our culture, applying what I learnt (from my mother), trying to ensure

the continuity of the family, sacrifice, increased communication with the spouse, child is the joy of the house. When their statements before having children are analysed, it is emphasised that the process of adaptation begins with marriage, and a sense of completeness is formed with the development of a sense of belonging in the individual. The mentioned adaptation process includes the interaction with the spouse and the spouse's family, the position of the woman in the new family, even problems and power struggles that may occur within the family (Sorokin, 2005). In this process, the woman first tries to realise her newly established family. Then she wants to expand her family in line with her cultural and social acts. She also wants the family she is trying to build to contribute to her own existence, belonging and self-realisation. All these needs basically depend on the quality of interpersonal experiences (Özmete, 2010). In studies in which women describe their feelings before and after having children differently, it is stated that the feeling of not belonging to the marriage and family and the separation anxiety are high in women who do not have children (Turgut, 2016). In the findings of the study, it is seen that grandmothers and mothers focused on the difficulties of having a child, increased sense of responsibility, prioritising the child and concerns about raising the child. This process, which can be attributed to different meanings from culture to culture, is expressed by women as the most fundamental factor in developing the sense of belonging to the family. Individuals who see themselves as complete want to provide a peaceful environment for their children during their growth process by developing healthy relationships. In fact, in Turkish culture, this intense anxiety experienced by parents develops a sense of dedication (Canatan & Yıldırım, 2013). In the study conducted by Demirutku (2007) on child raising styles and internalization of values, it was concluded that parent-child value similarities and value priorities are related to raising style. In addition, it is emphasized in the literature that the information that individuals have acquired from their parents is the main determinant in the acquisition of parenting roles. This situation is also seen as a determinant of the quality of the close relationships developed by the individual and his/her adaptation to marriage (Botha et al., 2009; Falcke et al., 2008; Luecken et al., 2009; Martinson, 2005; Topham et al., 2005).

In the findings of the study, it is seen that grandmothers, mothers and granddaughters emphasized the codes of adapting to the agenda and through recommended teachings regarding the transmission of family culture. They emphasised social teachings the least in their statements. Today, studies on culture transmission focus on grandparent-grandchild interaction. Communication barriers between mothers and grandchildren cause conflicts within the family, which puts the responsibility of transmitting cultural elements to the next generation on grandparents. In fact, socially accepted leaders undertake the task of being a mediator in the family (Özabacı & Erkan, 2014). Today, the responsibility of caring for and educating the child, shared by the grandparent with the mother, contributes to the grandparent in terms of communication, personal skills and keeping up with the period in the context of lifelong learning (Altan & Tarhan, 2018). The channels created in grandparent-grandchild communication support the child's positive personality traits (Miller, 2008; Santrock, 2011). Ciftci (2008) pointed out that living in the same family with individuals from different generations provides different benefits for each individual. Canatan (2008) stated that this situation is functional in ensuring social continuity and preventing the disappearance of values. In short, experience sharing has an important role in the process of transferring shared values, beliefs, traditions, relationships and symbol systems from generation to generation. As Bandura and Vygotsky emphasised, children learn through interaction (Kibar, 2008; Miller, 2008).

The society, which is a complex and concrete form of the culture of living together, is a cultural element. The human part of the existence is composed of family-society-culture. Therefore, the family, the cornerstone of human culture, which educates individuals and brings them into society, is a qualified school in this sense. In the changing and transforming world order, interactions within the family still maintain their importance, depending on the family's ability to protect and maintain the social culture.

There are several limitations of the study. One of these is that face-to-face interviews could not be conducted with some of the grandmothers due to the pandemic period. Interviews were conducted as video calls or telephone interviews via Whatsapp application. Another limitation is that consecutive interviews could not be conducted with the families since grandmothers, mothers and grandchildren living in the same family chain live in different villages and central districts.

Suggestions for Future Research

Within the scope of our study carried out in the context of grandmother-mothergranddaughter, our suggestions for future research and researchers in line with our findings on the elements that are sub-headings of family culture are as follows;

- 1. The concepts that stand out in the basic qualities of being a family, namely love, respect and struggling together, were expressed by all three generations. This is an indication that there is still a common understanding in terms of common values or values emphasised within the family. Therefore, the undeniable influence of the main actors within the family pattern on young generations emerges. In line with this finding, our recommendation for future research and researchers is to plan studies in which grandparents are included in studies carried out in different family-oriented subject areas. In addition, in studies designed for family involvement in child education and development, different studies focusing on grandparents' awareness of educational activities can be conducted. In addition, the effectiveness of the programmes offered by training grandparents on a skill or subject for the education of the child can be evaluated in the context of the transfer of knowledge between generations.
- 2. The concepts of extended family, family ties, belonging, responsibility and continuity, which come to the fore in terms of family perception, show that all three generations need to be together and supported. In this sense, our recommendation for future research and researchers is to carry out studies that will contribute to strengthening the existing family connections in our society, protecting family unity and ensuring the sustainability of the family phenomenon. In this sense, it can be emphasised that the concept of family, which has been the focus of many different disciplines for years, should be addressed in various aspects.
- 3. "Adapting to the agenda" and "recommended teachings" are the prominent concepts related to culture transmission methods. These concepts show that although the cultural structure and understanding of societies change, all three generations try to adapt to each other. In this direction, our recommendation for future studies and researchers is to provide trainings on current child rearing approaches suitable for all ages and educational levels. In order for children to develop understanding towards their parents and grandparents, programmes and activities should be organised where they can receive education and participate in activities together.

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