

PERCEIVED PARENTING BEHAVIORS, NEEDS SATISFACTION, and WELL-BEING
AMONG ADOLESCENTS: THE ROLE OF CULTURAL VARIATION

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ABSTRACT

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There are studies investigating predictors of the relation among adolescents and their mothers, but there are few studies that investigate role of parenting behaviors and adolescents' appraisals. Besides, less is known about non-Western cultural atmosphere and adolescents' point of view. The main aim of the study was to what extent adolescents' behavior is predicted by their perception of parents and culture and whether their needs are satisfied. To investigate, 409 high school students ($M_{age} = 16.28$; $SD = .80$; age range: 15 to 18 years) from five different schools participated to the study. They rated their motivation, satisfaction of needs and intention to study after reading a vignette about academic failure. Three different types of vignettes were used in the study; psychologically controlling, autonomy supportive and guilt-inducing types. The results showed that when adolescents live within an autonomy supportive environment, their needs are more likely to satisfy. Also, when they live within psychologically controlling environment, they are more likely to defy.

Keywords: Parental control, parental support, basic psychological needs, culture

ÖZ

ERGENLERDE ALGILANAN EBEVEYNLİK DAVRANIŞLARI, İHTİYAÇ TATMİNİ ve İYİ OLUŞ HALİ ARASINDAKİ İLİŞKİLER: KÜLTÜREL YÖNELİMİN ROLÜ

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Ergenler ve anneleri arasındaki ilişkinin yordayıcılarını araştıran çalışmalar var, ancak ebeveynlik davranışlarının ve ergenlerin değerlendirmelerinin rolünü araştıran az sayıda çalışma var. Ayrıca, batılı olmayan kültürel bakış açısından ve ergenler açısından daha az şey bilinmektedir. Çalışmanın temel amacı, ergenlerin davranışlarının, ebeveynleri hakkındaki algıları ve kültürler yönelimlerinin ergenlerin davranışlarını ne ölçüde tahmin edeceği ve temel psikolojik ihtiyaçlarının karşılanıp karşılanmadığını görmektir. Araştırmaya, beş farklı okuldan 409 lise öğrencisi ($M_{yaş} = 16.28$; $SS = .80$; yaş aralığı: 15-18) katıldı. Katılımcılar, akademik başarısızlıkla ilgili annelerinin tepkilerinin yer aldığı bir vinyet okuduktan sonra motivasyonlarını, ihtiyaç memnuniyetlerini ve çalışma niyetlerini değerlendirdiler. Çalışmada farklı ebeveynlik davranışı içeren üç vinyet türü kullanılmıştır; psikolojik kontrol, özerklik destekleyici ve suçluluk uyandıran. Sonuçlar, ergenlerin özerklik destekleyici bir ortamda yaşadıklarında, gereksinimlerinin karşılanma ihtimalinin daha yüksek olduğunu göstermiştir. Ayrıca, psikolojik olarak kontrol edilen bir ortamda yaşadıklarında, meydan okuma davranışını daha çok sergiledikleri görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ebeveyn kontrolü, ebeveyn desteği, temel psikolojik ihtiyaçlar, kültür

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Imagine two adolescents returning from school to home with the same poor grades in a critical test. Assume that their mothers express their disappointment in a similar way. Will the adolescents perceive in an identical way their mother's reaction? And if so, will they react along similar lines? Setting aside other interpersonal differences, the way the two adolescents may interpret, and eventually react to their mother sayings, might differ widely due to what they accept as legitimate in their mothers' behavior (Baudat, Zimmermann, Antonietti, & Van Petegem, 2017). What one might accept as legitimate may largely be rooted into one's cultural values that one may hold (Smetana, 2008) and this may somewhat explain why some adolescents may respond in a different way than others to a parental behavior that seems phenomenologically the same.

Indeed, recent research (Chen, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Van Petegem & Beyers, 2016) has shown that Chinese adolescents (who are typically considered to belong to a collectivistic society) perceived parental guilt-induction less embarrassing than Belgian adolescents (who are typically considered to hold more individualistic values). But what happens among adolescents who live within the same culture, but not necessarily share the same cultural values? Do adolescents who may differ in the individualistic or collectivistic values they may mainly endorse interpret in a different way what their mothers' parenting practices. And on top of that, or apart from that, do they react in a different way to their mothers' requests and demands? In this thesis, I am going to rely on the Self-Determination Theory (Ryan & Deci, 2017) and examine first, the function of individualistic versus collectivistic values in adolescents' perceptions of parenting behavior and second to what extent such values may predict adolescents' behavioral intentions and feelings in response to parental reaction after an unfortunate event. Shedding light on this issue may help us

better predict when and why adolescents may react in certain ways either behaviorally or emotionally in response to their parents' commentaries.

Parental Need Support and Need Thwart and Adolescents' Functioning

According to the Self-Determination Theory (Deci & Ryan, 2000), all people, irrespective of their cultural background have three innate and basic psychological needs. These needs are the need for autonomy, competence and relatedness. Autonomy refers to sense of personal legitimacy, experiencing volition and psychological freedom in one's actions (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Competence is about sense of efficacy and feeling that one is able to successfully accomplish tasks (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Lastly, relatedness reflects sense of connectedness with other people in one's life (Ryan & Deci, 2000). Research has pointed out that adolescents are more likely to experience personal growth and optimal functioning when they satisfy their basic psychological needs. And to do so, they need to live in need supportive family environment where parents, through their behaviors, facilitate their children's need for autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Given that most adolescents live within family structure, the role of parents' involvement is crucial regarding development of adolescents and satisfaction of their basic psychological needs (Kocayörük, 2012).

Although all the three basic psychological needs are considered necessary nutriments of personal growth and optimal functioning (Sheldon & Niemiec, 2006), the need for autonomy is regarded as a critical component that explains human volition and self-determined behavior (Deci & Ryan, 2000). As such, it occupies a central role in the SDT-based research, which tries to uncover parenting behaviors with child's adjustment. For example, adolescents defy less and negotiate more their parents requests when they are treated with autonomy supportive practices by their parents (Van Petegem, Soenens, Vansteenkiste & Beyers, 2015; Van Petegem et al., 2017),

and they defy more similar requests when they are treated with psychological control by their teachers (Haerens, Aelterman, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, & Van Petegem, 2015)

But what kind of parenting behaviors could satisfy children's need for autonomy? According to SDT, perceived autonomy supportive parenting which refers to showing empathy, giving space for preference of adolescents and providing choices rather than restriction (Brenning, Soenens, Van Petegem, & Vansteenkiste, 2015) is beneficial for adolescent's well-being and social adjustment (Vasquez, Patall, Fong, Corrigan, & Pine, 2016) because it satisfies children's need for autonomy. Autonomy supportive parenting behavior has positive effect on adolescent's emotion regulation (Morris, Silk, Steinberg, Myers, & Robinson, 2007), their self-motivation, and well-being, an effect which has been found to hold across different cultures, such as Russia and USA (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001).

Furthermore, Brenning, Soenens, Van Petegem and Vansteenkiste (2015) have shown that perceived maternal autonomy support predicts increased emotion integration, with one-year interval. They stated that autonomy supportive parents typically show empathy towards their children, a parenting practice that helps the children realizing that showing emotions and empathy to others by relating themselves with them is acceptable. In that way, children learn to be more empathetic and this gives space to enhance their skills in regulating effectively their emotions and in verbally expressing them. This kind of parenting behavior is favorable not only for situational, short-term effects, but also in the long run (Brenning, Soenens, Van Petegem and Vansteenkiste, 2015).

On the other hand, psychologically controlling parenting is characterized by intrusiveness and disrespect of child's personal and emotional private space, where the child is pressured to think, feel, and behave in parent approved way (Barber, 1996). A large body of research has

pointed out that psychologically controlling parenting relates to various ill-being outcomes. For example, parental psychological control can lead to adolescents' internalizing and externalizing problems (Joussemet, Landry, & Koestner, 2008; Costa, Soenens, Gugliandolo, Cuzzocrea, & Larcen, 2015) such as low self-esteem (Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Luyten, Duriez, & Goossens, 2005; Kindap, Sayıl, & Kumru, 2008) and depression (Barber, 1996; Soenens, Vansteenkiste, & Luyten, 2010; Kindap, Sayıl, & Kumru, 2008). A study with adolescents conducted in Turkey showed that perceived psychologically controlling parenting negatively impairs adolescents' psychosocial functioning through basic needs frustration (Tığrak 2017). Moreover, controlling parenting practices predicted more autonomy need frustration, and compliance (Van Petegem et al., 2017).

Furthermore, controlling parenting behavior can take place as by inducing feeling of guilt apart from pressuring adolescents to behave in particular ways. Typically, when the effects of different parenting styles on adolescents are investigated, researchers compare autonomy supportive versus psychological controlling parenting without necessarily differentiating external from internal psychological control. External psychological control refers to manipulative parenting practices to suppress children's autonomy in more overt and visible way, whereas internal psychological control includes guilt-inducing and shame-inducing parenting practices. A mother for instance who says to her son that she will stay at home alone all night long waiting for him to return from his day out with his friends, could be a way through which a mother tries to instill guilt to him. Or a mother who tells her daughter that she is very much disappointed by her behavior and that she is so much ashamed on behalf of her could be another example of communicating in a guilt- or shame-inducing way.

The view that internal psychologically controlling practices can be equally harmful as externally psychologically controlling ones, is coming from studies which have pointed out that in addition to external control, guilt-inducing parenting relates to adolescents' internalizing problems (Rakow, et al., 2009). In a similar vein, perception of parental discipline, which includes shame inducing, has been found to have negative effect on adolescents' basic needs satisfaction (Chen et al., 2016) and self-esteem across different cultures, such as Canada and China (Helwig, To Wang, Liu, & Yang, 2014). Given that internal psychological control has received much less attention so far (Brenning et al., 2019) and given that research from education has shown that guilt-inducing practices on behalf of teachers relates negatively to adolescents' adjustment and well-being (De Meyer, Soenens, Aelterman, De Bourdeaudhuij, & Haerens, 2016), there is more need to investigate the effects of such internal psychologically controlling parenting practices on adolescents' well-being and behavior because it is prudent to think that in many occasions mothers may exert not only external but also internal psychological control towards their children. Which can be crucial information for better understanding of the different parenting behaviors on adolescent's well-being and satisfaction of needs. In sum, the way a mother discusses a certain issue with her child may have totally different effects, depending on whether she does so in an autonomy supportive way or in intrusive, psychologically controlling way (either internally or externally). For example, an adolescent is more likely to volitionally follow a rule set by her mother when this is presented in an autonomy supportive, non-intrusive manner (Grusec, 2017).

Adolescence represents a developmental period during which adolescents strive for more independence thereby expressing often disagreement with the rules imposed on them (Steinberg & Morris, 2001). Yet, their responses may vary. A recent review showed that when adolescents are exposed in controlling parenting behaviors, in a sense that their autonomy is suppressed, they

may suffer in various ways: They may show low quality of motivation, higher ill-being like depression, more unhealthy eating habits like binge eating and various misbehaviors like defiance (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013). Regarding behavioral outcomes (Van Petegem et al., 2017; Soenens et al., 2018) have shown how psychologically controlling parenting can affect adolescents' behavioral in four different domains. Specifically, they showed that adolescents who frustrated their needs because of psychological control, complied less, defied more, negotiated more and perceived the rules imposed on them by their parents as less legitimate compared to adolescents who did not frustrate their needs.

In sum, a critical point from the above description linking need supportive parenting with adolescents' needs satisfaction, and in turn with optimal functioning, is that parents' need supportive or need thwarting behaviors are subjectively evaluated as such by the adolescents (Chen et al., 2016). Simply, how adolescents perceive the behavior of parent is important criterion. Perception of adolescent plays a crucial role in response to the specific discipline behavior. This means that a set of parental behaviors may take different psychological meaning for one child compared to another one. What a mother says to her child may be regarded as more intrusive for one child but not as much for another. For example, while some adolescents perceive same parenting behaviors as psychologically controlling, some others may perceive the very same parenting behavior as moderate controlling (Chen et al., 2016). Either, an adolescent may interpret a parenting behavior as harsh, but another may interpret it as benign (Chao, 1994). A pertinent question then is what factors may explain the different ways that some adolescents may perceive the same situation (according to some objective criteria) than some other adolescents. Do cultural values play a role for such different interpretation? Contribution of the explanatory role of the cultural values will be explained in the next section.

Individualism, Collectivism, and Adolescents' Functioning

Culture and values of specific society set the framework of interpersonal relations. Thus, parents give their effort to raise their child in accordance with a set of unwritten rules, through which their child can better adapt to the society. One of the cultural dimensions that have received a lot of attention because it nicely captures cultural differences between Western countries and East Asian countries concerns the individualistic-collectivistic dimension (Marcus, Ceylan, & Ergin, 2017). Individualism mainly refers to the notion that an individual is disjoint from another individual in a society and acts primarily according to his or her own preferences, whereas collectivism favors the idea that group members should be closely linked to each other and should give more importance to the collective goals than personal preferences (Triandis, 2018).

In the 1980s, a number of self-theories emerged that set the foreground of the individualistic self - the idea that no one should be closely attached to anyone (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010). So, there was an emphasis to individualism in the early researches about cultural differences. However, in the last decades, cultural studies (Kagitcibasi, 2005) have shown that relatedness may be even more important than individualism, at least in certain cultures. This is valuable information because it is unthinkable that individuals cannot be affected by the environment they live in. In support of this view, a study has shown that individuals living in US used more egocentric words while defining themselves, compared to people living in India who used more sociocentrism structure in their words (Shweder & Bourne, 1982). From another point of view, Chirkov, Ryan, Kim and Kaplan (2003) counter-argued the idea of differentiation of individualistic and collectivistic dimension that with a study conducted with individuals from South Korea, Russia, Turkey and US. They found out that even participants from different cultural orientations,

autonomy is basic human need and it enhances well-being. They approached to the issue not from binary thinking of cultural orientation but from participants perception of culture.

With respect to parenting, in individualistic cultures more importance is put on the autonomy of individualism. In such cultural environment, a set of psychologically controlling parenting behaviors that directly circumvents adolescent's individualistic values may more likely undermine his or her need for autonomy. To illustrate, a mother who threatens her child to suspend Saturday's nights out because of misbehaving might be more negatively received by an adolescent who values higher individualistic principles. On the other hand, in collectivistic cultures more importance is given to the harmony of the group rather than on each member's personal needs (Chao, 1994); in such cultures parenting behaviors that directly appeals adolescents' collectivistic value – for example a mother who instills guilt to her child by saying how much derogative was for their family his or her misbehavior - may more strongly undermine adolescents' need for autonomy. So different types of psychologically controlling parenting may be especially harmful in contexts that may emphasize more either individualism over collectivism and vice versa. As it can be seen, reflection of cultural values to adolescents' functioning may depend on how parenting behaviors may direct to issues that ascribe more importance to harmony or independence.

In support of this view, literature has shown how cultural values may affect both adolescents' responses and parenting styles (Chao & Aque, 2009). To date, most of the research about this topic was conducted with cross-cultural studies, and from the collectivistic and individualistic cultural perspective (Chao, & Aque, 2009, Chirkov, & Ryan, 2001). Such research has shown for example, that adolescents living in collectivistic societies perceive their parents' controlling behavior less negatively than adolescents living in individualistic societies (Camras, Sun, Li, & Wright, 2012). A similar recent study has recently compared the relation of parental

psychological control to adolescents' outcomes among Chinese (less individualistic) and Belgian (more individualistic) adolescents (Chen, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Van Petegem & Beyers, 2016). It was found, first, that the Chinese adolescents perceived the same parenting behavior as less controlling compared to the Belgians and, second, that Chinese adolescents showed more compliance than their Belgian counterparts. Chen et al. (2016) have also found that Chinese adolescents perceived guilt-induction parenting behavior as less controlling than Belgians who they showed more need frustration than Chinese. However, Chen et al. showed that, once either Chinese or Belgian adolescents perceived parenting behavior as controlling, they reported equal levels of need frustration. Furthermore, when Chinese adolescents got their need frustrated, they tended to comply more and negotiate less than Belgians. Another study found a similar pattern with psychologically controlling parenting behavior. Belgian and South Korean adolescents perceived parenting behavior as controlling, regardless of their cultural background and these perceptions related with more need thwarting (Soenens, Park, Vansteenkiste, & Mouratidis, 2012). Although psychologically controlling parenting relates with negative outcomes, research has shown that parents who take decisions for their children (an intrusive practice in most individualistic cultures), is not necessarily perceived as controlling in some collectivistic cultures, like China (Chao, 1994) or Ghana (Marbell-Pierre, Grolnick, Stewart, & Raftery-Helmer, 2019). In either case, perceived autonomy supportive parenting entails greater academic motivation and well-being for both Russians and US adolescents (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001).

As every human behavior, parenting behaviors are very much determined and changed by cultural values (Kagitcibasi, 2010). Such cultural values may vary not only from country to country or region to region, but also from family to family, because there could be multiple factors that may influence the cultural values of one family but not another, even though they both may inhabit

in the same neighborhood. In support of this claim, a recent meta-analysis has shown that about the four fifths of cultural variation was lying within counties (Taras, Steel, & Kirkman, 2016); apparently, within-country cultural variations should be examined to have more comprehensive understanding of parenting behaviors, adolescents' perceptions, and, eventually, their reactions. In addition, it is important to bear in mind that cultures may not be characterized as collectivistic or individualistic in absolute terms, as there is a matter of heterogeneity of cultures with the help of globalized world (Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002).

Cultural values play a profound role in human functioning. They can even affect people's attributions to others' behaviors. For instance, in the study of Sheweder and Bourne (1982), while US people attributed unwanted behaviors to the character of person, Indian people attributed the same unwanted behaviors to the context rather than to the character of the person. These findings lead researchers to study cross-cultural differences; however, a meta-analysis found that people in US do not exclusively favor independence as they reported relatedness as a key cultural values that they endorse as well (Oyserman, Kimmelmeier, & Coon, 2002). Further, research has also shown that in USA, a country in which independence is highly valued, autonomy and relatedness (which to some degree reflect, respectively, independence and interdependence) are both highly appreciated (Ryan & Lync, 1989). Thus, unlike classifying a country or a culture as having one characteristic it is more prudent to think that each country and culture combined different features. Put it simply, there seems to exist no pure individualism or collectivism, whereas within-country cultural differences cannot be overlooked.

Another role of culture in human functioning may be seen through parenting behaviors. Hence, there is a debate about cross-cultural studies in that some of the parenting behaviors should be evaluated not according to the main culture within which each family is embedded, but

according to the cultural values that the very same family and the adolescent mainly endorse. For instance, psychological controlling parenting behavior might perhaps be more functional in families with more collectivistic orientation because in this kind of families it is important to comply with parental rules, as following and obeying to family roots are important (Rothbaum and Trommsdorff, 2007). However, as Soenens et al. (2018) counter-argue, an adolescent may still volitionally comply with parents' expectations, without necessarily giving up his or her need of autonomy (Soenens et al., 2018). Thus, from the SDT viewpoint (Ryan & Deci, 2017), *perception* of the autonomy supportive parenting behaviors can be related to various positive outcomes including adolescents' self-growth and well-being, whereas, perception of psychologically controlling parenting can be related to adolescents' maladjustment ill-development and ill-being. But still, the way a parenting behavior is perceived may vary from adolescent to adolescent due to the cultural values he or she endorses. All in all, depending on adolescent's cultural perception, appraisals of adolescents may vary.

As mentioned, a large body of literature has been investigating parenting behavior grounding on bipolarity of cultural values, namely individualism versus collectivism. Turkey is one of the countries that cannot be specified only with one type of cultural values (Taras, Steel, & Kirkman, 2012; Marcus, et al., 2017). Specifically, Turkey is characterized by a mixture of traditional values (which resemble to collectivistic ones) and individualistic values, both of which are considered to have an effect on family (Kagıtcıbaşı, 2010) to some degree. Although recently a shift towards more individualistic values has been noted in the country (Marcus et al., 2017), the presence of both individualistic and collectivistic values in Turkey implies a considerable intra-country cultural variation. In this manner, it is important to understand adolescents' cultural values

when trying to understand when and why certain parenting behaviors may be perceived as psychologically controlling. Thus, in this research, within-country differences will be investigated.

The Present Research

In this study, I aimed to examine to what extent adolescents perceive their mothers' behavior in a different way, depending on her parenting style of communication, whether such perceptions would relate to certain affective and behavioral outcomes and if these relations would be moderated due to individualistic or collectivistic cultural values that adolescents may endorse.

Extending the paradigm of Chen et al. (2016), three different parenting styles were included to the study via vignettes. These were autonomy supportive parenting, externally psychological controlling parenting, and internally controlling parenting as a response to the hypothetical event during which an adolescent got lower grade than usual for an important course. So, the main cover story was the same for all participants, but maternal reaction was different. In the autonomy supportive vignette, the mother was presented as being sympathetic, supportive and helpful by providing constructive feedback and clarifying that she was ready to provide help if being asked so by her child. In the externally psychological controlling vignette the mother was presented as being threatening to the adolescent whereas in the guilt-inducing vignette, the mother was presented as being disappointed, thereby inducing feelings of guilt and shame. I used academic area for vignette because academic success is an important aspect of adolescents' life in which parents think that it directly affects their children's lives (Tığrak, 2017) and the most important reason for parents to penalize their children for academic failure (Aybars, 2014). Further, it is possible that adolescents' response to such a hypothetical event, may change according to the degree to which they endorse individualistic or collectivistic values.

In my thesis, I focused on four behavioral outcomes that previous research has shown that are good markers of adaptive functioning. Specifically, I focused on defiance, which refers to disobeying, disregarding, and rejecting others' requests, guidelines, or rules (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Research has shown that defiance is related with internalizing and externalizing problems (Van Petegem, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, & Beyers, 2015). Also, I focused on compulsive compliance, which refers to obeying the demand and giving up personal preferences (Grusec, & Kuczynski, 1997). Another adaptive functioning that I focused on was negotiation, which refers to engaging in a dialogue to express personal preferences (Deci & Ryan, 2004). Research has shown that negotiation is negatively related to psychologically controlling parenting (Brenning et al., 2019). Lastly, I focused on perceived legitimacy which refers to having a legitimate perception to rules, authority figure or situation, so that an individual, an adolescent in this case, obeying the rules willingly because of the perception (Tyler, 2006). Research has shown that autonomy supportive parenting was positively related with perceived legitimacy (Trinkner, Cohn, Rebellon, & Van Gundy, 2012).

Further, I examined psychological need satisfaction and need frustration as potential mediators of the relation between perceived maternal behavior and adolescents' behavioral outcomes. Also, I examined two motivational outcomes that relate to educational strivings. Autonomous motivation which refers to take actions volitionally (Marbell-Pierre, Grolnick, Stewart, & Raftery-Helmer, 2019) and controlled motivation which refers to take actions for reward or to avoid punishment (Ratelle, Guay, Vallerand, Larose, & Sénécal, 2007). When examining all these associations I took into account adolescents' reactance, which refers to adolescents' tendency to do opposite to the request made by an authority figure, request of mother in this case. I considered reactance because research has shown that is positively related to needs

frustration (Van Petegem, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, & Beyers, 2015). Also, research conducted with Turkish adolescents has shown that psychological reactance increased controlled motivation through need frustration (Tığrak, 2017).

In the literature, most studies examining the links between perceived parenting and adolescents' behaviors are correlational studies and most of them being conducted with Western cultural samples. In my thesis, I tried to experimentally manipulate the maternal behavior through three different scenarios – a mother reacting in an autonomy supportive way, a mother reacting in an externally psychologically controlling way, and a mother reacting in a guilt inducing way - that I randomly distributed in a sample of Turkish adolescent students. In that way, I attempted to examine to what extent the induced maternal behavior would relate to different affective, behavioral, and motivational outcomes, and whether individualism and collectivism cultural values that adolescents may endorse would moderate these relations. All in all, I aimed to provide more nuanced information about perceived parenting behavior and needs satisfaction of adolescents by concurrently considering the cultural variation that may exist from adolescent to adolescent. For instance, it is possible that adolescents who embrace individualism more may perceive the parenting behavior as more externally psychological controlling behavior; while, adolescents who endorse collectivism more may perceive the parenting behavior as more internally psychological controlling behavior. So, it was important to include culture as moderator in order to see if there was similar pattern with the literature in Turkey as well.

I hypothesized that, adolescents in the autonomy supportive maternal reaction condition would perceive this behavior as more autonomous supportive and less psychologically controlling than the adolescents in the external or internal psychological control condition (Hypothesis 1), and as a result they would report more need satisfaction and less need frustration than the adolescents

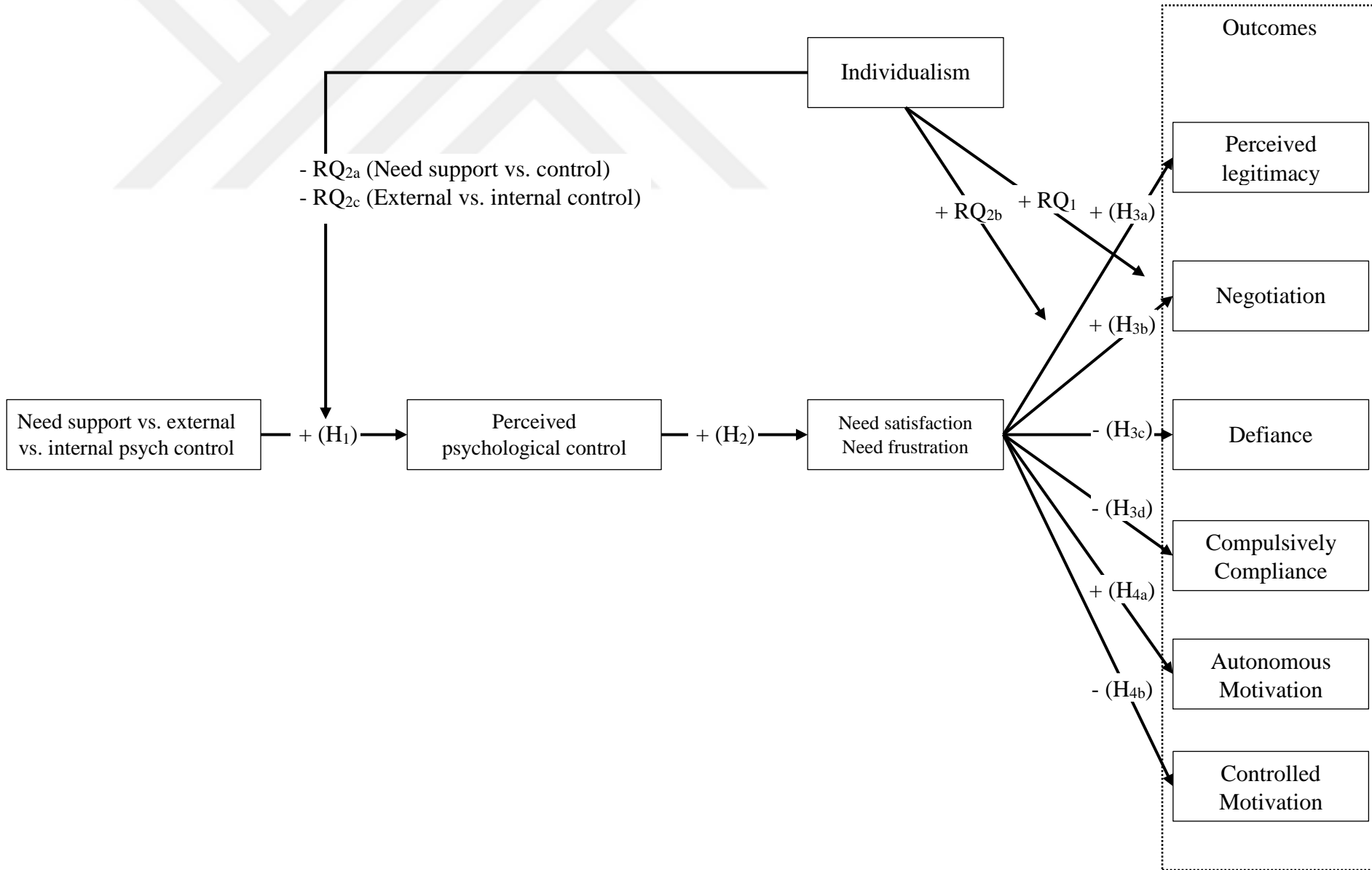
in the other two conditions (Hypothesis 2). Further, I hypothesized that adolescents in the autonomy-supportive condition would perceive more legitimate their mothers' reaction than adolescents in the other two conditions (Hypothesis 3a) because they would satisfy more their psychological needs. For similar reasons, I expected that adolescents in the autonomy supportive condition would report more negotiation (Hypothesis 3b) and less defiance (Hypothesis 3c) and compulsive behavior (Hypothesis 3d) than their counterparts in the other two conditions. A graphical representation of these hypotheses are shown in Figure 1.

Further, in line with SDT (Ryan & Deci, 2017), I hypothesized that because adolescents in the autonomy supportive condition would satisfy more their needs, they would report more autonomous motivation (Hypothesis 4a) and less controlled motivation (4b) than the adolescents in the two other conditions. Consequently, I hypothesized that the basic psychological needs would mediate not only the relation of perceived parenting to autonomous motivation and controlled motivation but also its relation to defiance, compliance, negotiation, perceived legitimacy (Hypothesis 5) as SDT has pointed out that need supportive contexts lead to better functioning because in such contexts satisfy their basic psychological needs.

Further, I explored whether individualism versus collectivism predict differences in the outcomes (Research Question 1). Specifically, whether regardless of the condition to which they would be assigned, adolescents who would report endorsing more strongly collectivistic values would report more compulsive compliance and less defiance, negotiation, and perceived legitimacy than adolescents who would report endorsing more strongly individualistic values. Finally, I explored whether individualism versus collectivism would moderate the effects of the vignettes on perceived psychological control as well as the eight outcomes (defiance, compulsive compliance, negotiation, perceived legitimacy, need satisfaction, need frustration, autonomous

motivation, controlled motivation) (Research Question 2). Specifically, whether adolescents in the two psychologically controlling conditions who are high in individualism as compared to those who are low in individualism would perceive as even more psychologically controlling the mother in the vignette (Research Question 2a) and would report even less compliance, legitimacy, need satisfaction, and autonomous motivation and even more defiance, negotiation, need frustration and controlled motivation (Research Question 2b). Finally, whether adolescents in the internal psychological controlling condition who are low in individualism (and thus high in collectivism) would report less negative outcomes than adolescents who are high in individualism (and thus low in collectivism) (Research Question 2c).

Figure 1



CHAPTER 2

METHOD

Participants

Four hundred and ten high school students participated to the study but one participant with many missing values removed from the data set, so resulting in four hundred and nine students ($M_{age} = 16.28$ years; $SD = 0.80$; age range: 15 to 18 years; 17 participants did not indicate their age). Participants were 10th and 11th grade students from five public high schools located in different regions of Eskişehir city. Specifically, 51.4% ($N = 209$) of the participants were second year at the high school and 48.6% ($N = 198$) of the participants were third year at the high school. One hundred and forty-seven of the participants (36.3%) were males and two hundred and fifty-eight of the participants 258 (63.7%) were females. In terms of family condition, 88% ($N = 360$) of the participants were coming from intact families; and, 95.1% ($N = 389$) of the participants indicated that their mothers were primary caregiver and answered questions according to that. Most of the participants were coming from families of average socio-economic status.

Procedures

Firstly, an ethical approval from TED university was sought and granted, followed by the respective approval from the Ministry of National Education. The data collection took place between January 2019 and March 2019, during which I, as the principal investigator of this thesis, visited five different high schools to inform the school principals and the school counselors about the purposes of the study and to explore the possibility to collect data in their schools in suitable class hours. All the five school principals and school counselors agreed to participate. Upon their agreement, an informed consent was sent to the parents of the adolescents in which it was mentioned the aims of the study, issues related to anonymity and confidentiality of their children's responses, and their children's right to quit the study at any

time. At the second visit, the battery of the questionnaires was given to the students, 91% of whom returned the consent forms signed by their parents. Students filled out the questionnaires in class groups during one class hour. Before answering to the questions, the students were told that there were no right or wrong answers, that their responses would remain anonymous and confidential and that they could withdraw at any time from the process without any implications. No student denied participation.

Survey administration took approximately 40 minutes and during that time I was ready to provide any answer or clarification to students' request. In each class, the students were randomly given three versions of the survey. While the first section and the third one was exactly the same, the second part which contained the vignettes (described below) differed from student to student so that approximately one third of students read a vignette depicting an autonomy supportive reaction by a mother, another third a guilt inducing reaction, and the other third an externally psychological control reaction.

Measures

The battery of the questionnaires consisted of two main sections. After participants filling the demographic information part, they encountered Section A, which included more trait-like, or global, issues such as demographic information, general perceived parenting behaviors, cultural orientation, and general depressive symptoms. Section B included to assess participants' perception, psychological needs satisfaction and behavioral responses to their mothers' behaviors in a figural situation, described in a vignette.

Section A – Global Measures

Demographics. Demographic form was given to the students. It included gender, age, class, family condition, and caregiver.

Perceived Parental Responsiveness/Support. This scale consists of 7 items from the Child Report of Parent Behavior Inventory and developed by Schafer in 1965 to assess

children's reports of parental behavior. Questions were 5-point Likert type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). An example item is "My mother smiles at me very often.". Its Cronbach alpha was found to be acceptable ($\alpha = .90$) (Soenens, Duriez, Vansteenkiste & Goossens, 2007). The Turkish version of the scale was adapted by Kindap (2011) and the Cronbach alpha was found to be .78. In this study, the Cronbach alpha was .91.

Perceived Parental Behavioral Control. This scale is developed in 2002 by Barber to assess Parental Expectations for Behavior and Parental Monitoring of Behavior sub-scales which has 8 items each with .82 Cronbach alpha (Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Luyckx, & Goossens, 2006) with 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). In this research, example item is "My mother asks me questions about how I am behaving outside the home". This scale is adapted to Turkish by Kindap (2011) and its Cronbach alpha was .78. In this study, Cronbach alpha was, $\alpha = .72$.

Perceived Parental Psychological Control. The 8-item Psychological Control Scale – Youth Self-Report (PCS-YSR; Barber, 1996) was used to assess adolescents' perceptions of their parents' psychological control towards them. The scale was translated into Turkish by Sayıl and Kindap (2010) and a sample item is "My mother is less friendly with me if I do not see things her way" and students answered to a 5-point Likert type scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 5 = *Strongly agree*). The internal consistency was $\alpha = .78$.

Perceived Parental Autonomy Support. This scale consists of 7 items and developed by Grolnick, Ryan and Deci (1991) to assess children's beliefs regarding whether their parents encouraged them to take their own actions by parents. This scale has been used in many studies and their internal consistencies were valid (Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Lens et al., 2007b; Chirkov and Ryan, 2001). In this study, Cronbach alpha was found to be .79. The scale, into Turkish by the author, was compared to another translated version of it (Tigrak, 2017) and found to be almost identical with the latter. Sample item is "My mother is usually willing to consider things

from my point of view” with 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*).

Perceived Parental External Control. This scale developed by Nelson and Crick (2002) contains 6 items tapping into at physical violence and aggression. Students answered to the 5-point Likert-type items with answer ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). A sample item reads as “My mother gives me a lot of care and attention”. The scale was translated into Turkish by Sayıl & Kındap Tepe (2016) and the internal consistency of the scale Cronbach alpha was found as .78.

Individualism. This scale used to assess variation of culture. The scale was developed and validated by Vignoles et al. (2016) and included a Turkish version of it. It includes seven components: Self-reliance versus Dependence on others (I), Self-containment versus Connection to others (II), Difference versus Similarity (III), Self-interest versus Commitment to others (IV), Consistency versus Variability (V), Self-direction versus Receptiveness to influence (VI) and Self-expression versus Harmony (VII). For the purposes of the present study the short, 22-item version of the scale was used. Specifically, three items assessing Self-reliance versus Dependence on others (e.g., “You try to avoid being reliant on others.”; $\alpha = .54$), two items assessing Self-containment versus Connection to others (e.g., “Your happiness is unrelated to the happiness of your family.”; $\alpha = .47$), four items assessing Difference versus Similarity (e.g., “You like being different from other people”; $\alpha = .60$), three items assessing Self-interest versus Commitment to others (e.g., “Your own success is very important to you, even if it disrupts your friendship.”; $\alpha = .67$), 5 items assessing Consistency versus variability (e.g., “You behave the same way at home and in public.”; $\alpha = .75$), two items assessing Self-direction versus receptiveness (e.g., “You always ask your family for advice before making a decision.”; $\alpha = .31$), and three items assessing Self-expression versus harmony (e.g., “You prefer to say what you are thinking, even if it is inappropriate for the situation.”; $\alpha = .53$).

Students were answering to the statements with 9-point Likert-type ranging from 1 (*Not at all*) to 9 (*Exactly*). The study from Vignoles et al. (2016) has shown that the Turkish version of the scale has proper psychometric qualities. Given the poor Cronbach alphas for some of the subscales (partly due to the small number of items per subscale), further analyses were conducted to examine the higher-order factorial structure of the scale. In particular, principal component analyses with promax rotation showed that five out of the six the aggregated scores of the subcomponents loaded onto two correlated but conceptually distinct factors, with the one factor being defined by the aggregate scores assessing self-interest versus commitment to others ($\alpha = .67$) and the other being defined by items tapping into differentiation, consistency, self-reliance, and self-expression. As such, the former factor was named self-interest and the latter individualism ($\alpha = .56$). Self-interest versus commitment to others' items were mainly about dealing with conflicting interests of self and others. They mainly reflected egoistic attitudes towards others in expense of self.

Self-Report Depressive Symptoms. The aim of the scale is to assess depressive symptoms and is was developed by Radloff (1977). It comprises 12 items (E.g. "I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing"), each of which with 4 likely answers in a Likert-type scale format ranging from 0 (*Rarely or none of the time/less than 1 day*) to 3 (*Most or all of the time/ 5-7 days*). This scale was translated into Turkish by Sayıl and Kındap Tepe (2016), and in the present study it showed acceptable internal consistence ($\alpha = .85$).

Section B: Situational Questionnaire

Vignettes. After filling in the pre-vignette scales, the participants were randomly assigned to vignettes describing a situation that could arise in students' everyday life - a mother's reaction to her child's failing in exams. The three situational vignettes were developed by Van Petegem, Soenens, Vansteenkiste and Beyers (2015). In its first part all the three vignettes were describing a situation where an adolescent informed his or her mother about an

unexpected poor grade after an important exam. Following this description, the mother's reaction was presented in three different versions. Students who were assigned to the autonomy supportive condition read about a mother's reaction showing empathy and support; students in the guilt induction condition read about a mother who though she did not shout to her child, she expressed her disappointment thereby instilling feelings of guilt to her child. Finally, students in the psychologically controlling condition read about a mother's reaction that was implicitly and explicitly carried messages of threat and punishment. Psychologically controlling vignette was translated into Turkish by Tığrak (2017) and the other two vignettes were translated into Turkish by the author. The English and the Turkish version of the three vignettes can be found in the Appendix A.

Ecological validity of the described situation. Having read the vignette that was randomly assigned to them, the adolescents were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 5 = *Strongly agree*) to what extent they considered that their mother react in the way it was described in the vignette. The single item that was used reads "My mother never reacts like this." and was used to test the ecological validity of the described situation. Moreover, the participants were asked to set aside the mother's described reaction and rate on a seven-point scale how relevant (1 = *Not relevant at all*; 7 = *Very relevant*) and believable (1 = *Not believable at all*; 7 = *Very believable*) to them was the given situation, and whether they had ever experienced a similar situation (1 = *Never*; 7 = *Very often*). Preliminary analyses revealed that the participants found the described reaction by the mother as quite realistic in all the three situations (M = 4.95, SD = 1.70 in the autonomy supportive condition; M = 4.76, SD = 1.55 in the guilt induction condition; and M = 4.77, SD = 1.59 in the psychological control condition).

Situational Perceived Autonomy Support and Psychological Control. Further, participants' perception of mothers' autonomy supporting and psychological controlling

behavior in the described situation was assessed as a manipulation check. Specifically, after reading the stem “If my mother would react like this, I would feel like ...” there were four items taken from the Perception of Parents Scale (Grolnick et al., 1991) to assess situational autonomy support perceptions (e.g., “... I would feel like she is willing to consider my point of view”) and another four items from the Psychological Control Scale (Barber, 1996) to assess situational psychological control perceptions (e.g., “... I would feel like she is trying to change how I see things”). Similar to the other scales, the scale translated and then back translated independently by two raters who, after comparing the original English and the back translated versions, they revise the Turkish version accordingly. The items were all answered on 5-point Likert-type scale (1 = *Strongly disagree*; 5 = *Strongly agree*). The Cronbach alpha for perceived autonomy support psychological control items was $\alpha = .64$ and $\alpha = .80$, respectively.

Situational Basic Psychological Needs Scale and Frustration. In line with Soenens et al., (2018), twelve items were used to assess to what extent participants would satisfy and frustrate their basic psychological needs for autonomy, competence and relatedness in the described situation. The items were coming from previous valid measures such as the Basic Psychological Needs Scale (Deci et al., 2001; Gagné, 2003), and Sheldon and Gunz’s (2009) measure of need satisfaction and frustration, with a pair of them assessing autonomy, competence and relatedness satisfaction and another pair assessing autonomy, competence, and relatedness frustration. These questions were intended to show how the situation participants read affect their basic needs. Example item for autonomy satisfaction: “I would feel a sense of choice and freedom.”, autonomy frustration: “I would feel obliged to do certain things.”, competence satisfaction: “I would feel capable at what I do. “, competence frustration: “I would feel disappointed with my performance.”, relatedness satisfaction: “I would feel that my mother cares about me.”, relatedness frustration: “I would feel excluded by my mother.”. These

questions were successfully adapted into Turkish by Tığrak (2017). In this study, the Cronbach alpha was .85.

Situational Behavioral Responses. Four different types of adolescents' possible behavioral responses to mothers' reaction - defiance, compulsive compliance, negotiation, and legitimacy - were assessed with the aid of the scales developed and validated by Vansteenkiste, Soenens, Van Petegem, and Duriez (2014). Specifically, defiance assessed how likely the participants were to confront their parents (four items; e.g., "I would do exactly the opposite, and study less; $\alpha = .86$). Compulsive compliance measured conformity of participants to a given situation (four items; e.g., "I would give in and obey her, even if I disagree with her"; $\alpha = .73$). Negotiation, assessed to what extent participants behave towards an agreement, rather than defying or complying to the situation (five items; e.g., "I would explain why I would agree or disagree"; $\alpha = .90$). Finally, perceived legitimacy of maternal authority, gauged to what degree participants would justify their mother reaction in the described situation (three items; e.g., "I would think my mother has the right to make this request"; $\alpha = .81$). All the items were on 5-point Likert-type scales ranging from 1 (*Strongly disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly agree*). The scales were translated into Turkish language and then back-translated by two independent raters and the finalized versions were found to be identical with another translated version, validated by Tığrak (2017).

Plan of Analyses

Collected data were analyzed with the aid of Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Preliminary analyses included inspection of means, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations of the study. The main analyses included three sets of tests. The first set included, one-Way Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) to test whether vignette manipulation was successfully implemented. For this analysis, situational perceived autonomy support and perceived psychological control were used as the dependent variables and their mean level

differences were examined as a function of the three conditions (i.e., autonomy support, guilt induction, and external psychological control). The MANOVA was followed up by separate Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) for each dependent variable separately, followed by Tukey's post-hoc test to examine where group differences existed.

The second set of analyses included, another MANOVA followed by separate ANOVAs which were conducted to examine Hypothesis 1 – that is, whether participants' group mean differences in psychological need satisfaction and frustration, autonomous and controlled motivation, and behavioral responses (i.e., defiance, compulsive compliance, negotiation, and legitimacy) as a function of the vignette manipulation.

To examine Hypothesis 2 and 3, a third set of statistical tests was conducted which included hierarchical regression analyses. Specifically, all the eight dependent variables that were included in the main (M)ANOVA were regressed on condition and individualism in Step 1 and on their possible interactions in Step 2. The three conditions were dummy coded, according to the principles described by Cohen, Cohen, West and Aiken (2003), with autonomy supportive condition serving as a reference group. Before creating the product terms between the three conditions and the individualism, the latter was centered according to the guidelines suggested by Cohen et al. (2003). The two-way interactions between condition and individualism were used as a test of Hypothesis 3. That is, whether the effects of guilt induction or external psychological control to the dependent variables would differ as a function of students' individualistic orientation. Because the regressions that involved the three conditions could examine only the differential effects of individualism to guilt induction or external psychological control with respect to the autonomy support condition (i.e., the reference group) an additional series of hierarchical regressions were conducted to examine the differential effects between guilt induction and external psychological control as a function of students' individualistic orientation. In these analyses, students assigned to the autonomy supportive

condition were excluded and the guilt induction group was used as a reference group. In all the regression analyses, gender, age, first caregiver of participants, their family condition, psychological reactance and depressive symptoms were used as covariates to statistically control for such potential differences.



CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Preliminary Analyses

The means, standard deviations and bivariate correlations of the study are shown in Table 2. As can be noticed, females as compared to males reported less compulsive compliance and more individualistic orientation, negotiation, and autonomous motivation. Also, older students reported less legitimacy and more individualistic orientations than younger students. In addition, perceived autonomy support related positively to need satisfaction, autonomous motivation, negotiation, and negatively to need frustration, defiance, perceived control from their mothers and self-interest orientation. Further, situational perceived controlling parenting related positively self-interest orientation, defiance, compulsive compliance, need frustration, controlled motivation, and negatively to legitimacy and less need satisfaction. Self-interest orientation related positively to need frustration, autonomous, controlled motivation and negatively to negotiation, need satisfaction. Moreover, individualism related positively to negotiation, autonomous motivation, and negatively to compliance, need frustration and controlled motivation. Also, defiance related positively to need frustration, controlled motivation, and negatively to compulsive compliance, negotiation, need satisfaction, legitimacy and autonomous motivation. Furthermore, compulsive compliance related positively to, controlled motivation, need frustration, legitimacy but negatively to negotiation. Negotiation related positively to legitimacy, need satisfaction and autonomous motivation. According to the results, legitimacy related positively to need satisfaction, autonomous motivation, controlled motivation and negatively to need frustration. Finally, need satisfaction related positively to autonomous motivation but negatively to need frustration. On the other hand, need frustration related negatively to autonomous motivation but positively to controlled motivation. Bivariate correlations were similar across three groups except a few ones that refer to gender.

Specifically, gender related negatively to defiance only in the guilt inducing condition, suggesting that males tended to report more defiance than females in that condition. Also, gender related negatively to compulsive compliance and positively to legitimacy and need satisfaction only in the autonomy support condition, suggesting that compared to males, females in that condition tended to perceive as more legitimate their mothers' reaction, to satisfy their needs and to report that they would compulsively comply with their mothers' orders; also, gender related positively to negotiation in the autonomy support and guilt inducing condition but not in the external control condition, suggesting that females tended to report more negotiation than males in specified condition. Also, while gender related positively to perceived control in the guilt inducing and external control conditions, gender related negatively to perceived psychological control, suggesting that females tended to perceive their mothers' reaction as more controlling compared to males in the external control and guilt inducing conditions; in contrast, in the psychological control condition, males perceived the mother's reaction as more controlling compared to females. Also, gender related positively to perceived autonomy support in the autonomy support condition, suggesting that compared to males, females perceived more autonomy support. Finally, gender related negatively to need frustration in the autonomy support condition and positively to the guilt inducing condition, suggesting that compared to females, males' needs were frustrated more in the former condition, and less in the latter condition.

Gender and age group differences were also analyzed through MANOVA, and its test was statistically significant for age (Wilks' Lamda = .87, $F(3, 383) = 2.27$, $p < .001$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .05$) and for gender (Wilks' Lamda = .93, $F(1, 397) = 3.89$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$). Follow-up ANOVA revealed that age differences were statistically significant for legitimacy responses ($F(3, 383) = 7.88$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .06$). Post hoc analysis with Tukey test after Bonferroni correction showed that the participants who were eighteen years old ($M =$

2.91, $SD = 1.22$), perceived mothers' reaction as more legitimate than the other participants who were fifteen ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.90$), sixteen ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 0.99$), or seventeen years old ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 0.97$). For gender, post hoc analysis with Tukey after Bonferroni correction revealed that males ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 0.82$) reported more compulsive compliance than females ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 0.91$); also, females reported more negotiation ($M = 4.18$, $SD = 0.91$) and autonomous motivation ($M = 3.59$, $SD = 0.83$) than males (respectively, $M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.01$ and $M = 3.37$, $SD = 0.81$).

Group Comparisons

Manipulation Check.

The MANOVA that was conducted to test whether there were any differences in the linear combination of the two manipulation check variables (i.e., perceived autonomy support and psychological control) among the three conditions was statistically significant (Wilks' $\Lambda = .612$, $F(2, 402) = 3.60$, $p < .01$, multivariate $\eta^2 = .22$). To find out which variables differed from each other, the follow up ANOVA was conducted. Follow-up ANOVAs revealed statistically significant differences in both perceived autonomy supportive ($F(2, 403) = 83.68$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .29$) and psychological control ($F(2, 403) = 85.95$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .30$). Post hoc analysis with Tukey test after Bonferroni correction showed that the participants in external control situation were perceived the mother in the vignette as less autonomy supportive ($M = 2.34$, $SD = 1.11$) than guilt-induction condition ($M = 2.91$, $SD = 1.66$), who also reported less perceived autonomy support than the participants in the autonomy-supportive condition ($M = 4.23$, $SD = 0.80$). As for the situational psychological control perceptions, participants in the autonomy supportive condition reported less psychological control ($M = 1.89$, $SD = 0.95$) than their counterparts in the guilt-induction ($M = 3.09$, $SD = 0.94$) or the external psychological control ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 0.99$) condition. There were no differences in

perceived psychological control between the latter two conditions. Taken together, these analyses provided evidence that the three conditions were successfully implemented.

Basic Psychological Needs.

First, it was tested whether participants differ in terms of their basic needs (i.e., need frustration, need satisfaction) across three conditions. The test was statistically significant (Wilks' Lamda = .61, $F(2, 399) = 25.40$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .22$). To find out which variables differed from each other, the follow up ANOVA was conducted, and it revealed statistically significant differences in need frustration ($F(2, 399) = 66.31$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .25$) and need satisfaction ($F(2, 399) = 91.04$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .31$).

Post hoc analysis with Tukey test after Bonferroni correction showed that the participants frustrated less their needs in the autonomy supportive situation ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 0.77$) than participants in the external control situation ($M = 3.10$, $SD = 0.79$) and guilt-induction situation ($M = 3.08$, $SD = 0.79$). There was no significant difference between the latter two condition. Moreover, participants satisfied the most their needs in autonomy supportive situation ($M = 3.98$, $SD = 0.67$) than participants in the guilt inducing situation ($M = 2.97$, $SD = 0.89$). Participants' satisfaction was the least in external control situation ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 0.94$).

Behavioral Outcomes.

In the last set of the group comparisons, it was examined whether participants' behaviors to the given situation differed across three conditions. The MANOVA test that included the linear combination of defiance, compulsive compliance, negotiation and perceived legitimacy as dependent variables was statistically significant (Wilks' Lamda = .61, $F(2, 399) = 25.40$, $p < .001$, partial $\eta^2 = .22$). Follow-up ANOVAs with Bonferroni correction showed statistically significant differences in defiance, compulsive compliance and perceived legitimacy (see Table 6). Post-hoc Tukey's test showed that the participants in the external control condition reported

more defiance than their counterparts in the other two conditions and that the participants in the autonomy supportive condition perceived as more legitimate mother's (autonomy supportive) reaction than the participants who read about a maternal reaction that implied either guilt induction or external psychological control. Also, participants in guilt inducing scenario complied more than participants in autonomy supportive condition; however, external control condition did not significantly differ from the other two conditions.

Motivational Outcomes.

Next, it was tested whether participants differ in their determination to study in the future (i.e., autonomous motivation, controlled motivation) across the three conditions. Follow-up ANOVA revealed statistically significant differences in autonomous motivation ($F(2, 399) = 4.28, p < .05, \text{partial } \eta^2 = .02$); however, controlled motivation was non-significant ($F(2, 399) = 1.45, p > .05$). Post hoc analysis with Tukey test after Bonferroni correction showed that participants in autonomy supportive situation ($M = 3.68, SD = 0.79$) experienced more autonomous motivation than external control situation ($M = 3.38, SD = 0.90$). However, guilt-induction situation ($M = 3.48, SD = 0.78$) did not significantly differ from the other two situations.

Hierarchical Regressions

Autonomy support versus Guilt induction and External Psychological Control

As said, to examine Hypothesis 2 and 3 which refer to the interaction between individualism and perceived maternal behavior, a set of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted. The dependent variables of the study (defiance, compliance, negotiation, legitimacy, need satisfaction, need frustration, autonomous motivation, controlled motivation) were regressed on gender, age, the two dummy variables (which stand for comparing autonomy support against the other two conditions), and individualism (Step 1) and the two-way interactions between conditions and individualism (Step 2).

Need Satisfaction. Regarding need satisfaction, both guilt induction ($B = -1.02$, $SE = 0.11$, $\beta = -.47$) and external psychological control conditions ($B = -1.33$, $SE = 0.11$, $\beta = -.62$) emerged as negative predictors in Step 1. This finding in essence replicates the results conducted through ANOVAs, above as they show that the participants in these two conditions satisfied less their basic psychological needs than the participants in the autonomy support condition. Of interest, is that while individualism did not predict need satisfaction in Step 1 its interaction with external control condition was statistically significant in Step 2 ($B = -0.18$, $SE = 0.09$, $\beta = -.12$). A test of simple slopes indicated the negative effect of the external control condition on needs satisfaction was stronger among participants who scored low (i.e., $-1 SD$) in individualism ($B = -1.54$, $SE = 0.14$, $z = -11.13$, $p < .001$) than participants who scored at moderate (around the mean) or high (i.e., $+1 SD$) in individualism (respectively, $B = -1.34$, $SE = 0.11$, $z = -12.73$, $p < .001$ and $B = -1.13$, $SE = 0.15$, $z = -7.35$, $p < .001$). This interaction is graphically displayed in Figure 2 and suggests that participants with low endorsement of individualistic values were somewhat more affected in terms of needs satisfaction (as their needs were even less satisfied due to the external psychological control condition as compared to those with moderate or high levels of individualistic values).

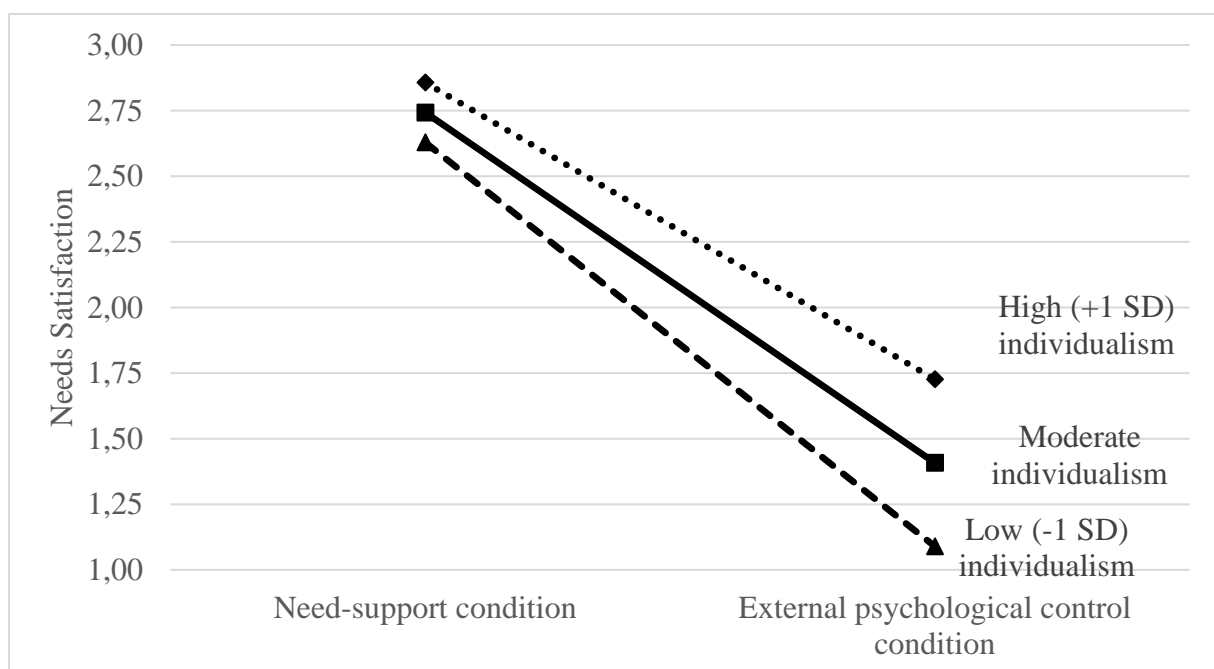


Figure 2. The difference in reported need satisfaction between need-support and external psychological control conditions among participants with low, average, and high levels of individualism.

Need frustration. The model was statistically significant in both Steps 1 and 2. Replicating the findings conducted through ANOVA, both guilt induction and psychological control were found to positively predict need frustration in both steps. This finding suggests that students who were assigned into the guilt induction and the psychological control condition reported more need frustration than students who were assigned into the autonomy supportive condition. Further, individualism was found to negatively predict need frustration, suggesting that students with more individualistic orientation tended to report less need frustration, regardless of the condition they were assigned. Although when adding the interaction in Step 2 yielded marginally significant effects ($F [2, 376] = 2.82, p = .061$), the interaction between individualism and external psychological control condition was statistically significant ($B = 0.19, SE = 0.08, \beta = .14$). A test of simple slopes indicated the effect of the external control condition on needs frustration was weaker among participants who scored low (i.e., $-1 SD$) in individualism ($B = 0.72, SE = 0.13, z = 5.52, p < .001$) than participants who scored at moderate (around the mean) or high (i.e., $+1 SD$) in individualism (respectively, $B = 0.94, SE = 0.10, z = 9.88, p < .001$ and $B = 1.15, SE = 0.14, z = 8.33, p < .001$). This interaction is graphically displayed in Figure 3 and suggests that participants with low endorsement of individualistic values were somewhat less affected in terms of needs frustration due to the external psychological control condition.

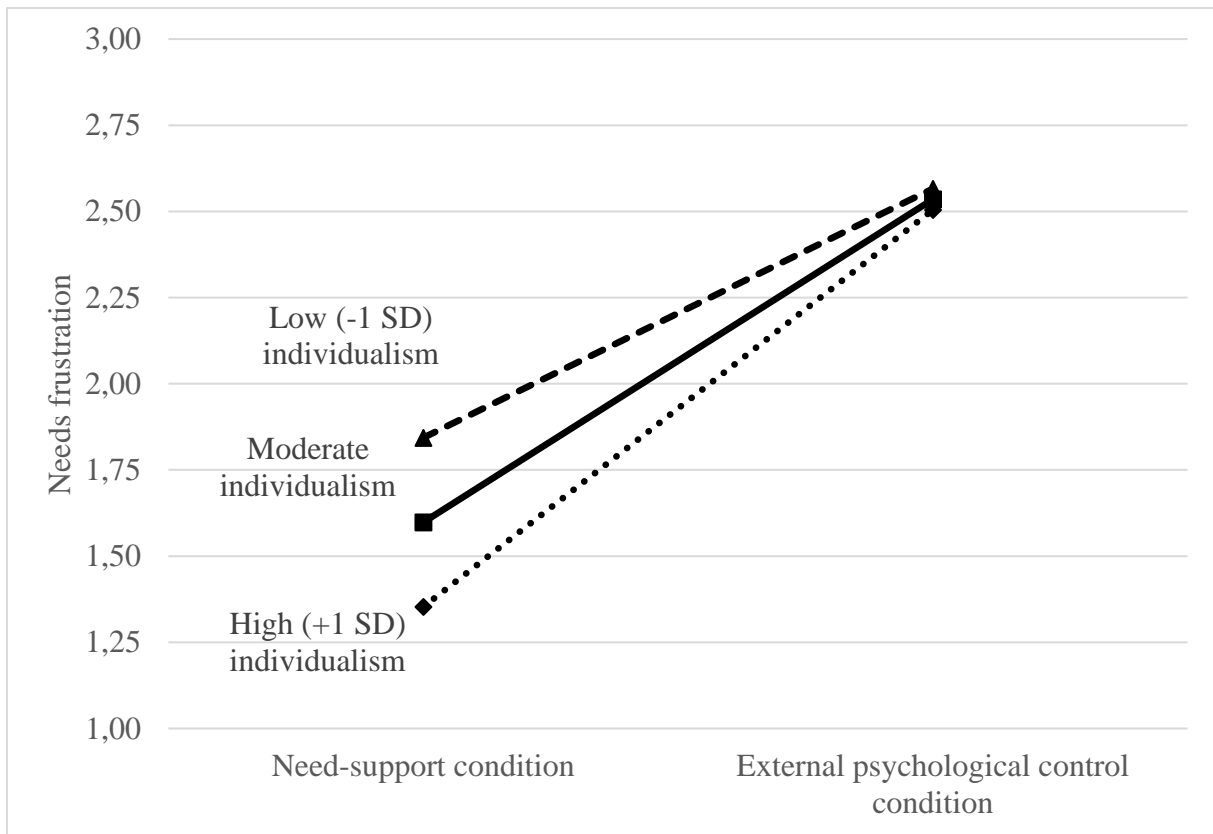


Figure 3. The difference in reported needs frustration between need-support and external psychological control conditions among participants with low, average, and high levels of individualism.

Defiance. Regarding defiance, only external control condition emerged as positive predictor in Step 1 ($B = 0.58$, $SE = 0.12$, $\beta = .28$), replicating the findings conducted through ANOVA. No interaction was statistically significant in Step 2. This finding suggests that students who encountered externally controlling parental behavior as vignette reported more defiance than their counterparts.

Compulsive Compliance. The model was statistically significant in Step 1. While guilt-induction condition was positive predictor, gender ($B = -0.24$, $SE = 0.09$, $\beta = -.13$) and individualism ($B = -0.18$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -.23$) emerged as negative predictors in Step 1. This finding implicates that participants in guilt-induction condition ($B = 0.38$, $SE = 0.11$, $\beta = .20$), reported more compulsive compliance than others. Also, males and participants with more

collectivistic orientation reported more compulsive compliance than females and those with lower levels of collectivistic orientation. No interaction was statistically significant in Step 2.

Legitimacy. For legitimacy, both guilt induction ($B = -0.30, SE = 0.13, \beta = -.13$) and external psychological control conditions ($B = -0.55, SE = 0.12, \beta = -.26$) emerged as negative predictors in Step 1. Replicating the findings through ANOVA the participants in the guilt induction and external psychological control condition perceived the maternal reaction as less legitimate reaction than participants who read autonomy supportive maternal reaction.

Negotiation. The model was statistically significant in Step 1. Gender ($B = 0.36, SE = 0.09, \beta = .19$) and individualistic orientations ($B = 0.17, SE = 0.04, \beta = .21$) of the participants were positive predictors of negotiation. This finding suggests that females reported more intentions to negotiate than males, regardless of the conditions that participants were assigned, and participants with higher as compared to lower levels of individualistic orientations tended to report more negotiation behavior. Further, when interactions were added in Step 2, the interaction between individualism and guilt induction condition was statistically significant ($B = 0.23, SE = 0.10, \beta = .15$), though the model in that step was marginally significant effects ($F [2, 376] = 2.55, p = .08$).

Autonomous Motivation. Regarding autonomous motivation both guilt induction ($B = -0.22, SE = 0.10, \beta = -.13$) and external psychological control conditions ($B = -0.27, SE = 0.10, \beta = -.15$) emerged as negative predictors in Step 1 and Step 2. Individualistic orientations of the participants, regardless of conditions they were assigned, positively predicted autonomous motivation positively in both steps ($B = 0.16, SE = 0.04, \beta = .22$). This finding suggests that participants who defined themselves as more individualistic reported more autonomous motivation. Another positive predictor was gender ($B = 0.22, SE = 0.08, \beta = .13$). This result replicates the findings conducted through ANOVA, and it shows that females reported more autonomous motivation than males.

Controlled Motivation. The model was statistically significant only in Step 1. Among the independent variables, individualistic orientation emerged as negative predictor of controlled motivation ($B = -0.15$, $SE = 0.04$, $\beta = -.21$). This finding suggests that participants who had more collectivistic orientations tended to report more controlled motivation, regardless of the conditions they were assigned.

Guilt induction versus External Psychological Control

As second set of hierarchical regressions, the dependent variables of the study were regressed on gender, age, the dummy variable (which stand for comparing guilt induction against external psychological control condition) and individualism (Step 1) and the two-way interactions between the dummy variable and individualism (Step 2) in order to check whether the effects of the two conditions on the dependent variables differed as a function of participants' individualistic orientations . The results of these models are shown in Table 8.

As can be noticed in Table 8, external control condition was significant positive predictor of need satisfaction, compulsive compliance and legitimacy, and negative predictor of defiance. These findings suggest that the participants in the psychological control condition reported more defiance and less need satisfaction, compulsive compliance, legitimacy than participants in the guilt-induction condition. Also, in that series of models, individualism significantly predicted negatively compulsive compliance and controlled motivation and positively negotiation and autonomous motivation, whereas females reported more need frustration, negotiation and autonomous motivation than males and older participants perceived as less legitimate the mother's reaction than younger participants. No statistically significant interaction was found in Step 2.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The goal of the present study was to examine to what extent adolescents perceive their mothers' behavior in a different way, depending on her parenting style, whether such perceptions would relate to certain affective, behavioral (defiance, compulsive compliance, negotiation and perceived legitimacy) and motivational outcomes (autonomous motivation, controlled motivation) and if these relations would be moderated due to cultural orientations of the adolescents. Three different maternal behavior were included to the study, which are externally controlling, guilt-inducing and autonomy supportive parenting behaviors.

Need Satisfaction and Frustration

Autonomy, relatedness and competence are crucial components of individuals' needs. Satisfaction or frustration of these basic human needs relate to well-being and ill-being of the adolescents, respectively (Vansteenkiste, & Ryan, 2013). Thus, frustration or satisfaction of these basic needs, especially when it arises by immediate surroundings of adolescents have an effect on their well-being. As this study showed, after successfully implementing three different conditions, autonomy support as compared to psychologically controlled conditions, resulted in higher levels of needs satisfaction, a finding which is in line with the previous findings for basic psychological needs which are competence, relatedness and autonomy. Also, SDT categorizes social environments of adolescents differently like need supportive and need thwarting environments (Vansteenkiste & Ryan, 2013). So, here, active agents of this environment, mothers in this case, directly affect the adolescents' basic needs.

In line with SDT, autonomy supportive parenting as induced through the vignette, as compared to externally controlling and guilt inducing parenting, predicted higher levels of perceive autonomy support, and eventually more need satisfaction and less need frustration.

Thus, this kind of environments, and what adolescents perceive from the environment either contribute to their well-being when their needs are satisfied or entail to ill-being when they experience need frustration. To sum, when adolescents live within an autonomy supportive environment, their needs are more likely to be satisfied and their wellness is more likely to increase, whereas, when adolescents have externally and internally controlling environment, their needs are more likely to be frustrated and their ill-being is more likely to increase. Interestingly a comparison between the two psychologically controlling conditions revealed that the adolescents in the latter condition satisfied even less their needs than their counterparts in the guilt inducing condition. However, there was no difference for externally controlling and guilt-inducing parenting behaviors with respect to needs frustration. The reason for that could be related with reading a hypothetical scenario or content of the vignette was not differentiating enough for the participants to perceive the scenario as controlling, thereby need frustrating; however, it was still enough to gauge differences in need satisfaction. Taken together, these findings suggest that a mother shouting and intimidating the child may be extremely stressful while a mother inducing guilt to him or her may be somewhat less aversive – but still far less need satisfying than a mother who is autonomy supportive.

Behavioral Outcomes

According to self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2017), it is known that psychologically controlling parenting frustrates adolescents' basic psychological needs, which in turn relates to different behavioral outcomes. For example, when adolescents perceive parenting behavior as externally controlling they are more likely to defy their parents orders and requests. In contrast, autonomy supporting parenting satisfies the needs of autonomy, relatedness and competency. When adolescents live in an autonomy supporting atmosphere provided by their mothers, they perceive their mothers' reactions, suggestions, and requests as more legitimate.

There was a difference between in two controlling situations. When adolescent perceived the parenting behavior as externally controlling, they defied more than they perceived the parenting behaviors as guilt-inducing. However, a surprising finding seemed to arise with the study about guilt inducing parenting, which has not been studied in the literature widely so far. There was no difference between autonomy supportive or guilt-inducing environment in terms of defiance. The reason could be for that when adolescents perceive the parenting behavior as guilt-inducing, they are more likely to avoid punishment or feeling shame and not to engage in conversation to express their ideas or emotions and not defy . Perhaps, adolescents find easier to defy when they perceive controlling behavior overtly, like intrusiveness rather than inducing feeling of guilt.

When adolescents experience an externally controlling environment, results revealed that they compulsively comply more than when they experience an autonomy supportive environment. However, guilt-inducing condition did not differ from the other two environment. It may relate with that compulsively compliance does not require initiative actions, but when adolescents feel a threat to their sense of volition, in turn to need frustration, they may defy easily and not following authority requests. Furthermore, when adolescents perceive the parenting behavior as autonomy supportive, they perceived the behavior as more legitimate. Regression analyses which compared the two conditions after controlling for the covariates of gender, age, and individualism, have further shown statistically significant differences in compulsive compliance and legitimacy. When adolescents perceive the parenting behavior as guilt-inducing, they compulsively complied and perceive the situation as legitimate more.

However, no differences across the three conditions were found in negotiation, which includes initiating a conversation and trying to have an agreement on a topic. The reason for nonsignificant results could be that negotiation may require accustomedness from previous

situations. As for gender differences, males reported more compulsive compliance and less intentions to negotiate than females.

Motivational Outcomes

According to SDT, autonomy supportive parenting relates with the need satisfaction of adolescents and their autonomous motivation increase through that satisfaction. The findings of the current study provide support to this notion and are consistent with previous findings (e.g., Haerens et al., 2015). Regarding that, adolescents experienced more autonomous motivation in autonomy supportive condition than externally controlling condition. Besides, it is known that when adolescents perceive controlling parenting, they tend to show more controlled motivation (Tığrak, 2017). Something however which did not emerge in the current research. Moreover, females reported more autonomous motivation than males. This finding can be attributed to the girls' tendency to mature faster than boys not only biologically, but also cognitively and socially (Hill, Degnan, Calkins, & Keane, 2006).

However, although autonomous and controlled motivation were positively related, respectively to need satisfaction and need frustration, neither externally controlling nor guilt-inducing parenting predicted controlled motivation, as regression analyses suggest (see Table 7). Although perceived controlling parenting was positively related to need frustration, the effects of perceived controlling parenting on controlled motivation may arise when such a psychological control is exerted on other important domains of adolescents' life, such as way of dressing, friendships selection, or future plans of adolescents (Smetana & Daddis, 2002)

As said before, need satisfaction primarily relates to perceived autonomy supportive parenting, which in turn relates to various fruitful outcomes, including autonomous motivation (Haerens et al., 2015) conceptual understanding (Grolnick & Ryan, 1987), and better grades (Black & Deci, 2000). Given that adolescents who show autonomous motivation, they are more likely to show variety of positive outcomes and more well-being.

On the other hand, SDT suggest that adolescents do not always behave according to their inner interests; sometimes they may behave with controlled motivation to please the ones who they see as important in their lives (Deci & Ryan, 2000). If they gradually endorse the guidelines and suggestions offered by the authority figure, even though such suggestions contradict their inner preference, then autonomous motivation still has the upper hand compared to controlled motivation. Thus, further researches should take into consideration not only how authority figures behave towards the adolescents but also the importance that the adolescents ascribe to an authority figure in their lives.

Different parenting styles may especially affect adolescent's perception which in turn may differentially affect their motivational. Nevertheless, in this study, guilt-inducing condition did not predict any differences in the motivational compared to the other two conditions. Yet, guilt-inducing parenting behavior may be perceived as benign or ambiguous by adolescents or their tendency to feeling guilt may affect their perception.

Individualism

The current study adds to the study of Chirkov et al. (2003) by examining moderating role of adolescents' cultural orientations in the relation between perceived parenting and outcomes. To understand whether the effects of three different parenting behaviors differed as a function of adolescents' cultural orientations, individualism was used as a moderator in this study. This thesis is among the first to demonstrate measuring cultural orientation as a within-country difference adding to the study of Soenens et al. (2018). This approach provided a more nuanced knowledge about perceived parenting and culture.

SDT suggests that all individuals would benefit when they satisfy their basic psychological needs which are the needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness regardless of individuals' cultural backgrounds. Previous findings suggested cultural background of

adolescents from four different country (China, US, Belgium and Peru) was not moderating the relation between need satisfaction and well-being (Chen et al., 2012), as long as participants from these four countries autonomously endorsed their cultural values – either individualistic, or collectivistic. The current thesis revisited this issue and aimed to examine to what extent adolescents who endorse individualistic values satisfy their needs and are well-adjusted when parenting practices are considered. As this thesis indicated, individualistic orientations moderated the association between perceived parenting behaviors and their basic psychological needs. Specifically, the effect of psychological control was somewhat more adverse among adolescents who only weakly endorsed individualistic values (as they satisfied less their needs in the psychological control condition and they reported more need frustration in the autonomy supportive condition than the adolescents who endorse more strongly individualistic values). Still however, the effects of psychological control were still negative for all the participants, a finding that is fully in line with the basic premises of SDT (Ryan & Deci, 2017).

The moderating effects of cultural orientation on the relation between perceived parenting and needs satisfaction may relate to the Turkish culture. Given that Turkey cannot be readily classified as purely collectivistic or individualistic (Marcus, Ceylan & Ergin, 2017), and given that valuing high both autonomy and interdependence can coexist in a culture like that of Turkey (Kagitcibasi 2005) it is possible that Turkish adolescents who endorse more strongly individualistic values to benefit more or (when they enjoy autonomy support from their parents) or to suffer less (when they confront psychological control from their parents) to already feel close to their parents (and thus have already developed a sense of connectedness with them). Thus, an individual can be autonomous and closely attached to another individual at the same time. Besides, from SDT point of view, autonomy does not imply separating oneself from other (Kagitcibasi 1996). Still, however, it is important to distinguish this concept from individualism. That is to say, adequate concern should be given to measure the individualistic

orientations in order to have more solid understanding of it. Certainly, the moderating effects showing a kind of relative misfit between cultural orientation and needs requires further examination and it is an interesting finding that deserves further investigation. On the contrary to findings of Chen et al. (2012), Chirkov, Ryan, Kim and Kaplan, (2003) counter-argued the idea of differentiation of individualistic and collectivistic dimension that with a study conducted with individuals from South Korea, Russia, Turkey and US. They found out that even participants from different cultural orientations, autonomy is basic human need and it enhances well-being. That there is no bad or good thing in either of the two cultural orientations as long as adolescents volitionally endorses them as studied in this research.

Results from the regression analyses indicated that, regardless of the conditions the adolescents they were assigned, the more they endorsed individualistic values, the less they frustrated their needs, the less they exhibit compulsive compliance, and the less controlled motivation they reported. Concurrently, the more they endorsed individualistic values, the more likely they were to report that they would engage in negotiation with their mothers and the more autonomous motivated they felt (see Table 7). Adolescents who endorsed more individualistic values reported more compulsive compliance because this response is in line with conformity rather than rejecting maternal authority or trying to create a room for an agreement like negotiation, while compulsively compliance is more in line with collectivistic values (Soenens et al., 2018). Besides, autonomous motivation is more related with adaptive coping (Chirkov et al., 2003) and it is not surprising and in line with previous finding to see that adolescents who endorse individualistic orientations to report more autonomous motivation (Marbell-Pierre et al., 2019).

When they perceive specific behavior as externally controlling and guilt-inducing, but, adolescents who favor individualism more, their needs even more frustrated. Moreover, adolescents' needs satisfied less when they perceive parenting behavior as externally

controlling or guilt-inducing, but, the controlling vignette was perceived as more controlling among adolescents high on individualistic orientations. When approached from the path between parenting behavior to outcomes, adolescents who favor individualistic orientations more, their needs frustrated more and in turn with ill-being outcomes which is in line with the literature.

Practical Implications

The current research contributes to a better understanding of the parent-child relationship and underscores the importance of parenting. This comprehensive approach includes the inquiry of what kind of adaptive and maladaptive behaviors that some adolescents demonstrate and the degree to which they satisfy or not their basic fundamental needs in response to controlling parenting. Thus, in terms of clinical implications, both parents and adolescents should be included to the intervention and prevention programs. These programs should have two-sided approach, meaning that parents need to be informed about how they should approach their children when they need to discuss an issue with their child, as an authority figure, with an autonomy supportive environment. Moreover, adolescents should learn how to deal with autonomy suppressing situations and avoid maladaptive responses. They need to figure out how to behave or what to do when their volition acts are threatened by their parents and when their needs are frustrated. Furthermore, school counselors should also be included in training programs, so that new adaptive functioning strategies can be integrated with another major piece of life domain of adolescent, namely school.

Another point regarding clinical implication can be mentioned with respect to various ill-being outcomes. Given that parental psychological control can entail various internalizing and externalizing problems such as low self-esteem, depression, and aggression, it is important to bear in mind that the parent-child relationship is reciprocal. Thus, rather than having only one point of view to the issue (that of adolescents), integrating parents to the therapy while

dealing with internalizing and externalizing problems for understanding roots of the problems can be beneficial for referred adolescent. Combining with the results of the current study, it is important to know to what extent a family environment or not. Further, given that, as the results of the current study have shown, cultural orientations of the individuals may vary and depend on their perceptions, another way to deal with parent-child relationships during therapy session is through culturally sensitive approach, according to which the therapist takes into consideration people's cultural and ethnicity background characteristics (Baker 1999). Thus, recognizing and understanding one's own cultural orientation may allow adolescents to feel understood and empathy by their therapists throughout the therapy process and the therapeutic relationship (Baker 1999).

Limitations and Further Research

Although the present study can make significant contributions to the literature, it has also some limitations. Firstly, because of time constraints, only perceived maternal parenting was included; so, future research may include perceived paternal parenting as well and explore the effect of gender comparison of the parents as a moderator. Secondly, hypothetical vignettes were about academic domain, but it is not precise that adolescents will react in similar vein when the domain is different – for instance, when parental reaction refers to issues related to peer friendships, social media use, or future plans. A third limitation refers to the use of pre-determined vignettes. Future research may try to uncover through qualitative research participants' reactions to past real-life events. For example, participants can give their own real-life situations when they perceive that situations as different parenting style. Rather than giving hypothetical scenario and measuring their responses, responses to an incident that already happened can reflect more real-life and precise situations. In addition, future pre-determined vignettes depicting reactions of mothers should be close to everyday language so that adolescents can take the reaction into consideration as even more realistic and give more casual

answers. This is important especially when translating the reaction from foreign language in terms of cultural fit, though in the present study adolescents in the autonomy supportive condition found the described reaction by the mother as quite realistic and equally realistic as the reactions in the other two conditions.

Lastly, although this was the first study that took into consideration participants' individualistic orientations, this need to be replicated by investigating in the future and both between and within country cultural differences. This approach will provide an even more comprehensive picture of the effects of the culture on the parenting domain.



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TABLES

Table 1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants

	Gender		Grade		Age				Family Condition			Caregiver			
	Male	Female	10 th	11 th	15	16	17	18	Parents live together	Parents divorced	Mother-father died	Other	Mother	Father	Other
Participant															
N	147	258	209	198	61	185	121	26	360	36	9	4	389	9	11
%	35.9%	63.1%	51.1%	48.4%	14.9%	45.2%	29.6%	6.4%	88.0%	8.8%	2.2%	1.0%	95.1%	2.2%	2.7%
Missing		4		2				16							

Table 2

Means (M) and Standard deviations (SD) and Bivariate Correlations of the Measured Variables of the Study

	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1.Gender (males vs. females)	1.64	0.48														
2.Age	16.28	0.81														
3.Perceived Autonomy	3.18	1.46	-.05	.07	-											
4.Perceived Control	2.75	1.14	.08	-.03	-.54**	-										
5.Self-interest	4.41	1.90	.00	.03	-.14**	.20**	-									
6.Individualism	5.96	1.14	.11*	.16**	.08	.04	.05	-								
7.Defiance	1.87	0.96	-.06	.09	-.29**	.31**	.06	.00	-							
8.Compliance	2.39	0.88	-.13**	-.08	-.01	.13**	.17	-.24**	-.14**	-						
9.Negotiation	4.03	0.92	.21**	.04	.17**	-.04	-.11*	.21**	-.26**	-.18**	-					
10.Legitimacy	3.83	1.01	.08	-.10*	.29**	-.23**	.03	-.01	-.44**	.16**	.26**	-				
11.Need Satisfaction	3.21	1.01	-.03	.04	.72**	-.59**	-.11*	.02	-.37**	.01	.15**	.37**	-			
12.Need Frustration	2.77	0.90	.05	.02	-.52**	.66**	.13**	-.14**	.37**	.18**	-.08	-.26**	-.60**	-		
13.Autonomous Motivation	3.51	0.83	.12*	.07	.23**	-.10*	.13**	.22**	-.37**	.07	.31**	.30**	.32**	-.14**	-	
14.Controlled Motivation	3.06	0.83	.01	.04	.04	.16**	.16**	-.19**	.12**	.44**	.02	.28**	.10	.21**	.11*	-

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$ / *** $p < .001$. Gender was dummy-coded as 1 = male; 2 = female

Table 3

Means (M) and Standard deviations (SD) and Bivariate Correlations of the Measured Variables for the Autonomy Supportive Condition

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Age	16.26	0.78	-												
2. Gender	1.59	0.49	-.02												
Motivational predictors															
3. Perceived AS	4.23	0.80	.03	.20*	-										
4. Perceived Control	1.89	0.95	-.01	-.22*	-.39**	-									
5. Self-interest	4.14	1.90	.16	-.06	-.24**	.23**	-								
6. Individualism	5.98	1.15	.11	.12	.22**	-.11	.02	-							
Dependent variables															
7. Defiance	1.62	0.85	.06	.01	-.22**	.41**	.06	-.02	-						
8. Compliance	2.22	0.87	.02	-.33**	-.30**	.27**	.13	-.17*	.14	-					
9. Negotiation	4.12	0.80	-.04	.17*	.24**	-.12	-.08	.11	-.15	-.17*	-				
10. Legitimacy	4.07	0.83	-.01	.17*	.21*	-.18*	-.15	.05	-.37**	.03	.33**	-			
11. Need Satisfaction	3.97	0.68	.06	.22*	.57**	-.35**	-.11	.19*	-.30**	-.08	.20*	.26**	-		
12. Need Frustration	2.15	0.77	-.01	-.27**	-.38**	.61**	.23**	-.32**	.43**	.34**	-.18*	-.17*	-.40**	-	
13. Autonomus Mot.	3.68	0.78	.01	.09	.23**	.02	.12	.22*	-.32**	.02	.31**	.26**	.32**	-.12	-
14. Controlled Mot.	2.96	0.75	.16	-.15	-.08	.14	.11	-.25**	.07	.40**	-.06	.15	.12	.30**	.06

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 2 = females; 1 = males

Table 4

Means (M) and Standard deviations (SD) and Bivariate Correlations of the Measured Variables for the Psychologically Controlling Condition

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Age	16.28	0.82	-												
2. Gender	1.65	0.48	.02	-											
Motivational predictors															
3. Perceived AS	2.34	1.11	.12	-.10	-										
4. Perceived Control	3.29	0.99	.05	.21*	-.57**	-									
5. Self-interest	4.65	1.91	-.06	.11	-.18*	.20*	-								
6. Individualism	5.82	1.71	.22*	.08	-.05	.20*	.02	-							
Dependent variables															
7. Defiance	2.18	1.10	.12	-.06	-.32**	.25**	.01	.03	-						
8. Compliance	2.39	0.84	-.15	-.13	.16	-.13	.18*	-.27**	-.31**	-					
9. Negotiation	3.98	1.01	.09	.16	.09	.03	-.11	.23**	-.26**	-.23**	-				
10. Legitimacy	3.56	1.10	-.18*	.03	.29**	-.16	.01	.00	-.45**	.16	.21*	-			
11. Need Satisfaction	2.67	0.94	-.04	-.07	.72**	-.46**	-.15	-.07	-.39**	.20*	.10	.42**	-		
12. Need Frustration	3.10	0.79	.05	.10	-.43**	.45**	.13	-.03	.33**	-.07	.02	-.24**	-.48**	-	
13. Autonomot. Mot.	3.38	0.90	.08	.16	.19*	-.12	.09	.27**	-.41**	.09	.28**	.34**	.26**	-.07	-
14. Controlled Mot.	3.10	0.87	-.07	.12	.15	.11	.12	-.08	-.28**	.37**	.09	.37**	.22*	.14	.18*

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 2 = females; 1 = males

Table 5

Means (M) and Standard deviations (SD) and Bivariate Correlations of the Measured Variables for the Guilt-Inducing Condition

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Age	16.31	0.82													
2. Gender	1.66	0.47	.01	-											
Motivational predictors															
3. Perceived AS	2.91	1.66	.13	-.06	-										
4. Perceived Control	3.09	0.94	-.21*	.18*	-.24**	-									
5. Self-interest	4.46	1.87	-.04	-.07	.04	.07	-								
6. Individualism	6.08	1.09	.15	.13	.10	.10	.14	-							
Dependent variables															
7. Defiance	1.81	0.84	.08	-.19*	-.15	.07	.04	.05	-						
8. Compliance	2.55	0.92	-.12	.03	.16	.09	.19*	-.35**	-.28**	-					
9. Negotiation	3.99	0.94	.06	.33**	.18*	.06	-.12	.29**	-.34**	-.12	-				
10. Legitimacy	3.85	1.02	-.08	.09	.20*	-.08	.28**	-.12	-.39**	.32**	.26**	-			
11. Need Satisfaction	2.96	0.89	.17	-.08	.55**	-.42**	.08	-.07	-.20*	.12	.15	.25**	-		
12. Need Frustration	3.08	0.79	-.02	.22*	-.32**	.56**	-.07	-.09	.25**	.11	-.04	-.18*	-.47**	-	
13. Autonomot.	3.48	0.78	.13	.15	.16	.02	.25**	.20*	-.29**	.16	.34**	.22*	.30**	-.08	-
14. Controlled Mot.	3.13	0.85	.06	.02	.15	.16	.22*	-.24**	-.13	.53**	.03	.34**	.15	.17	.12

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 2 = females; 1 = males

Table 6

Means Comparisons of the Studied Variables Across the Three Conditions

Variables	Conditions						<i>F</i> test	η^2
	Autonomy support (<i>n</i> = 138)		Guilt induction (<i>n</i> = 132)		External control (<i>n</i> = 135)			
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SE</i>)		
<i>Motivational outcomes</i>								
Need satisfaction	3.98 _a	(0.06)	2.97 _b	(0.08)	2.67 _c	(0.08)	91.04**	.31
Need frustration	2.14 _a	(0.06)	3.08 _b	(0.07)	3.10 _b	(0.07)	66.31**	.25
Autonomous motivation	3.67 _a	(0.07)	3.48 _{ab}	(0.07)	3.38 _b	(0.08)	4.28*	.02
Controlled motivation	2.97 _a	(0.06)	3.13 _a	(0.07)	3.09 _a	(0.07)	1.45	.01
<i>Behavioral Outcomes</i>								
1. Defiance	1.62 _a	(0.07)	1.81 _a	(0.07)	2.18 _b	(0.09)	12.26**	.24
2. Compliance	2.22 _a	(0.07)	2.55 _{ab}	(0.08)	2.39 _b	(0.07)	4.92*	.16
3. Negotiation	4.12 _a	(0.07)	3.99 _a	(0.08)	3.98 _a	(0.09)	1.04	.07
4. Legitimacy	4.07 _a	(0.07)	3.85 _b	(0.09)	3.56 _b	(1.00)	9.28**	.21

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Subscripts within the same row that do not share the same notation are different according to the Tukey post-hoc test (set at $\alpha = .05$, two-tailed)

Table 7

Hierarchical Regression of Negotiation, Defiance, Compliance, Legitimacy, Need Satisfaction, Need Frustration, Autonomous Motivation and Controlled Motivation as a Function of Gender, Age, Individualism and Autonomy support versus Guilt Induction and External Control Conditions (Step 1) and their Interactions (Step 2)

Predictors	Need Satisfaction			Need Frustration			Defiance			Compulsive Compliance		
	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β
<i>Step 1</i>												
1. Gender	0.03	(0.09)	.02	0.05	(0.08)	.03	-0.11	(0.10)	-.06	-0.24	(0.09)	-.13*
2. Age	0.07	(0.06)	.06	0.03	(0.05)	.03	0.10	(0.06)	.08	-0.05	(0.05)	-.04
3. Individualism	-0.01	(0.04)	-.01	-0.11	(0.04)	-.14*	-0.01	(0.04)	-.01	-0.18	(0.04)	-.23**
4. Guilt induction condition	-1.02	(0.11)	-.47**	0.93	(0.10)	.48**	0.17	(0.12)	.08	0.38	(0.11)	.20**
5. External control condition	-1.33	(0.11)	-.62**	0.93	(0.10)	.49**	0.58	(0.12)	.28**	0.15	(0.10)	.08
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 35.62**			<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 26.79**			<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 6.11**			<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 8.78**		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.31			.25			.06			.09		
<i>Step 2</i>												
1. Gender	0.03	(0.09)	.02	0.05	(0.08)	.03	-0.11	(0.10)	-.06	-0.23	(0.09)	-.13*
2. Age	0.08	(0.06)	.06	0.03	(0.05)	.03	0.10	(0.06)	.08	-0.05	(0.05)	-.05
3. Individualism	0.10	(0.06)	.11	-0.22	(0.06)	-.27**	-0.02	(0.07)	-.02	-0.12	(0.06)	-.16 ^{.05}
4. Guilt induction condition	-1.01	(0.11)	-.46**	0.93	(0.10)	.48**	0.17	(0.12)	.08	0.40	(0.11)	.21**
5. External control condition	-1.34	(0.11)	-.62**	0.94	(0.10)	.49**	0.58	(0.12)	.29**	0.15	(0.10)	.08
6. Individualism X guilt	-0.17	(0.10)	-.10	0.15	(0.09)	.09	-0.01	(0.11)	-.01	-0.16	(0.10)	-.11
7. Individualism X external	-0.18	(0.09)	-.12*	0.19	(0.08)	.14*	0.05	(0.10)	.03	-0.03	(0.09)	-.02
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 2.40			<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 2.82			<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 4.40			<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 1.53		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.32			.26			.06			.10		

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 1 = male; 2 = female; reference group is autonomy supportive condition.

Hierarchical Regression of Negotiation, Defiance, Compliance, Legitimacy, Need Satisfaction, Need Frustration, Autonomous Motivation and Controlled Motivation, as a Function of Gender, Age, Individualism and Autonomy support versus Guilt Induction and External Control Conditions (Step 1) and their Interactions (Step 2)

Predictors	Legitimacy			Negotiation			Autonomous Motivation			Controlled Motivation		
	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β
<i>Step 1</i>												
1. Gender	0.17	(0.11)	.08	0.36	(0.09)	.19**	0.22	(0.08)	.13*	0.03	(0.09)	.02
2. Age	-0.12	(0.06)	-.10	0.01	(0.06)	.01	0.04	(0.05)	.04	0.08	(0.05)	.07
3. Individualism	-0.02	(0.05)	-.02	0.17	(0.04)	.21**	0.16	(0.04)	.22**	-0.15	(0.04)	-.21**
4. Guilt induction condition	-0.30	(0.13)	-.13*	-0.19	(0.11)	-.10	-0.22	(0.10)	-.13*	0.15	(0.10)	.09
5. External control condition	-0.55	(0.12)	-.26**	-0.16	(0.11)	-.08	-0.27	(0.10)	-.15*	0.06	(0.10)	.03
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 5.28**			<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 7.62**			<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 7.84**			<i>F</i> (5, 378) = 3.78*		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.05			.08			.08			.04		
<i>Step 2</i>												
1. Gender	0.18	(0.11)	.08	0.36	(0.09)	.19**	0.22	(0.08)	.13*	0.03	(0.09)	.02
2. Age	-0.12	(0.06)	-.09	0.01	(0.06)	.00	0.04	(0.05)	.04	0.08	(0.05)	.08
3. Individualism	0.05	(0.07)	.06	0.07	(0.07)	.08	0.14	(0.06)	.19*	-0.17	(0.06)	-.24*
4. Guilt induction condition	-0.28	(0.13)	-.13*	-0.21	(0.11)	-.10 ⁰⁷	-0.22	(0.10)	-.12*	0.16	(0.10)	.09
5. External control condition	-0.55	(0.12)	-.26**	-0.16	(0.11)	-.08	-0.26	(0.10)	-.15*	0.07	(0.10)	.04
6. Individualism X guilt	-0.19	(0.11)	-.11	0.23	(0.10)	.15*	0.04	(0.09)	.03	-0.03	(0.09)	-.02
7. Individualism X external	-0.05	(0.10)	-.03	0.11	(0.09)	.09	0.04	(0.08)	.03	0.09	(0.08)	.08
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 1.43			<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 2.5			<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 0.12			<i>F</i> (2, 376) = 1.07		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.06			.09			.08			.04		

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 1 = male; 2 = female; reference group is autonomy supportive condition.

Table 8

Hierarchical Regression of Negotiation, Defiance, Compliance, Legitimacy, Need Satisfaction, Need Frustration, Autonomous Motivation and Controlled Motivation, as a Function of Gender, Age, Individualism and Guilt Induction versus External Control Condition (Step 1) and their Interactions (Step 2)

Predictors	Need Satisfaction			Need Frustration			Defiance			Compulsive Compliance		
	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β
<i>Step 1</i>												
1. Gender	-0.11	(0.12)	-.06	0.28	(0.11)	.17*	-0.20	(0.13)	-.10	-0.06	(0.11)	-.03
2. Age	0.09	(0.07)	.08	0.03	(0.06)	.03	0.12	(0.08)	.10	-0.09	(0.07)	-.08
3. Individualism	-0.07	(0.05)	-.09	-0.05	(0.05)	-.07	0.01	(0.06)	.01	-0.21	(0.05)	-.27**
4. External control condition	-0.33	(0.12)	-.18*	0.12	(0.10)	.01	0.41	(0.12)	.21*	-0.24	(0.11)	-.14*
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 2.76*			<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 2.01			<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 4.04*			<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 6.76**		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.03			.02			.05			.08		
<i>Step 2</i>												
1. Gender	-0.11	(0.12)	-.06	0.28	(0.11)	.17*	-0.20	(0.13)	-.09	-0.06	(0.11)	-.03
2. Age	0.09	(0.07)	.08	0.02	(0.06)	.02	0.12	(0.08)	.10	-0.09	(0.07)	-.08
3. Individualism	-0.06	(0.08)	-.08	-0.08	(0.07)	-.11	-0.03	(0.09)	-.03	-0.29	(0.07)	-.37**
4. External control condition	-0.33	(0.12)	-.18*	0.01	(0.10)	.01	0.41	(0.12)	.21*	-0.24	(0.11)	-.14*
7. Individualism X external	-0.02	(0.11)	-.01	0.05	(0.09)	.05	0.05	(0.11)	.05	0.14	(0.10)	.13
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 0.02			<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 0.26			<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 0.24			<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 2.04		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.02			.01			.04			.09		

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 1 = male; 2 = female; reference group is guilt induction condition.

Hierarchical Regression of Negotiation, Defiance, Compliance, Legitimacy, Need Satisfaction, Need Frustration, Autonomous Motivation and Controlled Motivation, as a Function of Gender, Age, Individualism and Guilt Induction versus External Control Condition (Step 1) and their Interactions (Step 2)

Predictors	Legitimacy			Negotiation			Autonomous Motivation			Controlled Motivation		
	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β	<i>B</i>	(<i>SE</i>)	β
<i>Step 1</i>												
1. Gender	0.11	(0.14)	.05	0.41	(0.12)	.20*	0.28	(0.11)	.16*	0.15	(0.11)	.09
2. Age	-0.17	(0.08)	-.13*	0.03	(0.07)	.02	0.06	(0.06)	.06	0.03	(0.07)	.03
3. Individualism	-0.05	(0.06)	-.05	0.22	(0.05)	.26**	0.17	(0.05)	.23**	-0.13	(0.05)	-.17*
4. External control condition	-0.27	(0.14)	-.13*	0.05	(0.12)	.03	-0.04	(0.10)	-.03	-0.09	(0.11)	-.05
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 2.37			<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 8.22**			<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 6.23**			<i>F</i> (4, 246) = 2.18 ^{.07}		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.02			.10			.08			.02		
<i>Step 2</i>												
1. Gender	0.11	(0.14)	.05	0.41	(0.12)	.20*	0.28	(0.11)	.16*	0.15	(0.11)	.09
2. Age	-0.17	(0.08)	-.13*	0.03	(0.07)	.02	0.06	(0.06)	.06	0.03	(0.07)	.03
3. Individualism	-0.13	(0.09)	-.14	0.29	(0.08)	.33**	0.17	(0.07)	.22*	-0.20	(0.07)	-.27*
4. External control condition	-0.27	(0.14)	-.13*	0.05	(0.12)	.03	-0.04	(0.10)	-.03	-0.09	(0.11)	-.05
7. Individualism X external	0.14	(0.12)	.11	-0.11	(0.11)	-.10	0.00	(0.09)	.00	0.13	(0.10)	.13
<i>F</i> change	<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 1.35			<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 1.16			<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 0.00			<i>F</i> (1, 245) = 1.80		
Adjusted <i>R</i> ²	.02			.10			.07			.02		

Note. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 1 = male; 2 = female; reference group is guilt induction condition.

Table 9

Means (M) and Standard deviations (SD) and Bivariate Correlations of the Age, Gender, Family Condition, Caregiver and General Parenting Style

Variables	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	α	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Gender	1.64	0.48	-	-									
2. Age	16.28	0.81	-	.01	-								
3. Family Condition	1.16	0.49	-	.10*	.03	-							
4. Caregiver	1.08	0.35	-	-.01	.08	.07	-						
General Parenting Style													
5. Responsiveness/Support	4.14	0.82	.91	.19**	-.04	.01	-.20**	-					
6. Autonomy Support	3.89	0.72	.79	.13**	-.05	.04	-.16**	.77**	-				
7. Psychological Control	2.35	0.77	.78	-.07	-.06	-.02	.15**	-.58**	-.67**	-			
8. External Control	1.98	0.72	.78	.00	-.03	.02	.17**	-.51**	-.61**	.64**	-		
9. Expectation for Beh.	3.98	0.64	.52	.13**	-.07	-.07	-.11*	.35**	.30**	-.14**	-.08	-	
10. Monitoring of Beh.	3.19	0.72	.71	.02	-.07	-.05	.03	-.08	-.20**	.41**	.31**	.31**	-

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$. Gender was dummy-coded as 2 = female; 1 = male

Appendix A. Vignettes (Turkish)

Otonomi Destekli Ebeveynlik Senaryosu:

Tüh! Bunun hakkında iyi hislerin vardı ve muhtemelen daha iyi bekliyordun. Muhtemelen elinden geleni yaptın, sonucunun senin umduğun gibi gelmediğini hayal edebiliyorum. Sence neden böyle oldu? Bazen, bir sınavda düşündüğünü sandığın kadar iyi yapamayabilirsin.

Tamam, bu sefer iyi değildi ama neyin yanlış gittiğini öğrenmeye çalışabilirsin. Belki de ders materyalini başka bir şekilde ele almak için fırsat olarak görebilirsin. Eğer herhangi bir yardım veya desteğe ihtiyacın olursa, bana her zaman güvenebilirsin.

Kontrolcü Ebeveynlik Senaryosu:

Bu not beni gerçekten hayal kırıklığına uğrattı! Senden daha iyisini beklerdim. Böyle kötü bir not alacağımı düşünmemiştim, bu yüzden hiç memnun değilim. Doğru düzgün çalışmadın değil mi? Biliyorsun, böyle bir sınavda soruları iyi yapmak, sadece yapabilecek yetenekte olmakla ilgili değil, aynı zamanda bunu istemekle de ilgili!

Bak, açık açık söylüyorum bu tür başarısızlıklar bir daha tekrarlanmamalı ve gelecek sefere daha iyi bir not almalısın. Şu andan itibaren, bu derse çalışmak zorundasın ve ben düzenli olarak seni kontrol edeceğim. Bunu zevk olsun diye yapmıyorum; fakat bana başka bir yol bırakmadın. Beni ve kendini bir daha hayal kırıklığına uğratmanı önlemenin tek çaresi bu!

Suçluluk Tetikleyici Ebeveynlik Senaryosu:

Sınav sonucunun iyi olacağı konusunda beni umutlandırmıştın, şimdi bu notla hayal kırıklığına uğramak ve üzmekten başka ne yapabilirim? Bu düşük nottan dolayı suçlu hissetmiyor musun? Muhtemelen sınava yeteri kadar çalışmadın. Biliyorsun, sana ve bu aileye bakabilmek için çok çabalıyorum. Sen çalış ve iyi notlar al diye yapıyorum bütün bunları. Benim çabalarım karşılık teşekkürün bu düşük not mu? Lütfen, sana yalvarıyorum beni bir daha hayal kırıklığına uğratmamaya çalış. Bir sonraki sınavına iyi çalış ve düşük notlar alma.

Vignettes (English)

Autonomy-Supportive Scenario:

Ouch, you had a good feeling about it, and you probably expected it to be better. Probably you did your best, so I can imagine that this result is not what you hoped for. Why do you think it turned out this way? Sometimes it can happen that you do not deal with a test as good as you usually do.

Okay, this time it was not that good, but you can try to learn from what went wrong. Maybe you can see it as a challenge to deal with the course material in another way? If you would need some help or assistance, you can always rely on me.

Psychologically Controlling Scenario:

“Ouch, such a bad result is disappointing to me, as I had really expected you to perform better. I did not think you would have such a bad result, so I can’t be happy with that. You probably haven’t worked much for this course, right? Performing well on such a test is of course not only a matter of being able to do it, but also of wanting to succeed.

Look, what is definitely clear to me, is that such failures cannot be repeated in the future and that the result must be better next time. From now on, you will have to study for this course on the moments I say so, and I will control you regularly. I am not doing this for fun, but there is no other option if you don’t want to disappoint me and yourself again with a bad result.”

Guilt-Inducing Scenario:

You gave me hope that your result would be good, so how can I be anything but sad and disappointed with this result? Don’t you feel guilty about this inferior score? You probably didn’t put much effort into studying for the test. You know, I try really hard to take care of you and this family. I do all of this for you, so that you can study hard and get good grades. Is this poor result the thanks I get for my hard work? Please, I beg you, try not to disappoint my like this again. Study hard for your next test so that you don’t get a bad grade.