

Fathering and Fathers' Effect on Early Adolescents' Development

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## STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

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## ABSTRACT

Fathering practices and father's effect on children's development were investigated in a sample of Turkish early adolescents and their fathers through quantitative and qualitative measures. It was expected that father variables (control, warmth and rejection) together explain indicators of positive youth development (PYD). In the qualitative part, 17 fathers were interviewed about the relationship with their child. Father's characteristics were found to be related to early adolescent's empathy, conflict resolution methods, and constructs of positive-self and belief in change; even after controlling for the effect of the mother's. Subsequent interaction analyses suggest that the relationship between paternal rejection and child outcomes is weaker or non-existent in children from low socioeconomic status. Examination of the interviews showed that both traditional and modern approaches to parenting exist, and cultural influences and environmental conditions can be barriers against open, involved and democratic relationships. In addition, in father-child conflicts, father's conflict resolution methods were associated with the child's conflict resolution performance. Findings highlight the importance of father's parenting in the positive development of the adolescents in cultural and environmental context.

*Keywords:* Early adolescence, positive youth development, fatherhood, parenting practices

## ÖZET

Babalık pratikleri ve babanın çocuğun gelişimi üzerindeki etkisi, niceliksel ve niteliksel yöntemler kullanılarak, erken erenlik dönemindeki Türk çocukları ve babaları örnekleminde araştırıldı. Baba değişkenlerinin (kontrol, sıcaklık ve reddetme) birlikte pozitif ergen gelişimi göstergelerini yordaması beklendi. Niceliksel kısımda ise, 17 babayla çocuklarıyla ilişkileri hakkında görüşme gerçekleştirildi. Baba değişkenlerinin, anne değişkenleri kontrol altına alındığında dahi, erken ergenin empati, çatışma çözümü stratejileri, pozitif benlik ve değişime inanma özellikleriyle ilişkili olduğu bulundu. Devamında interaksiyon analizleri, düşük sosyo-ekonomik düzeydeki ergenlerde, baba reddi ve çocuğun performansı arasında ilişki olmadığını ya da daha zayıf bir ilişki olduğunu gösterdi. Görüşmelerin incelenmesi babalığa hem modern ve hem de geleneksel yaklaşımlar olduğunu, kültürel etkilerin ve çevresel koşulların açık, yakın ve demokratik ilişkilerin gerçekleşmesine engel olabileceğini gösterdi. Ayrıca, baba-ergen çatışmalarında babanın çatışma çözüm stratejilerinin çocuğun çatışma çözümü göstergeleriyle ilişkili olduğu görüldü. Bulgular, çocuğun pozitif gelişiminde babanın kültürel ve çevresel bağlam içerisinde önemini altını çiziyor.

*Anahtar kelimeler:* Erken erenlik dönemi, pozitif ergen gelişimi, babalık, ebeveynlik pratikleri

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## **Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Changing Role of the Father**

Scholars' ideas about what role fathers play in children's development changed substantially over the years (Lamb, 2004). In the past, the emphasis was on the traditional father figure whose primary responsibility is earning money for the household, who is the protector and the head of the family while not being involved directly in childcare. As women's participation in the labor force increased and traditional views confining women into domestic space together with seeing much of the caregiving activities as women's duty were challenged, father's role gain more importance and attract more attention in the domain of upbringing and well-being of the child. These social and economic changes have been accompanied by an increase in the research on fathers and fatherhood.

### **1.2. Parent-Adolescent Relationship**

Steinberg (2001) stated that adolescence was previously thought to be a catastrophic period characterized by stress and strong conflict with the parents, and the child's struggle for gaining autonomy through detachment from the parents. Later, this idea was challenged by the new evidence suggesting that most parent-child dyads have warm and supportive relationships during adolescence in general. He argued that in this period, adolescents strive for more autonomy, test limits set by the parents and experience conflicts about these issues with the parents. However, the conflicts and hardships during preadolescence is not as enormous and stressful as imagined. Nevertheless, as the child enters into puberty, conflicts increase in number and intensity, and less warm relationships can be observed (Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991), and from early adolescence to late adolescence conflicts decrease (Laursen, Coy & Collins, 1998).

Kağıtçıbaşı (2007, 2013) pointed out that adolescent's development of autonomy does not equate with separation from the parents. An optimal situation for the adolescents in a

family environment is one that both supports the child's autonomy and maintains close relationship with the parents. According to the Family Change Theory, in a collectivistic cultural setting, urbanization, industrialization and increasing affluence affects family values which endorses authoritative parenting style. In such context, families are going through a change from a family model of interdependence to family model of psychological/emotional interdependence. In Turkey, which is part of the "Majority World", a transition period in which families keep having close ties with their adolescent children while starting to grant more autonomy is taking place in the process of modernization. However, this change can be slow and the authoritarian attitudes of parents can persist. Cultures might be resistant to the change.

### **1.3. Fatherhood and Fathering Practices in Turkey**

Turkey is known to have a patriarchal culture, even though women's status is improving in the process of modernization and urbanization. In this country, gender egalitarianism is quite low (Kabasakal & Bodur, 1988) and gender gap is wide (World Economic Forum, 2014). This situation is parallel to the child care responsibilities attributed to women. Studies show that the main role of fathers is seen as financial provider in Turkey and direct child care is mostly regarded as part of women's role (Evans, 1997; Ögüt, 1998). The value of boys and girls, however, seem to be equalized with modernization in certain measures. With the change of reasons for having a child and family dynamics, preference for having a daughter reach the same level as the preference for having a son (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). Relevant to our research, it was found that father's involvement do not differ with respect to girls and boys (Yilmazcetin, 2003; Evans, 1997)

In Turkey, there is limited number of studies dealing with fathers and fatherhood. Evans' (1997) research on fathers who have low socioeconomic status show that these fathers see physical care of the child as the mother's responsibility. For the fathers, the main role of a

father in a family is the “breadwinner” role. Some other responsibilities of the fathers are to be involved in the decision making about child’s education, to love the child and to teach cognitive skills. During their time at home, fathers report that they do not spend time with their children. Evans did not find a difference between father’s attitudes and behaviors towards their daughters and sons.

Another research from Turkey, (Ogut, 1998) focus on fathers of middle and high socioeconomic status. Similar to Evans’ (1997) research of low SES fathers, it turns out that fathers’ main role is to provide financial resources and mothers are responsible for the physical care of the child. However, in this sample fathers and mothers are equally responsible for socialization of the child and teaching values and skills. In this research, gender of the child does not influence the level of father involvement, but they affect the kind of shared activities. Fathers engage in verbal interaction and artistic activities more with their daughters than their sons whereas fathers play more with their son rough and tumble plays, computer games and activities for adults.

Yilmazcetin’s (2003) study of fathers of children in their preadolescence examined father’s involvement and its effect on child outcomes. In terms of father involvement, this study shows that the level of interaction with their children and their accessibility is much weaker than the responsibility dimension. A negative relationship was found between father’s active involvement with their children and children’s total and externalizing behavior problems. Father’s being busy with children was a factor that protects the children from developing behavior problems. No difference was found between fathers of boys and girls.

In another study in Turkey, Güngörmüş-Özkardeş and Arkonaç (1998) compared fathers who have university degree with fathers who are primary school graduates. Fathers who have low education level describe themselves as fathers who have breadwinner role, who provide resources for household, who teach moral values to their children. On the other hand,

fathers who have university degree consider themselves as fathers who share problems of their children, who are close to them, who help their wives. In addition, when describing an ideal father, highly educated fathers mentioned being supportive and spending time with their children. The results indicate that education level of the father, which is an aspect of socioeconomic status, influences father's attitudes and their understanding of fatherhood. Low education level fathers can be seen as more traditional in Turkish context.

Yalçınöz (2012) investigated fatherhood practices and attitudes through in-depth interviews. In this study, fathers described and evaluated their attitudes and behaviors towards their sons, as well as parenting practices of their own fathers. In depth interviews revealed that there are differences between generations. Fathers report that their own fathers are authoritarian, restrictive and distant whereas they stated that they are more intimate, involved and democratic in child rearing. She also noted that second generation fathers' encouragement of their children to be successful and autonomous is stronger than the first generation fathers.

Ongen's (2004) study was based on the reports of 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> graders and examined their relationship with their fathers. The results show that father's display of affection did not differ in girls and boys. However, the fathers of girls got lower scores on the autonomy granting dimension, compared to the fathers of boys.

In an intervention program in Turkey, a training that targets father involvement show that increase in father involvement result in better peer relations in 9<sup>th</sup> graders in terms of trust and identification dimension, but not in several other dimensions (Kocayörük & Sümer, 2009).

Sancar's (2009) study show that fathering in Turkey can take many forms, and they reflect the plurality of the masculinities. They are bound to rural/urban and social class differences. The most prominent role is the traditional "provider role" which can be understood in the context of immigration from rural areas to the city's periphery. For the

fathers who fail to provide the best conditions for his family, their fatherhood is vulnerable. Belonging to lower classes, the father aims to receive respect and to gain power through the title of “the head of the family” being authoritarian and controlling their children. There are also involved fathers who maintain close and warm relations with their children, believe in equality between genders and claim to be democratic. They, nevertheless, admit to control and constrain their children’s behaviors and decisions.

For the fathers of children between the ages of 0-8, the most frequent activities associated with the “provider” role were found to be activities related to financing, education and housing. The least frequent activities turned out to be father’s availability, that is spending time together, leisure activities (Unlu, 2010).

Based on a study on Turkish fathers, it was argued that these fathers experience conflict between their traditional ideas and egalitarian/democratic fatherhood (Bolak, Fisek & Ziya, 2014). They both recognize the need for supporting autonomy of the child and at the same time control and protect the members of the family in an authoritarian way. It seems the conflict between the old values and socio-economic conditions and demands of our present give way to uncertainties and instabilities in the attitudes practices of the fathers.

Taken together, these studies illustrate a picture of Turkey in a transition period where traditional provider role and the so-called “new fatherhood” which is more egalitarian, warm and involved and these are under the influence of socio-economic status. However, more studies are needed to understand the father-child relationships and father’s unique influence on the child.

#### **1.4. Fathering and Child Outcomes**

Most of the longitudinal studies show that father involvement has positive outcomes for children, in the areas such as behavioral problems, cognitive skills, educational attainment, delinquency and mental health (see for review, Sarkadi et al. 2007).

We should note that father's positive effects on behavioral and cognitive adjustment might disappear when we control for maternal factors and characteristics related to family environment (Crockett, Eggebeen & Hawkins, 1993). Pleck and Masciadrelli (2004) reported that most of the studies dealing with the positive effects of paternal involvement did not control for mother's parenting style and very few studies take mother's characteristics' into account in investigating that relationship. Marsiglio et al.'s (2000) examination of 8 studies controlling for mother provided mixed results: 5 of them found significant effects.

Carlson (2006) examined the relationship between father involvement and well-being of adolescents whose age range was 10-14. This research showed that the level of father involvement is associated with better adolescent outcomes in terms of delinquency, externalizing and internalizing problems and negative affect. In other words, as the level of involvement increase, the problems of adolescents decrease.

Perceived authoritative parenting style of the father was found to be positively associated with empathy and self-esteem of the Greek preadolescents (Antonopoulou, Alexopoulos & Maridaki-Kassotaki, 2012)

In a meta-analysis, it was found that mean zero-order correlation between authoritative parenting of fathers and children's behavior problems was  $-.23$  (Marsiglio, Amato, Day & Lamb, 2000). Authoritative fathering was found to be associated with less delinquency behavior in adolescence (Bronte – Tinkew, Moore & Carrano, 2006). Higher self-esteem and psychological well-being and less delinquency were found to related to father's emotional support (Zimmerman, Salem & Maton, 1995). Paternal warmth and support during adolescence were associated with successful social relationships and psychological well-being in subsequent years. (Harris, Furstenberg & Marmer, 1998)

There are several studies supporting the idea that fathers play an important role in social development of children. Especially, the quality and intensity of father involvement



have effects on the social skills of the child. Father acceptance can predict adolescent's social competence (Forehand & Nouisaiinen, 1993). Father support was found to be related to more social initiative and less anti-social behavior (Stolz, Barber & Olsen, 2005).

Parental practices were found to be associated with adolescent's peer relations. (Engels, Dekovic & Meeus, 2002). Parenting dimensions such as affection, autonomy granting, responsiveness were positively correlated with better peer relations and social skills to some extent. In some cases, social skills were a mediating factor between parenting factors and peer relations.

Some researchers argued that in different cultural settings, aspects of authoritative fathering may not lead to the best outcomes. For instance, in a study, the influence of parenting behaviors of fathers on Chilean and Ecuadorian adolescents self-efficacy and achievement orientation was investigated (Ingoldsby, Schvaneveldt, Supple & Bush, 2004). They found that autonomy granting was negatively associated with these positive outcomes. The authors state that cultural context of these countries is different from U.S. and studies should be done in diverse cultural groups to further illuminate the cultural differences in terms of adolescent development. Another example, harsh parenting had positive effects in terms of externalizing behaviors among African-American families (Lansford et al. 2002). Deater-Deckard and Dodge (1997) argued that parental discipline do not have negative effects on externalizing behaviors in cultures where such parenting are not perceived as problematic based on the norms.

Through modeling and observational learning, children adopt social skills and behaviors from their parents and these improvements reflected in the relationships with peers (Mischel, 1966). Burluson, Delia and Applegate (1992, 1995) aimed to explain how inductive/authoritative/person-centered parenting can lead to better social skills in children. This kind of parenting involves interacting with the child by taking his or her perspective and

responding according to the child's current situation, mental states and individual characteristics. The parent's expressing demands and ideas in an open and interactive manner, together with negotiating them while accepting and paying respect to the child's autonomy improve the child's socio-cognitive skills. Coming across advanced and sophisticated social strategies and parents encouragement of empathy and self-reflection during communication enhances social and cognitive skills of the child.

Hart et al. (1997) stated that a growing child learns social strategies through interactions with other people, especially their parents. They said that the knowledge they gain from these communicative exchanges establish a basis that directs their social behaviors. Parents' use of advanced methods of social interaction such as problem solving, conflict resolution, induction, negotiation lead the child to adopt these strategies and apply in their relations with their peers. Therefore parents who are warm, responsive and authoritative tend to have children who have better social skills.

From this perspective, it appears that fathers who use democratic and inductive parenting practices and who are authoritative are more likely to have children with better social and cognitive development. On the other hand, authoritarian parenting style would be negatively associated with these skills.

Authoritative parenting style is consistently associated with positive outcomes and generally no interaction is found between socioeconomic status and parenting in predicting child development (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg & Dornbusch, 1991; Radziszewska, Richardson, Dent & Flay, 1996). Socioeconomic status' effect on the child can occur through the mediation of parenting. Socialization practices of parents mediate the relationship between socioeconomic status and problem behaviors. Children who live in lower socioeconomic status experience harsher discipline which leads to more conduct problems (Dodge, Pettit & Bates, 1994) A meta-review with Turkish samples conclude that

authoritative parenting have the best outcomes in the children's development, similar to the findings in Western studies. (Sümer, Gündoğdu & Helvacı, 2010)

### **1.5. Positive Youth Development**

Positive Youth Development (PYD) encompasses research and interventions that foster the development of youth through maximizing the potential of each young person (Damon, 2004). This approach is different from other approaches in that, it focuses on positive skills of the youth such as empathy and self-esteem rather than identifying problematic behaviors and curing them. Empowering young person's social skills and revising their views on self and future contribute to well-being of young person and society as a whole.

### **1.6. Father and child's gender**

Earlier studies show that fathers are more involved with sons than with daughters, especially during adolescence (Cooksey & Fondell, 1996; Morgan, Lye, & Condran, 1988; Harris, Fustenberg & Marmer, 1998).

Hill and Lynch (1983) claim that early adolescence is a period that expectations of society and parents regarding complying to and acting in accordance with the traditional gender roles increase. As a result, parents promote certain values related to the gender of the child. In boys, independence, power and self-confidence are more emphasized, whereas girls are socialized to be compliant, helpful and sensitive. These inclinations of the parents are reflected in the parenting practices and overall parenting styles. Parents can grant more autonomy to their boys and be less likely to limit the boys' freedom. On the other hand, controlling behaviors can be stronger and a harsher discipline might exist for the girls. In addition, girls are expected to perform caring activities and fulfilling the demands of the people around, therefore their independence might be undesirable. Another important factor within gender socialization is that during early adolescence each parent's involvement with

their same-sex children increase (i.e. father's involvement with the boy). One possible reason is that same-sex parent's role in gender socialization and related joint activities. For instance, mothers can teach their girls household activities whereas fathers can fix a machine together. Nevertheless, more recent studies suggested that early adolescence is not a period in which gender differences in parental socialization and sex-typed activities increase (Lytton & Romney, 1991; McHale, Shanahan, Updegraff, Crouter & Booth, 2004)

Based on an extensive review, Siegal (1987) argued that father's treatment of their sons and daughters differ in many aspects such a disciplining and physical involvement. However, only 20 out of 39 studies find instances of differential treatment of girls and boys. He also stated that fathers' parenting is much more dependent on the child's gender, whereas mothers seem to treat the children more equally.

More recently, parents' gender role attitudes is claimed to have an effect on providing autonomy for their children. Parents grant more autonomy to their adolescent girls if they have less traditional gender role attitudes (Bumpus, Crouter & McHale, 2001)

### **1.7 Present study**

This study is based on data obtained from PERGEL, a positive youth development intervention project targeting early adolescents. Not only the adolescents skills and beliefs, but also information regarding the child's home environment and parenting practices were assessed within this project. The current study investigates adolescents' fathers' parenting practices and styles and their influence on child outcomes.

Most of the studies on paternal influences on adolescents focus on problem behaviors or the child's well-being were defined in clinical terms such as anxiety and depression. Studies examined father's contribution to child through positive youth development perspective is limited. Therefore, we examine father's effect on several PYD indicators, which are not studied before.

Fathering is studied mostly with young children; this study aims to reveal the paternal parenting practices during pre-adolescence in Turkish context. The control and authority exerted on children, socialization methods and conflict resolution strategies may not be adequately revealed through parenting scales. Therefore, some of the gap in the literature concerning the relation of father and preadolescent is addressed through in-depth interviews.

In the quantitative part of the study, father's parenting practices prediction of the development of early-adolescents were examined. In the qualitative part which is based on interviews, the aim is to gain more insight about this influence of fathers, and father-child relationships in cultural context.

### **1.7.1 Hypotheses**

Father's control, warmth and rejection are expected to affect some indicators of positive youth development. The hypotheses of the first part of the study are as follows:

- 1) Paternal parenting characteristics are expected to predict positive conflict resolution, negative conflict resolution, empathy, belief in change and positive self.
- 2) Controlling for mother's parenting, father's parenting behaviors are expected to predict positive and negative conflict resolution, empathy, belief in change and positive self.
- 3) In the previous analyses, the associations are expected to be negative for paternal rejection, whereas it will be positive for paternal warmth, except for negative conflict resolution which is expected to display the opposite pattern.
- 4) It is also expected that for all the child outcomes mentioned the effect of fathers may change in different levels of socioeconomic status.

Concerning the interview part, it is expected that there are instances of both traditional fatherhood model and involved/egalitarian fathers since Turkey is in the middle of a transition from traditional fathers to fathers who are involved with their children as much as mothers. This creates a context that affects the influence of fathering practices on the child and their

interaction with gender and socioeconomic status. Traits and values desired in the child, father's authoritarian or democratic attitudes and beliefs about childrearing, father's patriarchal status, and views on gender roles, the existence of diverse conflict resolution methods would reflect two different fatherhood models which have roots in the culture. In addition, father's positive conflict resolution strategies would be associated with positive and negative conflict resolution of the child.



## Chapter 2: METHOD

### Participants

Within Pergel Project, data were collected from 925 children who participated in the project as either control or intervention group in the 6th grade. It was carried out at 9 public schools in Istanbul where children from low and middle socioeconomic status study.

From one of the schools that participated in Pergel Project, a total of 17 fathers of students, were reached for interview. Their children were at the 8<sup>th</sup> grade at that time. Due to the characteristics of the neighborhood, Baglar Mevkii, Sariyer, they were predominantly from low socioeconomic status.

### Procedure

Fathers of early adolescents who previously participated in Pergel project were interviewed. They were asked questions about how they treat their children, their fathering practices and their conflicts with their children. An interview took approximately 20 minutes.

Analyses that examine the relationship between father's warmth, control and rejection and the indicators of adolescent's development were made by using the pretest data collected during the project.

### Measures

**Parental control, warmth and rejection:** The Perceived Parenting Styles Scale (Sumer & Gungor, 1999) is a 5-point Likert scale in which children rated the frequency of the parental behaviors and characteristics they perceived from their parents. They answered each item separately for their mothers and fathers. Therefore, the scale provides 6 scores which are paternal and maternal control (an authoritarian type of control in this case), rejection and warmth. Internal reliability scores were satisfactory, with Cronbach's alpha of .72 for the lowest (paternal control) and .92 (maternal warmth) for the highest. Example items were for control "Does he/she intervene in who your friends are?", for rejection "Does he/she punish

you even if you don't do anything wrong?" and for warmth "Does he/she understand whether you are upset before you tell him/her?"

**Empathy:** In order to assess empathy, Topcu, Erdur-Baker's (2010) adaptation of the Basic Empathy Scale (Jolliffe and Farrington, 2006) was utilized. On a 7-point scale, there are two opposite statements at the opposite ends and children rate according to how much they felt closer to the statements. Internal reliability was adequate (Cronbach's  $\alpha$  : .76.). Sample items were "I don't get upset when I see other people are crying" and "I can easily notice if my friend is angry."

**Conflict Resolution:** Our scale was developed from problem solving subdimension of Koruklu's (1998) Conflict Resolution Behaviors Scale. There were multiple choice statements, representing different problem strategies. In each question, a conflictual situation is briefly described and 3 choices were presented. One choice represents remaining neutral in the situation or avoiding it. Another one indicates positive strategies such as negotiating, peacemaking and reasoning. The last one points to a negative strategy that would increase the conflict. In this way, the scale provides 3 scores: positive, negative and neutral strategies. An example situation was "If two of your friends are fighting with each other and they ask you to take sides...". The answers were "I would say it does not concern me and I'll stay away" (neutral/avoidance), "I would try to resolve their conflict" (positive), "I will support my closest friend and join the fight." "Cronbach's alpha values were .88 for positive, .70 for negative conflict resolutions.

**Positive Self and Belief in Change:** They were cluster variables created to evaluate the impact of the Pergel intervention programme. Positive self comprises of academic competence, social competence and self-efficacy, which reflect the child's skills and their positive perception of them. Belief in change was developed from the scales of acceptance of



stereotyping, goal orientation, dispositional attribution, belief in effort, implicit theories of intelligence. This indicates the flexible and optimistic thinking style of the adolescents.

**Socioeconomic Status:** This was calculated by using the level of education of parents and the household items. Children's report of the number of years mother and father study and the given items possessed by the family such as car and washing machine provided a score indicating SES of family.

**Interview:** Fathers were asked questions about the traits desired in their children, how they spend time together, their conflicts and conflict resolution strategies and their control and intimacy in their father-child relationship. This was a semi-structured interview in the sense that the interviewer asked further questions to elaborate on the fathers answers or adjusted their questions according to the ideas brought up during the interview.

## **Chapter 3: RESULTS**

### **3.1 Descriptives, Correlations, Regression Analyses and Interactions**

#### **3.1.1 Descriptives and Bivariate Correlations**

Descriptives and bivariate correlations of the key variables are presented in Table 1. There were many significant correlations in the variables taking place in the regression analyses. There was an important relationship between socioeconomic status and preadolescent's scores. Also, parental rejection was negatively associated with child's positive characteristics whereas parental warmth was positively correlated with positive development of the child as expected. Moreover, between maternal and paternal characteristics, correlations are high for the same dimensions.

Table 1.

## Descriptives and Correlations of Key Variables

	Mean	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1.SES	-												
2.Maternal control	22,86	16,39	-.11**										
3.Maternal rejection	15,5540	15,26	-.09*	.63**									
4.Maternal warmth	82,03	18,80	.14**	-.12**	-.28**								
5.Paternal control	17,64	14,68	-.12**	.71**	.45**	-.09*							
6.Paternal rejection	13,02	13,60	-.11**	.50**	.72**	-.21**	.60**						
7.Paternal warmth	76,48	21,36	.15**	-.12**	-.23**	.78**	-.10**	-.24**					
8. Empathy	83.06	14.77	.16**	-.19**	-.25**	.26**	-.20**	-.26**	.26**				
9.Positive conflict resolution	52.25	12.77	.06	-.17**	-.22**	.28**	-.14**	-.26**	.26**	.46**			
10.Negative conflict resolution	29.30	16.54	-.08	.20**	.25**	-.14**	.17**	.26**	-.16**	-.33**	-.39**		
11.Positive self	75.43	13.74	.25**	-.13**	-.38**	.32**	-.28**	-.35**	.31**	.56**	.37**	-.32**	
12.Belief in change	69.27	11.53	.19**	-.16	-.26**	.30**	-.19**	-.28**	.28**	.55**	.50**	-.42**	.52**

Notes. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$ 

SD = Standard Deviation

## Regression Analyses

A series of hierarchical regression analyses were carried out to assess the relationship between parenting style of the father and the indicators of his child's positive development, and to see if the father's effect can change depending on the socioeconomic status of the family. In the first part, father variables were entered into regression and displayed their effect without mother variables, controlling for the child's gender, socioeconomic status. In the second part, regression analyses examine father's additional contribution to the child's development, controlling for the child's gender, socioeconomic status and most importantly, maternal parenting scores; and the interaction between father variables and SES in predicting child outcomes were investigated. Although there were high correlations between parenting measures, Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) was always under 5, which means that they did not cause a multicollinearity problem.

### 3.1.2. Father's effect by itself

Without the inclusion of mother's parenting style, fathering was significantly capable of predicting the PYD outcomes. Controlling for gender and socioeconomic status, perceived paternal parenting could reliably predict empathy  $R^2 = .16$ ,  $F(3, 580) = 22.05$ ,  $p < .001$ . (See Table 2), positive conflict resolution,  $R^2 = .14$ ,  $F(3, 579) = 20.52$ ,  $p < .001$  (see Table 3), negative conflict resolutions  $R^2 = .11$ ,  $F(3, 571) = 16.29$ ,  $p < .001$  (see Table 4), positive self  $R^2 = .18$ ,  $F(3, 616) = 31.21$ ,  $p < .001$  (see Table 5), and belief in change,  $R^2 = .17$ ,  $F(3, 616) = 21.85$ ,  $p < .001$  (see Table 6). As expected, paternal warmth is associated with positive qualities whereas paternal rejection is associated with negative characteristics in the child. Paternal control did not significantly predict the child's development, except for positive-self variable which has a negative association. The details of the regression analyses are presented in the following tables (Tables 2-6).

Table 2

*Regression of Empathy on Father Variables*

Variable	B	SE(B)	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.09***
Gender	-7,329	1,151	-,252***	
Socioeconomic Status	2,312	,587	,156***	
Step 2				.09***
Father control	-,060	,047	-,059	
Father rejection	-,176	,053	-,155**	
Father warmth	,156	,028	,219***	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 3

*Regression of Positive Conflict Resolution on Father Variables*

Variable	B	SE(B)	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.05***
Gender	-5,277	,985	-,217***	
Socioeconomic Status	,617	,501	,050	
Step 2				.09***
Father control	,041	,040	,049	
Father rejection	-,225	,046	-,236***	
Father warmth	,113	,024	,190***	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 4

*Regression of Negative Conflict Resolution on Father Variables*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.03***
Gender	5,383	1,369	,161***	
Socioeconomic Status	-1,442	,697	-,085*	
Step 2				.07***
Father control	,024	,056	,020	
Father rejection	,296	,064	,228***	
Father warmth	-,095	,033	-,117**	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 5  
*Regression of Positive Self on Father Variables*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.06***
Gender	-1,891	1,046	-,070	
Socioeconomic Status	3,203	,533	,234***	
Step 2				.12***
Father control	-,101	,042	-,107*	
Father rejection	-,212	,047	-,205***	
Father warmth	,126	,025	,190***	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Table 6  
*Regression of Belief in Change on Father Variables*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	<i>B</i>	$\Delta R^2$
----------	----------	--------------	----------	--------------

Step 1				.08***
Gender	-4,948	,854	-,223***	
Socioeconomic Status	2,077	,435	,184***	
Step 2				.09***
Father control	-,010	,035	-,013	
Father rejection	-,172	,039	-,202***	
Father warmth	,101	,021	,186***	

Note. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

### 3.1.3 Father's Additional Effect Controlling for Mother and Interactions with SES

Father's parenting style led to a significant improvement in effect size for all child outcomes. In all of the 5 outcome variables, there were significant two-way interactions between father rejection and SES, as presented in Tables 7-11.

Empathy: As shown in Table 7, initial two steps together predicted empathy of the child,  $R^2 = .16$ ,  $F(3, 580) = 18.63$ ,  $p < .001$ . When entered, perceived paternal parenting style provided a significant improvement in effect size,  $R^2 = .18$ ,  $F(3, 580) = 18.63$ ,  $p < .01$ . There was a significant interaction between SES and paternal rejection in predicting empathy,  $p < .001$ .

Table 7

*Regression of Empathy on Parental Variables and Interactions with SES*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.09***
Gender	-7,223	1,149	-,249***	
Socioeconomic Status	2,315	,585	,157***	
Step 2				.08***

Mother control	-,026	,045	-,029	
Mother rejection	-,161	,050	-,164**	
Mother warmth	,144	,032	,181***	
Step 3				.02**
Father control	-,079	,062	-,078	
Father rejection	-,062	,071	-,055	
Father warmth	,133	,043	,188**	
Step 4				.02**
Father control x SES	,138	,044	,136**	
Father rejection x SES	-,195	,052	-,169***	
Father warmth x SES	-,038	,028	-,054	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Positive Conflict Resolution: In the first step, gender and SES predicted positive conflict resolution,  $R^2 = .05$ ,  $F(2, 581) = 14.82$ ,  $p < .001$ . In the second step, mother's control, rejection and warmth entered into the equation,  $R^2 = .11$ ,  $F(3, 578) = 15.90$ ,  $p < .001$ . In the third step, father's control, rejection and warmth contributed significantly to the model,  $R^2 = .14$ ,  $F(3, 575) = 15.90$ ,  $p < .01$ . The model's details with beta coefficients are presented in Table 8. Rejection had negative relationship and warmth has positive relationship with positive conflict resolution as expected.

Table 8

*Regression of Positive Conflict Resolution on Parental Variables and Interactions with SES*

Variable	B	SE(B)	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.05***



Gender	-5,243	,986	-,215***	
Socioeconomic Status	,618	,501	,050	
Step 2				.07***
Mother control	-,016	,039	-,021	
Mother rejection	-,140	,043	-,170**	
Mother warmth	,107	,027	,161***	
Step 3				.03**
Father control	,090	,054	,106	
Father rejection	-,183	,061	-,191**	
Father warmth	,090	,037	,151*	
Step 4				.01
Father control x SES	,076	,039	,089	
Father rejection x SES	-,097	,045	-,100*	
Father warmth x SES	-,008	,024	-,013	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Negative Conflict Resolution: Gender and SES explained only 3 percent of the variance in negative conflict resolution,  $F(2, 573) = 9.62, p < .001$ . Mother variables added to the model and 7 percent improvement in  $R^2$  was observed,  $F(3, 570) = 15.70, p < .001$ . A slight but significant contribution occurred when father's parenting styles entered into the model  $R^2 = .12, F(3, 567) = 3.14, p < .05$ . Father's rejection was found to be positively correlated with negative conflict resolution. All the important values of the regression are presented in Table 9.

Table 9

*Regression of Negative Conflict Resolution on Parental Variables and Interactions with SES*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.03***
Gender	5,289	1,369	,159***	
Socioeconomic Status	-1,445	,696	-,085*	
Step 2				.07***
Mother control	,069	,054	,067	
Mother rejection	,222	,060	,197	
Mother warmth	-,073	,038	-,080***	
Step 3				.02*
Father control	-,045	,075	-,039	
Father rejection	,173	,085	,133*	
Father warmth	-,099	,052	-,122	
Step 4				.01
Father control x SES	-,086	,054	-,074	
Father rejection x SES	,155	,063	,117*	
Father warmth x SES	,027	,033	,033	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Positive Self: As presented in Table 10, Gender and SES predicted children's evaluation of their positive self,  $R^2 = .06$ ,  $F(2, 618) = 19.52$ ,  $p < .001$ . When the Perceived Maternal Parenting Styles entered into the model,  $R^2$  increases by 15 percent  $R^2 = .20$ ,  $F(3, 615) = 38.10$ ,  $p < .001$ . Then, father characteristics added to the model which lead to a significant and minimal improvement,  $R^2 = .21$ ,  $F(3, 612) = 38.20$ ,  $p < .05$ . In the third stage, there was a significant positive association between perceived warmth from the father and positive self.

Table 10

*Regression of Positive Self on Parental Variables and Interactions with SES*

Variable	B	SE(B)	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.06***
Gender	-1,822	1,045	-,068	
Socioeconomic Status	3,205	,532	,235***	
Step 2				.15***
Mother control	-,081	,039	-,097*	
Mother rejection	-,219	,044	-,239***	
Mother warmth	,130	,028	,174***	
Step 3				.01*
Father control	-,067	,055	-,071	
Father rejection	-,044	,061	-,043	
Father warmth	,077	,038	,116*	
Step 4				.02**
Father control x SES	,064	,039	,068	
Father rejection x SES	-,169	,044	-,162***	
Father warmth x SES	-,048	,025	-,073	

Note. \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

Belief in change: Belief in change was predicted by SES and gender  $R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(2, 618) = 27.60$ ,  $p < .001$ . The second step which include mother variables added 9 percent increase to the explained variance in belief in change,  $R^2 = .16$ ,  $F(3, 615) = 21.18$ ,  $p < .001$ . In the third step, father's control, rejection and warmth lead to a 2 percent gain in terms of R-square,  $R^2 = .18$ ,  $F(3, 615) = 21.18$ ,  $p < .001$ . Father's rejection had a negative association with belief in change, as indicated by a significant  $\beta$  coefficient with a minus sign.

Table 11

*Regression of Belief in Change on Parental Variables and Interactions with SES*

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE(B)</i>	$\beta$	$\Delta R^2$
Step 1				.08***
Gender	-4,926	,855	-,222***	
Socioeconomic Status	2,078	,435	,184***	
Step 2				.09***
Mother control	,028	,033	,040	
Mother rejection	-,161	,037	-,213***	
Mother warmth	,112	,024	,181***	
Step 3				.02**
Father control	-,054	,046	-,069	
Father rejection	-,103	,052	-,120*	
Father warmth	,051	,032	,094	
Step 4				.02**
Father control x SES	,040	,033	,052	
Father rejection x SES	-,122	,037	-,141	
Father warmth x SES	-,003	,021	-,006	

*Note.* \*  $p < .05$ , \*\*  $p < .01$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

In order to understand the nature of the interactions, three SES groups (low, middle, high) were created based on the SES scores. Simple slopes of SES groups suggested that negative effect of father rejection is smaller or nonexistent in lower SES groups.

As shown in Figure 1, For empathy, father rejection did not predict empathy in low SES children ( $\beta = -.06$ ,  $t = -.60$ ,  $p > .05$ ), whereas it has a significant negative relationship in middle ( $\beta = -.30$ ,  $t = -5.62$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and high SES children ( $\beta = -.39$ ,  $t = -5.39$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

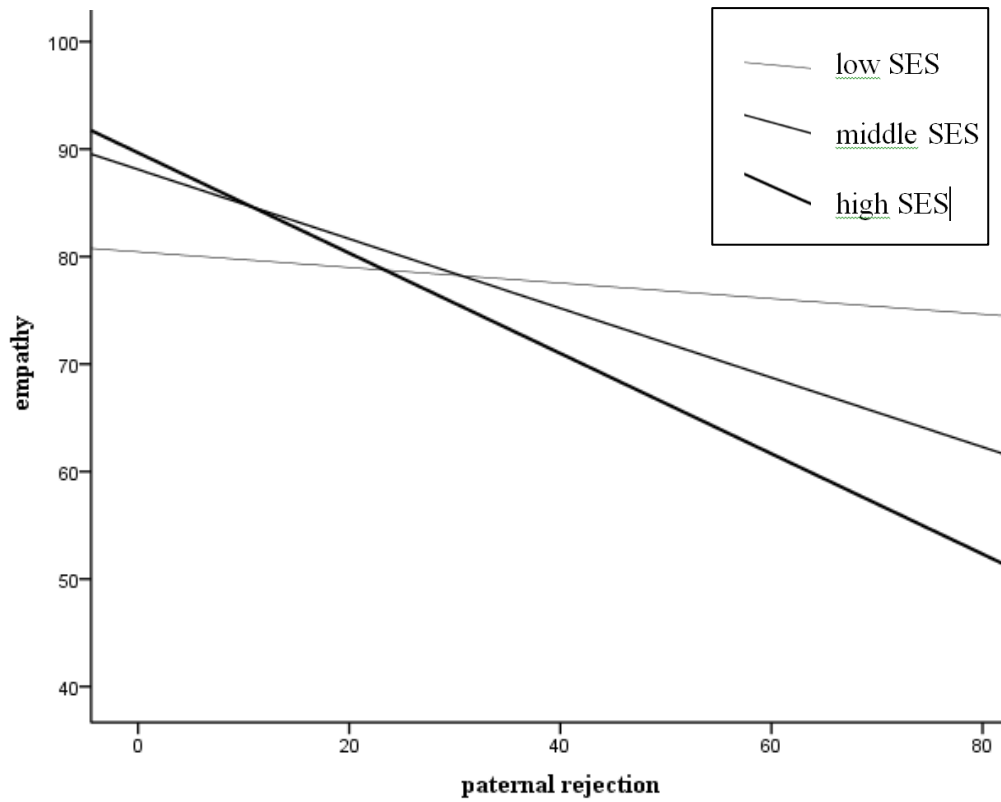


Figure 1. Regression Lines of Empathy on Paternal Rejection for each SES group

As shown in Figure 2, positive conflict resolution was predicted by paternal rejection in each SES group while low SES group has a weaker association ( $\beta = -.20, t = -2.06, p < .05$ ) than middle ( $\beta = -.28, t = -5.13, p < .001$ ) and high SES ( $\beta = -.34, t = -4.39, p < .001$ ).

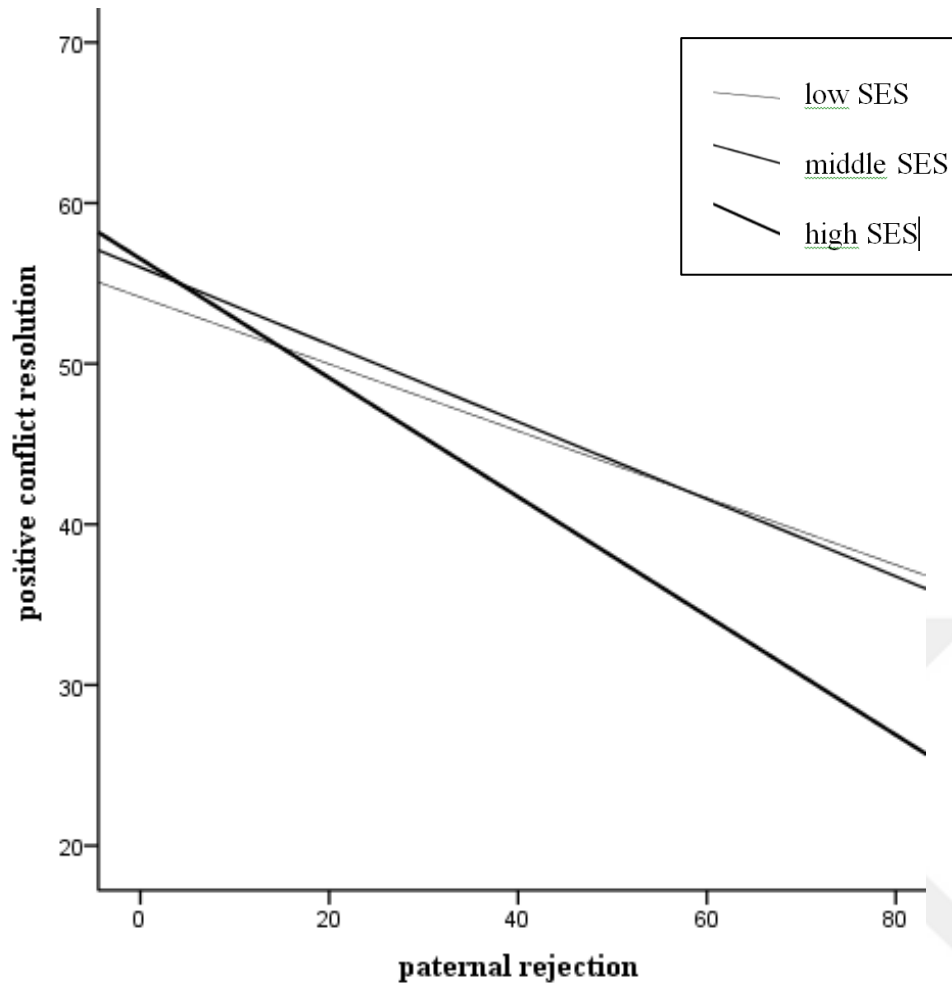


Figure 2. Regression Lines of Positive Conflict Resolution on Paternal Rejection for each SES group

Father rejection had a significant positive association with negative conflict resolution in middle ( $\beta = .32, t = 5.85, p < .001$ ) and high SES ( $\beta = .29, t = -3.85, p < .001$ ), and nonsignificant positive relationship in low SES group ( $\beta = -.18, t = 1.83, p > .05$ ), as presented in Figure 3.

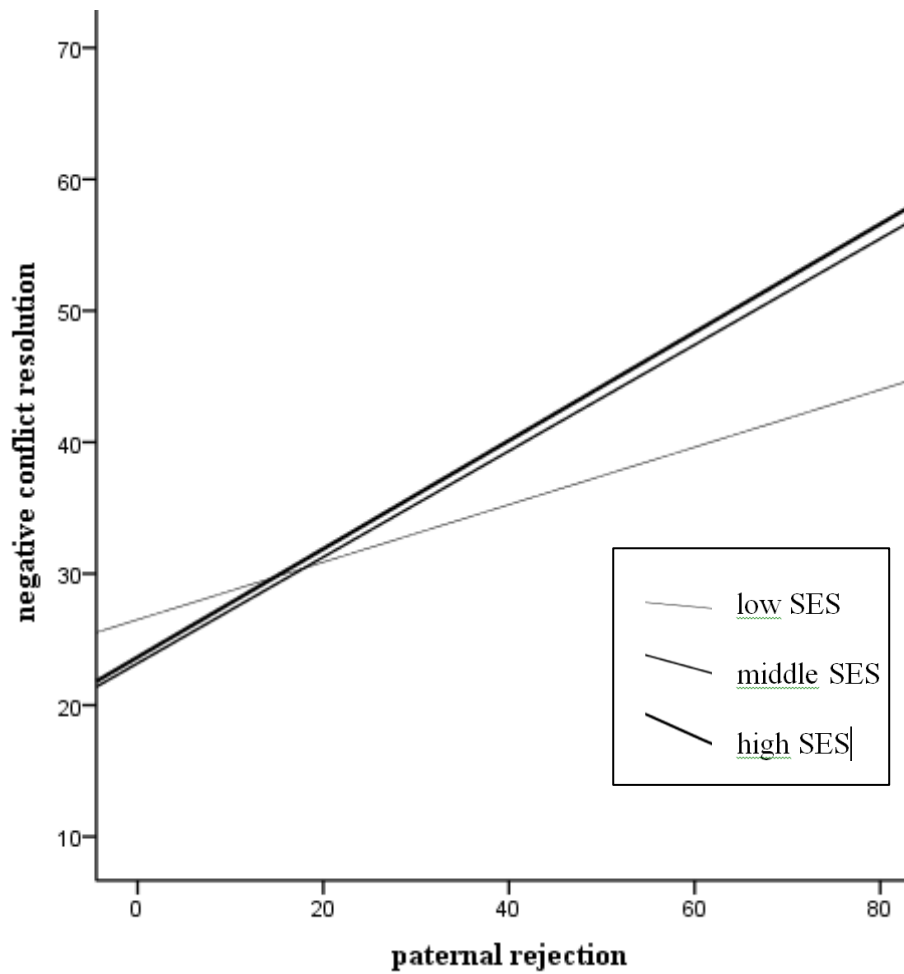


Figure 3. Regression Lines of Negative Conflict Resolution on Paternal Rejection for each SES group

Paternal rejection's negative association with positive self was not significant in low SES, ( $\beta = -.11, t = -1.81, p > .05$ ) and was significant and stronger in middle ( $\beta = -.31, t = -5.94, p < .001$ ) and high SES ( $\beta = -.48, t = -6.99, p < .001$ ) (see Figure 4).

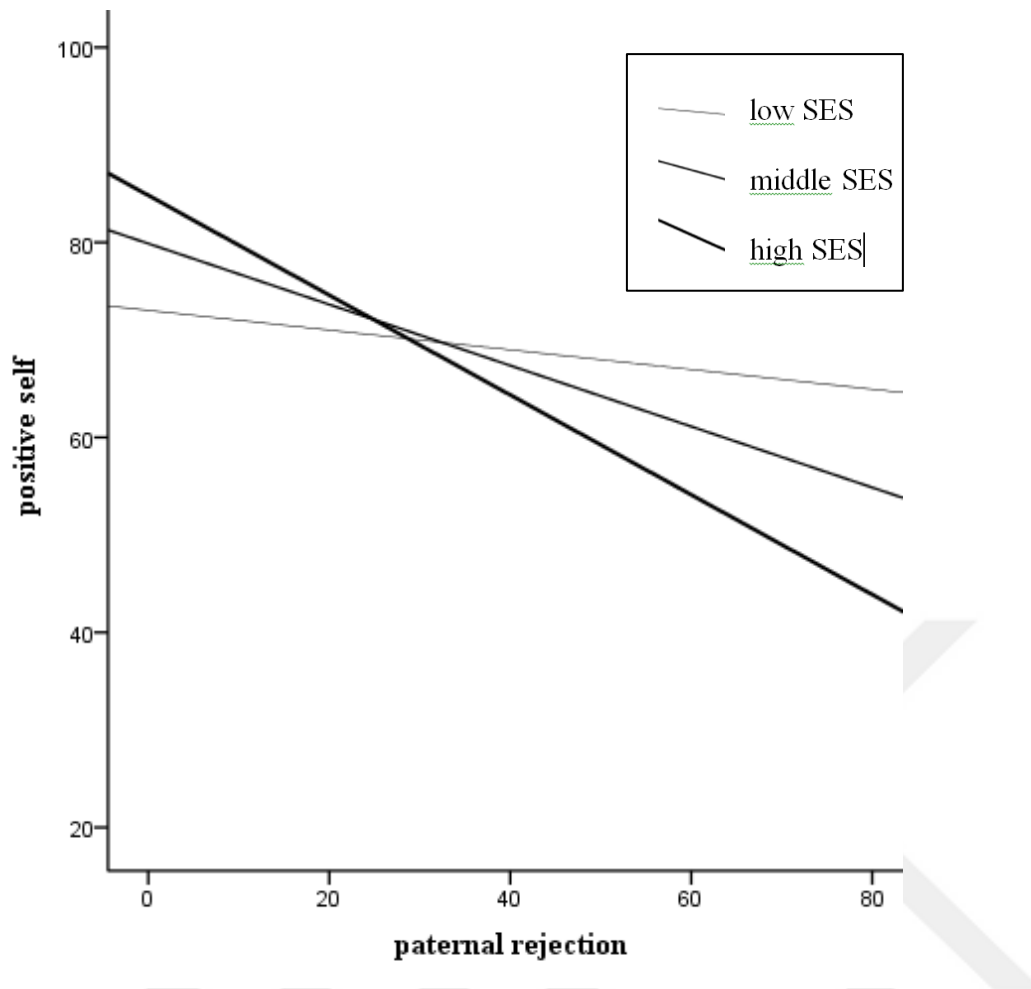


Figure 4. Regression Lines of Positive Self on Paternal Rejection for each SES group

Belief in change were predicted by paternal rejection in middle ( $\beta = -.31, t = -5.96, p < .001$ ) and high SES groups middle ( $\beta = -.31, t = -5.43, p < .001$ ) and was not predicted by paternal rejection in low SES children ( $\beta = -.07, t = -.74, p > .05$ ) (see Figure 5)



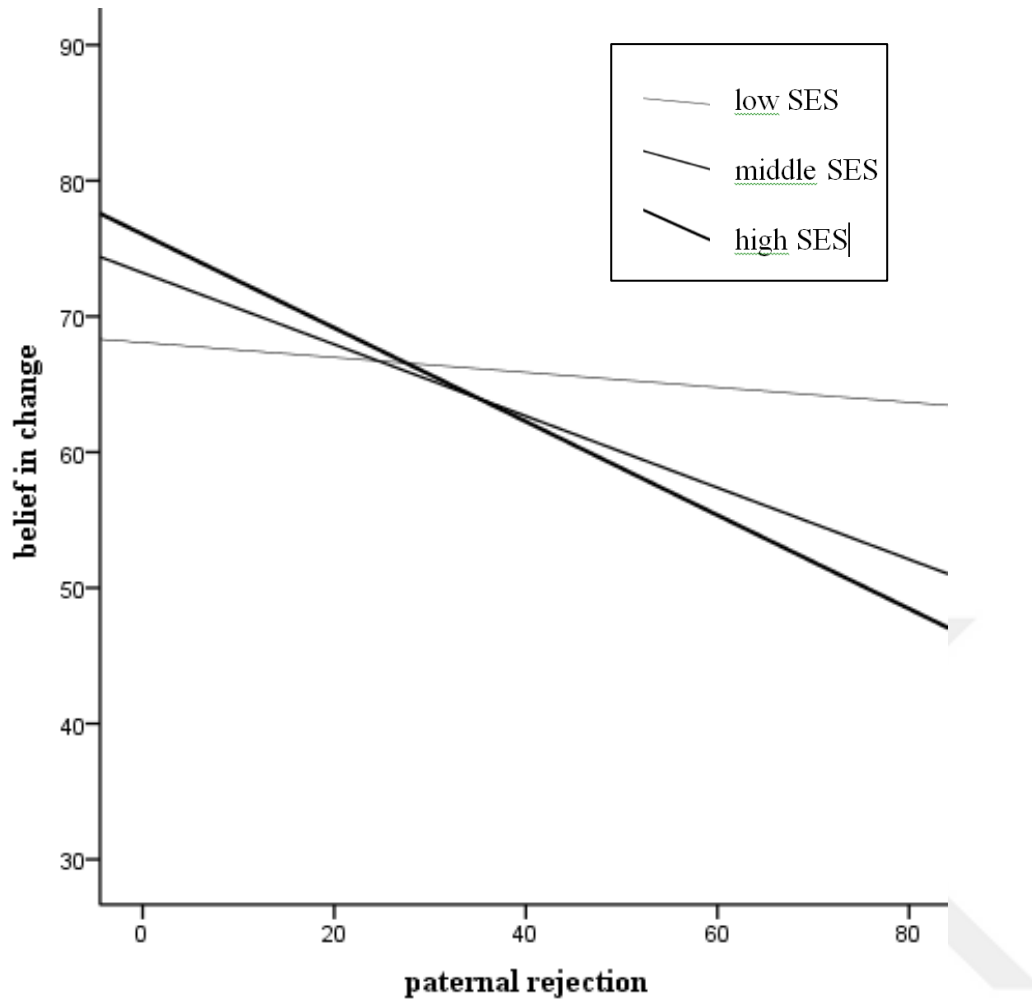


Figure 5. Regression lines of belief in change on paternal rejection for each SES group

### 3.2 Interview Results

#### 3.2.1 Traits and Values

In the fathers' answers to questions, two types of characteristics and values the fathers want their child to possess were detected. These are mainly personal growth oriented traits and cultural/moral traits. Personal growth oriented traits and values are self-confidence, autonomy, creativeness, enterprising, happy, outgoing, problem-solving, brave, high motivation. These traits and values focus on the child's personal development and well-being. The second types of answers reflect the transmissions of the values of the society, more related with local culture and morality: Being truthful, fair, helpful to others, being loyal to

family, sensitive to others needs, being in harmony with the local people, bound to the religion and nation. The second one concerns more what others think of the child and how the child can be nice and useful for the people around. We might argue that the first type of answers signify individualistic culture whereas second type of answers reflect collectivistic culture. In addition, it can be said that there is a sense of face culture in the first type and dignity culture in the second type. Both type of traits and values are very important for the child's healthy development.

Out of 17 fathers, 10 fathers emphasized social/moral/cultural traits and values and personal growth oriented values together. 7 fathers reported only social/moral/cultural traits and values. Contrary to the expectations, I did not observe a difference in using these two types of traits between boys and girls.

### **3.2.2. Time spent together**

When asked 4 fathers reported that they do not engage in daily interaction in which they spend time together, except meals and very short conversations. One of the main reasons for this is very long and unstable working hours. This one is a typical long working father.

*“6 günü çalışıyorum. Çalışma saatlerim uzun. Akşam 9’da dönüyorum, aslında görüşme şartlarım da çok fazla değil çocuklarımla (...) Uzun uzadıya bir beraberlik yok yani. Çünkü belli bir saat sıkıntısı var yani yaşamda. 11-12de yattıkları için birkaç saat zaman beraberiz yani.”*

Some fathers complain about the fatigue as a result of work.

*“Vallahi pek geçiremiyoruz açıkçası. Pek geçiremiyorum. Zaten işten yorgun geliyorsunuz. Alıp da birebir pek zaman geçiremiyoruz.”*

Fathers express desire to spend more time with their children. Apart from their work, there are other factors that hinder their spending time together. Some fathers stated that children get bored when they are together, and prefer to be alone in their room.

*“ Zaten çocukların sosyal ortamlarından sonra kafadan koştuk yani. Özellikle bu dönemlerde .... Boş zamanında yani rica minnet yanımıza gelip oturtturuyoruz, yoksa geçiyor*

*odasına. Artık ders çalışıyor. Ya telefonda, ya bilgisayarda, yani bizimle fazla ilgilenmiyor yani açıkçası.”*

*“Seviyor odasında olmayı. Hatta zorluyorum ben, çağırıyorum. Sevmediğim bir program varsa da, tasvip etmediğim bir program izliyorsa da, o programı bile açacağımı söylüyorum. gel beraber oturalım diyorum ya, ben de izleyeyim. Geliyor bir 10 dk. 15 dk. sonra kıvrınmaya başlıyor. Git diyorum yani. Zorla oturtmam.”*

Many fathers complain about phone usage, social media and internet and identify it as a factor that hinders communication in the family.

*“Zaten şu telefonlar çıkmalı herkesin kendine ayrı bir dünyası olduğu için pek bir zaman geçiriyoruz desem yalan olur.”*

### **3.2.3 Sharing/Intimacy/Distance**

When asked whether the children share their personal troubles/problems/difficulties with them, 6 out of 17 fathers responded positively. The others answers were negative like *rarely, not really, not much*. Although not asked specifically, 10 fathers stated that the child prefer to share personal problems with their mothers. They use statements like *“she shares mostly with their mothers.”* *“It’s mother’s job”*

One father described in detail a line he intentionally established that separates and put a distance between him and his child. He thinks that being not too intimate and close is necessary to maintain the father’s role and order in the family, and to receive respect.

*Onlara sevgimi göstermiyorum. Sevgimi göstermiyorum onlara. Yani şöyle, Yani ben bir ona sarılıp, bir buna sarılıp gelip de şapır şupur öpmem çocuklarımı... Öperim ama bunu senede bir kere iki kere yaparım. Sen şimdi diyeceksin ki, ya bu ne kadar aykırı bir şey diyeceksin kendine göre, ama öyle değil. Orada da başka bir mesele var. Ama çocuklarım şunu iyi bilirler, benim onu ne kadar sevdiğimi çok iyi bilirler, ama burada da bir çizgi var artık, genel şeyde söylenen bir doğru vardır ya, çocuklarınızla arkadaş olun, çocuklarımızla arkadaş olamayız biz. Bir öğretmenle öğrenci arkadaş olabilir mi? Olamaz. Olduğu zaman işin içine laçkalık girer yani. Lakaytlık girer. O zaman birisi öğretici, birisi öğrenen olamaz yani. Babayla oğul da, babayla kız da arkadaş olamaz. Mesafeyi koruyarak, baba ve çocuk ilişkisi... O bilecek ki ben onun babasıyım. Ben de ona diyeceğim ki o benim çocuğumdur. Arada bir saygı çizgisi vardır ya. Ben ona saygı çizgisini, ne aşağı ne yukarı geçirmek. Yani bir şey söyleyeceği zaman da o saygı çerçevesinde konuşur, ben bir şey söyleyeceğim zaman da o saygı çerçevesinde konuşurum, çocuklarımda da aynısını beklerim. Ben çocuğuma hiç, dövme de yoktur bizde mesela. Şunu yapma, cık. Ben sadece bana sorarlar, baba şunu*

*yapayım mı, yapmayın. Niçin? Şundan dolayı yapmayın. Bitti. Onun ikinci bir tartışmasını yapmazlar benle. Yapmazlar çünkü o çizgi var ya. O çizgiyi geçmediği için yapmazlar.*

### **3.2.4 Authority, Gender and its relation to the culture**

Some fathers reports about their relationship with their child reveal their traditional views regarding the father's role in the family and provide instances of authoritarian and restrictive behaviors. These reports are culturally significant.

Some fathers gain information about the child's well-being, mood, problems from the mothers, instead of learning directly from the children themselves.

*“Genelde benimle paylaşmaz. Pek bir şey anlatmazlar. Ben anneye sorarım, anneden bilgi alırım. Ya da ben anneye derim dersler nasıl gidiyor. Bir sıkıntı var mı, yok mu, alışabildi mi? Arkadaş ortamı nasıl?”*

*”Genel problemleri, dışarıda olan problemlerini benimle konuşmaz. annesiyle konuşur, annesi bana aktarır sonra. Ben de sormam, nasıl olsa öğrendiğim için.”*

A father's reply to the question about sharing personal problems indicates that dealing with the personal problems of a daughter is seen as the mother's task. (The interviewer specified that he is not asking gender-related problems but general problems in her life apart from gender)

*“. Sorunlarını paylaşıyor mu?*

*-Yani onu diyorum ya, annesi ilgilenir. Ben nasıl konuşayım yani. Kız çocuğu yani. Onu ben soramam ki ona. Senin sorduğun soruların çoğu annesinin işleri...”*

A father indicated that his child's gender, girl, prevent him from a more engaged talk and sharing, more time spent together.

*“Şimdi erkek bir oğlum yok ki onla istediğim gibi konuşayım, öğreteyim bir şeyleri. Ama onlar anne kız ilişkisinde kendi aralarında geziyorlar, dolaşıyorlar.”*

This father thinks that girls are getting along well more with their mothers than their fathers.

He presents this idea as a natural and well-known fact.

*Bir de anneye kız bilirsin çok daha iyi arkadaştır, babayla kız yerine, çok daha iyi anlaşılır birbiriyle. Biz böyle öğrenmişiz. O ortamı sağlayamıyorum.*

A father is interested in the financial aspect, and the child demands money from the father.

However, their private problems, deep feelings and other things, they share with the mother since they are afraid of their father. Father as financial provider and mother as a nurturing figure is a typical aspect of traditional father role.

*“Ama sıkıntı derken, bir baba olarak, çocuğunuzun, neye ihtiyacı var, neye ihtiyacı yok, bu çocuk ne kadar bir harcama yapabilir, dışarıda ne kadar bir gider olabilir, işte bugün dışarı çıktığında, bir tostun bir dönerin maliyeti nedir? Bunların haftalıklarını verdiğin zaman çok sorarım. Bir ihtiyacın varsa kartımı veririm. Canı bir şey çektiyse bana söyleyemiyorsa ben çok eli açığım. Anne tam tersine tutucu. Annesine söylemezler bana söylerler onu. Alacakları bir şeyle ilgili bana söylerler. en yumuşak baba, kız çocukları gelir babaya söyler. Ama anneye söylerse anne almaz. Diğer konuda da, okul içerisinde, okul dışında arkadaş grubunda, birebir ilişkide hep anneyle paylaşıyorlar, benimle bir şey paylaşmıyorlar. “*

Children are afraid of their fathers due to their authoritarian attitudes and behaviors.

Therefore, they prefer to share things with their mothers, not fathers.

*“Bir ödeme varsa, okula başışı kıyafet alınacak. Hani en son babalar duyar misali var ya. Annesiyle paylaşıyorlar, ben anneden bilgi alıyorum. Ben anneye söylüyorum bir ihtiyacı var mı, belki benden çekiniyordur. Çünkü ben sinirlendiğim için kendimi çok kaybeden bir insanım. Yani onlar bilirlir babasının huyunu. Evde biraz otoriterimdir yani. Eve girdiğim anda benim neye kızacağımı anlarla yani. Ben tertipli düzenli olsun isterim her şeyi. O anlamda biraz çekinirler yani. Ve bir şey soracakları zaman bana sorarlar, baba sinirli misin? Bir şey sorabilir miyim?”*

*“Özel bir şeyleri benimle konuşmazlar. Genelde biliyorsunuz, bu işlerde anneler şeydir, dert küpü onlardır. Çünkü şundan kaynaklanıyor. Baba yüz göz olduğu zaman, dedik ya saygı çizgisi var, o saygı çizgisi biraz bozuluyor. Sevgi çizgisi de bozuluyor. Dolayısıyla anne amortisör görevi görüyor yani. Oradan biraz daha yukarıya gelirken yansıtması hafif oluyor yani. Konuşabileceklerini benimle konuşurlar. Konuşulmayacak bir şey yok aslında da. Hani böyle, bazı babaların kızacağı meseleler vardır, bu gibi şeylerde mesela kızabileceği düşünülerek o konu anneye aksettirilir ilk önce. Sonra anneden yukarıya doğru gelir. Yani bir işyerindeki amir memur ilişkisi gibi oluyor biraz. Ona benzer yani. Olayın sertliği yumuşasın diye o kıvama gelir.”*

Some fathers see themselves as the Head of the family, leader of the family, and everybody has to obey his orders which are unquestionable.

*“Babaannenin işlerini yap mesela. Yani onu hoşnut tutma tartışma konusu olmaz. Bir lider var. O lider kimdir? Bende. Ben şunu yap dedim mi, o iş yapılmış zaten. Diyemez ki ben yapamıyorum, yapmıyorum.”*

*“Genelde evde son söz babanıdır ya. Bizde baba ne derse orada biter, devam etmez. Ama bunun haklısını haksızını hal ve tavır belirler. Haksız bir durumda da olabiliriz ama, o babalıktan gelen, yani onu kullanmamız gerekir babalığı. Belki de haksız görsek bile, o babalığı kullanmamız gerekir yani. O makamı o yeri kullanmamız gerekir bazen.”*

Sometimes fathers can express nontraditional opinions when it comes to gender. One father says that his daughter should not allow herself to be oppressed in her future family when she grow up, and should have a strong role in making decisions within the family.

*“Tabii çocuğunuza da büyüdüğü zaman, aile kurduğu zaman, o aile içerisinde de her şeyden önce benim çocuğum kız çocuğu olduğu için. İşte kendini bir kız olduğu için, bayan olduğu için, aile içerisinde verilecek kararlarda kendini çekmemesini temenni ederim. Yani isterim. Mutlaka söz sahibi olmak konusunda, bir de yeterli olmak seviyesinde de. Söz sahibi olmak...”*

Fathers’ intrusive control and restrictiveness can take many forms including the child’s clothing and appearance. 3 fathers’ report showed that they pressure their children about this issue.

*“Bak işte biz soylu aileyiz. Tayt giyme, etek giy. Halana bak, halan tayt giyiyor mu, teyzen tayt giyiyor mu? Yani anlatabiliyor muyum demek istediklerimi...”*

*“En son bu hafta tartıştık. Ben dedim kapan, o diyor kapanmayacağım. Ben dedim kapan, o diyor kapanmayacağım. En sonunda da kapandı işte. Yani başörtüyü taktırdık Allah’ın izniyle. Çıkartmamak şartıyla.”*

*“Giyimine kuşamına dikkat ederim. Çok açık saçık giyinmesine şiddetle karşı çıkarım.”*

*“Ben şu ana kadar açıkçası yaptığı her şeyin takibini yapıyorum. en ufak şeyine kadar, atıyorum saç taramasına kadar karışıyorum. (...) kendine bakmıyor, kilo alıyor, ısrarla söylüyoruz bunu yememen lazım (...) Ya da mesela arkadaşlarının giydiği pantolon tarzında... Ben de diyorum ki bu serseri işte, ya da başka bir tabir olabilir. Bu olmaz daha böyle daha iyi tarzlar var, şu tarz bu tarz deyip söyleyip söylüyorum. Saç konusunda mesela öyleydi. Saçını tarama şekli kafama takılıyordu. Ben diyordum böyle yapsan daha güzel olur, daha yakışıyor diye. Sonra diyordu benim dediğime geliyordu ve mecbur yapıyordu.”*

Some fathers intervene in the friendships of the child (a total of three). One father breaks a daughter’s friendship due to the spoiled behavior and the political affiliation of the friend.

*“Siz diyor potansiyeliniz çok yüksek bir öğretmen olmuş olsanız şu an bu okulda olmazsınız diyor şu an sizin vermiş olduğunuz bilgiler ve potansiyeliniz düşük olduğu için bu okulda*

görev yapıyorsunuz diyor. Çok ağır bir cevap Ve biraz siyasete girecek ama... Öğrendim ki kızın tamamen bir HDP'li olduğunu öğrendim. Anlatabildim mi? bak parti ismini de veriyorum. Öğrendiğim için çok tehlikeli olabileceğini, asla bu ukalalığı yapan bir öğrencinin öğretmenine bu çocukta her ne kadar kendinden emin de olsa, öğretmenini diğer öğrencilerin yanında bu şekilde davranması hiç hoş değil dedim. Demek ki bu çocukcağz evinde aile içerisinde anne ve baba içerisinde nasıl yetişiyorsa, her ne kadar çocuklarını okula da gönderseler maalesef bu şekilde olmuyor. Sadece ondan dolayı ilişkisini koparttı yani”.

Another father tried to break the child's relationship with her friend, claiming that their “culture” and their type of family are different from them.

“(gideceği yere) arkadaşlar sıkıntılı olduğu zaman müdahale ediyorum, aile yapısı olarak bizlere... Çocuğun hareket tarzının bizim aile yapısına uymaması. bizim aile yapısından ziyade kültürümüze fazla uymaması, ailesinin çok fazla serbestlik vermesi (...)tamamen görüşmeyi yasaklayamam, bu bir çözüm değil, siz de bilirsiniz, biz de genç olduk. Yasakladığımız sürece tepkiyi biz üzerimize çekeriz. Mümkün merteye görüşmelerini kısarak, kontrollü bir şekilde olmalarına razı geliyoruz yani.”

### 3.2.5 Conflict Resolution

Examination of the fathers' accounts of conflicts with their children results in the detection of 4 ways in which the fathers handle them.

1) avoidance-unresolved: In these cases, fathers choose avoidant strategies when they encounter a conflict. They do not confront the conflict and conflicts remain unresolved.

“Çıkıyorum kapıya, bir sigara yakıyorum. Sabır Allah'ım diyorum. Başka ne yapabilirim. Kalkıp da tokat vuramazsın ki 14-15 yaşındaki çocuğa.

(...)Yok, kısa keserim. Çeker giderim. Evden çıktım, balkona çıktım, bir sigara yaktım mı zaten...”

2) Discussion-persuasion-negotiation: Both parties express their point of view on the matter and try to persuade the other. Sometimes a solution that satisfies both parties interest can be achieved.

Ex: “Yani onunla konuştum geçenlerde hangi okulda okumak istediğini falan. O bana şimdi kendini test ettiriyor. Beni test ettiriyor. Ben öyle düşünüyorum. Baba diyor ben Edirne'de okusam, fen lisesinde, bana izin verir misin dedi. Ben fen lisesindeki amacının ne olduğunu sordum. Edirne'de okumak mı istiyorsun, amacın o mu? İşte ne bileyim Trakya üniversitesinde Edirne'de okuyor. Ablana arkadaşlık mı yapmak istiyorsun, kendi idealin mi var. Ya işte orada okumak istiyorum dedi. Birazcık konuyu açmaya çalıştım, dedim ki orada okumaktaki amacın ne? Dedi fen lisesi. Yüzde 70 oranında tıbbi kazanıyormuş oradaki öğrenciler. Öyle bir hedefin var mı? Varsa öyle bir hedefin desteklerim. Ama Edirne'de okumak için gidiyorsan bu tamamen yanlış, aklına da böyle şeyleri, hayal kurmanı istemem, bence ben onay vermem dedim. O düşündü taşındı, düşündü taşındı. Ertesi gün bana cevap

verebildi. Baba ben orayı birinci tercih olarak yazacağım dedi. O zaman dedim ben amacının ne olduğunu biliyor musun? Biliyorum dedi ben tıbbi kazanmak isterim dedi, oradaki öğrencilerin de kazanma oranı yüksek. O zaman dedim gönderebilirim. Bir taraftan benim güvenimi ölçmeye çalışıyor, bir taraftan kendini şey yap yapıyor. Ve ben onayladım yani. İlk tercih Teog'da Edirne'yi yazdı.”

3)Explanation: Father explains the reasons for his demands, objections, rules and disturbances. They try to make the child to understand their views and the possible negative consequences of their actions.

Ex: “İlk tepki belki şey olabilir, bu olmaz tarzı olabilir ama bu olmazın arkasını muhakkak doldururum. Çünkü sen bunun arkasını anlatmazsan, yarın çocuğum bana bir daha bunu sormaz. Bu sefer benim babam her şeye olmaz diyor der, gizliden yapar yapacağı şeyleri, o yüzden bunun arkasını doldurmam lazım.”

4)Authoritarian, unilateral decision making:: Father directly orders, restricts, insists without discussion or explanation. The child does not have a chance to discuss.

Ex: - Neden izin vermediğinizi tartışıyor musunuz karşılıklı?

-Yok. İzin vermem. İzin vermem. Yani o durumda genelde kestiririm. Kestirip atarım.

Out of 17 fathers, one father's accounts were found to be uncategorized. The other 16 fathers' accounts are evaluated in these four categories. Even one example or hint of one behavior was accepted as a method used. The numbers of fathers who use avoidant, discussion, explanation, direct action strategies are 5, 10, 13, 6, respectively.

The relationship between positive and negative conflict resolution scores of the children and the father's conflict resolution strategies was also examined. In this very small sample, children of fathers who utilize discussion ( $n = 10$ ) receive higher positive conflict resolution scores and lower negative conflict resolution scores on average than children whose fathers do not use this strategy ( $n = 6$ ). Similarly, on average, children of fathers who use discussion and explanation and do not avoid conflict or engage in unilateral decision making had higher scores ( $n = 7$ ) on positive conflict resolution and lower scores on negative



conflict resolution, compared to the children whose fathers do not fit this overall conflict resolution pattern ( $n = 9$ ). Means and standard deviations are presented on Table 12.

Table 12

*Means and standard deviations for children's conflict resolution scores according to father's conflict resolution strategies*

Father's strategy	Positive conflict resolution score		Negative conflict resolution score	
	Mean	SD <sup>a</sup>	Mean	SD <sup>a</sup>
Discussion used	88.60	10.16	20.20	13.28
Discussion not used	69.71	20.56	35.02	17.29
Overall good pattern	85.29	9.93	15.00	11.39
Unfit to good pattern	78.59	21.24	34.13	14.53

*Note.* Discussion used = Fathers who use discussion/persuasion/negotiation strategy  
 Discussion not used = Fathers who do not use discussion/persuasion/negotiation strategy  
 Overall good pattern = Fathers who use discussion/persuasion/negotiation strategies and do not use avoidance or authoritarian/unilateral decision making  
 Unfit to good pattern = Fathers who do not exactly fit to the overall good pattern

<sup>a</sup> Standard deviation

Independent samples t-tests were conducted to compare these scores; only one of them reached statistical significance. Children whose father display overall good pattern in their conflict resolution got lower scores in negative conflict resolution than children whose father do not,  $t(14) = 2.86, p = .01$ . The results of the comparison of fathers who use discussion with fathers who do not discuss in terms of positive and negative conflict resolution scores of their children, were close to being statistically significant,  $t(7) = -2.10, p = .08, t(14) = 1.94, p = .07$ , respectively.

### 3.2.6 Interview Results Overview

Results show that both traditional/authoritarian and modern/democratic fathering values and practices exist, and culture of Turkey might play an important role in these fathering dimensions. Traits and values the father want to see in their child were talked in length with

different dimensions, but there were still fathers only mentioning social/moral/cultural aspects without referring to the personal well-being. It does not necessarily mean that fathers don't care about the personal growth and well-being of the child, but their understanding could be shaped by what they and the people around may think of the child. Absence of the personal growth oriented traits and values may refer to the values of collectivistic culture. As for the time spent together, we see that fathers want to spend more time with their children but working conditions of the father, generational difference, and the child's unwillingness might interfere with this desire. Children generally prefer not to share their personal problems, difficulties, troubles and thoughts. Most fathers do not see this as the part of a father's role and refer to mothers as assuming this role. Many fathers refer to the head of the family role, see themselves as the leader of the family, and are especially restrictive with their daughters. In doing so, they often give references to the cultural aspects such as being an Anatolian child, breaking friendships not appropriate to the culture, and religious expectations regarding clothing. Based on patriarchal values inherent in Turkish culture, parent's gender and the child's gender might affect the parent-child relationship. In terms of conflict resolution, many fathers do not use an explanatory style and mutual discussion, which would be more compatible with modern fatherhood. It could be that fathers continue to be inhibited by the authoritarian and patriarchal values in the culture. However, there were also fathers who discuss and provide explanations during conflicts which is in line with the involved and egalitarian father model. In addition, it was found that fathers who use positive strategies are more likely to have children who got higher scores on positive conflict resolution and lower scores on negative conflict resolution.

## Chapter 4: DISCUSSION

### 4.1 Summary and Discussion of the Findings

My results suggest that perceived paternal parenting styles are associated with preadolescent's development. Father's parenting, in terms of control, rejection and warmth, predicted the variables of empathy, positive and negative conflict resolution styles, positive self and belief in change, which were used as the indicators of positive youth development. This relationship exists even when we control for SES, gender and especially, mother's parenting styles. However, changes in effect sizes ( $R^2$ ) were quite low ranging from .01 to .03  $R^2$ . Based on this result, it can be suggested that above and beyond the effects of mothers, fathers have unique and small influence on the child. Previous research have mixed results about this unique influence of fathers controlling for mother's parenting (Marsiglio, Amato, Day & Lamb, 2000) and my study contributes to the idea that fathers have additional influence. However, there is an important point to consider in interpreting this result: Fathers' and mothers' parenting styles are highly correlated and they reflect the general family environment in which the child is raised. Father's effect should not be evaluated outside the effect of mother's. They could jointly influence the child's positive development. This can explain the reason for the low effect size values. Nevertheless, apart from mothers, a significant unique contribution comes from fathers.

In line with the hypotheses, paternal warmth made a positive contribution to the child's development whereas paternal rejection had a negative relationship with child's positive development. Paternal control's association with the child's development remained unclear, indicated by non-significant and low beta coefficients. Considering our control items which seem to indicate an authoritarian type of control, these results are partly in agreement with the research favoring authoritative parenting for the child's development (Sumer, Gundogdu & Helvacı, 2010). Although some suggest that authoritarianism and parental

control can be beneficial for the collectivistic groups (Ingoldsby, Schvaneveldt & Supple & Bush, 2004; Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Lansford et al. 2002), our results do not support this argument.

There were interactions between perceived father's rejection and SES in predicting child outcomes. In low SES families, the negative effect of father's rejection was much smaller compared to the middle and high SES families. This interaction could stem from cultural differences in different socioeconomic levels. Paternal behaviors of rejection could be perceived and interpreted differently by the child depending on the cultural setting. Examination of parent-child relationship provides support for the different perception of parental behavior in non-western cultures. For instance, a research comparing Japanese and German adolescents indicated that Japanese children perceive parents' harsh discipline and control as the signs of parental acceptance and warmth, unlike German children who are more likely to interpret those as hostility (Trommsdorff, 1985). Nevertheless, negative effects of paternal rejection are consistently reported in diverse cultures and geographies (Khaleque, 2007). Adolescents reported higher paternal rejection in Eastern countries than the Western Countries (Dwairy, 2009), and traditional father role is more prominent in low SES Turkish families. Therefore, it can be argued that there is a context where paternal rejection is considered more normal and less damaging by the Turkish low SES adolescents. According to social comparison theory (Festinger, 1952), people evaluate themselves and their thoughts by comparing with other people who are similar to them. Therefore, early adolescents may compare their fathers to the fathers in the neighborhood who are more rejecting than the high SES fathers, and consider rejection more normal and less problematic. Consequently, they tolerate more and worry less about this damaging behavior.

In the qualitative results, I found that both traditional and modern fathering exist in Turkish fathers. Almost half of the fathers' expression of values and characteristics desired in

their children include only collectivistic values and characteristics, and they do not include autonomy-related values. The reason for the absence of autonomy-oriented values in some fathers could be that conformity is thought to be functional and adaptive in a collectivistic society. Kohn (1969) argued that parental values and goals are shaped by the parents' expectation of their child's future roles in society and called this process anticipatory socialization. Therefore, in collectivistic and working-class setting, parents tend to emphasize conformity for their children.

Authoritarian attitudes of the father were indicated through restrictive and interfering behaviors, and hierarchical family relationships. This type of fathering might inhibit interactive, open and supportive relationships, as exemplified in the interviews. Head of the family role might give them a status that undermines psychological/emotional sharing.

Gender and beliefs and attitudes regarding gender are important factors that are related to fathering behaviors. Father, as a man, does not think that psychological/emotional caring is one of his responsibilities. They see this as part of the mother's role and burden of such care is assumed solely by mother. Although fathers spend time with their children and like doing activities together, some fathers do not talk with their adolescent children about their problems and difficulties. It could be that children do not feel themselves comfortable in sharing their troubles due to the authoritarian role that fathers assume. Some fathers reported that children could be afraid of him and can express problems to mothers more easily. Reports of a few fathers show that their open interaction with a daughter could be less due to the child's gender. These statements might indicate that patriarchal values could damage the relationships between father and child. It is meaningful in a society in which gender inequalities continue.

In conflicts, some fathers do not engage in discussions and some do not even need to explain their point of view. Patterns of avoidance from the conflict and direct interference in

the adolescent's behavior were reported. They together reflect the authoritarian parenting in interdependent family model of collectivistic cultures, in which the child's autonomy is not appreciated. On the other hand, some fathers encourage open discussion or explain their opinions and feelings. More open and interactive relationships could be the result of an atmosphere of urbanization and increasing affluence where authoritative parenting practices and autonomy-granting are more adaptive (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).

There was a connection between interviewed fathers' and their children's conflict resolution strategies. Fathers who adopt more positive strategies such as explanation or negotiation had children who got higher scores on positive conflict resolution and lower scores on negative conflict resolution compared to the children whose father do not use positive strategies. Modeling and observational learning might be the mechanisms responsible for this association (Mischel, 1966). Strategies the child encountered during father-child conflicts could establish a basis that guides strategies in other social settings such as problems with peers.

Coexistence of traditional and modern patterns of fatherhood is in line with the research done in Turkey (e.g. Yalçınöz, 2011; Bolak, Fişek & Ziya, 2014). We might suggest that it is the result of the transformation process from authoritarian/collectivistic families to the families that are authoritative and support and respect the child's autonomy. Fathers' intrusive control and the boundaries drawn have roots in the culture and beliefs about gender in Turkey.

Considering development during early adolescence, which is an important stage for maturation, self-reliance, autonomy development, father's acceptance and warmth, both by themselves and together with the mothers, are vital for the child's social and cognitive development. In an environment without mutual understanding, openness and psychological/emotional interaction, the child's potential to develop might be constrained. Of

course, early adolescents might need more alone time and their friendships gain more importance. However, supportive and trusting environment at home can still contribute to the life-long development.

Cultural and socio-economical context plays an important role in father-child relationship and father's impact on the child's development. This is not to say that there are not certain conditions which are universal for the positive development of the child. Paternal parenting characteristics which are parallel to the authoritative parenting style were found to be associated with positive outcomes in all children groups. Although paternal rejection's negative effect was not significant or marginal in children from low SES, paternal warmth was associated with positive outcomes, and authoritarian control was not related to positive development. Therefore, I suggest that in urban context, culture and class differences do not influence what type of parenting is the most suitable for child's development. These differences play its role in affecting the magnitude of the certain paternal effects, and shaping parental values, beliefs and children's perception and interpretations of their parents' behavior.

To a certain extent, my findings support Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory which is one of the most influential and comprehensive theories that explain development in context. This theory posits that there are dynamic, embedded and nested systems in which levels of environment have mutual interactions that further affect the child's interactions with the elements of immediate surrounding such as family. Dominant ideology and beliefs mutually influence other inner layers of environment, which in turn interact with the child and impact her development. Based on my research results and my interpretation of them, it could be said that cultural differences, which is closely related to economic conditions, shapes parenting values, styles and behaviors, thereby the child's positive development. However, Super and Harkness (1999) argue that the developing child's

relationship with culture is more direct and immediate. Culture is integrated in all aspects of environmental setting and the child herself. Therefore, in my research, children's differential evaluation of and expectations about their fathers' rejection in low SES families might not be understood when we accept culture as part of the macroenvironment, outside the direct reach of the child. Rather, culture is embedded in the every environmental layer, from institutions to the parenting beliefs, and in the child's own perceptions.

#### **4.2. Limitations**

Qualitative part of my study is far from being generalizable and my interpretations on the data were very much subjective. Sample size is low, demographic data is insufficient and there were no other coders who could allow us to assess interrater reliability. In addition, interviews were conducted 2 years after the initial data collection. In this case, children's skills and father's parenting practices might not be stable during this 2 year period. Although this is a modest small-scale research, it could be useful when it is evaluated together with the other research done in Turkey.

For the quantitative part, children, especially low achiever ones, had difficulties in filling our scales due to the classroom conditions and testing skills. Another deficiency is the measurement of control, which refers only to intrusive, restrictive, conflicting and authoritarian type of control. Inclusion of a guiding, monitoring, positive control might reveal different effects of control.

#### **4.3 Future Directions**

Future research should consider cultural underpinnings of paternal influences on child development. Research focusing on fatherhood with a cultural perspective and investigations of the impact of paternal childrearing on the child should integrate their findings. More comprehensive research that covers both fatherhood studies and the area of child development would provide a better understanding on the child development in cultural and environmental



context. Moreover, future research on father-child conflict resolution strategies could relate to and contribute to peace psychology as well.



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## APPENDIX A

### Parenting Behaviors Scale

Aşağıda annen ve babanla ilişkilerin hakkında cümleler var. Cümlelerde anlatılanları son 1 ayda ne kadar yaşadığını düşün. Her cümlede bir kutucuğu annen için, bir kutucuğu da baban için işaretle. Bu cümleleri birlikte yaşadığın annen/baban veya anne-baba yerine koyduğun kişileri düşünerek cevapla.

	ANNEM					BABAM				
	Geçtiğimiz ay hiç olmadı	Ayda 1-2 kere	Haftada 1 kere	Haftada 2-3 kere	Her gün	Geçtiğimiz ay hiç olmadı	Ayda 1-2 kere	Haftada 1 kere	Haftada 2-3 kere	Her gün
1	Üzüntülü olduğunu sen söylemeden anlar mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Yaptığın küçük yaramazlıklar veya hatalar için bile seni ağır bir şekilde cezalandırır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	Başına kötü bir şey geldiğinde seni rahatlatmaya çalışır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Sana karşı çok sert davranır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Sana herkesin içinde kötü sözler söyler mi?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	O sana kızdığında kendisi de üzülür mü?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Sana hiçbir işi başaramadığını söyler mi?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	Sen konuşurken cümlelerini tamamlar mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	Senin zamanının eğlenceli geçmesine çalışır mı (örneğin; tatile, akrabalara göndererek, sana güzel kitaplar alarak)?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
10	Yaptığın bir işi beğenmezse, o işi zorla senden alıp kendi yapar mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

		ANNEM					BABAM				
		Geçtiğimiz ay hiç olmadı	Ayda 1-2 kere	Haftada 1 kere	Haftada 2-3 kere	Her gün	Geçtiğimiz ay hiç olmadı	Ayda 1-2 kere	Haftada 1 kere	Haftada 2-3 kere	Her gün
11	Sana karşı çok kaba davrandığı olur mu?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12	Seni arkadaşlarıyla karşılaştırır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
13	Sence o sana çok mu karışır?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14	Sen bir şey söylemeye çalışırken o, konuyu değiştirir mi?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15	Sana sıcak ve sevecen davranır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16	Üstün pislenir diye bazı oyunları oynamana izin vermediği olur mu?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
17	Yanlış bir şey yapmadığın halde seni cezalandırdığı olur mu?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
18	Sana kızdığında daha önce yaptığın hataları sürekli söyleyip durur mu?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19	Arkadaşlarının kim olduğuna karışır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20	Bir işi başardığında seninle gurur duyar mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21	Diğer çocuklardan daha kötü veya başarısız olduğunu söyler mi?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22	Sen kötü bir şey yaptığında o sana kızmadan önce nedenini sorar mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23	Ödevlerini yaparken o sana sen istemediğin halde karışır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

		ANNEM					BABAM				
		Geçtiğimiz ay hiç olmadı	Ayda 1-2 kere	Haftada 1 kere	Haftada 2-3 kere	Her gün	Geçtiğimiz ay hiç olmadı	Ayda 1-2 kere	Haftada 1 kere	Haftada 2-3 kere	Her gün
24	Senin bir konudaki düşünce ve kararlarını ısrarla değiştirmeye çalışır mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25	Arkadaşların içinde en iyi olman için seni zorlar mı?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26	Sana sevgisini kucaklayarak veya sarılarak gösterir mi?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
27	Evde bir şey ters gittiğinde o hemen seni mi suçlar?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## APPENDIX B

### Basic Empathy Measure



1-

Başka insanları  
ağlarken  
gördüğümde  
üzülmem.

Başka insanları  
ağlarken  
gördüğümde  
üzülürüm.



2-

Arkadaşımın  
mutsuzluğu bana  
hiçbir şey hissettirmez.

Arkadaşımın  
mutsuzluğu bana  
bazı şeyler  
hissettirir.



3-

Arkadaşım başarılı  
olduğunda onun ne  
kadar mutlu olduğunu  
anlayabilirim.

Arkadaşım başarılı  
olduğunda onun ne  
kadar mutlu  
olduğunu  
anlayamam.



4-

Birisi kendini kötü  
hissettiğinde onun  
neler hissettiğini  
genelde  
anlayabilirim.

Birisi kendini kötü  
hissettiğinde onun  
neler hissettiğini  
genelde anlayamam.



5-

İnsanların neşeli olduğunu genellikle anlarım.

İnsanların neşeli olduğunu genellikle anlamam.



6-

Arkadaşımın kızgın olduğunu genellikle hemen fark ederim.

Arkadaşımın kızgın olduğunu genellikle hemen fark etmem.



7-

Arkadaşlarımın mutlu oldukları anları anlamakta zorlanırım.

Arkadaşlarımın mutlu oldukları anları anlamakta zorlanmam.

## Appendix C

### Interview Questions

1. Kızınız/oğlunuz .....’in hangi kişilik/karakter özelliklerine sahip olmasını istersiniz? Onun nasıl bir insan olmasını istersiniz?
2. Sosyal ortamlarda/arkadaş ortamlarında kişiliği/karakteri ve davranışları nasıl olmalı? Bu ortamlarda insanlarla ilişkisi nasıl olmalı?
3. İleride iş yaşamında kişiliği/karakteri, davranışları nasıl olmalı? İş ortamında insanlarla ilişkisi nasıl olmalı?
4. İleride aile hayatında kişiliği/karakteri, davranışları nasıl olmalı? Aile üyeleriyle ilişkisi nasıl olmalı?
5. Ne işle meşgulsünüz?
6. Haftanın hangi günleri, kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz?
7. Çocuğunuzla ne kadar vakit geçiriyorsunuz? Geçirdiğiniz toplam vakit tahminen/ortalama haftada kaç saat? (Günleri tek tek sayıp toplamasına yardımcı olunur.)
8. Çocuğunuzla birlikteyken neler yapıyorsunuz? Nasıl vakit geçiriyorsunuz?
9. Okulda yaptıkları hakkında ne sıklıkta konuşursunuz? (Hiç, nadiren, ara sıra, sık sık, her gün)
10. Dışarıda yaptıkları hakkında ne sıklıkta konuşursunuz? (Hiç, nadiren, ara sıra, sık sık, her gün)
11. Sizinle problemleri veya sıkıntıları hakkında ne sıklıkta konuşur? (Hiç, nadiren, ara sıra, sık sık, her zaman)
12. Çocuğunuza öğüt/nasihat veriyor musunuz? Ne tür öğütler ya da nasihatler veriyorsunuz? Örnek gösterebilir misiniz?
13. Çocuğunuzu anlayamadığınız zamanlar oluyor mu?
14. Çocuğunuza hangi durumlarda kızarsınız?
15. Kızdığınız zaman ne yapıyorsunuz? Kızgınlığınızı belli ediyor/gösteriyor musunuz? Nasıl gösteriyorsunuz?
16. Çocuğunuzla en son ne zaman bir konuda tartıştınız/anlaşmazlık yaşadınız? Nasıl başladı? Nasıl sonlandı?
17. Yakın zamanda başka tartıştığınız bir konu aklınıza geliyor mu? Tartışma nasıl başladı? Nasıl sonlandı?
18. Genel olarak tartışmalarınız nasıl sonlanıyor?
19. Çocuğunuzun yapmak isteyeceği ve sizin uygun bulmayacağınız davranışlara iki örnek gösterebilir misiniz?



20. GemiŖte sizin uygun bulmadığınız ama ocuęunuzun yaptıęı rnekler oldu mu?

21. Sizden bunun iin izin istedięinde ona tepkiniz ne olur?

22. İzin vermedięiniz bir Ŗey iin direttięinde ne yaparsınız?



## APPENDIX D: ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF QUOTATIONS

### 3.2.2. Time spent together

"I work 6 days a week. I work long hours. I get home by 9 pm, I don't get much time to interact with my children (...) So, we don't spend much time together. I mean, there is obviously a certain time limit. The children go to bed at 11 or 12 pm, so we only have a couple hours."

"Honestly, we can't. I can't. You come home from work, tired. We can't really spend quality time together."

"After the children's socialization, we're out. Especially in these times... We can barely get him/her to sit with us in her free time, or she just goes to her room. She has started studying. Either on the phone, or on the computer, so frankly she doesn't pay much attention to us."

"She likes being in her room. In fact, I force her, invite her. If there is some program that I don't like, that I don't approve of that he/she is watching, I even say I'll turn on that program. She should just sit with me, I'd watch it too. She sits for about 10 minutes, then she starts getting anxious after 15 minutes. So I just tell her to go. Can't force her to sit."

"Since everyone's got their own thing after these phones, I'd be lying if I said we spent much time together."

### 3.2.3 Sharing/Intimacy/Distance

"I don't show them my feelings. I don't show my love. I mean, I don't just hug one or the other and kiss my children... I do kiss them, but only once or twice a year. You can say that's very abnormal, from your perspective, but it's not. There's something else there. But my children know this very well, they know how well I love them, but there's a line here, there's this idea, be friends to your children, we can't be friends with our children. Can a teacher be friends with their student? They can't. If they do, then it's improper. It's frivolous. Then it cannot be a teacher and a student. A father cannot be friends with his son or his daughter. You need to keep the distance, the relationship between the father and the child... The child must know I'm the father. And I can say he is my child. You know, a respect boundary in between? That boundary cannot be overstepped either way. So, he has something to say, he says it within that frame of respect, when I have something to say, I say it within that boundary, I expect the same thing from my children. I never, we don't beat our children either. Don't do that, tsk. They just ask me, dad, should I do that, no don't. Why? Because of this reason. Done. There is never a second discussion about that. There isn't, because of that boundary. They don't cross that boundary."

### 3.2.4 Authority, Gender and its relation to the culture

"Usually, she doesn't share with me. They don't say much. I ask their mother, I learn from her. Or I just ask her how the classes go. Is there a problem or not, did she get the hang of it? What are her friends like?"

"He doesn't talk to me about his/her general problems, or problems from outside. He talks to his mother, then she explains them to me. I don't ask either, I find out about them anyway."

". "Does she share her problems?"

-That's what I'm saying, her mom takes care of that. How would I talk to her? She's a girl. I can't ask her about that. The questions you're asking, they're mostly her mother's business..."

"Now I don't have a son to talk to the way I want, to teach stuff. But she and her mom, do their thing as mother and daughter."

"Also, you know, mother and daughter are better friends than father and daughter, they get along much better. That's what we've learnt. I cannot give the same feeling."

"But when you say problems, as a father, what does your child need, what doesn't he need, how much money can this child spend, what are her expenses when outside, or how much does food or drinks cost when she goes outside? I ask a lot when I give their allowances. I give my credit card if she needs something. If she wants something very much, if she can't tell me, I'm very generous. Their mother, though, is strict. They don't tell their mother that, they say that to me. They tell me about it, about something they're going to buy. The father is the most lenient, daughters go and tell their fathers about it. If they tell the mother, she doesn't buy it. Other problems, at school, with friends outside the school, personal relationships, they share all those with their mother, never anything with me."

"If there is a payment, to the school, buying clothing. You know, fathers are the last to know? They talk to their mother, and I learn from her. I ask her whether the child needs anything, maybe he/she is afraid of me. Because I just lose it when I'm angry. So they know their father. So I'm a bit authoritarian at home. As soon as I'm home, they know what I'll be mad at. I want to have everything in order, organized. So they're a bit wary. And when they're going to ask something, they ask 'Are you angry? May I ask something?'"

"They don't talk to me about private things. You know, usually it's the mothers, mothers listen to every problem. It's because of this. That respect boundary, you know, is broken when the father is too lenient. The boundary of love breaks too. So, the mother is like a damper. The reactions become lighter when she's in-between. They talk to me when they can. I mean, there isn't anything that can't be talked about. Like, there are some things some fathers get mad about it, those are usually told to mothers first. Then it comes up from the mother. Like some sort of chain of command at work. Like that. So that the problem is moderated."

"For example I say do your grandmother's errands. So it's not a discussion, whether to keep her content. There is a leader. Who is that leader? Me. If I say 'do this', then that thing is already done. There's no 'I can't do it, I won't do it.'"

"You know how usually the father gets the last say? We have that, it ends when the father speaks, no more arguments. But whether right or wrong, that is determined by attitude. We may be wrong, but we must use that authority, we must use that father power. Even when wrong, we might have to use that. We must use that authority, that power sometimes."

"Of course, when your child grows up and builds a family, even in that family my child comes first, because she's my daughter. I expect she doesn't shy back in familial decisions because she's a girl, because she's a lady. I mean I want that. With regards to having a say, definitely, also on the level of sufficiency. To have a say..."

"See we are a well-bred family. Don't wear tights, wear skirts. Look at your aunts, do they wear tights? So am I able to explain what I want to say..."

"Our last argument was this week. I told her to wear a veil, she said she wouldn't. I told her to wear a veil, she said she wouldn't. In the end, she wore it. She's wearing the headscarf, thank God. Never to take it off again."

"I pay attention to what she wears. I object strongly to her wearing too revealing clothing."

"Honestly, I've been following up on everything he/she has done until now. The tiniest thing, for example how he combs his hair. (...) He doesn't take care of himself/herself, gains weight, we keep warning him/her that he shouldn't eat a certain thing (...) Or for example the way his friends dress... So I say, this one's a rascal, or some other adjective. This doesn't work, there are more, like, better styles, this style or that, I keep saying. About his hair, for example, it was like that. I was fixating on the way he combed his/her hair. So I'd say it's better if you do it this way, it looks better on you. In the end, it'd just come to what I'd said and he was bound to do that."

"She says 'If you had a high potential as a teacher, you wouldn't be at this school. Because of the information you now provided and because you don't have a high potential, you're working at this school'. That's harsh, and also to go into politics a bit... I found out, she is a devoted member of HDP. You know? I even give you the name of the party. Because I found out, I told her it could be very dangerous, that as confident as she is, a student who is so arrogant with their teacher, it's not very nice that she treats her teacher this way with other students present. So the way this poor child was brought up at home, with her family, with her parents, it unfortunately doesn't work like that even if they send their child to school. Just because of that, I cast her off the school."

"I intervene (with where she is going) when his/her friends are problematic, as a family his/her... When the friends' behavior doesn't comply with our family. Moreso, with our culture, when their family is too lenient (...) I can't completely stop them from seeing each other, that's not a solution, you know that, we were young once. If we ban relationships, we get a negative reaction. So we just restrict their meeting, we just consent to their friendship in a controlled way."

### **3.2.5 Conflict Resolution**

"I go out the door, light a cigarette. I wish for patience from God. What else can I do? You can't just up and slap a 14-15 year-old child."

(...) No, I cut it short. I just leave. As soon as I'm out, on the balcony, lighting a cigarette..."

"I recently spoke to her about which school he/she wanted to study at. She is now having me test herself. Having me tested. That's what I think. She says, if I went to high school in Edirne, studying science, would you allow me? I asked why she wanted to study science. Do you want to study in Edirne, is that the reason? Or, like studying at Trakya University in Edirne. Do you want to be with your sister, or is it your own ideals? She says she just wants to study there. I tried to go deeper about it, I asked why she wanted to study there. She said she wanted to study science. When she studied science at high school, she said, 70% of the students there got into medical schools. Is that your goal? If so, I support that. But if you're going only to study in Edirne, that's completely wrong, never think about it, I wouldn't want you to dream, I don't think I would allow that. So she thought it over and over. She was able to give me an answer the next day. She said she would put that down as her first preference. Then I asked, do you know what your goal is? She said she knew, that she wanted to study medicine, the students there have a higher rate for that. So I said then I can send you. She is

trying to assess my trust on one side, testing herself on the other. So I just approved it. She put Edirne as his/her first preference at the exam."

"The first reaction may be, like 'this won't work', but I always give reasons why. Because if you don't give reasons, the next time my child won't ask me about this. The next time he says his father says no all the time, and goes and does things in secret, so I have to give reasons".

"Do you discuss why you wouldn't allow something?"

-No. I don't allow. I just don't. I mean in the case I usually just cut it. I just brush it off."

