Mother-Adolescent Relations across Contexts Representing Different Cultural Value Orientations and Socio-Economic Conditions

by

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for any award or any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. It is affirmed by the candidate that, to the best of her knowledge, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates whether mother-adolescent relations differ across social contexts. Effects of social context on mother-adolescent relations were examined using cross- and intra-cultural comparisons. Kagitcibasi's three family models provided the main framework for comparisons. Comparisons were conducted between German, Turkish middle class and Turkish rural samples representing three different family patterns. Mother-adolescent relations in Turkish urban low SES were also explored. Perceived parental acceptance-rejection, positive valence of the mother-adolescent relationship, frequency of conflict, adolescent's support for mother and maternal expectancies were the subjects of comparisons. Besides these comparisons, the associations between these study variables were assumed in a mother-adolescent relationship model and tested. Results of the study revealed both differences and similarities in mother-adolescent relations across contexts. All the findings are discussed in the light of existing literature and Kagitcibasi's theory of family models. Moreover, findings regarding parental acceptance and rejection are discussed concerning the conceptualization of parental acceptance-rejection construct and the implications for Parental Acceptance-Rejection theory.

Keywords: Parent-child relations, adolescence, social context, family models, parental acceptance-rejection.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma farklı sosyal bağlamlarda farklı anne-ergen ilişkilerinin bulunup bulunmadığını araştırmaktadır. Sosyal bağlamın anne-ergen ilişkisi üzerine etkileri kültürler arası ve kültür-içi karşılaştırmalar kullanılarak incelenmiştir. Bu karşılaştırmalarda Kağıtçıbaşı'nın önerdiği farklı kültürel ortamlar ve gelişmişlik düzeyine tekabül eden aile modelleri temel alınmıştır. Alman, Türk orta sınıf ve Türk kırsal sınıf örneklemler Kağıtçıbaşı'nın önerdiği 3 aile modelini yansıttığı düşüncesi ile birbirleri ile karşılaştırılmıştır. Ergenin algıladığı ebeveyn kabul ve reddi, ilişkinin yakınlığı, tartışma sıklığı, ergenin anneye desteği ve annenin beklentileri bu karşılaştırmaların konusunu oluşturmaktadır. Bu karşılaştırmaların yanı sıra bahsedilen değişkenlerin arasındakı ilişkiler bir model haline getirilip, test edilmiştir. Sonuçlar farklı sosyal bağlamlardaki anne-ergen ilişkileri arasında hem benzerlikler hem de farklılıklar bulunduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bütün bulgular varolan literatür ve Kağıtçıbaşı'nın aile modelleri kuramı kapsamında değerlendirilmiştir. Ayrıca, anne kabul ve reddi ile ilgili sonuçların Ebeveyn Kabul-Red Kuramı için çıkarımları tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Ebeveyn-çocuk ilişkisi, ergenlik, sosyal bağlam, aile modelleri, ebeveyn kabul ve reddi

DEDICATION

To the man who gave me my roots and let me fly: My beloved father

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The period of writing this master's thesis was shadowed with many unfortunate events making the completion of this work quite challenging. As I am through with this challenge, I hope it will mark the onset of good days to come. First of all, I am thankful to the universe for being beautiful even in the darkest times and I am thankful to myself not to let go.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Research on parent-child relations has attracted a lot of attention in psychology and other related sciences since the relationship in which child and parent partake generally constitutes the most proximal context of human development. Understanding the variation in parent-child relations together with its antecedents and consequences is central to the research on parent-child relations and to the efforts made to understand human development. Literature suggests that the social context, in which parent-child relationship is embedded, is responsible for some of the variation seen around the world (see Kagitcibasi, 1996, in press for review). Main topic of interest of this study is the influence of social context on parent-child relations in general and on mother-adolescent relations in particular. This study aims to examine the differences in mother-adolescent relations found in different social contexts.

In the literature, comparisons of parent-child relations in different societies are mainly based on Individualism and Collectivism dimension proposed in Hofstede's highly influential work "Culture's Consequences" (1980). However, this dimension has faced serious criticisms regarding the conceptual clarity and empirical soundness (e.g. Kagitcibasi, 1996, 2007; Matsumoto, 1999; Takano &

Osaka, 1999; Trommsdorff, Mayer & Albert, 2004; Voronov & Singer, 2002). Moreover, this account only pertains to the cultural value orientations of the societies studied. As a more elaborate account for differences in parent-child relations and family processes, Kagitcibasi (1985, 1990) proposed her *Theory of Family Models* as a heuristic device to understand the functional and causal links between society/culture, family and the self. This theory places parent-child relations in context, construed in terms of socio-economic development levels, subsistence/affluence characteristics of living conditions and rural-urban residence as well as cultural value orientations. Therefore, in the present study Kagitcibasi's theory of family models are employed as the main framework for comparisons of different social-contexts.

The literature on the link between social context and parent-child relations is presented in the following chapter. The influence of social context on parent-child relations is reviewed in terms of cultural value orientations and affluence levels. Next, the literature on the selected parent-child relationship variables is reviewed in light of socio-contextual factors. Finally, the specific aims and the rationale of the study are presented.

Following the literature review and the aims of the present study, the method chapter explains the characteristics of the participants and the procedure of the study. Next, the instruments used in this study are reported. The method chapter

also presents statistical analysis methods employed in the study, including the details about the Structural Equation Modeling used to test a mother-adolescent relationship model in different social contexts. The results of the analyses follow the method chapter. Finally, the implications of the results are discussed in the light of existing literature followed by a presentation of the limitations of the study and suggestions for future studies.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Context and Parent-Child Relations

Development does not occur in void but takes place in a specific environment, where human interactions are embedded. Although the family is the principal context in which human development takes place, it is only one of several interdependent settings (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In the field of psychology, researchers have been slow to include the social context in which the family is embedded as a major influence on development and parent-child relations, but in recent decades a non-contextual approach came to be viewed as inappropriate by many mainstream scholars (e.g. Bornstein, 1991; Bronfen-brenner, 1986; Dasen, 1984; Gardiner, 2004; Kagitcibasi, 1984, 1996). Numerous studies following this paradigm have shown that the differences in the contextual factors are reflected on the parent-child relations (e.g. Cox & Paley, 1997; Georgas, 2003; Kagitcibasi, 1996, 1998, 2005, 2007; Kotchick & Forehand, 2002; Triandis, 1995; Schwarz, Trommsdorff, Albert & Mayer, 2005), which in turn are associated with psychological functioning (see Bornstein, 1991, 1995; Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000; Parke & Buriel, 1998).

Several explanations have been suggested regarding the way context shapes development and parent-child socialization (e.g. Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986; Hoffman, 1988; Le Vine, 1974, 1988; Ogbu, 1981; Okagaki & Divecha, 1993). One of these explanations was the cultural ecology perspective suggested by Ogbu (1981). This perspective states that parenting practices are driven by culturally valued child behaviors that are necessary for survival depending on the availability of resources in that specific environment. According to this view, parenting is guided by past and current conditions. Folk theories of child rearing dictate the customary parental practices that have been useful in the past in promoting the valued child characteristics. Populations possess certain competencies that meet their needs and they adapt child-rearing techniques that engender those competencies. From the perspective of cultural ecology, the child-rearing practices of a population are not an irrational or random set of activities but form a part of a system, which evolves through generations of collective experiences in tasks designed to meet environmental demands.

Le Vine (1974, 1988) posited a hierarchical structure in terms of parental goals across societies; namely to assure (a) child's health and survival (b) economic security for the child and (c) attainment of locally relevant virtue. Most important goal for parents is to ensure child's survival followed by teaching the child skills that will later provide economic security for the child. Parents give both physical and economic survival priority over developing within the child traits that are consistent with locally defined virtue. Although same hierarchy of parental goals is to be found across societies, the specific parenting strategies for obtaining these goals will vary across

cultural groups as a function of the environmental context. For example, in an environment that endangers the survival of the child, child characteristics like obedience and parenting strategies promoting the protection of the child becomes more important.

An alternative theory that explains how the cultural context affects parent-child relations came from Hoffmann (1988). She suggested that children satisfy different needs for their parents, and that cultures differ in needs to be satisfied by children. She claimed parental goals and attitudes to be a function of the needs children satisfy. Using the data of a cross-cultural Value of Children study that was conducted in Indonesia, Korea, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey and the United States, she found economic utility and the need for love and affection to be the leading needs of the parents satisfied by children.

These explanations seem to suggest that cultural values regarding parenting strategies can be seen as the end product of generations of collective experiences to meet environmental demands. Moreover, what is adaptive to a specific social context can be expected to influence the norms of parent-child socialization for that society. Likewise, the position in the social structure will influence the types of opportunities, demands, and constraints of the environment. So, conditions in different social strata of the same society and what is adaptive to those conditions will also differ. Cultural values and socio-economic conditions have been included in research as the two major component of social context and their importance on parenting behavior is

widely accepted (see Garcia Coll, Akerman, & Ciccheti, 2000; Forehand & Kotchick, 2002; Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardiff, 1995).

Based on the model of Hoffman and Hoffman (1973) stating that the value of children was conceptualized as the needs children fulfill for their parents, the original Value of Children (VOC) study (Arnold et al., 1975; Fawcett, 1977) examined differences in fertility on the basis of economic conditions with value of children as the mediating variable. The original VOC study was a nine country cross-cultural with more than 20.000 married respondents from Turkey, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand Indonesia, United States and Germany (Darroch, Meyer, & Singarimbun, 1981; Kagitcibasi, 1982a). The underlying assumption of the study was that the value of children varies according to the conditions of the society, and has various consequences for fertility and parent-child relations (Nauck, 2005). The study revealed three types of values attributed to children by their parents: utilitarian, psychological and social. The utilitarian value reflects economic and material benefits of having children. It entails children's contribution to household economy and household chores, together with children's value as old-age insurance. Psychological value of having a child refers to love, joy, companionship and pride children provide parents to enjoy. Social value, on the other hand, entails social acceptance gained by having children.

The main finding of the study was the higher importance of utilitarian and material value of having children in less developed areas. In contexts of low economic development, people struggle for economic survival; thus, children satisfy

economic/material needs for parents with their contribution to the household economy. They also serve as old-age insurance in the lack of social-security systems. The old-age security value of children was very important in Turkey, Indonesia, Thailand, Taiwan, the Philippines, Korea and Singapore contrasting with a very low old-age security value of children in Germany and United States (Kagitcibasi, 1982b). Moreover, obedience was the most desirable child characteristic among the developing countries. This is understandable in the light of high importance of family and group loyalties for survival in these contexts. In more developed and urbanized societies, on the other hand, psychological value of children was found to be higher. In this context, parents do not need children's contribution for economic survival. On the contrary, children become economic burden; in modern life style, raising a child entails financial sacrifices, especially for education. However, psychological needs of parents satisfied by children such as love, joy, companionship continue to be important and emphasized in the lack of utilitarian value.

Results of VOC study revealed a similar pattern where there is a difference in regional socio-economic development and education levels within the same society. The most notable contrasts were found in urban versus rural groups. The urban groups mentioned psychological benefits of having children whereas rural groups emphasized the economic and practical benefits of having children, especially support in old age. In Turkey, for example, as the development level of the area of residence increased, the utilitarian value of child decreased and psychological value of child increased (Kagitcibasi, 1982a).

The second Value of Children study was conducted 2002-2004 as a 15-country cross-cultural project. This project, Value of Children and Intergenerational Relationships (Trommsdorff, 2001, Trommsdorff & Nauck, 2001; cited in Albert, Trommsdorff, Mayer, & Schwarz, 2005), was a partial replication and substantial modification of the original Value of Children study. Kagitcibasi and Ataca (2005) compared the findings of the original and recent Value of Children studies for Turkey that has experienced rapid economic growth and urbanization in the last three decades. The most notable change over time was the sharp decrease in the utilitarian and economic value of the child including old-age security value. The psychological value of the child, on the other hand, has increased over time. In general, the results of Value of Children studies imply that material dependencies of the parents on the child decrease with socio-economic development whereas emotional dependencies do not. Change in the affluence levels have different effects for different needs children satisfy for their parents. When parents no longer need child's material contribution for survival, material interdependencies fade. However, emotional interdependency in parent-child relations does not decrease since parents' need for love, joy and companionship children provide does not decrease with socio-economic development. On the contrary, the utilitarian value fades away and the psychological value becomes the most important reason for having a child and the need for emotional satisfaction is emphasized.

Inspired by the findings of original Value of Children study, Kagitcibasi (1985, 1990) proposed a model of family change, entailing three different prototypes of family patterns in different societal contexts. In this model, cultural value orientations,

urban-rural residence, socio-economic development levels and affluence characteristics of the living conditions are construed as the indicators of the context. Three family models, namely family model of interdependence, family model of independence and family model of psychological interdependence, are proposed involving different combinations of characteristics. Family model of interdependence reflects the traditional pattern that is typical of the rural/agricultural/pre-industrial societies with collectivist value orientation. Family model of independence, on the other hand, is typical family pattern of the western, industrial, urban/suburban middle-class societies with individualistic value orientation. Oyserman, Coon and Kemmelmeier (2002) reviewed the descriptions of individualism and collectivism and declared the assumption that individuals are independent from one another as the core element of individualism from which a number of plausible consequences and implications can be discerned, whereas the core element of collectivism was suggested to be the assumption that groups bind and mutually obligate individuals. Modernization theory predicted that with socio-economic development the traditional family pattern found in collectivist societies would change towards Western individualistic family pattern. Opposing to this prediction Kagitcibasi (1985, 1990) suggested family model of psychological interdependence as a theory of how the family patterns will be affected by socio-economic development in societies with a collectivist base.

The family model of interdependence is typical of rural/agrarian traditional societies with closely-knit human and family relations, mostly with patrilineal family structures. This family pattern entails extended families. Even if the family structure

is nuclear, they function as if it were extended. Close proximity of immediate kin is essential for functionally extended families since in agricultural and low affluence contexts shared work is highly adaptive for survival. In this context, children contribute household economy and/or they are responsible for household chores. Moreover, adult children are responsible for providing financial assistance for their parents in the lack of compensating social systems. First the child is dependent on the parent; later the parent becomes dependent on the adult child. Thus, an economic/utilitarian value is attached to children, accompanied by their material contributions. More children provide more economic/utilitarian support, which in turn implies high fertility (Bulatao, 1981; Fawcett, 1983). The family model of interdependence is characterized by interdependence in both emotional and material realms. In this pattern, upholding family needs over individual needs or desires is very important for survival of the family. Therefore, a control and obedience-oriented child rearing is promoted given the value put on children's dependence, which is needed for family livelihood. Loyalty and sensitivity to others are fostered as desirable characteristics in children. This family pattern is supported with many studies across traditional cultures (e.g. Georgas, Berry, van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi & Poortinga, 2006; Greenfield, Keller, Fuligni, Maynard, 2003; Kagitcibasi, 1984, 1996; Keller, 2003; Koutrelakos, 2004; Nsamenang, 1992).

The family model of independence is typical of urban, industrial, technological western societies with high levels of affluence. In this context, parents do not need their child as old-age insurances. On the contrary, children are economic costs rather than assets. Investments are channeled toward the child in both emotional and

material realms rather than vice versa. For example, it has been shown that in Germany a large amount of financial, instrumental and emotional support is given to their grown-up children by their parents (Kohli & Künemund, 2001; cited-in Schwartz et al. 2005). In Germany 30% of 55-69 year old parents and 24% of 70-85 year old parents provided financial support to their grown-up children while only 2-3% of them received financial help from their children. In this family model, independence and self-reliance of the child is valued and promoted. There is less control in child rearing compared to the family model of interdependence. Autonomy of the child is stressed in socialization orientation in accordance with prevalent individualistic ideology. This pattern is characterized by independent relationships, where interpersonal distance between kin and nuclear family and between nuclear family members is high. Family members are separated from each other with well-defined boundaries in both emotional and material realms.

As stated earlier, the family model of psychological interdependence is the resultant family pattern of contextual changes in collectivist cultures through socio-economic development. It is typical of more developed, urban areas of cultures with a collectivist base. With urban life styles and increasing affluence, material dependencies decrease as the older parents' need for economic support of children decreases (Ashtone, Nathanson, Schoen & Kim, 1999; Bulatao, 1981; Cladwell, 2001; Fawcett, 1983; Hoffman, 1987, 1988). However, emotional interdependency does not decrease because it is ingrained in the collectivist value orientation and is not incompatible with the changing life styles. [A note of caution should be given here: The word 'emotional' does not refer to liking or loving; it refers to closeness and

connectedness in the interpersonal relationships]. Thus, this pattern reflects interdependency in the emotional realm whereas independency in the material realm at both individual and family levels. The material benefit of having a child decreases while cost of having a child increases in the developed urban context. As the economic-utilitarian value of child diminishes, psychological value of the child becomes more salient. Child's autonomy is not a threat for the family survival anymore, given decreased material dependencies. Moreover, it becomes functional for success in school and urban employment, becoming a valued child characteristic. However, emotional interdependence and connectedness of the child is still desired. Thus, there is some parental control, rather than permissiveness. In this type of family pattern, family/group loyalties are still emphasized while individual loyalties are emerging as well.

The Turkish context provides an example for the Model of Family Change. As a result of urbanization and industrialization together with policies supporting modernization and westernization, Turkish society has undergone changes in traditional forms in the last decades. The middle class urban population became a blend of Eastern and Western cultural characteristics, reflecting co-existent collectivistic and individualistic features (Ataca, 2006; Sunar, 2002). Social transformations together with a rapid population increase and wide regional differences have resulted in the creation of large urban groups whose education, occupations, life styles and values differ considerably from the traditional (Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1992). In a sample of middle class urban woman in Turkey, Ataca and Sunar (1999) found a greater prevalence of psychological value of children over the

financial help expectations from children. Old-age security value of children was still important but more in terms of care rather than financial contribution. Kagitcibasi and Ataca (2005) found that the urban middle class mothers expected the least from their children, followed by the rural immigrants in urban metropolises; the rural mothers expected the most from their children. Imamoglu (1987) reported that while the rural immigrant mothers valued obedience and loyalty to parents, middle class mothers valued independence and self-reliance. Furthermore, rural immigrant mothers wanted their children to feel gratitude whereas middle class mothers did not. However, mothers in both groups wanted their children to be loving and close to them.

Kagitcibasi and Ataca (2005) compared 1975 and 2003 Turkish Value of Children study findings and concluded that the results point to a significant intergenerational change in parental values and goals. The findings supported the existence of psychological interdependence family pattern; in middle class urban population, there was a sharp decrease in economic/utilitarian value of the child together with related parental goals. Moreover, despite the decrease in economic/utilitarian value of the child there was no difference in psychological interdependency. Middle class urban mothers still wanted their child to be “loving”, “close” and “not separate”. These findings make sense considering the Turkish family pattern, which is characterized by a great deal of emotional closeness and support between family members. Compared to the Western family pattern, personal boundaries of family members are not emphasized (Fisek, 1982; Levi, 1986). Parent-child relationships are marked by an atmosphere of mutual emotional attachment and loyalty (Ataca, 2006). In most cases, Turkish mothers express their affection very openly by several means like kisses,

hugging or words and the children are encouraged to return these signs of love and affection (Kagitcibasi, Sunar, & Bekman, 1988). Emotional interdependence seems to persist despite the change in affluence levels because it is ingrained in Turkish culture.

In addition to Turkish context, Kagitcibasi's family patterns and the Model of Family Change were supported by several studies examining Asian cultures (Bradley & Weisner, 1997; Cha, 1994; Jose, Huntsinger, & Liaw, 2000; Lin Fu, 1990; Steward, Bond, Deeds, & Chung, 1999; Yau & Smetana, 1996) and by the results of the cross-cultural project "Value of Children and Intergenerational Relations" that examined the relevance of value of children for parent-child relations in 15 countries (Albert, Trommsdorff, Mayer, & Schwarz, 2005; Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005; Mishra, Mayer, Trommsdorff, Albert, & Schwarz, 2005; Zheng, Shi, & Tang, 2004).

2.2 Quality of Parent-Child Relations in Social Context

Literature suggests that the social context in which the family is embedded will influence both the quality of the parent-child relationship and the psychological consequences of involvement in the relationship (e.g. Chen & Berdan, 2006; Kim, Sarason, & Sarason, 2006; Stryker, 1981; Trommsdorff & Kornadt, 2003). The quality of parent-child relation has been shown to be related to various developmental outcomes such as identity formation, psychological well being and behavioral problems (e.g. Adams, 1985; Sheeber, Hops, & Alpert, 1997; Conger & Galambos,

1997; Herzog, Kronmuller, Hartmann, Bergmann, & Kroger, 2000; Rohner & Britner, 2002; Samuolis, Layburn, & Schiaffino, 2001). The level of warmth, support and conflict in parent-child relations have been widely used as indicators of quality of relationship especially in research focusing on parent-adolescent relations. In the following sections the literature on these variables are reviewed in terms of socio-contextual differences.

2.2.1 Warmth Dimension of Parent-Child Relations

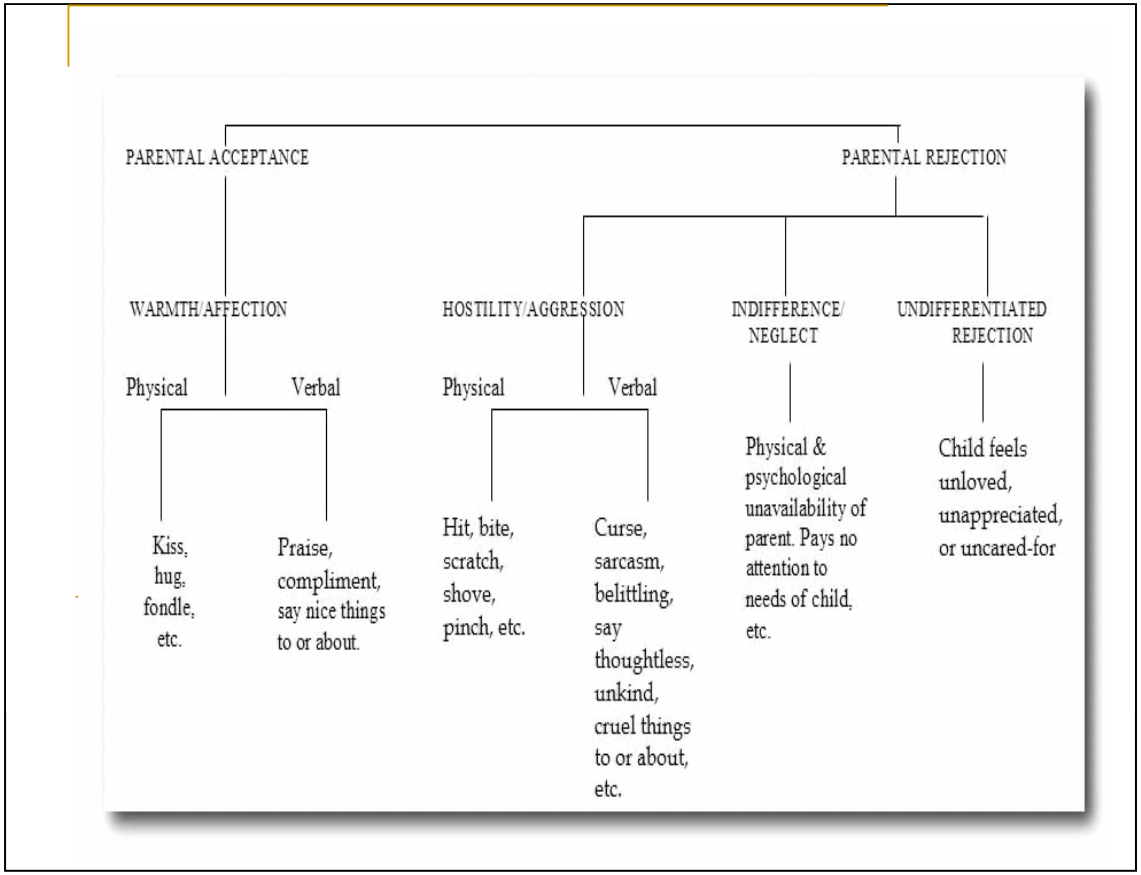
The warmth dimension of parent-child relations represents the extent to which the relationship is characterized by love and affection versus coldness and rejection. Literature suggests that parental warmth is a universal, reflecting an evolutionary process involving protection and care of the offspring (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Smith, Bond, & Kagitcibasi, 2006) and children everywhere need a specific form of positive response from parents and other primary caregivers (Bjorklund & Pellegrini, 2002; Rohner, 1986). MacDonald (1992) suggested that positive affect is a characteristic that was selected over time in evolution to ensure the cohesive relationships and parental investment in children. Parental warmth may make the child eager to please the parents and, as a result, the child may stay close to parents and attentive to parents' situation (Grusec, Goodnow, & Kuczynski, 2000). The emotional need for positive response is a powerful motivator and when children or adults do not get this need satisfied adequately, they are biologically predisposed to respond emotionally and behaviorally in a specific way (Rohner, 1999).

Although parental warmth and the emotional need for positive response are strong candidates for universals, the actions and words reflecting parental warmth are mainly shaped by culture. Therefore, understanding the culturally based interpretations of parental behaviors that are assumed to indicate the level of warmth towards the child, and making culturally unbiased operationalization of parental warmth concept are crucial for research across different social contexts. In the literature, the most detailed and studied theory on warmth dimension of parent-child relations is the Parental Acceptance-Rejection theory (PARTheory) proposed by Rohner (1986). Approximately 300 studies testing the PARTheory have been completed in more than 60 nations internationally, as well as in every major ethnic group of America, examining causes, correlates and consequences of parental acceptance and rejection. Rohner (1986) suggests that although the interpretation of parental words and actions are shaped by culture, individuals everywhere appear to use a common meaning structure to determine if they are accepted or not and tend to respond in specific ways when warmth or other forms of positive response are withdrawn from them by the people most important to them.

According to the PARTheory, the warmth and affection a child experiences can be placed on a continuum from a great deal to none, which is called as the warmth dimension of parenting. It is a continuum on which parental acceptance is placed on one end and parental rejection is placed on the other. Parental acceptance refers to the care, comfort, concern, nurturance, support, affection and love parents give to their children with verbal and physical expressions. Physical expressions include kissing, fondling, hugging, smiling etc. that children can experience from their parents and

other caregivers, whereas expression of verbal warmth includes praising, complimenting, saying nice things to the child and the like. Parental rejection, on the other hand, refers to the absence or significant withdrawal of these feelings, and to the presence of a variety of physically and psychologically hurtful behaviors. PARTheory argues that rejection takes three major forms: hostility/aggression, indifference/neglect and undifferentiated rejection. Hostility refers to the feelings of anger, resentment, enmity, ill will or malice towards the child. Parental aggression, on the other hand, is seen as behavioral manifestations of parental hostility and includes behaviors like hitting, shaking, spanking etc. Alternatively, parents may feel or be perceived to feel indifferent, unconcerned and uncaring toward their children, manifested in neglectful behavior they display. Undifferentiated rejection refers to individuals' beliefs that their parents do not really care about them or love them, even though there might not be clear behavioral indicators that the parents are neglectful, unaffectionate, or aggressive toward them. Conceptualization of parental warmth dimension in PARTheory is presented in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 Schema of parental warmth dimension



An important conceptual feature of PARTheory is its emphasis on individual's subjective perceptions of parenting behaviors based on the assumption that human behavior is affected more by the way individuals perceive or interpret events than by the objective events themselves. This orientation seems essential when working across cultures since it allows individuals to make interpretations of parenting through their own cultural and personal lenses decreasing the possibility of misinterpreting the meaning of caregiver's behaviors. However, despite the adoption of phenomenological perspective, PARTheory's conceptualization of parental warmth might be culturally biased. According to PARTheory conceptualization of parental rejection, strict parenting practices, including physical discipline, are tapped as parental aggression implying parental hostility. However, equating strict parenting practices and use of physical discipline to parental feelings of anger, resentment towards the child regardless of social context might be problematic because of the normativeness of these parenting behaviors in certain contexts. The need for control and means to control the child varies according to the socio-contextual factors and the higher the need for control, the stricter the means to control the child may get. Thus, in certain family patterns the use of discipline methods such as physical punishment, shaming, etc. may reflect social norms rather than lack of parental warmth and may not always be perceived as parental rejection by the child.

Turkey might be an example for such a context. Control in child rearing is the norm in Turkey and does not imply lack of love, whereas in the Western pattern it can be perceived as lack of love (Kagitcibasi, 1970; Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1992). Among the Turkish rural families, reflecting interdependent family pattern, the physical

punishment towards children is accepted as ***undesired but necessary*** for disciplining the child (Rittersberger-Tilic & Kalaycioglu, 1999; as cited in Nauck & Klaus, 2005) and is the most frequent form of discipline followed shaming. Among the Turkish urban middle-class families reflecting psychologically interdependent family pattern, on the other hand, physical punishment is the least preferred discipline method since the obedience of the child is no longer necessary for family survival. Despite the use of physical punishment and shaming, however, Turkish mothers express their affection very openly by several means like kisses, hugging or words and the children are encouraged to return these signs of love and affection (Kagitcibasi, Sunar, & Bekman, 1988). Thus, in the Turkish context, especially in rural Turkey, the physical punishment does not necessarily reflect negative feelings towards the child, i.e., parental rejection, but employment of normative parenting practices. In sum, the parental rejection as operationalized by PARTheory may not indicate lack of parental warmth, i.e. lack of parental acceptance, in certain social contexts.

2.2.2 Support in Parent-Child Relations

The support parents give to their children is usually studied as parental warmth referring to the care, comfort, concern, and nurturance parents provide for their children. Studies indicate that parental support is an important antecedent in the development of children's positive attitudes towards themselves and their life circumstances (e.g. Barber et al., 1994; Felson & Zielinski, 1989; Parker & Benson,

2005). Inversely, a vast amount of studies have shown that low levels of support from parents is associated with negative outcomes such as adolescent risk behaviors, antisocial tendency, substance use, depression and emotional problems (e.g. Belden & Luby, 2006; Helsen, Vollebergh, & Meeus, 2000; Kylin, Meschke, & Borden, 2000; Parker & Benson, 2005).

Children's support for parents, on the other hand, is suggested to be influenced by positive parent-child relationship (Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Silverstein, Parrott, Bengston, 1995) and values regarding family obligations (Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Ikking, van Tilburg, & Knippheer, 1999; Schwartz et al., 2005). Affective closeness found to be positively associated with children's attitudes towards family obligations (Bengston & Roberts, 1991) and was related to more help provided by the child (Silverstein, Parrott, Bengtson, 1995). Fuligni, Tseng and Lam (1999) showed that youth's desire to assist and respect their family was associated with having close and communicative relationships with their parents. Since these findings implicate association with no directionality, it is not clear whether positive relationship with the parent renders the child to give support to the parent or vice versa. They may well be expected to influence each other; positive relationship may render more eagerness in the child to please the parents and more interest in the parent's situation that, in turn, are reflected as support the child gives to the parent. On the other hand, such a support and interest from the child may contribute to the well-being of the parent and render more positive attitude towards the child, which, in turn, will contribute to a more positive relationship.

Schwarz et al. (2005) examined the relation of both quality of relationship and values regarding family obligations to predict support given to parents. They differentiated between emotional and functional support and studied them separately. Results showed that values regarding family obligations and positive quality of the relationship were predictors for emotional support given to parents. Both emotional support and functional support given to mother were affected by the interdependence of the family members, which is shown to be related to cultural value orientations (Kagitcibasi, 1996; Markus & Kitayama; 1991). Cultural value orientations are mainly responsible for values regarding family obligations and responsibilities. In some cultures self-reliance and concern for individual well-being may be more strongly encouraged while in other cultures concern for the welfare of others may be a more dominant value (Schwartz, 1990). Fuligni, Tseng and Lam (1999) designed a study to examine the attitudes toward family obligations among American adolescents from Asian, Latin American and European backgrounds. Results revealed that Asian and Latin American adolescents possess stronger values and greater expectations regarding their duty to assist, respect, and support their families than their peers with European background. Ikking, van Tilburg, and Knippheer (1999) have found that the child's values regarding family obligations are associated with more support given to the parents. The higher the filial responsibility of parent and children, the more support the parent received. In terms of family patterns these findings suggest that children's support for their parents will be higher in family model of interdependence and psychological interdependence than in family model of independence given the higher closeness in parent-child relations and emphasized values of family obligations in the former patterns.

2.2.3 Frequency of Conflict in Parent-Child Relations

Conflict is another widely studied component of parent-child relations. The literature regarding conflict in parent-child relations focuses mainly on adolescent-parent relations, if not exclusively. Conflict has been generally seen as an integral component of parent-adolescent relations. Adolescence has been usually defined as a period of transformations in the pattern of family interactions, which in turn is associated with the emergence and escalation of conflict between adolescents and their parents (e.g. Dekovic 1999; Laursen, 1995; Mcgue, Elkins, Walden, & Iacono, 2005; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991). Social context has been shown to influence the variations in conflict (Barber, 1994; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Smetana & Gaines, 1999). The literature suggests that conflict in parent-adolescent relations is a phenomenon observed in various parts of the world, although variations in family patterns and cultural value orientations seem to influence the frequency of conflict.

For example, in a study conducted by Barber (1994) with a sample of white, black, and Hispanic families in the U.S., results demonstrated that parent-adolescent conflict is a similar phenomenon across cultural boundaries except for the frequency of conflict. There were substantially lower levels of conflict reported by black and Hispanic groups in comparison to the white families. In this study parental expectations were found to be a negative predictor of conflict. This finding may indicate adolescents' acceptance of hierarchy in cultural groups with collectivist value orientation. In these cultures, adolescents may comply more with parents' wishes and expectations because of the obedience-oriented child socialization. In general, the

findings of the study seem to suggest that cultural values promoting harmony and obedience-orientation results in lower frequency of conflict in parent-child relations. Similarly, Rothbaum et al. (2000) reviewed the literature and concluded that there are different paths of social development in Japan and United States resulting in differences in frequency of conflict in parent-adolescent relations. While social development in United States emphasizes autonomy, expressiveness and exploration, it is based on empathy, harmony and compliance in Japan. The studies reviewed showed that the frequency of conflict in parent-adolescent relations is much higher in United States than in Japan, indicating the importance of socio-cultural factors on frequency of conflict.

Closeness in relationship has been suggested to be another factor influencing the frequency of conflict. The closeness in a relationship refers to an enduring connection between two people involving frequent interdependent interactions. Close relationships may involve a higher level of conflict because they provide more opportunities for disagreements. Frequent contact with family members can foster emotional intensity, which means more opportunities for both an affectionate and a distressing relationship (Fingerman, 2001; Laursen, 1993; Luescher & Pillemer, 1998; Willson, Shuey, & Elder, 2003). Since the level of closeness and the emphasis put on closeness in parent-child relations have been shown to vary between cultures (e.g. Heath, 1995; Rothbaum et al., 2000; Rothbaum, Morelli, Pott, & Yvonne, 2000; Ruth, 2005) and family patterns (Kagitcibasi, 1985, 1990), it is reasonable to expect differences in the frequency of conflict due to the variation in the closeness of parent-child relations across different social contexts.

These two factors may seem contradictory at first sight since the closeness in parent-child relations is generally fostered in cultures emphasizing obedience and harmony. The closeness indicates higher frequency of conflict, whereas cultural values emphasizing obedience and harmony indicate lower frequency of conflict. However, these are two distinct factors working simultaneously and the configuration of the strength of these two factors is likely to determine the frequency of conflict.

2.3 The Present Study

In the present study, effects of social context on mother-adolescent relations were examined using cross- and intra-cultural comparisons. Main research question of this study was whether there is difference in mother-adolescent relations between different social contexts. Kagitcibasi's (1985, 1990) theory of Family Change and the three family patterns she suggested provided the main framework for comparisons. Selected mother-adolescent relationship variables were compared and the associations between these variables were studied.

In the first part of the present study, selected variables were compared across contexts reflecting different family patterns. Germany was chosen as reflecting Western individualistic family pattern and thus representing Kagitcibasi's family model of independence; Germany was ranked 15 out of 53 countries in Hofstede's (1991) individualism index and is considered to be an individualistic society. Turkey, on the other hand, provides an example of a socio-economically developing country

with a collectivist culture base, reflecting interdependent and psychologically interdependent family patterns, depending on the affluence levels of the immediate context and rural/urban location. In this study, Turkish urban middle class was chosen to represent Kagitcibasi's family model of psychological interdependence, while Turkish rural sample was chosen as reflecting family model of interdependence based on the literature mentioned earlier (Ataca, 2006; Ataca & Sunar, 1999; Imamoglu, 1987; Kagitcibasi & Ataca, 2005; Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1992; Sunar, 2002). Besides these family patterns, we also examined the mother-adolescent relations in Turkish urban low SES population, which is a relatively newly formed and dynamically changing group of rural immigrants in urban areas. Like most other developing countries, Turkey is highly stratified regarding social class differences. Economic development and industrialization resulted in a shift in work force from agriculture to industry and service sectors, leading to massive immigration from rural areas to big cities. By 2000, nearly % 70 of the population became urban. However, the migration process has only partially resulted in urbanization of the family lifestyle of the rural immigrants in urban metropolises (Nauck & Klaus, 2005) since they maintained strong social ties to their regions of origin. Therefore, Turkish urban low SES population is explored as a separate sample in this study and compared with other family patterns in terms of mother-adolescent relations.

Some predictions were made for these comparisons. Turkish rural adolescents reflecting interdependent family pattern were expected to report higher Perceived Parental Rejection than their Turkish urban middle class and German counterparts, because strict parenting practices such as physical discipline are tapped as parental rejection in PARTheory's conceptualization. We also argue that this measurement

may not reflect the lack of parental warmth, i.e., rejection, in some social context where strict parenting practices are normative. More specifically, the parental hostility/aggression component of Perceived Parental Rejection instrument seems to measure child's perception of strict parenting practices which may not indicate the lack of parental warmth in certain contexts. Therefore we created Perceived Strict Parenting scale out of the Perceived Parental Rejection instrument using the parental hostility/aggression items in the questionnaire. The 6 out of 8 rejection items reflected the parental hostility/aggression component. Thus, we hypothesized Turkish rural adolescents will report higher strict parenting than Turkish urban middle class and German adolescents. Moreover, although we expected higher "rejection" in Turkish rural group, we hypothesized that this group will not differ from other samples in terms of perceived parental acceptance since this family pattern is characterized by a great deal of emotional closeness and expression of affection, and since the use of strict parenting practices in this context does not reflect parental hostility towards the child but normative parenting practices.

Similarly, given the higher interdependency and closeness in family relations in family patterns of interdependence and psychological interdependence we can expect higher positive valence that refers to closeness and intimacy in the relationship. Therefore, Turkish adolescents in rural and urban middle class samples were expected to report higher positive valence of their relationship with their mothers than their German counterparts.

Based on the findings of VOC studies reviewed earlier, Turkish mothers in rural sample were expected to display the highest expectancies from children, followed by Turkish urban middle-class mothers. German mothers were expected to score lowest on their expectancies from their children. Literature suggested that closeness in parent-child relations and cultural values regarding harmony, obedience-orientation and the level of parental expectancies may be responsible factors for variations in frequency of conflict (Barber, 1994; Fingerman, 2001; Laursen, 1993; Luescher & Pillemer, 1998; Paikoff & Brooks-Gunn, 1991; Rothbaum et al, 2000; Smetana & Gaines, 1999; Willson, Shuey, & Elder, 2003). The closeness between family members is fostered in family models of interdependence and psychological interdependence, rather than in family model of independence. Thus, the frequency of conflict can be expected to be higher in family models of interdependence and psychological interdependence than in family model of independence. But if we consider the level of parental expectancy as a negative predictor of conflict, we may not see high frequency of conflict in the interdependent family pattern. In the psychologically interdependent family pattern, on the other hand, parental expectancies are focused on emotional closeness rather than obedience-orientation. Therefore, the frequency of conflict in Turkish urban middle class sample was expected to be higher than Turkish rural group because of the lower obedience orientation of this pattern. Likewise, Turkish urban middle-class adolescents were expected to report higher levels of conflict than German adolescents due to the higher level of closeness that characterizes family model of psychological interdependence.

As high levels of closeness and intimacy together with high importance of family obligations characterize the family model of interdependence, adolescents in Turkish rural sample were expected to score highest in emotional support they give to their mothers. The family model of psychological interdependence is also characterized by high levels of closeness and intimacy between family members, however the values regarding the family obligations might be somewhat lower than the family model of interdependence due to the decreased parental expectancies and obedience-oriented child rearing. Therefore, adolescents in the Turkish urban middle class sample were expected to report lower emotional support given to mother. German adolescents, on the other hand, were expected to score lowest on emotional support given to mother, since family model of independence is characterized by lower levels of closeness, intimacy, and family obligations. Moreover, adolescents in Turkish rural sample were expected to score highest in functional support due to high interdependence and family obligations in this pattern. Turkish urban middle class adolescents, on the other hand, were expected to score lower than Turkish rural adolescents but higher than German adolescents in terms of functional support they are willing to give their mother.

As mentioned earlier, the migration process in Turkish low SES sample has only partially resulted in urbanization of the family lifestyle of the rural immigrants in urban metropolises since they maintained strong social ties to their regions of origin. Although this is a dynamic rapidly changing group, it is suggested to be closer to its rural roots in their values and practices (Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1992; Sunar, 2002). Therefore, in the present study this group is expected to be more similar to the

Turkish rural sample rather than to the Turkish urban middle class sample in terms of mother-adolescent relations.

In sum, the following were used as working hypotheses for comparisons:

1. Turkish rural adolescents were expected to report higher perceived parental rejection and perceived strict parenting than Turkish urban middle class and German adolescents.

2. No difference was expected among Turkish middle class, Turkish rural and German adolescents with regards to perceived parental acceptance.

3. Turkish rural and middle-class adolescents were expected to report higher positive valence of the relationship with their mother than German adolescents.

4. Turkish mothers in rural sample were expected to display the highest expectancies from children, followed by Turkish urban middle class mothers. German mothers were expected to report the lowest maternal expectancy.

5. The frequency of conflict in Turkish urban middle class sample was expected to be higher than Turkish rural and German samples.

6. Adolescents in Turkish rural sample were expected to score the highest on emotional support for mother, followed by Turkish urban middle-class adolescents. German adolescents were expected to score the lowest on emotional support given to mother.

7. Adolescents in Turkish rural sample were expected to score the highest on functional support they are willing to give to their mother, followed by Turkish urban middle-class adolescents. German adolescents were expected to score the lowest.

8. Mother-adolescent relations in Turkish urban low SES sample were expected to be more similar to the Turkish rural sample than the Turkish middle class sample.

In the second part of the present study, associations between the study variables are assumed in a model and tested with the use of structural equation modeling. In addition to the test of the model, differences between samples of the study regarding the hypothesized associations were also explored. In this model associations between maternal expectancy, adolescent's support, frequency of conflict and positive relationship were assumed based on the literature. Literature reviewed earlier suggests that children's support for parents is associated with the positive quality of the relationship with the parent (Bengston & Roberts, 1991; Silverstein, Parrott, Bengtson, 1995). It is also stated that child's values regarding family obligations is a significant factor in predicting children's support for parents (Ikking, van Tilburg, &Knippheer, 1999), therefore it was predicted that parental expectancies will be associated to children's support for parents since both are functions of cultural values one is exposed. Furthermore, the level of parental expectancy has been shown to be a negative predictor of conflict in parent-adolescent relations (Barber, 1994), which was assumed to be negatively related to positive relationship in the model. Since frequency of conflict has been predicted to be negatively correlated with positive relationship, association between maternal expectancy and positive relationship and between frequency of conflict and adolescent's support were also assumed.

2.4 Rationale of the Present Study

This study aimed to contribute to the literature by tapping the differences in mother-adolescent relations between contexts that differ in terms of cultural value orientations and affluent levels and, hence, to pinpoint the importance of social context in parent-child relations. Although there are several studies that examined mother-adolescent relations, most of them focused on parenting style and conflict as a means to predict developmental outcomes. Unlike them, this study aims to examine the mother-adolescent relations in different family patterns to have a better understanding of socio-contextual factors.

This study incorporated Kagitcibasi's (1990, 1996) framework of Family Models as a basis of comparison. In this study, different social contexts were matched with family patterns proposed by Kagitcibasi (1990, 1996) and predictions were made accordingly. This is particularly important for studies conducted in developing countries experiencing socio-economic change. Most of the cross-cultural studies are based on the individualism-collectivism dimension, which does not account for societies with culture of relatedness that are in transformation with increasing industrialization and affluence. So, this study aims to contribute to the literature by employing a theoretical basis for cross- and intra-cultural comparisons.

This study will also contribute to the parental acceptance-rejection literature by providing cross- and intra-cultural comparisons of parental acceptance and parental rejection as separate measures. In great majority of the available research, parental

acceptance and parental rejection scores are summed up in a composite score reflecting the level of acceptance subjects feel. This application is based on the PARTheory assumption that parental rejection and parental acceptance as measured by the PARTheory constitutes one dimension. In the present study this assumption was not taken for granted, and thus parental acceptance and parental rejection were employed as separate parent-child relationship variables. By comparing these variables separately across different family patterns, this study aims to test whether parental acceptance ad parental rejection behave as one dimension in these different social contexts.

Lastly, this study summed up some of the associations between parent-child relationship variables suggested by literature in a model and tested it across contexts. This examination aims to contribute to the literature by providing information whether these associations hold in different family patterns and whether there is difference in the strength of these associations across contexts.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

3.1 Participants, Design, and Procedure

The analyses of this study were based on the data from the Turkish and German samples of the 15-country Value of Children and Intergenerational Relationships Project (Nauck & Trommsdorff, 2001), which is an interdisciplinary cross-cultural project examining the value of children together with parent-child relations in different cultures. This project was an extension and modification of the original "Value of Children" study of 1970's. The sample of the project included three biologically related generations (adolescents, mothers of adolescents and maternal grandmothers of adolescents) and an additional group of mothers of pre-school children. In the present study only the data gathered from adolescents and from their mothers were used in the analyses.

The Turkish sample consisted of a total of 310 adolescent-mother pairs representing different social strata. There were 109 rural, 100 urban-low SES and 101 urban-middle class mother-adolescent pairs. All the urban participants were from Istanbul; rural participants were from villages in Southwestern and

Southeastern Turkey. Adolescents in the urban middle class and urban low SES groups were contacted at private and public high schools, respectively. Those students, who, along with their mothers, were willing to participate in the study, were recruited. Female college students who were given special training regarding the administration of the questionnaire interviewed the mothers at their homes. The adolescents filled out the questionnaire themselves in the presence of the interviewer. The high schools, where the adolescents were contacted, were located in districts with distinctly different socio-economic characteristics. Rural participants were contacted directly at their home in the villages.

The German sample was recruited with the aid of resident registration offices from three different locations, namely Chemnitz, Konstanz and Essen. Chemnitz is a middle size university town in East Germany; Konstanz is a middle size college town in Southern Germany and Essen is a large city in North-Western Germany. German sample consisted of 311 adolescent-mother pairs. The standardized interviews were carried out by trained female interviewers for each person at mothers' homes. Adolescents filled out the questionnaires on their own while their mothers were interviewed in another room. The respondents answered all questions in the assigned sequence. They received a small gift at the end of interview.

3.2 Instruments

Each group of mothers and adolescents was administered a questionnaire consisting of measures relevant to the aim of the VOC study. The following instruments were derived from the measures of VOC questionnaire and used for the analyses reported in this study. Full texts of all items of all measures are listed in Appendix A.

3.2.1 Perceived Parental Acceptance

The scale includes 10 items of the Parenting Questionnaire of VOC study, which is based on the short version of the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (Sherman & Donovan, 1991) that measures adolescents' perception of maternal acceptance. A sample item was "My mother makes me feel wanted and needed". Items were rated on 5-point Likert scale 1 (Not at all) to 5 (very much). Scores were transformed to take a value between 0 and 100. Factor analyses were performed on 10 items. When all items were forced into a single factor, all the factor loadings were higher than 0.5 both for the Turkish and German samples. The Cronbach's alphas were .81 for the Turkish sample and .86 for the German sample.

3.2.2 Perceived Parental Rejection

The scale includes 8 items of the Parenting Questionnaire of VOC study, which is based on the short version of the Parental Acceptance-Rejection Questionnaire (Sherman & Donovan, 1991) that measures adolescents' perception of maternal rejection. A sample item was "My mother hits me, even when I do not deserve it". Items were rated on 5-point Likert scale 1 (Not at all) to 5 (very much). Scores were transformed to take a value between 0 and 100. Factor analyses were performed on 8 items. When all items were forced into a single factor, all the factor loadings were higher than.54 for the Turkish sample and .46 for the German sample. The Cronbach's alphas were .70 for the Turkish sample and .76 for the German sample.

3.2.3 Perceived Strict Parenting

The scale includes 6 items of the Perceived Parental Rejection Questionnaire. A sample item was "My mother threatens me when I do something wrong". Items were rated on 5-point Likert scale 1 (Not at all) to 5 (very much). Scores were transformed to take a value between 0 and 100. Factor analyses were performed on 6 items. When all items were forced into a single factor, all the factor loadings were higher than .54 for the Turkish sample and .40 for the German sample. The Cronbach's alphas were .66 for the Turkish sample and .69 for the German sample.

3.2.4 Positive Valence of the Relationship

This adolescent-reported scale, measuring the positive valence of the adolescent-mother relationship, consisted of 3 intimacy and 3 admiration items in the VOC Quality of Relationship instrument and an emotional closeness item. The sample items were "How often do you share your secrets and private feelings with your parents (mother)?", "How often do your parents (mother) like or approve of the things you do?" and "How emotionally close you feel to your mother", respectively for intimacy, admiration and emotional closeness items. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always) except for one emotional closeness item that ranges from 1 (Not close at all) to 5 (very close). Scores were transformed to take a value between 0 and 100. Factor analyses were performed on 7 items. When all items were forced into a single factor, all the factor loadings were higher than 0.6 for the Turkish and German samples. The Cronbach's alphas were .87 for the Turkish sample and .83 for the German sample.

3.2.5 Frequency of Conflict

This adolescent-reported scale, measuring the negative valence of the adolescent-mother relationship, consisted of 3 conflict items in the VOC Quality of Relationship instrument. A sample item was "How often do you and your parents (mother) disagree and quarrel?" Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Never) to 5

(Always). Scores were transformed to take a value between 0 and 100. Factor analyses were performed on 3 items. All the factor loadings were higher than 0.8 for the Turkish and German samples. The Cronbach's alphas were .82 for the Turkish sample and .82 for the German sample.

3.2.6 Functional Support for Parents

This adolescent-reported scale included the items of the (Planned) Invested Support of Parents instrument that was developed for the Value of Children and Intergenerational Relationships study. This instrument aimed to assess adolescent's willingness to give functional support to their mother in case of need. On the basis of Rossi & Rossi's (1991) design, the situation of an injured parent was defined which would require help from the adolescent child. The extent to which adolescent is willing to tolerate burden in order to give help to the parent was assessed. This measure consisted of 5 items that were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (very much). Scores were transformed to take a value between 0 and 100. A sample item was "To what extent would you tolerate a reduction in your free time?" After these 5 items respondents were asked which parents they were thinking about when answering these questions. The options were "my mother", "my father" and "both". Subjects who answered as "my mother" or "both" were included in the analyses and the subjects who answered as "my father" were excluded. Only 5 adolescents in Turkish sample and 5 adolescents in German sample claimed that they were thinking of their father when answering these questions. Factor analyses were

performed on 5 items. When all items are forced into a single factor, all the factor loadings were higher than 0.6 for the Turkish and German samples. The Cronbach's alphas were .79 for Turkish sample and .81 for German sample.

3.2.7 Emotional Support for Parents

This scale consisted of 3 emotional support items of the adolescent version of Social Support Questionnaire, which was developed for the Value of Children and Intergenerational Relationships study. A sample item was "How often do you talk to your mother about her worries/sorrows?" Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (never) to 5 (always). Scores were transformed to take a value between 0 and 100. Factor analyses are performed on 3 items. All the factor loadings were higher than 0.7 for the Turkish and German samples. The Cronbach's alphas were .73 for Turkish sample and .72 for German sample.

3.2.8 Maternal Expectations

Based on an open-ended question from the original Value of Children Study of the 1970's, a standardized instrument "Expectations of an adult child" was developed for the Value of Children and Intergenerational Relationships study (Schwartz, Chakkrath, Trommsdorff, Schwenk & Nauck, 2001). The 7-item scale asked how much the mothers expected from an adult son and adult daughter on a 5-point scale.

The mothers completed this questionnaire separately for daughters and sons. From the 7 items, “that s/he provides financial assistance to younger brothers and sisters” and “that s/he helps you care for younger siblings” are excluded from the analyses since siblings are out of the scope of this study. A sample item was “Please tell me the extent to which you expect that he cares for you when you are old.” Items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 5 (quite a lot). Scores were transformed as to take a value between 0 and 100. Factor analyses were performed on 5 items separately for Turkish sample for sons, Turkish sample for daughters, German sample for sons and German sample for daughters. When all 5 items were forced into a single factor, all the factor loadings were higher than 0.5 for all samples. The Cronbach’s alphas for the Turkish sample were .78 for the sons and .79 for the daughters. For the German sample these values were .65 and .70, respectively. There were very high correlations between expectancy scores for daughters and sons in both countries: .95 for Germany and .88 for Turkey. Since gender was out of scope for this study, a composite score was computed for maternal expectancy from two separate questionnaires, i.e., “expectations form an adult son” and “expectations from an adult daughter”. If mothers reported for both their daughter and son, a composite score was computed by taking the mean value of scores for daughter and son.

3.3 Method of Analyses

Descriptive statistics were conducted for German and Turkish rural, urban-low SES and Turkish urban middle class samples. One-way ANOVA was performed for

comparisons of mean values of study variables across contexts. Tukey and Dunnet C criteria were used for post hoc comparisons depending on the variance equality between samples. The subject of comparisons were the selected mother-adolescent relationship variables, namely Perceived Parental Acceptance, Perceived Parental Rejection, Perceived Strict Parenting, Positive Valence of the Relationship, Frequency of Conflict, Adolescent's Emotional Support, Adolescent's Functional Support and Maternal Expectancy.

Next, a mother-adolescent relationship model was constructed based on the available literature and tested with structural equation modeling techniqe by means of AMOS software (Arbuckle, 1997). Structural equation modeling (SEM) was used since it provided the ability to form constructs based on study variables and to test the associations between these constructs across groups. SEM is a combination of a measurement model and a structural model. The measurement model indicates how unmeasured latent factors of mother-adolescent relationship are represented by specific measured variables. Measurement model describes the nature of the relationship between a number of constructs and the observed variables corresponding to each of the constructs. It is essentially a confirmatory factor analysis, where a number of directly measured variables (i.e. indicators) indicate a set of latent variables. A latent variable is assumed to cause the correlations between its indicators. The adequacy of the measurement model is tested with its goodness of fit to the data. The structural component of the model, on the other hand, indicates how the latent or observed factors are related to each other. Structural equation modeling consists of imposing a restricted set of pathways specified a priori and testing the correlations

among the latent variables. The adequacy of the structural model is tested by examining how well the hypothesized model fits the data. In this study, structural equation modeling was applied using the maximum likelihood procedure. First, the measurement part of the model, that is, constructs and their indicators were specified and estimated; then, in the structural part the hypothesized structural relationships were to be verified.

The suggested mother-adolescent relationship model entailed two latent variables, namely, Positive Relationship Quality and Adolescent's Support. Positive Relationship Quality construct was indicated by Perceived Parental Acceptance and Positive Valence of the Relationship variables. This construct reflects the positive tone of the relationship adolescents have with their mother. Perceived Parental Rejection was not included as an indicator of Positive Relationship Quality together with Perceived Parental Acceptance in this study because it is argued that this measurement might be culturally biased. Adolescent's Support construct was indicated by Emotional Support and Functional Support variables. This construct represents adolescent's emotional support for their mother in daily life and their willingness to give functional support in case of need; both reflecting adolescent's support for their mother. The measurement models for Positive Relationship Quality and Adolescent's Support constructs are presented in Figure 3.1a and 3.1b.

The structural model entails two latent variables, i.e., Positive Relationship Quality and Adolescent's Support, and two observed variables, i.e., Maternal Expectancy and Frequency of Conflict. Hypothesized associations among these variables that were assumed in the structure covariance model are presented in Figure

3.2. The mother-adolescent relationship model was compared between Turkish rural, Turkish urban low SES, Turkish urban middle class and German samples by means of multi-group analysis. This approach allows testing the difference of model parameters across multiple groups. Hypotheses on various degrees of cross-sample equality were tested. Starting with unrestricted model in which no assumptions were made about the comparability of various parameters across groups, equality constraints were gradually introduced. First the hypothesis that their factor structure is similar and then the hypotheses that the correlations of the selected constructs in the model are similar, were tested. The plausibility of equality was determined with nested likelihood ratio tests.

To evaluate the adequacy of the fit of the hypothesized model to the data, a combination of fit indices were examined. These fit indices included (a) the ratio of the chi-square and its degrees of freedom, where recommended criterion for a good fit is below 3; (b) the adjusted goodness-of-fit index (AGFI), where the value of .90 or higher is considered acceptable; (c) the comparative fit index (CFI) where the values close to .95 is recommended and (d) the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) with the value of .06 or lower indicating a good fit. The reason to use the ratio of the chi-square and its degrees of freedom instead of chi-square alone is that in large samples, the chi-square values tend to be inflated, erroneously implying a poor model fit to data (Lomax &Schumacher, 2004). The chi-square with its degree of freedom ratio has been suggested to be better indicator of goodness of fit than chi-square alone (Hatcher, 1994).

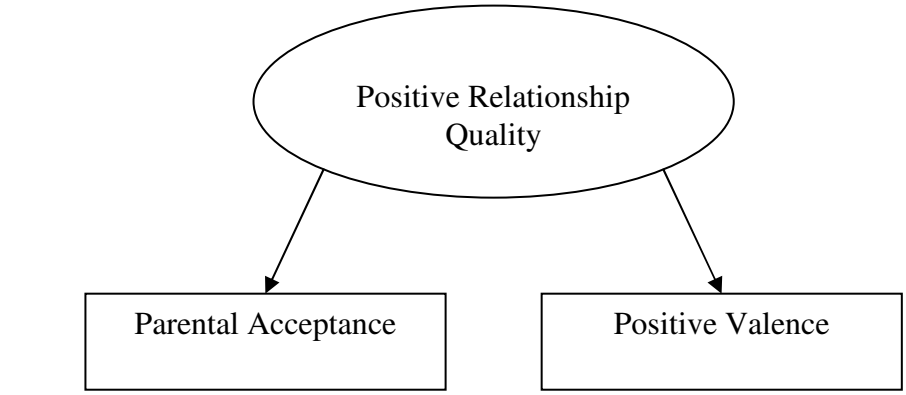


Figure 3.1a Measurement model for Positive Relationship Quality

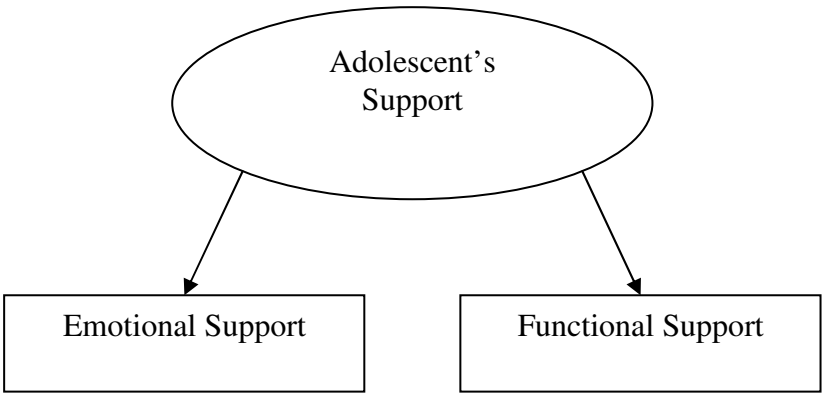


Figure 3.1b Measurement Model for Adolescent's Support for Mother

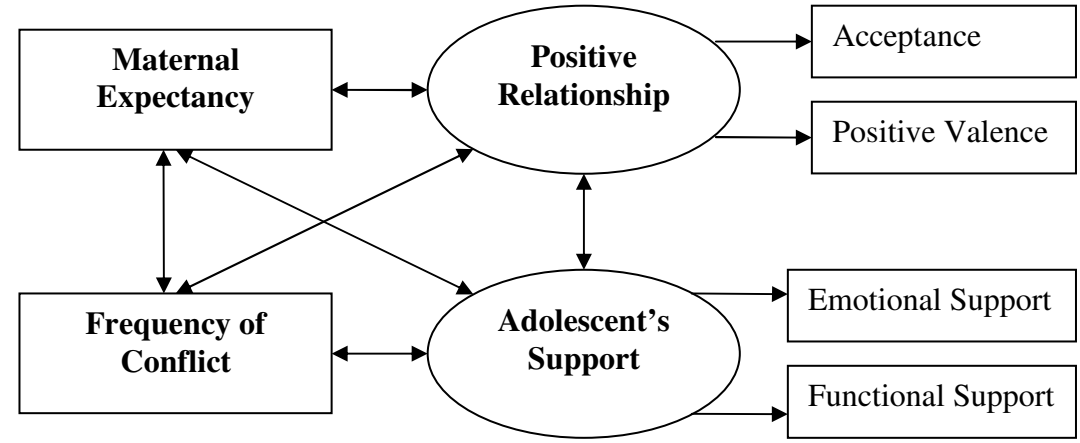


Figure 3.2 Structural Model

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

The overarching purpose of the current study was to investigate the mother-adolescent relations in different social contexts. With the aim of understanding the variations in mother-adolescent relations, cross- and intra-cultural comparisons were employed based on Kagitcibasi's Family Models framework. In the first part of the results section, sample descriptions are given. Then the results of one-way ANOVA analyses, with which mean values of study variables were compared between different samples of the present study are reported. Next, the multivariate analyses that examined the hypothesized mother-adolescent relationship model are reported. In the final section, a summary of the all the analyses is presented.

4.1 Sample Description

The sample of the present study consisted of 310 Turkish and 311 German mother-adolescent pairs. The mean, standard deviation and minimum-maximum values of the age of participants are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics for the age of participants

		Age			
		Mean	SD	Min	Max
Turkish: Rural	Adolescents	14.53	1.3	12	18
	Mothers	39.09	5.4	29	56
Turkish: Urban low SES	Adolescents	15.67	.86	14	18
	Mothers	40.36	5.5	31	58
Turkish: Urban middle class	Adolescents	15.60	.83	14	18
	Mothers	44.19	4.9	36	65
German	Adolescents	15.7	1.1	13	20
	Mothers	43.5	4.9	33	60

Turkish sample consisted of three sub-samples representing different social strata. Level of schooling was an important indicator distinguishing different social strata. While the urban middle class mothers had an average of 13.4 years of education, urban low SES mothers had an average of 5.4 years of education. Rural mothers were similar to urban low SES sample in education levels with an average of 6.4 years. Mothers of adolescents in German sample had an average of 11 years of schooling. German and Turkish middle-class groups differed from Turkish rural group in terms of education level due to the higher affluence levels of the living areas of German and Turkish middle-class groups. The average years of schooling in Turkish urban low SES group were similar to the Turkish rural group since they were mainly the rural immigrants living in the urban underprivileged areas.

4.2 Comparisons across contexts reflecting different family patterns

In this section, the study variables were compared across contexts reflecting different family patterns. The correlation matrix for all variables is displayed in Appendix B. An analysis of variance show that samples representing different family models differed from each other in terms of Perceived Parental Rejection, $F(3,614) = 18.89$, $p = .000$, Perceived Strict Parenting, $F(3,614) = 19.08$, $p = .000$, Positive Valence $F(3,613) = 22.67$, $p = .000$, Frequency of Conflict, $F(3,613) = 10.04$, $p = .000$, Emotional Support, $F(3,615) = 55.51$, $p = .000$, Functional Support $F(3,615) = 9.90$, $p = .000$, and Maternal Expectancy $F(3,616) = 206.70$, $p = .000$. There was no difference among groups in terms of Perceived Parental Acceptance, $F(3,614) = 1.19$, $p = .312$.

Post hoc analyses using Tukey and Dunnet C post hoc criteria for significance indicated that Turkish rural sample scored significantly higher than German sample in terms of Perceived Parental Rejection, Perceived Strict Parenting, Frequency of Conflict, Emotional Support, Functional Support, Maternal Expectancy and Positive Valence.

Results also showed that the rural sample scored significantly higher than Turkish urban middle class sample in terms of Perceived Parental Rejection, Perceived Strict Parenting, Emotional Support, and Maternal Expectancy. These two samples did not

differ in terms of Perceived Parental Acceptance, Positive Valence, Frequency of Conflict, and Functional Support.

Moreover, Turkish rural sample scored higher than Turkish urban low SES sample in terms of Perceived Parental Rejection, Perceived Strict Parenting, Functional Support and Maternal Expectancy, whereas these two samples did not differ in terms of Perceived Parental Acceptance, Positive Valence, Frequency of Conflict, and Emotional Support.

The Turkish urban low SES sample, on the other hand, scored higher than German sample in terms of Perceived Parental Rejection, Perceived Strict Parenting, Positive Valence, Functional Support, Emotional Support, and Maternal Expectancy, whereas these two groups did not differ from each other in terms of Perceived Parental Acceptance and Frequency of Conflict.

When the Turkish urban low SES sample was compared with Turkish urban middle class, results showed that Turkish urban low SES sample scored higher in terms of Maternal Expectancy whereas lower in terms of Frequency of Conflict and Functional Support. These two groups did not differ in terms of Perceived Parental Acceptance, Perceived Parental Rejection, Perceived Strict Parenting, Positive Valence, and Emotional Support.

Post hoc analyses revealed that Turkish urban middle class sample scored significantly higher than the German sample in terms of Positive Valence, Frequency of Conflict, Functional Support, Emotional Support, and Maternal Expectancy. On the other hand, Turkish urban middle class sample did not differ from the German sample in terms of Perceived Parental Acceptance, Perceived Parental Rejection, and Perceived Strict Parenting. Table 4.2 displays the mean, standard deviation values and significant differences between German, Turkish urban low SES, Turkish urban middle class and Turkish rural samples. In Table 4.2 groups are given the keys A, B, C, D . For each significant difference, the key of the group with the smaller mean appears under the groups with a larger mean. The post hoc analysis statistics for comparisons of family models are displayed in Appendix C.

Table 4.2 Descriptive statistics and significant differences for samples reflecting different family patterns

	Turkish: Rural A			Turkish: Urban: low SES B			Turkish: Urban: middle class C			German D		
	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD
Acceptance	109	83.9	15.6	100	80.6	15.2	101	84.2	14.4	308	83.3	15.1
Rejection	109	20.5	17.0	100	14.0	14.4	101	9.7	12.8	308	9.3	12.5
		BCD			**D**							
Strict Parenting	109	21.9	19.9	100	15.4	15.4	101	10.3	13.8	308	9.9	13.0
		BCD			**D**							
Positive Valence	109	71.9	24.7	98	67.5	21.7	100	71.8	20.5	310	57.4	17.9
		D			**D**			**D**				
Conflict	109	39.9	28.1	99	34.3	24.8	100	43.2	20.9	309	31.6	15.6
		D						**BD**				
Emotional Support	109	60.6	26.3	100	55.1	25.6	101	50.6	22.3	309	33.4	18.9
		CD			**D**			**D**				
Functional Support	109	59.1	24.0	100	51.1	23.2	101	63.4	19.5	309	51.8	20.5
		BD						**BD**				
Maternal Expectancy	109	69.5	18.4	100	61.2	18.9	101	40.4	17.1	310	28.3	15.6
		BCD			**CD**			**D**				

Note. For each significant pair, the key of the smaller category appears under the category with larger mean

4.4 Multivariate Analyses

Prior to multivariate analyses, the missing data were handled by list-wise deletion. There were 109 Turkish rural, 98 Turkish urban low SES, 100 Turkish urban middle class, and 302 German mother-adolescent pairs in the sample after the list-wise deletion. In addition, the variables of the model were screened for normality. Although none of the variables exceeded the suggested cut-off point 2 for skewness and 7 for kurtosis, Perceived Parental Acceptance scores were negatively skewed. Therefore, this measure was transformed by categorization to validate the normality assumption of the analyses used.

Maximum Likelihood Estimation technique was employed to estimate the factor loadings and test the statistical significance of the covariances between variables. The first step of the analyses was to verify the psychometric quality of the measurement models for Positive Relationship Quality and Adolescent's Support constructs and test for the measurement invariance between groups. Next, the structural model was tested. Finally, equality constraints were introduced to compare the hypothesized associations between groups.

4.5.1 Measurement Models

For the measurement model for Positive Relationship Quality construct, identification restrictions needed to be placed since the model was unidentified. To overcome this problem, variances of indicator error terms were forced to be equal across groups. When the variances of indicator error terms and the factor loadings of observed variables were constrained to be equal across groups, the measurement model for Positive Relationship Quality construct indicated a good fit, $\chi 2\,(2) = .519$, $p = .259$, $CFI = 1$, $AGFI = .99$ $RMSEA = .000$. The fit of the model suggests measurement invariance between groups. The standardized factor loadings for Perceived Parental Acceptance were 1.79 for Turkish rural, 1.94 for Turkish urban low SES, 1.96 for Turkish urban middle class samples and 2.05 for German sample. The standardized factor loadings for Positive Valence were .36 for Turkish rural, .34 for Turkish urban low SES, .33 for Turkish urban middle class samples and .30 for German sample. All factor loadings were significant. Overall, model fit indices and factor loadings suggested that Positive Relationship Quality construct was assessed with an acceptable degree of precision and that the observed variables were adequate indicators of these factors for both countries.

Similarly, identification restrictions needed to be placed for the measurement model of Adolescent's Support construct, since the model was unidentified. The variances of indicator error terms were forced to be equal across groups to identify the model. When the variances of indicator error terms and the factor loadings for

observed variables were constrained to be equal across groups, the measurement model for Positive Relationship Quality construct indicated a good fit, $\chi 2$ (2) = 1.696, p = .848, *CFI* = .1 , *AGFI* = .98 *RMSEA* = .000. The fit of the model suggests measurement invariance between groups. The standardized factor loadings for Emotional Support were .55 for Turkish rural, .45 for Turkish urban low SES, .38 for Turkish urban middle class samples and .41 for German sample. The standardized factor loadings for Functional Support were .64 for Turkish rural, .56 for Turkish urban low SES, .44 for Turkish urban middle class samples and .42 for German sample. All factor loadings were significant. Overall, model fit indices and factor loadings suggested that Adolescent's Support construct was assessed with an acceptable degree of precision and that the observed variables were adequate indicators of these factors for all samples.

4.5.2 Structural Model

Given that the measurement models for latent variables appeared adequate, overall structural equation model was tested. In the first step, the fit of the hypothesized model to the data was examined. In the following steps, differences between groups were examined. To detect differences between samples, the associations between variables of the hypothesized model were constrained to be equal across groups and differences in chi-square value were tested. The difference in chi-square indicated

whether the introduced constraint resulted in decrement of the goodness of fit to the data or not.

The hypothesized model had a significant chi-square, $\chi 2\,(26) = 62.90$, $p < .001$. However, the chi-square with its degree of freedom ratio value of the hypothesized model was 2.42, implying an adequate fit. Other fit indices were also examined to evaluate the fit of the model to the data; *CFI*=.95, *AGFI*=.89, *RMSEA* = .048. Overall, the majority of goodness of fit indices suggests an acceptable fit of the model to the data. The unstandardized and the standardized maximum likelihood estimates for the parameters of the model are presented in Table 4.3 for all samples.

In the second step, the equality constraints were introduced. First, the association between Positive Relationship Quality and Maternal Expectancy was constrained to be equal to zero in Turkish rural, Turkish urban low SES and German samples. Assuming hypothesized model to be correct, the difference in the chi-square value was non-significant, $\Delta\chi 2 = .889$, $\Delta df = 3$, $p = .83$. A non-significant chi-square value suggests that the introduction of this constraint did not result in a significant decrement in the fit to the data. This finding implies that this association is not significantly different from zero in Turkish rural, Turkish urban low and German samples. Thus, this constraint was kept.

Table 4.3 Unstandardized and standardized coefficients for hypothesized model

				TR:rural	TR:urban low	TR:urban middle	Germany
Positive Relationship	<-->	Maternal Expectancy	unstandardized	-.330	-2.396	-5.115	-.042
			p	*.893*	*.353*	*.022*	*.967*
			standardized	-.014	-.104	-.268	-.003
Adolescents Support	<-->	Frequency of Conflict	unstandardized	56.344	4.950	-11.642	-.517
			p	*.096*	*.861*	*.573*	*.946*
			standardized	.206	.022	-.081	-.007
Maternal Expectancy	<-->	Frequency of Conflict	unstandardized	-79.593	-27.432	37.750	-8.604
			p	*.110*	*.555*	*.292*	*.543*
			standardized	-.155	-.060	.106	-.035
Positive Relationship	<-->	Adolescents Support	unstandardized	7.428	8.014	5.503	4.944
			p	***	***	***	***
			standardized	.608	.726	.710	.967
Positive Relationship	<-->	Frequency of Conflict	unstandardized	-5.419	-8.308	-11.329	-6.080
			p	*.152*	*.018*	***	***
			standardized	-.155	-.274	-.487	-.383
Adolescents Support	<-->	Maternal Expectancy	unstandardized	30.329	5.412	-12.684	6.351
			p	*.166*	*.800*	*.456*	*.411*
			standardized	.169	.033	-.107	.081

Next, the association between Positive Relationship Quality and Frequency of Conflict was constrained to be zero in Turkish rural sample. The difference in the chi-square value was non-significant, $\Delta\chi 2 = 2.18$, $\Delta df = 1$, $p = .14$, implying that this association is not significantly different from zero in Turkish rural sample. Therefore, this constraint was also kept.

Finally, the association between Frequency of Conflict and Adolescent's Support was constrained to be equal to zero in Turkish urban low SES, Turkish urban middle class and German samples. The difference in the chi-square value was not significant, $\Delta\chi 2 = .337$, $\Delta df = 3$, $p = .953$. This finding implies that this association is not significantly different from zero in Turkish urban low SES, Turkish urban middle class and German samples. Thus, this constraint was kept.

There were some differences between samples regarding the hypothesized associations. The association between Positive Relationship Quality and Maternal Expectancy was significant for Turkish urban middle class sample whereas it was not significant for other 3 samples. The association between Adolescent's Support and Frequency of Conflict was significant for Turkish rural sample whereas it was not significant for other 3 samples. The association between Positive Relationship Quality and Frequency of Conflict was significant for Turkish urban low SES, Turkish urban middle class and German samples, whereas it was not significant for Turkish rural sample.

On the other hand, samples were similar with regards to insignificant associations between Maternal Expectancy and Frequency of Conflict, and between Maternal Expectancy and Adolescent's Support. Moreover, Adolescent's Support was positively associated with Positive Relationship Quality for all samples. Un-standardized and standardized coefficients for the parameters of the final model are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.4 Unstandardized and standardized coefficients for the final model

				TR:rural	TR:urban low	TR:urban middle	Germany
Positive Relationship	<-->	Maternal Expectancy	unstandardized	.000	.000	-4.987	.000
			p			*.023*	
			standardized	.000	.000	-.266	.000
Adolescents Support	<-->	Frequency of Conflict	unstandardized	78.774	.000	.000	.000
			p	*.014*			
			standardized	.280	.000	.000	.000
Maternal Expectancy	<-->	Frequency of Conflict	unstandardized	-79.593	-39.065	36.327	-.8727
			p	*.110*	*.385*	*.309*	*.511*
			standardized	-.155	-.085	.102	-.036
Positive Relationship	<-->	Adolescents Support	unstandardized	8.126	8.176	5.235	4.941
			p	***	***	***	***
			standardized	.650	.736	.687	.965
Positive Relationship	<-->	Frequency of Conflict	unstandardized	.000	-8.741	-10.648	-5.999
			p		*.004*	***	***
			standardized	.000	-.288	-.465	-.380
Adolescents Support	<-->	Maternal Expectancy	unstandardized	31.716	16.246	-12.007	6.518
			p	*.112*	*.379*	*.480*	*.331*
			standardized	.172	.097	-.102	.082

4.6 Summary of Results

The results of comparisons of study variables across groups revealed that there was no significant difference in terms of Perceived Parental Acceptance between groups, as expected. Regarding Perceived Parental Rejection and Perceived Strict Parenting, it was hypothesized that Turkish rural group would score significantly higher than other German and Turkish middle class samples. This expectation was confirmed. Bar charts for mean values of Perceived Parental Acceptance, Perceived Parental Rejection and Perceived Strict Parenting scores for all samples are presented in Figure 4.1, 4.2 and 4.3.

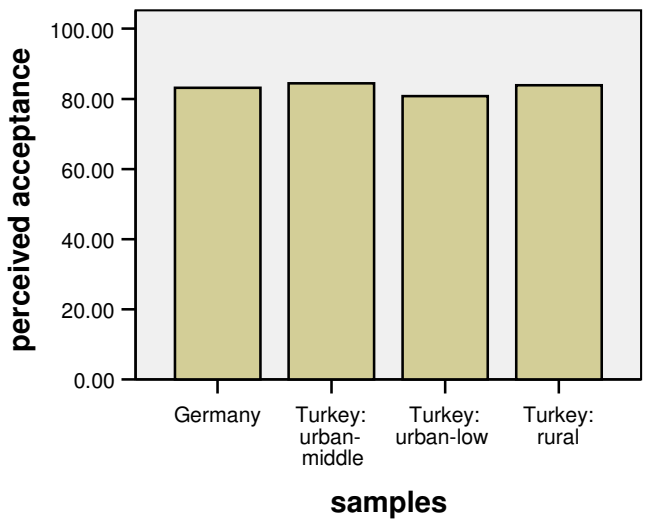


Figure 4.1 Parental Acceptance Scores

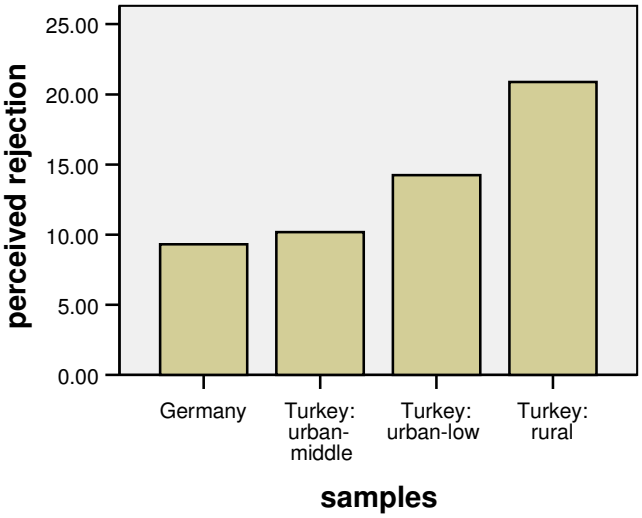


Figure 4.2 Parental Rejection Scores

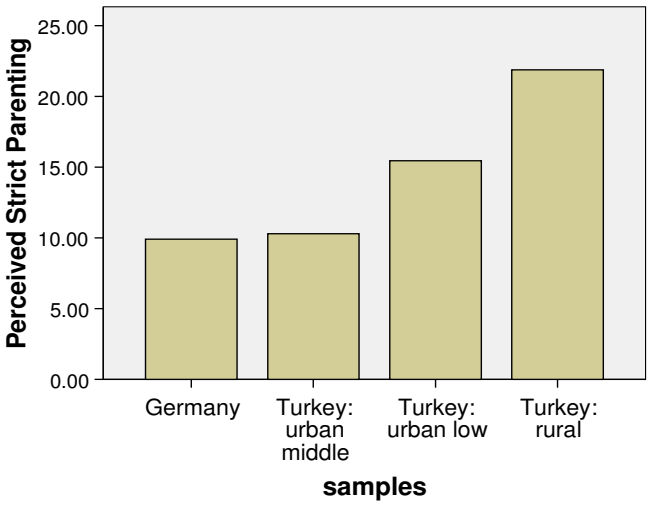


Figure 4.3 Strict Parenting Scores

As hypothesized, Turkish rural and urban middle class adolescents reported higher positive valence of the relationship with their mother than German adolescents. There was no significant difference among Turkish sub-samples. A bar chart for Positive Valence of the Relationship scores in all samples is presented in Figure 4.4.

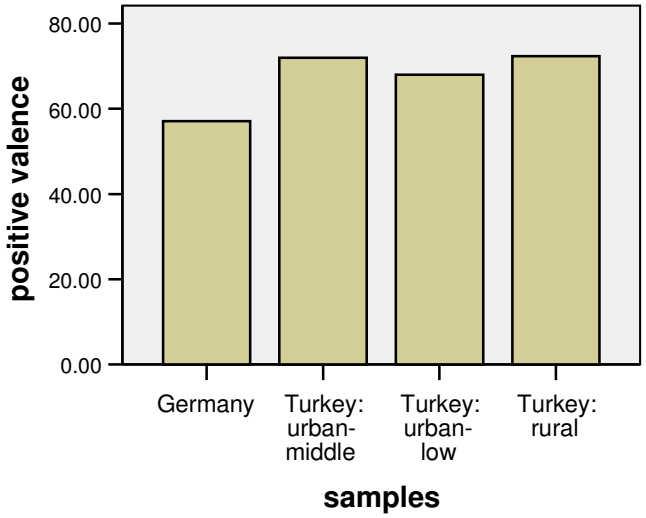


Figure 4.4 Positive Valence Scores

In terms of Frequency of Conflict, it was expected that Turkish urban middle class sample would score higher than Turkish rural and German samples. This hypothesis was confirmed partially. As expected, Turkish urban middle class sample scored higher than German sample. However, there was no significant difference between Turkish urban middle class and Turkish rural samples. Turkish urban low SES sample scored significantly lower than Turkish urban middle class sample. A bar chart for Frequency of Conflict scores in all samples are presented in Figure 4.5.

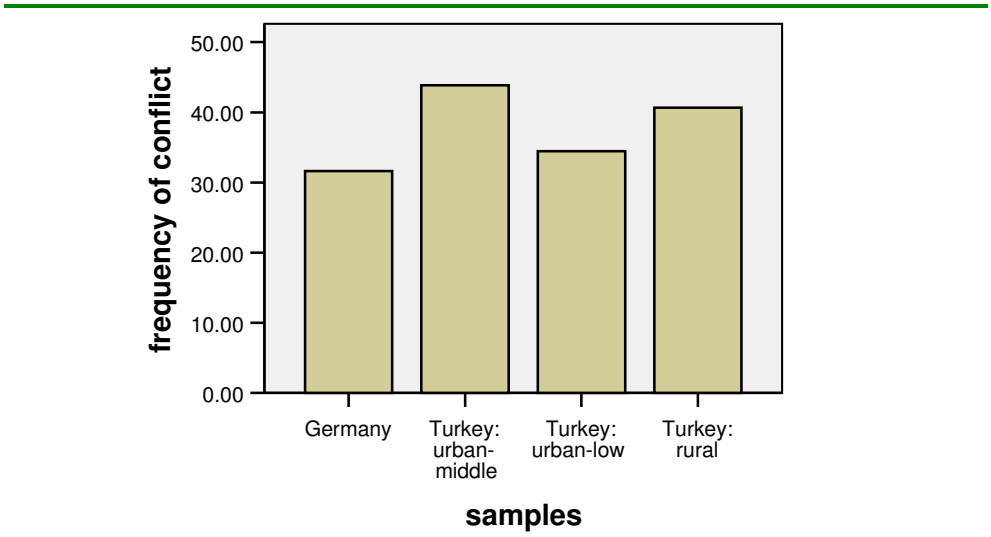


Figure 4.5 Frequency of Conflict Scores

Turkish adolescents were expected to score higher than German sample in terms of Emotional and Functional Support for Mother. Confirming the expectation, Turkish rural, Turkish urban low SES and Turkish urban middle class adolescents scored significantly higher than German adolescents. In addition, Turkish rural sample scored higher than Turkish urban middle class sample in Emotional Support. Turkish urban low SES adolescents scored significantly lower than both Turkish rural and Turkish urban middle class adolescents and was similar to German sample in terms of Functional Support. Bar charts for mean values of Emotional and Functional Support scores for all samples are presented in Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7.

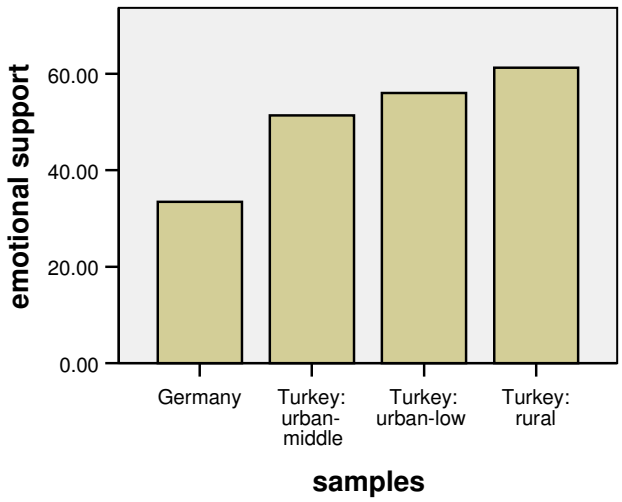


Figure 4.6 Emotional Support scores

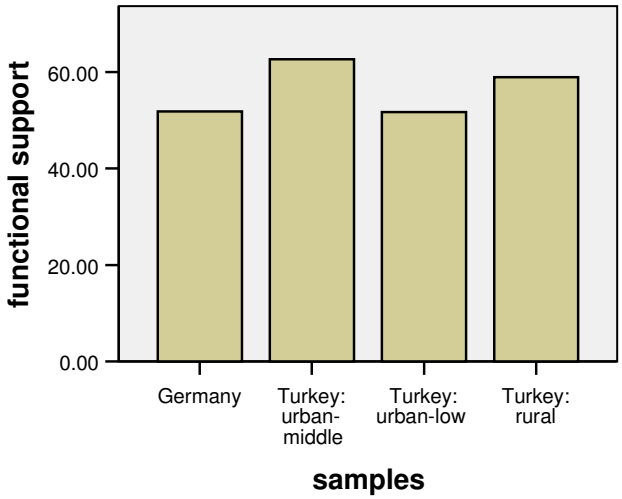


Figure 4.7 Functional Support scores

In the present study, Turkish mothers in rural sample were expected to display the highest expectancies from children, followed by Turkish urban middle class mothers. German mothers were expected to score lowest on their expectancy from their children. Results of the analyses confirmed these expectations. In addition, Turkish low SES mothers' expectancies were higher than Turkish urban middle class mothers, but lower than Turkish mothers in rural sample. A bar chart for Maternal Expectancy scores in all samples are presented in Figure 4.8.

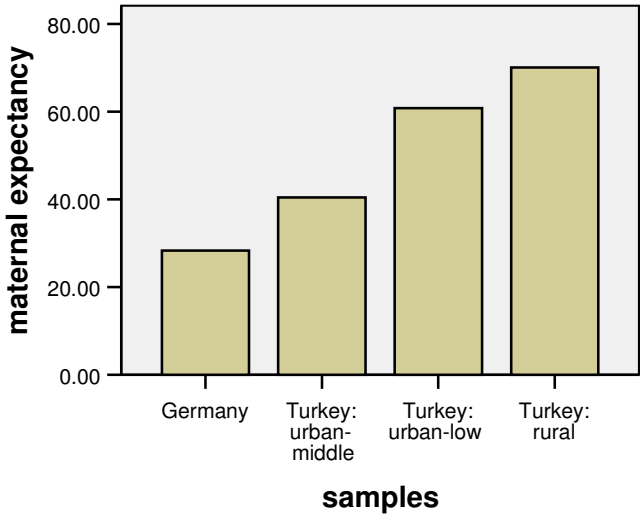


Figure 4.8 Maternal Expectancy Scores

Regarding the hypothesized mother-adolescent relationship model, examination of measurement models showed that both Positive Relationship construct and Adolescent's support construct are adequately indicated by their observed variables and have similar factor structures in all samples. Moreover, the hypothesized structural model was confirmed by the data.

For Turkish rural sample adolescents support was positively associated with frequency of conflict and positive relationship quality. Other associations were not significant for this sample. For Turkish urban low SES sample positive relationship was negatively associated with frequency of conflict whereas it was positively associated with adolescents support. Other associations were not significant for this sample. For Turkish urban middle class sample, positive relationship quality was negatively associated with maternal expectancy and frequency of conflict, whereas it was positively associated with adolescent's support. Other associations were not significant for this sample. Finally, for German sample positive relationship was negatively associated with frequency of conflict whereas it was positively associated with adolescent's support. Other associations were not significant for this sample. In conclusion, the results of the analyses conducted in the present study showed some significant differences and similarities in mother-adolescent relations across groups representing different social contexts.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The major aim of this study was to examine mother-adolescent relations in different socio-cultural contexts. Taking the theory of family models as the main framework, cross- and intra-cultural comparisons were conducted in order to understand the differences in mother-adolescent relations in different family patterns. In this section, the results of these examinations are discussed in the light of the reviewed literature and possible implications and limitations of the results are stated. First, the findings regarding comparisons of different family patterns, i.e. German, Turkish middle class, Turkish urban low SES and Turkish rural samples, are evaluated. This evaluation is followed by a discussion of findings regarding the mother-adolescent relationship model tested. Finally, general implications and limitations of the present study are stated.

5.1 Mother-adolescent relations in different family models

The results of the present study implied that the degree of acceptance adolescents perceived from their mother is similar across different social contexts. This finding seems to be in line with the literature suggesting that parental warmth is a universal,

reflecting an evolutionary process involving protection and care of the offspring (e.g. Kagitcibasi, 1996; MacDonald, 1992; Rohner, 1986; Smith, Bond, & Kagitcibasi, 2006). However, this similarity was not extended to the results regarding perceived parental rejection. The findings of this study showed that rejection scores got higher as the context changed from more affluent areas to more traditional areas. In terms of Kagitcibasi's family patterns, the rejection scores were higher in family model of interdependence than in family models of independence and psychological interdependence.

These findings contradict PARTheory's uni-dimensionality claim of parental acceptance-rejection. If parental acceptance and rejection are the opposite ends of parental warmth dimension, as one gets higher, the other needs to get lower as a result of representing one dimension. The present study did not confirm this assumption. The reason for these findings seems to result from the way PARTheory operationalized and measured the parental rejection construct. As mentioned earlier, parental rejection is conceptualized to include strict parenting practices as manifestations of parental hostility towards the child. However, normativeness of these practices seems to be a confounding factor in PARTheory's parental rejection scale, unjustly measuring normative parenting practices as rejection in certain social contexts. In such a condition, parental acceptance and rejection would not behave as one dimension.

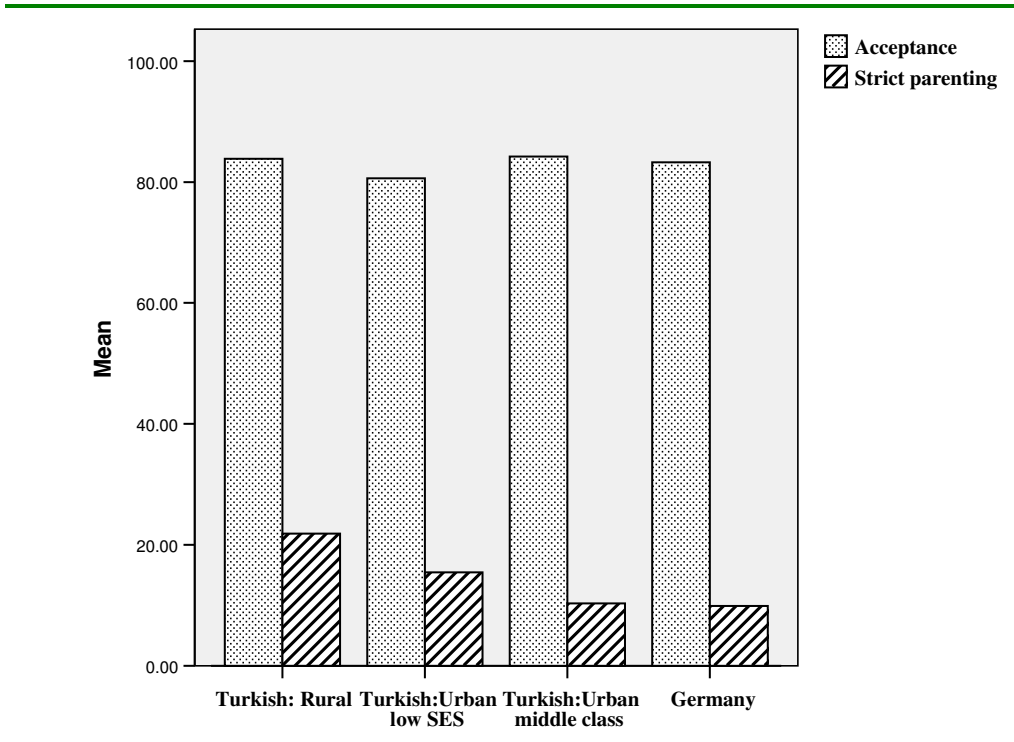
PARTheory might object to this argument claiming that since it is the perception of the child that is measured, it will be filtered through his/her cultural and personal

lenses avoiding the possibility of misinterpreting normative parenting practices as parental rejection. However, items of the perceived parental rejection questionnaire such as “My mother hits me even when I do not deserve it” does not seem to rule out the possibility of misinterpretation. This item will most probably indicate different things in a context where physical punishment is non-normative and even illegal and where it is seen as a legitimate disciplinary method for the well-being of the child. In contexts where physical punishment is normative and used regularly, there will be times the child will think they deserved it and there will be times they will think that they did not deserve it. Their report that there were times they did not deserve punishment does not neccessarily mean that they perceive this as lack of parental warmth, i.e. rejection. On the other hand, in a Western context where physical punishment is seen as “abuse”, children’s perception of an unjust physical punishment will be probably different than that of their counterparts in the former context. However, both score the same in the perceived parental rejection questionaire.

The finding that Turkish rural adolescents reported high perceived parental acceptance together with higher perceived “rejection” can be explained by PARTheory’s inclusion of strict parenting practices as the indicator of parental rejection. In other words, the findings imlpy that the Perceived Parental Rejection scale as constructed by PARTheory does not measure the parental rejection in the real sense, that is, as the lack of parental warmth in low affluence, traditional contexts. Therefore, it is more appropriate to use Perceived Strict Parenting measure (which was created from Perceived Parental Rejection scale for this study) in the evaluation of our findings. The results regarding Perceived Parental Acceptance, Perceived

Parental Rejection, and Perceived Strict Parenting should be interpreted as follows: Although adolescents' report of strict parenting practices are higher in Turkish rural sample, these adolescents did not differ from their Turkish urban middle class and German counterparts in terms of the parental warmth they perceive from their mother. The Figure 5.1 displays a bar chart for parental acceptance and strict parenting for adolescents reported.

Figure 5.1 Parental acceptance and strict parenting scores



The findings of the present study concerning parental acceptance and rejection constructs have some implications for the literature on parental acceptance-rejection research. Approximately 300 studies conducted in more than 60 nations internationally provided evidence of worldwide correlations between parental acceptance-rejection and mental health issues (Rohner, 2004; Rohner & Britner, 2002). However, in most of these studies –if not in all of them- parental acceptance and rejection is measured as a single variable by taking a composite score. Thus, in these studies the uni-dimensionality assumption of parental acceptance and rejection was not tested, but readily accepted. As the findings of the present study showed, perceived parental acceptance and perceived parental rejection **as measured by PARTheory** may not behave as one-dimension in all social contexts. Therefore, the uni-dimensionality of parental acceptance and rejection variables needs to be tested before a composite score for parental acceptance and rejection is used.

Moreover, the findings of the study points to the need of a more refined approach to operationalization of parental rejection construct. It may be suggested to assess parental hostility/aggression component of parental rejection separately in order to capture the possible differential implications where physical punishment and strict parenting practices are normative and non-normative. Such a re-conceptualization may have implications for personality and coping sub-theories of PARTheory. Personality sub-theory research examines whether children in different socio-cultural systems, racial or ethnic groups, genders, and the like respond in essentially the same way when they perceive themselves to be accepted or rejected by their parents. Coping sub-theory research asks why some children and adults with the experiences

of childhood rejection have the resilience to emotionally cope more effectively than others. Assessing parental hostility component separately may help to explain some of the unexplained variation in the personality and coping sub-theory research.

Literature seems to supports this suggestion: recent studies point to the importance of normativeness of physical discipline as a moderator between the use of physical discipline and child adjustment (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Lansford et al., 2004, Lansford et al. 2005). Lansford and her colleges (2005) conducted a 6-country cross-cultural study (China, India, Italy, Kenya, the Philippines, and Thailand), and found that countries differed in the reported use and normativeness of physical discipline and in the way physical discipline was related to children's and adolescents' adjustment. Results showed that perceived normativeness of physical disciple moderated the association between experiencing physical discipline and adjustment of children and adolescents. Similar results have been reported in earlier research studying ethnic differences in the link between physical discipline and externalizing behavior among European American and African American samples (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1996; Lansford et al., 2004).

There are limitations of the present study, however, regarding these findings. In this study, short versions of perceived parental acceptance and rejection measures were used instead of the original full length version. Therefore, a replication with the full length version of the parental acceptance and rejection questionnaires would strengthen the mentioned findings of the present study. Moreover, a large proportion

of the participants (%24.5 of the Turkish sample and %39 of the German sample) have scored zero on perceived parental rejection questionnaire. The reason for this might be the strong wording used in the items of the questionnaire.

Another finding of the present study that needs to be noted, involves positive valence of the relationship. As hypothesized, Turkish rural and urban middle class adolescents reported higher positive valence of their relationship with their mother than German adolescents did. These findings are in line with the argument that higher report of parental rejection may not imply low levels of parental warmth in all contexts. Although Turkish rural adolescents scored higher in rejection scale than German adolescents, the closeness and intimacy they reported to have with their mother, was higher than German adolescents. Moreover, the findings regarding positive valence of the relationship support Kagitcibasi's prediction that closeness and connectedness in the interpersonal relationships would persist in developed, urban areas of cultures with a collectivist base, i.e. in family model of psychological interdependence.

The VOC literature suggests that maternal expectancies are high in traditional, collectivist oriented societies, whereas low in individualistic, western societies. Converging with that literature, results of the present study showed that Turkish mothers in rural sample displayed higher expectancies than German mothers, as hypothesized. Kagitcibasi predicted material expectancies will decrease with affluence although expectancies in terms of care and closeness persist in family model of psychological interdependence. However, the maternal expectancy measurement of

the present study did not differentiate between material and emotional expectancies, measuring both together. Therefore, in the present study, expectancies of Turkish middle-class mothers were hypothesized to be lower than Turkish rural mothers but higher than German mothers. This hypothesis was confirmed by the results of the present study. Future research with separate measures for material expectancy and emotional expectancy, however, can extend the present findings.

The findings regarding emotional support adolescents give to their mother supported the hypotheses of the present study: Turkish rural adolescents reported the highest emotional support, followed by Turkish urban middle-class adolescents; German adolescents reported the lowest emotional support. The hypotheses regarding the functional support adolescents are willing to give to their mother, on the other hand, were only partially supported by the findings. As expected, Turkish rural and urban middle class adolescents scored significantly higher than German adolescents. However, Turkish rural and urban middle class adolescents did not differ in their willingness to give functional support in case of need. Two possible explanations for this result might be that the Turkish urban middle class adolescents' values regarding family obligation did not differ from Turkish rural adolescents or that although they differ, some other confounding factor might be responsible. Accuracy of the first possibility that values of family obligations does not lessen with affluence, would strengthen Kagitcibasi's claim of cultural continuity despite urbanization and socio-economic development.

Although the hypotheses about the emotional support given to mother were confirmed, the line of reasoning for these hypotheses seems to fail due to the findings regarding functional support. Schwartz et al. (2005) suggested that both the values regarding family obligations and the quality of the relationship with the mother are predictors for emotional support given to parents. The reason for us to hypothesize difference in emotional support was not the closeness and intimacy of the relationship but the values regarding family obligations. Results regarding positive valence of the relationship confirmed that Turkish middle class and Turkish rural groups do not differ in terms of closeness and intimacy in their relationship. However, the difference in values regarding family obligations may not be a successful rationale as became evident in findings regarding functional support reported. The findings regarding parental acceptance and positive valence of the relationship discards the possibility that the difference in emotional support was caused by the difference in positive relationship quality. One other possible explanation for this finding might be the demanding school schedules, extra-curricular activities and the urban life style of Turkish middle-class adolescents. The school-home distance plus hectic traffic of big cities results in a limited free time for urban adolescents. Moreover, as urban life style provides more opportunities to socialize outside of school and home, adolescents may spend more time with their peer groups. In these conditions, adolescents may have more limited time with their mother to talk about their mother's problems and give emotional support than their counterparts in rural sample. To clarify the findings of the present study regarding adolescents support for mother, future research needs to directly address the values of family obligations and its relation to emotional and functional support for mother.

Another unexpected finding of this study was that the Turkish urban middle class sample and Turkish rural sample did not differ in terms of the frequency of conflict in mother-adolescent relationship. It was hypothesized that rural adolescents would report lower frequency of conflict than urban middle class adolescents because of higher obedience oriented child rearing in the Turkish rural population. One explanation for this unexpected finding might be that in Turkey, the obedience of the child is more strictly enforced with fathers than mothers. While the expression of anger toward mother is not encouraged, it is strictly not tolerated towards fathers (Ataca, 2006; Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1997). Moreover, mothers take the mediator role in adolescent-father relationship (Kiray, 1976). Therefore, even though obedience orientation is higher in Turkish rural sample, it may not apply to expression of anger and frustration to mothers. The German sample, on the other hand, scored lower than Turkish urban middle-class and rural samples, consistent with the literature suggesting the association between closeness of the relationship and frequency of conflict.

The results of the study regarding the Turkish urban low SES sample showed that this group did not differ from rural and urban middle class groups in terms of perceived parental acceptance, positive valence of the relationship and adolescent's emotional support for mother. These three variables seem to address the emotional tone of the mother-adolescent relationship; thus consistent with Kagitcibasi's claim that socio-economic change does not influence the psychological relatedness and closeness in the human relations.

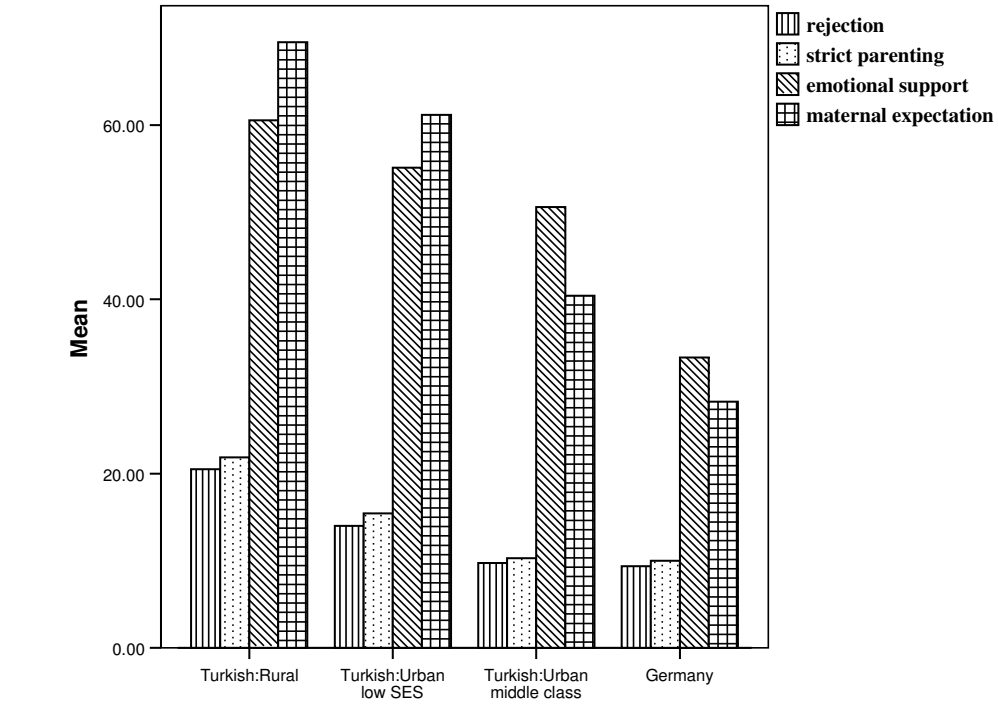
Moreover, supporting Kagitcibasi's claim that affluence will have an influence on normative collectivism and material dependencies (which, in turn, is related to parental expectations and strict parenting), the urban low SES group scored higher than urban middle-class group and lower than rural group in terms of maternal expectancy and perceived strict parenting. The finding that urban low SES scores were in between seem to reflect the transformation of this group towards the urban middle class group in terms of normative collectivism. The mentioned findings seem to converge with the findings of Kagitcibasi and Ataca (2005). They have found that the material/utilitarian value of children was rated the most important by the rural group, followed by the urban low SES group; the urban-middle group considered it the least important.

Another finding that needs to be noted is the low scores in adolescent's willingness to give functional support for mother in case of need. The adolescents in urban low SES sample were less willing to tolerate burden in order to help their mother than their rural and urban middle-class counterparts. One interpretation of this finding might be that these adolescents' values regarding family obligations are weaker than other groups. However, there is no clue in the existing literature why this might be so. It might be speculated that these adolescents live in more taxing situations which may limit their perception of their capacities or resources to share with their mother. Further research examining adolescents' values regarding family obligations and filial anxieties in Turkish urban low SES group might help to clarify the results.

In general, it may be said that urban low SES group was similar to other Turkish sub-samples in terms of emotional closeness and relatedness, whereas it seems to be in transformation in terms of parental expectancies and parenting practices distinguishing itself from its rural roots towards the urban middle class pattern. Thus, our prediction that it will be more similar to rural sample was not supported. Furthermore the findings also suggested that the conditions unique to this context may distinguish this group from rural and urban middle class in some aspects of parent-child relations, such as the willingness to tolerate burden for parents, the attitude towards family obligations and towards filial responsibilities.

In general, these findings showed that the only mother-adolescent relationship variable that does not vary with cultural value orientations and socio-economic conditions was the parental warmth. So regardless of social context, mothers show love, care and affection to their child. Other relationship variables, however, are shown to be influenced by the contextual factors. Results in general point to a decrease in normative collectivism as the context changes from low affluence areas to high affluence areas. Some mother-adolescent relationship variables that are argued to reflect the norms of their society revealed a similar pattern. The pattern of these mother-adolescent relationship variables is displayed in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 Variables reflecting a similar pattern



5.3 The Mother-Adolescent Relationship Model

The cross-sample examination of hypothesized mother-adolescent relationship model showed that mother-adolescent relations in different social contexts have some similarities and differences. The results of the present study confirmed the literature suggesting that children's support for parents is associated with the positive quality of the parent-child relationship. However, the strength of the association increased as the context changed from low affluence areas to high affluence areas. The reason for the stronger association might be that adolescent's support depends only on relationship quality in more affluent areas, whereas it also depends on factors like values regarding family obligations in less affluent, traditional areas. In the former context, child's contribution is not needed for family survival; on the contrary, investments are channeled towards the child. Therefore, in high affluence contexts adolescents may not feel that they are obliged to give support to their mother unless they have close and positive relationship. In low affluence contexts, however, survival of the family depends on the contribution of the child. In this context children are socialized in a way to give priority to their family needs before their individual needs. Therefore, the adolescents in this context seem to feel responsible to support their mother regardless of the relationship quality, although a better relationship with the mother results in more support given to mother as in the high affluence contexts.

The results also imply that the maternal expectancy does not depend on other relationship variables in general. It was not associated with adolescents support, frequency of conflict or positive relationship (except for Turkish urban middle class)

variables in the model. Our findings and the VOC studies reviewed suggest that maternal expectancies are functions of the socio-cultural conditions and reflect the norms of the society. Therefore, mother's expectancy level does not vary with relationship quality. For example, in Turkish rural sample reflecting interdependent family model, parental expectancies are high regardless of relationship quality, whereas in Germany reflecting family model of independence parental expectancies are low regardless of relationship quality. In these contexts there is a low variation in the level of maternal. This low variance seems responsible for the insignificant associations with other relationship variables.

Barber (1994)'s finding regarding the association between parental expectancy level and frequency of conflict was not confirmed by the results of the present study. This association was insignificant for all samples. As mentioned above, the normativeness of the maternal expectancy regardless of the relationship quality seems to be responsible for this insignificant relationship. Moreover, the rationale behind Barber's findings was that high parental expectancy is an indicator of collectivist cultural values implying high obedience orientation, resulting in lower frequency of conflict. In the present study, however, his rationale did not hold. The frequency of conflict in Turkish rural sample was higher than in German sample and was equal to the Turkish urban middle class sample. Thus, the fact that frequency of conflict did not decrease with higher obedience orientation may also have contributed to the insignificance of this relationship.

Another finding to be noted was that adolescent's support was positively associated with frequency of conflict in Turkish rural sample. This finding seems to be caused by high interdependence and frequent contact of family members that characterizes this family pattern. High interdependence, relatedness and frequent contact can be responsible both for higher frequency of conflict and for higher support for mother. It is also important to note that adolescent's support was found to be positively associated both with positive relationship quality and frequency of conflict in this context. Thus, here the frequency of conflict seems to reflect interdependence of the parent-child pair rather than a negative relationship quality.

As mentioned earlier, the frequency of conflict was negatively associated with positive relationship quality in all samples, except for Turkish rural sample. If we categorize frequency of conflict as an indicator of negative quality of the relationship, results indicate that positive relationship quality and negative relationship quality are highly correlated in high affluence areas (negatively), whereas they are not even related in low affluence areas. Thus, frequency of conflict indicates negative relationship quality in high affluence context whereas it does not indicate negativeness of the relationship in rural context. This is in line with our argument regarding uni-dimensionality of parental acceptance and rejection constructs. Uni-dimensionality of parental acceptance and rejection constructs seems to be valid for high affluence areas whereas not valid for low affluence areas. In general, the results of the study points to a higher "negative" relationship quality in Turkish rural sample that is not related to positive relationship quality. Thus, the label "negative" does not reflect the true nature of variables like strict parenting and frequency of conflict in this

context. Therefore, the future research studying low affluence, traditional areas should not assume "negative" relationship variables will be negatively associated with positive relationship variables and refrain from using measurements that assess these components together.

The results regarding the mother-adolescent relations model points to the importance social context in which the mother-adolescent relationship is embedded. Consistent with the results regarding comparisons of study variables, three distinct family patterns have emerged for Turkey. The Turkish low SES distinguished itself from Turkish rural and Turkish urban middle class samples. Moreover, the Turkish rural group also distinguished itself from other groups in terms of the way some qualities of mother-adolescent relations are associated. In general, the findings imply that the social norms of a given population affect the way parent-child relationship variables relate to each other.

5.4 General Implications and Limitations

In general, the present study confirms the importance of social context in mother-adolescent relations. Supporting Kagitcibasi's theory of family change, the psychological relatedness seems to be high in Turkish samples regardless of affluence levels because it is ingrained in the culture. This finding confirms the view that with socio-economic development the traditional family pattern found in collectivist societies would not change towards Western individualistic family pattern. Rather, a

new pattern emerges as a result of the combination of high affluence levels and culture of relatedness. In this study Kagitcibasi's family patterns have been successful in providing a framework for cross- and intra-cultural comparisons. Thus, this study points to the need of studying social context as a *combination* of cultural value orientations and socio-economic conditions rather than using cultural value orientations or socio-economic levels by themselves as the only indicator of social context.

However, there was a limitation of the present study that needs to be taken into account when evaluating the findings reported. The single mothers were not included in the sample to make the sample consistent with respect to the family structure of the participants. Therefore, the sample of mothers may not be representative for Germany with respect to marital status of mothers given the high numbers of single mothers in Germany.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table 6.1 Perceived Parental Acceptance Questionnaire Items

Perceived Parental Acceptance
Please indicate *the extent to which* each one describes your mother.
My mother ….
1. … says nice things to me.
2. … makes it easy for me to confide in her.
3. … is interested in the things I do.
4. … respects my point of view and encourages me to express it.
5. … praises me when I deserve it.
6. … treats me gently and with kindness.
7. … makes me feel wanted and needed.
8. … tries to make me feel better when I am hurt/sick.
9. … lets me know that she loves me.
10. … makes me feel that what I do is important.

Table 6.2 Perceived Parental Rejection Questionnaire Items

Perceived Parental Rejection
Please indicate *the extent to which* each one describes your mother.
My mother ….
1. … views me as a burden.
2. … hits me, even when I do not deserve it.
3. … says many unkind things to me.
4. … seems to resent me.
5. … makes me feel I am not loved anymore if I misbehave.
6. … threatens me when I do something wrong.
7. … goes out of her way to hurt my feelings.
8. … punishes me severely when she is angry.

Table 6.3 Perceived Strict Parenting Questionnaire Items

Perceived Strict Parenting
Please indicate *the extent to which* each one describes your mother.
My mother ….
1. … hits me, even when I do not deserve it.
2. … says many unkind things to me.
3. … makes me feel I am not loved anymore if I misbehave.
4. … threatens me when I do something wrong.
5. … goes out of her way to hurt my feelings.
6. … punishes me severely when she is angry.

Table 6.4 Positive Valence Questionnaire Items

Positive Valence of the Relationship
Please tell me how often the following things happen between your parents and yourself.
1. How often do you tell your parents everything that is on your mind?
2. How often do your parents let you know that you're good at many things?
3. How often do you share your secrets and private feelings with your parents?
4. How often do your parents like or approve of the things you do?
5. How often do you talk to your parents about things that you don't want others to know?
6. How often do you feel that your parents admire you?
7. How emotionally close you feel to your mother?

Table 6.5 Frequency of Conflict Questionnaire Items

Frequency of Conflict
Please tell me how often the following things happen between your parents and yourself.
1. How often do you and your parents disagree and quarrel?
2. How often do you and your parents argue with each other?
3. How often do you and your parents get upset with or mad at each other?

Table 6.6 Emotional Support Questionnaire Items

Emotional Support
Please tell me how often the following things happen between your parents and yourself.
1. How often do you give advice to your mother?
2. How often do you try to comfort your mother?
3. How often do you talk to your mother about her worries or sorrows?

Table 6.7 Functional Support Questionnaire Items

Functional Support
Please imagine that one of your parents has to stay in bed for several weeks after having a serious accident. Please indicate the extent to which you would tolerate the following things in order to help *your injured parent* (e.g., do more work around the house, care for your injured parent, spend more time at home). To what extent would you tolerate: 1. …hardship in your friendships? 2. …a reduction in the time available for school success? 3. …emotional stress? 4. …a reduction in the time available for other obligations or duties? 5. …a reduction in your free time?

Table 6.8 Maternal Expectancy Questionnaire Items

Maternal Expectancy
Please tell me the extent to which you expect the following kinds of help from a *grown-up son/daughter*.
1. that s/he continues living close to you.
2. that s/he helps you with housework.
3. that s/he provides financial assistance to you.
4. that s/he cares for you when you are old.
5. that s/he provides emotional support to you.

Appendix B

Table 7.1 Correlation Matrix for Turkish Sample

	Parental acceptance	Parental rejection	Positive valence	Frequency conflict	Emotional support	Invested support	Maternal expectancy
Parental acceptance	1	-.420	.658	-.276	.353	.202	-.105
Parental rejection	-.420	1	-.303	.362	.002	-.080	.180
Positive valence	.658	-.303	1	-.133	.446	.240	-.058
Frequency of Conflict	-.276	.362	-.133	1	.058	.032	-.103
Emotional support	.353	.002	.446	.058	1	.259	.108
Invested support	.202	-.080	.240	.032	.259	1	-.057
Maternal expectancy	-.105	.180	-.058	-.103	.108	-.057	1

Table 7.2 Correlation Matrix for Turkish Urban Middle Class Sub-sample

	Parental acceptance	Parental rejection	Positive valence	Frequency conflict	Emotional support	Invested support	Maternal expectancy
Parental acceptance	1	-.612	.689	-.455	.387	.122	-.266
Parental rejection	-.612	1	-.407	.489	-.189	-.022	.134
Positive valence	.689	-.407	1	-.292	.440	.177	-.093
Frequency of Conflict	-.455	.489	-.292	1	-.072	.025	.120
Emotional support	.387	-.189	.440	-.072	1	.212	.013
Invested support	.122	-.022	.177	.025	.212	1	-.233
Maternal expectancy	-.266	.134	-.093	.120	.013	-.233	1

Table 7.3 Correlation Matrix for Turkish Urban Low SES Sub-sample

	Parental acceptance	Parental rejection	Positive valence	Frequency conflict	Emotional support	Invested support	Maternal expectancy
Parental acceptance	1	-.430	.663	-.322	.327	.105	-.044
Parental rejection	-.430	1	-.393	.389	-.054	-.038	-.037
Positive valence	.663	-.393	1	-.181	.575	.090	-.134
Frequency of Conflict	-.322	.389	-.181	1	.030	-.053	-.050
Emotional support	.327	-.054	.575	.030	1	.237	-.041
Invested support	.105	-.038	.090	-.053	.237	1	.095
Maternal expectancy	-.044	-.037	-.134	-.050	-.041	.095	1

Table 7.4 Correlation Matrix for Turkish Rural Sub-sample

	Parental acceptance	Parental rejection	Positive valence	Frequency conflict	Emotional support	Invested support	Maternal expectancy
Parental acceptance	1	-.353	.627	-.180	.371	.297	-.043
Parental rejection	-.353	1	-.231	.346	.039	-.123	.038
Positive valence	.627	-.231	1	-.044	.367	.365	.013
Frequency of Conflict	-.180	.346	-.044	1	.178	.032	-.215
Emotional support	.371	.039	.367	.178	1	.359	.084
Invested support	.297	-.123	.365	.032	.359	1	.100
Maternal expectancy	-.043	.038	.013	-.215	.084	.100	1

Table 7.5 Correlation Matrix for German Sample

	Parental acceptance	Parental rejection	Positive valence	Frequency conflict	Emotional support	Invested support	Maternal expectancy
Parental acceptance	1	-.533	.630	-.419	.305	.221	-.059
Parental rejection	-.533	1	-.371	.421	-.175	-.169	-.015
Positive valence	.630	-.371	1	-.292	.482	.270	.024
Frequency of Conflict	-.419	.421	-.292	1	.029	-.128	-.038
Emotional support	.305	-.175	.482	.029	1	.164	.034
Invested support	.221	-.169	.270	-.128	.164	1	.057
Maternal expectancy	-.059	-.015	.024	-.038	.034	.057	1

Appendix C

Table 8.1 Tukey HSD post hoc analysis statistics for comparisons of family patterns

Dependent Variable	(I) sample	(J) sample	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Lower Bound
Parental Acceptance	Rural	urban low	3.25321	2.09237	.405	-2.1369	8.6433
		urban middle	-.33821	2.08696	.998	-5.7144	5.0380
		German	.57399	1.68406	.986	-3.7643	4.9123
	Urban low	rural	-3.25321	2.09237	.405	-8.6433	2.1369
		Urban middle	-3.59142	2.13165	.333	-9.0827	1.8999
		German	-2.67922	1.73913	.414	-7.1594	1.8009
	Urban middle	rural	.33821	2.08696	.998	-5.0380	5.7144
		Urban low	3.59142	2.13165	.333	-1.8999	9.0827
		German	.91220	1.73262	.953	-3.5512	5.3756
	German	rural	-.57399	1.68406	.986	-4.9123	3.7643
		urban low	2.67922	1.73913	.414	-1.8009	7.1594
		Urban middle	-.91220	1.73262	.953	-5.3756	3.5512
Functional Support	Rural	urban low	8.07844(*)	2.97526	.034	.4140	15.7429
		urban middle	-4.23790	2.96757	.482	-11.8826	3.4068
		German	7.36469(*)	2.39365	.012	1.1985	13.5309
	Urban low	rural	-8.07844(*)	2.97526	.034	-15.7429	-.4140
		Urban middle	-12.31634(*)	3.03112	.000	-20.1247	-4.5080
		German	-.71375	2.47199	.992	-7.0818	5.6543
	Urban middle	rural	4.23790	2.96757	.482	-3.4068	11.8826
		Urban low	12.31634(*)	3.03112	.000	4.5080	20.1247
		German	11.60258(*)	2.46273	.000	5.2584	17.9467
	German	rural	-7.36469(*)	2.39365	.012	-13.5309	-1.1985
		urban low	.71375	2.47199	.992	-5.6543	7.0818
		Urban middle	-11.60258(*)	2.46273	.000	-17.9467	-5.2584

Maternal Expectancy	Rural	urban low	8.34335(*)	2.34660	.002	2.2984	14.3883
		urban middle	29.12231(*)	2.34054	.000	23.0930	35.1517
		German	41.30061(*)	1.88709	.000	36.4394	46.1619
	Urban low	rural	-8.34335(*)	2.34660	.002	-14.3883	-2.2984
		Urban middle	20.77896(*)	2.39065	.000	14.6205	26.9374
		German	32.95726(*)	1.94890	.000	27.9368	37.9777
	Urban middle	rural	-29.12231(*)	2.34054	.000	-35.1517	-23.0930
		Urban low	-20.77896(*)	2.39065	.000	-26.9374	-14.6205
		German	12.17830(*)	1.94160	.000	7.1766	17.1800
	German	rural	-41.30061(*)	1.88709	.000	-46.1619	-36.4394
		urban low	-32.95726(*)	1.94890	.000	-37.9777	-27.9368
		Urban middle	-12.17830(*)	1.94160	.000	-17.1800	-7.1766

* The mean difference is significant at the .05 level.

Table 8.2 Dunnet C post hoc analysis statistics for comparisons of family patterns

Dependent Variable	(I) sample	(J) sample	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Lower Bound
Parental Rejection	Rural	urban low	6.48930(*)	2.24394	.6303	12.3482
		urban middle	10.75332(*)	2.14272	5.1594	16.3472
		German	11.22252(*)	1.86464	6.3640	16.0811
	Urban low	rural	-6.48930(*)	2.24394	-12.3482	-.6303
		Urban middle	4.26403	1.92126	-.7562	9.2843
		German	4.73323(*)	1.60526	.5479	8.9186
	Urban middle	rural	-10.75332(*)	2.14272	-16.3472	-5.1594
		Urban low	-4.26403	1.92126	-9.2843	.7562
		German	.46920	1.46043	-3.3362	4.2746
	German	rural	-11.22252(*)	1.86464	-16.0811	-6.3640
		urban low	-4.73323(*)	1.60526	-8.9186	-.5479
		Urban middle	-.46920	1.46043	-4.2746	3.3362
Positive Valence	Rural	urban low	4.46011	3.22102	-3.9520	12.8722
		urban middle	.16710	3.12556	-7.9940	8.3282
		German	14.55650(*)	2.56592	7.8712	21.2419
	Urban low	rural	-4.46011	3.22102	-12.8722	3.9520
		Urban middle	-4.29300	2.99888	-12.1312	3.5452
		German	10.09640(*)	2.41001	3.8093	16.3835
	Urban middle	rural	-.16710	3.12556	-8.3282	7.9940
		Urban low	4.29300	2.99888	-3.5452	12.1312
		German	14.38940(*)	2.28086	8.4424	20.3364
	German	rural	-14.55650(*)	2.56592	-21.2419	-7.8712
		urban low	-10.09640(*)	2.41001	-16.3835	-3.8093
		Urban middle	-14.38940(*)	2.28086	-20.3364	-8.4424

Frequency of Conflict	Rural	urban low	5.56482	3.66777	-4.0133	15.1429
		urban middle	-3.34174	3.40503	-12.2319	5.5484
		German	8.30092(*)	2.82916	.9256	15.6763
	Urban low	rural	-5.56482	3.66777	-15.1429	4.0133
		Urban middle	-8.90657(*)	3.25637	-17.4170	-.3961
		German	2.73610	2.64838	-4.1768	9.6490
	Urban middle	rural	3.34174	3.40503	-5.5484	12.2319
		Urban low	8.90657(*)	3.25637	.3961	17.4170
		German	11.64266(*)	2.27059	5.7195	17.5658
	German	rural	-8.30092(*)	2.82916	-15.6763	-.9256
		urban low	-2.73610	2.64838	-9.6490	4.1768
		Urban middle	-11.64266(*)	2.27059	-17.5658	-5.7195
Emotional Support	Rural	urban low	5.46713	3.58909	-3.9054	14.8396
		urban middle	9.97290(*)	3.35324	1.2179	18.7279
		German	27.13622(*)	2.73641	20.0067	34.2657
	Urban low	rural	-5.46713	3.58909	-14.8396	3.9054
		Urban middle	4.50578	3.38570	-4.3411	13.3527
		German	21.66909(*)	2.77609	14.4271	28.9111
	Urban middle	rural	-9.97290(*)	3.35324	-18.7279	-1.2179
		Urban low	-4.50578	3.38570	-13.3527	4.3411
		German	17.16332(*)	2.46359	10.7405	23.5862
	German	rural	-27.13622(*)	2.73641	-34.2657	-20.0067
		urban low	-21.66909(*)	2.77609	-28.9111	-14.4271
		Urban middle	-17.16332(*)	2.46359	-23.5862	-10.7405
Strict Parenting	Rural	urban low	6.42100(*)	2.45799	.0033	12.8387
		urban middle	11.57941(*)	2.35524	5.4308	17.7280
		German	11.96285(*)	2.05151	6.6165	17.3091
	Urban low	rural	-6.42100(*)	2.45799	-12.8387	-.0033
		Urban middle	5.15842	2.06793	-.2451	10.5619
		German	5.54185(*)	1.71403	1.0724	10.0113
	Urban middle	rural	-11.57941(*)	2.35524	-17.7280	-5.4308
		Urban low	-5.15842	2.06793	-10.5619	.2451
		German	.38343	1.56311	-3.6901	4.4570
	German	rural	-11.96285(*)	2.05151	-17.3091	-6.6165
		urban low	-5.54185(*)	1.71403	-10.0113	-1.0724
		Urban middle	-.38343	1.56311	-4.4570	3.6901

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