

SOCIOECONOMIC-RELATED DIFFERENCES
IN TURKISH MOTHERS' AUTONOMY GRANTING TO ADOLESCENTS



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in Turkish Mothers' Autonomy Granting to Adolescents

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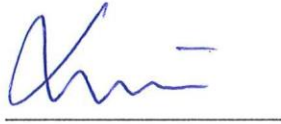
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ABSTRACT

Socioeconomic-Related Differences

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This study aims to gain insight into mothers of adolescence's conceptualization of the adolescence period and their understanding toward adolescence's autonomy in the context of their socioeconomic status (SES), more specifically their education level. The sample consisted of 20 high-SES ($M_{\text{age}} = 45.87$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 3.51$) and 20 low-SES mothers ($M_{\text{age}} = 40.20$, $SD_{\text{age}} = 4.93$) who have children in the mid-adolescence period (20 girls, 20 boys, $M_{\text{age}} = 15.71$, $SD_{\text{age}} = .55$). For data collection, each mother was interviewed in-depth individually and filled out a demographic information form. Mothers were asked to describe the period of adolescence, its difference from childhood and adulthood, as well as their expectations of a well-functioning adolescent. Finally, mothers were asked to reflect on possible generational differences in autonomy granting. Results revealed that mothers from low-SES were more likely to associate the adolescence period with children's experience of anger, annoyance, and negative mood than high-SES mothers. It was also found that high-SES mothers mentioned about individualistic competences and low-SES mothers mentioned about relational competences when they describe a well-functioning adolescence based on their maternal beliefs. There were also differences in some topics of psychological autonomy granting (asking for child's opinions and voicing own opinions) between two groups of mothers, mothers from high-SES group who indicated their positive attitude toward this dimension of autonomy were more than low-SES group. Generational differences were also more apparent in the

response of low-SES mothers, while high-SES mothers mentioned about more similarities with their own parents.



ÖZET

Türk Annelerinin Ergenlik Dönemindeki Özerklik Açısından Sosyoekonomik-İlişkili Farklılıkları

Bu çalışma ergen yaşta çocuğu olan annelerin ergenlik dönemine ve ergenlik dönemindeki özerklik kavramına dair inançlarını ve beklentilerini katılımcıların sosyoekonomik seviyelerini, özellikle eğitim durumlarını, göz önünde bulundurarak araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmaya 20 yüksek eğitilmiş ($Ortalama_{yaş} = 45.87$, $SS = 3.51$) ve 20 düşük eğitilmiş anne ($Ortalama_{yaş} = 40.20$, $SS = 4.93$) katılmıştır. Katılımcıların çocuklarının erken ergenlik döneminde olması dikkate alınmıştır (20 kız, 20 erkek, $Ortalama_{yaş} = 15.71$, $SS = .55$). Veri toplama sürecinden önce her katılımcı, çalışmaya katılımını onaylamış ve demografik bilgi formunu doldurmuştur. Daha sonrasında araştırmacı her katılımcı ile birebir ve yüzyüze görüşerek röportajları tamamlamıştır. Röportaj sorularında annelerden ergenlik dönemine dair tanımlamalarını, bu dönemin çocukluktan ve yetişkinlikten farklarını, “iyi bir ergen” kavramına dair inançlarını, ergenlikteki davranışsal ve psikolojik özerklik konularına dair görüşlerini ve kendi annelerine olan benzerliklerini değerlendirmeleri istenmiştir. Sonuçlar düşük eğitilmiş annelerin yüksek eğitilmiş annelere göre ergenlik kavramını agresyon, öfke ve sinir gibi daha negatif tanımlamalarla ilişkilendirdiklerini göstermiştir. Ayrıca, “iyi bir ergen” tanımının düşük eğitilmiş annelere göre daha ilişkisel kazanımlar, yüksek eğitilmiş annelere göre daha bireysel kazanımlar içerdiği gözlenmiştir. Psikolojik özerklik konularının çocuğun fikrini alınmasını ve çocuğun ebeveynlerinden farklı görüşlerini ifade edebilmesini içeren alt dalları ise yüksek eğitilmiş annelerin cevaplarında daha fazla

ortaya çıkmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, kendi ebeveynlerini değerlendirmeleri istendiğinde yüksek eğitimli anneler kendileri ile ebeveynleri arasında daha fazla benzerlikten, düşük eğitimli anneler ise daha fazla farklılıktan bahsetmişlerdir.



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Adolescence is an important developmental period of human life for autonomy development. Autonomy is considered as one of the basic needs to satisfy psychological well-being according to the self-determination theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985). One's autonomy serves as self-governance, self-reliance and independent decision making process (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986; Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). These benefits of autonomy contribute to healthy identity achievement (Kroger, 2003) and self-esteem in adolescence (Bean & Northrup, 2009). There is also evidence that autonomous adolescents have more control over their own behaviors and show more competent decision-making processes (Wray-Lake, Crouter & McHale, 2010). In addition, increasing autonomy during adolescence acts to decrease the impact of parents and peers on adolescents' behaviors (Brown, Clasen, & Eicher, 1986, Chan & Chan, 2013). It means that adolescents with a high level of autonomy have their own sense of individuation, which in turn protects them from peer pressure and parental psychological control (Brown et. al., 1986; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986), both of which have been associated negatively with adolescents' self-esteem and autonomy development in Western cultures (Barber & Harmon, 2002).

Parental ethnotheories are the reflection of a culture's belief system about children's social, cognitive and emotional development (Kärtner, Keller, Lamm, Abels, Yovsi & Chaudhary, 2007; Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2001). In other words, parents from various cultures show differences in terms of their demands and prediction for their children's abilities (Feldman & Quatman, 1988; McElhaney & Allen, 2012). The main

aim of this study was to explore parental ethnotheories among Turkish mothers of adolescents with a particular focus on autonomy development. Socioeconomic status (SES) of mothers was a key variable in this study to examine how parental ethnotheory profiles may differ with respect to autonomy conceptualization as a function of SES.



CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Self-determination theory (SDT)

The evaluation of innate psychological needs of human-beings is always a significant research area to understand the underlying motivations of behaviors. Self-determination theory (SDT) is one of the theories that provide information about the backgrounds of human motivation. The theory implies that each person has basic needs for adjustment, psychological health and well-being (Deci & Ryan, 1985; 2000; 2008). According to SDT, the basic needs of human-beings are competence, autonomy, and relatedness. Competence refers to one's ability to master tasks at hand and a sense of self-efficacy when dealing with the environment (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Autonomy, on the other hand, refers to self-endorsed and self-initiated actions (Deci & Ryan, 1987; Niemiec & Ryan, 2009). Thus, being autonomous implies feeling free to pursue one's own goals and desires (Deci & Ryan, 2000). Finally, relatedness is a need for connecting with others and having a sense of belongingness. Human-beings have a tendency to take actions to satisfy these needs, which in return contributes to their psychological development and growth (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Needs for competence, autonomy, and relatedness could be satisfied within the context of one's social environment, and the fulfillment of these needs helps the individual engage in activities that bring positive outcomes (Grolnick, Gurland, DeCoursey & Jacob, 2002). Parents play a huge role to organize the children's environment and teach them to satisfy their needs by affecting their motivation. Parents

who use autonomy granting allow children to think, explore and decide on their own, provide them opportunities to meet challenges (Froiland, 2011; Ng, Kenney-Benson & Pomerantz, 2004). This approach acts to enhance adolescents' feeling of competence and relatedness, and it contributes to their motivation to engage in an activity (Deci & Ryan, 1987).

2.2 Autonomy need in adolescence

According to the World Health Organization's (WHO) report (1986), the period of adolescence is defined between the ages of 10 and 19. This period is accepted as a transition from childhood to adulthood in terms of both biological processes such as puberty, physical maturation, and alterations in hormone levels (Susman & Rogol, 2004) and psychosocial processes (Normi, 2004). More specifically, the period until the end of age 14 is classified as "early adolescence" (WHO, 1986). Through the end of this age, adolescents' cognitive maturity increases accompanied by puberty (Lerner & Steinberg, 2009). Earlier descriptions of adolescence put more emphasis on its "dark side", meaning that it was associated with more stress and difficulties (Hall, 1904). However, recent studies showed that adolescence is the period which involve massive changes both physically and mentally and this should provide opportunities to families to strengthen positive development (Lerner & Steinberg, 2009; Lerner, Boyd & Du, 2010). The development of adolescence includes both individual competencies such as the development of identity, self-conception, self-esteem, and gender (Normi, 2004; Steinberg & Morris, 2001) and interpersonal relationships with others such as parents

(Steinberg, 2001) and peers (Ryan, 2001). Adolescents demand more independence, but they also need parents' guidance to feel secure and supported (Eccles, 1999).

Erikson (1968) evaluated the psychosocial development throughout the life cycle and based his opinions on identity development during adolescence. In this time period, the person starts to explore the "self" by taking into account both his/her personal values and expectations from others to learn the adult roles and to fit into the society. Identity-achievement is important for self-esteem, autonomy development and well-being (Kroger, 2003; Nurmi, 2004). In addition, it is found that families of identity-achieved adolescents put emphasis on both individuality and connectedness while raising their children (Campbell, Adams & Dobson, 1984).

It is important to understand the unique meaning of autonomy by contrasting it with separation. Adolescent autonomy could be thought as separated from parents emotionally and physically (Soenens et. al., 2007). According to Kağıtçıbaşı (2013), autonomy is described as "self-governing agency" rather than "separateness." Therefore, in her definition, the "self" could be both autonomous and related to others as proposed in SDT (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000). Therefore, healthy autonomy is defined as a self-governing agency and an individual's freedom about reflecting their own beliefs and attitudes with the aim of self-fulfillment and self-maximization while maintaining close ties and preserving connections with parents (Herman, Dornbusch, Herron & Herting, 1997; Kağıtçıbaşı 2005, 2013; Keijsers, & Poulin 2013; Keller, 2016; Feldman & Wood, 1994).

The function of autonomy changes from childhood to adolescence period. In toddlerhood years, autonomy is more about realizing "self-awareness" (Mascolo &

Fischer, 2007). However, in adolescence, autonomy is more about gaining psychological maturity and being a competent individual as part of psychosocial development (Zimmer-Gembeck & Collins, 2003). It could be defined as a “need to express self and experience self as the source of action” (Skinner & Edge, 2002, p. 298). In addition, it is not only the concept of a person’s engaging an action by oneself, it is also a capacity to take responsibility for the results of that action and making decisions about one’s own life as a part of maturity (Crittenden, 1990; Inguglia, Ingoglia, Liga, Coco, & Cricchio, 2015).

In previous research, autonomy has also been defined by behavioral and psychological dimensions in various studies. Behavioral autonomy, frequently used in adolescents’ autonomy research, refers to regulating and applying one’s own actions and responsibilities, such as choosing one’s hairstyle or clothes, doing homework without being reminded (Feldman & Quatman, 1988; Feldman & Wood, 1994; Özdemir & Çok, 2011). On the other hand, psychological autonomy places more emphasis on emotional and cognitive components of autonomy (Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998). Emotional autonomy, which increases during the early adolescence, includes the individuation from parents and a sense of de-idealization of parents, whereas cognitive autonomy relates to personal freedom to choose one’s own attitudes (Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Brody (2003) argued that emotionally autonomous adolescents are more capable of finding their own solutions when they are struggling rather than depending on others. Cognitively autonomous adolescents have the ability to rely on their own personal opinions and beliefs, also negotiate, and appreciate different perspectives (Allen, Hauser, O’Connor & Bell, 2002).

2.3 Autonomy granting parenting

The benefits of autonomy and relatedness are also mentioned in SDT as two psychological needs of human-beings to protect psychological health, effective functioning, and well-being (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2000, 2008). When parents' socialization goals and parent-child relationships are investigated, autonomy granting is defined as "the extent to which parents employ non-coercive, democratic discipline and encourage the adolescent to express their individuality" (Gray & Steinberg, 1999, p. 577). Autonomy granting parents are more likely to be respectful of their children's decisions and encourage them to express their preferences (Zimmer-Gembeck & Collins, 2003) and allow them to pursue their goals (Barber & Olsen, 1997). Controlling behavior, on the other hand, includes using external pressure to regulate someone's thoughts or behaviors (Deci & Ryan, 2008). Parents who use controlling behavior try to regulate and change their children's behavior by giving punishment, restrictions, threats or deadlines. This approach prevents the fulfillment of psychological needs (Ng et. al., 2004; Deci & Ryan, 1987).

Not surprisingly, parents' use of controlling behavior causes to antisocial behavioral problems, anxiety, and depression in adolescents (Aunola, Tolvanen, Viljaranta & Nurmi, 2013; Hudson & Rapee, 2001; Nanda, Kotchick & Grover, 2012; Pettit, Laird, Dodge, Bates & Criss, 2001; Van der Kaap-Deeder, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, & Mabbe, 2017). On the other hand, adolescents who experience more autonomy granting, are more likely to report higher self-esteem (Bean & Northrup, 2009), make healthy decisions in their lives such as not smoking (Williams, Cox,

Kouides & Deci, 1999), and endorse better general well-being (Chirkov & Ryan, 2001; Helgeson, 1994; Soenens et. al., 2007; Zimmer-Gembeck & Collins, 2003).

2.4 Ethnotheories of parental autonomy granting

Researchers showed that a majority of factors affect parents' autonomy granting. Of particular importance to the present study are parental ethnotheories and differences in parental ethnotheories with respect to family socioeconomic status.

According to Hofstede (1981, 1984), culture is defined as “a collective programming of mind.” Differences in value systems are reflected in differences in thoughts, behaviors, actions, and words. People, who belong to the same cultural group, have the same language, traditions, socialization goals and a similar way of expressing themselves (Hofstede, 1981). As parenting is shaped by the differences of the sociocultural environments (Lamm, Keller, Yovsi & Chaudhary, 2008), caregivers from different cultural backgrounds show distinct “parental ethnotheories” that embrace their socialization goals as well as shared understanding about child rearing practices (Keller, 2003; Super and Harkness, 1997) as guided by their culture's belief system (Lamm et al., 2008).

The developmental niche framework (Super & Harkness, 1986) also aims to analyze how culture shapes ethnotheories. According to the developmental niche, there are three subsystems surrounding the child that shape the child's developmental experiences. The first subsystem refers to the physical and social settings in which the child lives such as the features of living space, environmental materials, and the presence of parents and siblings. The second subsystem consists of the culturally

regulated customs of child care and child rearing such as the way of sleeping, nurturing, carrying an infant (Super & Harkness, 1986). Finally, the third subsystem refers to the psychology of caretakers and their cultural belief systems as well as the developmental expectations which are called “parental ethnotheories” (Super & Harkness, 1986; 1997)

As an example of an individualistic cultural context, parents from the US value the independent self. Although social responsiveness and relatedness with others are important, self-assertion and independent actions of individual selves are prioritized over group needs (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Hence, personal choices, autonomous behaviors, self-esteem, and self-maximizations are more stressed than values of interdependence. Therefore, an autonomous child who can follow his/her own preferences, take responsibilities for actions and realize his/her full potential reflect caregiver values in parental ethnotheories (Tamis-LeMonda, Way, Hughes, Yoshikawa, Kaiman & Niwa, 2007). On the other hand, in collectivist Asian cultures, interdependence, connections to the family, orientation to larger groups, respect, obedience and harmonious social relations are more salient (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Smetana, 2002). Therefore, children who accepts parents as an authority figure and prioritize the needs of family members are emphasized in parental ethnotheories (Tamis-LeMonda et. al., 2007).

Research supports that mainstream American families emphasize independence and individual achievements as valued socialization goals, whereas immigrant populations or minority groups from Asian countries emphasize values about group identity and community identity (Edwards, Knoche, Aukrust, Kumru, & Kim, 2005). Chao (2000) has also documented that Chinese mothers place more importance on

respecting the older family members and honoring the family than European American mothers, whereas European American mothers emphasize self-esteem and curiosity more than Chinese mothers.

Keller and Greenfield (2000) pointed out that adolescence is not only considered as a short period in collectivistic cultures but also associated with taking early responsibilities for the financial support of the family. It is also found that in cultures that hold more collectivistic values (e.g. Asian, Latin, and Mexican culture), there is less emphasis on autonomous decision-making and giving independence. In this cultural context, parents of adolescents put greater emphasis on respect towards parental authority, interdependence, closeness with parents, and family support than parents from European-American background (Fuligni, 1998; Fuligni, Tseng & Lam, 1999; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000; Bulcroft, Carmody & Bulcroft, 1996; Roche, Little, Ghazarian, Lambert, Calzada & Schulenberg, 2019).

Previous studies also showed that Asian-American mothers have significantly later timetables about adolescents' autonomy-related behaviors in contrast to European-Americans (Feldman & Quatman, 1988), and immigrant mothers have delayed age expectations in contrast to non-immigrants (Roer-Stries & Rivlis, 1998). In addition, a study which was conducted with a Latino population who lives in the US investigated the parents' cultural orientation and age expectation for youth autonomy. It was observed that US-oriented parents granted more autonomy to their adolescents in decision-making than Latino-oriented parents (Roche, Caughy, Schuster, Bogart, Dittus & Franzini, 2014).

2.5 Socioeconomic status and ethnotheories

Ethnotheories also depend on the type of community (Kärtner et al., 2007), socioeconomic structure of a society, ecological levels, and the social class status of parents (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007; Magnusson & Duncan, 2002). Parental education, occupation, family income, and home resources are considered as important factors for determining the social status (Sirin, 2005). Of all these factors, education is believed to be a prominent indicator of SES because it gives cues about person's knowledge and cultural sense (Hollingshead, 1975). It is also stable and less likely to change in adulthood and constitutes a prerequisite of prestigious occupation (Hollingshead, 1975; McLoyd, 1998). In addition, Ensminge and Fothergill (2003) reviewed 359 articles to find out the most utilized component for the assessment of SES. They revealed that family education was the most visible and common indicator, used in 45% of the 359 articles. Differences in maternal education create differences in mothers' behaviors and cognitions. Bornstein and colleagues (2003) found that among other variables such as maternal age and employment, maternal education was the most significant predictor of maternal behaviors such as spending a longer time in nurturing, encouraging physical development, and speaking more to their infants. Research with adolescents revealed that maternal education was a major predictor of decrease in behavioral problems in adolescents (Carneiro, Meghir & Parey, 2013). Carneiro and colleagues concluded that more educated mothers provide better home environments to their children and they engage in high-quality interactions with their children.

It is found that lower-class parents were more likely to use punishment as a parenting strategy, and they were less likely to ask their children about their preferences

and respond to their needs promptly (McLoyd, 1990; Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997; McLeod, & Shanahan, 1993). On the other hand, middle and/or higher-class parents were more likely to use child-centered parenting strategies. In other words, they were more likely to put emphasis on their children's emotional needs and autonomous behaviors (Kelley, Power & Wimbush, 1992; Spera, 2005). As another example, Smetana (2000) pointed out that societal changes arising from maternal education and family income contribute to differences in parental ethnotheories. It is found that African-American mothers from upper-income families gave their children more opportunity to experience freedom and less authoritarian parenting practices in contrast to African-American mothers from low-income families (Smetana, 2000).

Martinez and colleagues (2012) made interviews both low-SES and high-SES groups of Chilean mothers about their understanding of autonomy granting. Results showed that low income groups of mothers put more emphasis on self-sufficiency when describing the meaning of autonomy and they point out the society norms, the importance of accepting rules and respect when they mention about the autonomous teenager. However, high-SES parents put more emphasis on independent decision-making and taking responsibility also the quality of communication between them and their children and not being an authority figure.

2.6 Generational differences

There are also generational differences in parental ethnotheories. Although mothers and grandmothers are born and live in the same culture, they have a different understanding of child care practices and socialization goals due to social changes (Keller &

Greenfield, 2000). To illustrate differences in parental ethnotheories through generation, Lamm and colleagues (2008) conducted a study, which involved mothers and grandmothers from three nations: Berlin (Germany), Delhi (India), rural regions of Cameroon, and urban regions of Cameroon. Results implicated that mothers' ethnotheories about child-rearing of younger children put more emphasis on autonomous functioning, whereas grandmothers' ethnotheories focus more on interpersonal relationships and group harmony. This research also revealed that the most apparent difference between the generations emerged in urban regions of Cameroon, which may have resulted from the rapid changes in living conditions and women's educational status in this area. In addition, another study indicated that there was an increase in subjects of child autonomy and self-expression, and decrease in obedience across generations (Zhou, Yiu, Wu & Greenfield 2017).

2.7 Gender differences

Autonomy granting could differ in terms of the adolescents' gender especially in some cultures. A study conducted by Feldman and Rosenthal (1990) contrasted Chinese-Americans and Chinese-Australian adolescents in terms of autonomy expectations. It revealed that there were more gender differences in Australian sample than American sample. For instance, Chinese-Australians male adolescents had earlier age expectations than females in terms of behavioral autonomy topics like going to a party or going out on dates. As a reason of this, researchers discussed that higher percentage of women working in the United States could create an understanding of the increased role of women in society and decreased in gender differences. In addition, parental monitoring

or knowledge were shaped by gender (Crouter, Helms-Erikson, Updegraff & McHale, 1999). A previous study showed that girls were more likely to be monitored than boys in the families with more traditional attitudes (Dishion & McMahon, 1998). On the other hand, it was found in the high-SES Chilean mother's interview, gender is not a factor to create a difference between early or later maternal autonomy granting among siblings from different sex, instead age is the factor to create this difference (Martínez, Pérez & Cumsille, 2012).

2.8 Parental ethnotheories in Turkey: value of children and the family change model

In the 1970s, an interdisciplinary group of researchers from different cultures conducted the "Value of Children" (VoC) study to investigate the values which parents from different cultural backgrounds ascribe to their children. More than 20.000 respondents from Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, the United States, and Germany were interviewed. The study identified that parents held different values regarding their children (Hoffman & Hoffman 1973; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). First, parents who strongly endorsed utilitarian values were mainly concerned about their children's financial contribution to the family as the old-age security of elderly parents. Social values, as a part of utilitarian values, are about the importance of having children and maintaining the family name. Social values are also called as "son preference" because it is thought that having a son is a way for the continuation of the family name and old-age security of parents (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). These values were endorsed more commonly in less developed countries and rural areas because of the economic reasons of these families. On the contrary, psychological value of the child

that involves the feelings of happiness and pride about having children is more commonly endorsed in urban areas and among educated parents (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).

Based on the findings of the VOC study, Kağıtçıbaşı proposed a theory of family change (1985, 1990, 2007). In this theory, she described three different family models: the family model of interdependence, independence, and psychological interdependence.

In the family model of interdependence, less educated, urban or rural-origin parents place a relatively more important role in collectivistic values like dependence, obedience, and relatedness with others. Therefore, utilitarian values and son preferences are commonly endorsed in this family model (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996, 2007). Autonomy is not the desired child rearing practices because an autonomous child is seen as a threat, who may grow up as an independent adult and prefer his/her own separateness over old-age security (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). On the other hand, family model of independence characterizes educated parents who live in the urban areas in individualistic cultures (e.g., US, Germany). Relatively permissive parenting which includes the development of separate self, self-reliance, minimum intergenerational dependencies is preferred and values like independence, separateness, and autonomy granting in childrearing are given more emphasis over relatedness (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). Therefore, children's psychological value is more commonly endorsed in this family model (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).

Finally, Kağıtçıbaşı has argued that families experiencing growing urbanization and modernization in collectivistic cultures do not transit from the first family model to the second model. Instead, Kağıtçıbaşı described a third family model, the model of psychological interdependence. In this model, close-knit relations and family loyalties are still protected, yet more autonomy granting is observed in contrast to the family

model of interdependence. Connectedness between family members are not based on material interdependence as the first model implies, instead, it is based on emotional interdependence. Therefore, the autonomous child is not seen as a threat for old-age security, also decrease in son preference and utilitarian values is observed (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007, 2013). In 2003, a partial replication of Value of Children (VoC II) project was conducted by Kağıtçıbaşı. This study included only Turkish female respondents from four different generations; mothers of preschoolers (younger mothers), mothers of 15 years old adolescents (older mothers), adolescents and the grandmothers of adolescents participated. The profile of sample size reflected the socioeconomic changes in Turkey in an extensive way (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005).

According to results, there was an observed increase in psychological reasons and a decrease in utilitarian reasons and social reasons for wanting a child. In addition, son preference and the material expectations from a grown-up child were low in the second study (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Based on the desired qualities results, when items “minding the parents” and “being a good person” were the most desired qualities in the VoC I, these were the least desired items in the second study, except for grandmothers (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005).

When the second study was evaluated in terms of generational differences and social strata, it was found that grandmothers gave more importance to utilitarian reasons than mothers. Also, son preference and maintaining the family name were rated as more important by grandmothers. In addition, mothers from the rural region had the most material expectations from their child like “financial assistance to siblings”, “financial assistance to you”, and “cares for you when you are old” followed by the mothers from

the urban low-SES group. The urban high-SES group expected the least material expectations from their children.

When expectation from both sons and daughters were taken into account, gender differences were most visible in items with financial concerns among mothers from the rural region than the other groups. In other words, mothers from rural groups had more expectations from their sons to contribute their family income and had more expectations from their daughters to help with housework. In terms of desired qualities results, obedience and success at school were desired more strongly in the rural group and urban low-SES group, but independence and self-reliance were desired less strongly in contrast to urban high-SES groups. An ideal number of children was the highest in rural groups and urban low-SES groups than urban high-SES groups (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005).

Similar to Kağıtçıbaşı study, Yağmurlu and colleagues (2009) also found that highly-educated Turkish mothers of preschoolers put more emphasis on autonomy, self enhancement, and self-esteem than less-educated Turkish mothers when they described child socialization goals.

There are few studies that investigate autonomy in the period of adolescence with Turkish samples. First of all, Özdemir (2012) found that Turkish adolescents who define themselves as autonomous and relational have higher scores in life satisfaction and subjective well-being scales than adolescents who define themselves only as autonomous. In addition, Hamurcu (2011) found that adolescents from higher SES families stated more need for autonomy than adolescents from lower SES families. This finding also supports the role of maternal education in autonomy granting. In terms of

gender, male adolescents stated more need for autonomy than female adolescents. The author discussed this situation as the differences in opportunities which are given boys and girls in Turkish culture; giving fewer opportunities to female adolescents and raising them with this understanding make them feel less need in terms of autonomy.

2.9 The current study

Most research on differences in parental ethnotheories was conducted for early childhood (Super, Harkness & van Tijen, 2000; Keller, Yovsi & Voelker, 2002; Keller, Voelker, & Yovsi, 2005; Harwood, Schoelmerich, Schulze & Gonzalez, 1999; Lamm et al., 2008; Yağmurlu, Çıtlak, Dost & Leyendecker, 2009; Aukrust, Edwards, Kumru, Knochen & Kim, 2003). Ethnotheories concerning the caregiving of adolescents have been less investigated. Thus, the current study focused on mothers of 15- and 16-year-old adolescent boys and girls. This age range refers to the end of early adolescence period as adolescents spend more time outside the home and need both independence as well as support and guidance from their parents (Eccles, 1999). In light of previous studies, there are some gaps in the literature. First of all, maternal beliefs and parental ethnotheories for the period of adolescence in general and for autonomy, in particular, have not been investigated to date with Turkish mothers. Although maternal beliefs about younger children's socialization goals were studied by semi-structured interviews (Yağmurlu et al., 2009), mothers of adolescents were not included. In addition, SES differences with regard to autonomy granting in adolescence have not been a major focus in past Turkish developmental research. Although the VoC study (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005) has provided extensive information about cultural and socioeconomic differences

in socialization goals of both mothers living in urban and rural regions of Turkey, this study was not specifically about parental autonomy granting.

Therefore, in the current study, the first goal was to understand low- and high-SES mothers' ethnotheories with respect to how they conceptualized the adolescence period, what are their perception of age range, how they differentiated the period of adolescence from childhood and adulthood, their expectations of a well-functioning adolescent, and their interpretation about what makes them happy and concerned about their children, as they described.

The second goal was to better understand mothers' conceptualization of autonomy. In light of past research (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; 2005; 2007; Martínez, et. al. 2012), it was expected that low-SES mothers would hold more collectivistic beliefs about autonomous adolescents and focus more on "obedience," "being respectful," and "importance of following directions" in their portrayal. On the other hand, we expected that high-SES mothers' view of autonomous adolescents would involve an emphasis on features of individualistic cultures like "self-governance," "independent decision-making," "being free to pursue goals," and "self-maximization" in their endorsements.

Third, the current study focused on mothers' expectations toward behavioral and psychological autonomy as whether their children would achieve certain competencies in this age. We investigated how autonomy expectations of mothers from two different SES backgrounds are distinguished in various dimensions of autonomy. It was expected that low-SES mothers would express less autonomy granting attributes in behavioral autonomy questions. In addition, it was also expected that low-SES mothers would indicate less autonomy granting attributes in psychological autonomy questions. related

to asking children's opinion, expressing their individuality in conflicts and their ability to solve a problem on their own as a part of psychological autonomy.

Fourth, mothers were asked about their expectations toward their children's contribution to the housework and also working in a job. It was aimed to see that how two groups of mothers are different from each in terms of their expectations from their children in family environment. It was aimed to see two groups of mothers would expect their children to help housework but it was also aimed that low-SES mothers would more likely to express their positive opinions about their children's working as consistent with utilitarian values which was endorsed in VoC studies (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982, 2007; Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005).

Fifth, it was also aimed to investigate how mothers' expectations or understanding were shaped based on their children's gender. It was aimed to observe low-SES mothers would have more gender-stereotypical attitudes when they discussed about adolescence period and dimensions of autonomy.

Finally, mothers were asked to think their own adolescence period and their parents' practices. Then, they were asked to compare themselves and evaluate how they are different from them or how they are similar with them. It was expected that low-SES mothers indicated more differences and high-SES mothers indicated more similarities.

CHAPTER 3

METHOD

3.1 Participants

The sample comprised of 40 low- and high SES mothers of adolescents from Ankara.

High-SES and Low-SES mothers were grouped by taking into account their total years of education. In the High-SES group ($n = 20$), mothers' total years of education ranged from 15 to 22 years ($M = 16.15$ years, $SD = 1.75$). In the Low-SES group ($n = 20$), mothers' total years of education ranged from 0 to 9 years ($M = 5.70$, $SD = 2.00$).

Children in both groups were on average 15 years. Child gender was distributed equally across two groups (low-SES group = 10 girls, 10 boys; high-SES group = 10 girls, 10 boys). Child and family characteristics were presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Child and Family Characteristics

	High SES ($n=20$) (10 Female, 10 Male)				Low SES ($n=20$) (10 Female, 10 Male)				<i>p</i>
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>	
Age of Child (years)	15.57	0.58	14.86	16.85	15.84	0.50	14.83	16.62	
Number of Sibling	0.80	1.00	0	4	1.55	1.15	0	5	*
Birth Order	1.30	0.57	1	3	1.30	0.47	1	2	
Age of Mother (years)	45.87	3.51	40.04	52.58	40.20	4.93	33.40	52.73	***
Maternal Employment	95%				40%				***
Marital Status (% married)	95%				90%				
Years of Education (mother)	16.15	1.75	15	22	5.70	2.00	0	9	***
Age of Father (years)	47.40	3.72	42.40	54.34	42.30	4.52	35	53	***
Paternal Employment (%)	90%				90%				
Years of Education (father)	15	2.53	11	22	8.37	3.27	5	15	***
Total Income	5.35	0.68	4	6	2.30	0.92	1	5	***

Note. Test of significance between the samples were based on chi-square test for categorical variables and ANOVA for continuous variables. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

There was a significant difference between maternal and paternal education level, maternal occupation and age, as well as family income between these two groups. In the high SES group, mothers and fathers had more years of education, a higher percentage of mothers were employed, mothers were older, and were more likely to work in jobs which require university degree and professional background (i.e. economist, doctor, psychological counselor, engineer, etc.). Finally, family income level was significantly higher in the high SES group compared to the low-SES group.

Participants were recruited from different sources such as courses which offered by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality for adult women and private teaching institutions in both low-SES and high-SES neighborhoods in Ankara. In addition, snowball sampling was also used for recruitment. Participant mothers contacted with their friends and encouraged them to contribute this research.

3.2 Procedure

Before starting the data collection process a pilot study was conducted with three mothers from both low and high socioeconomic status to check the comprehensibility of the interview questions. Following these pilot interviews, revisions have been made to finalize the questions.

Interviews were conducted from July 2018 till December 2018. All administrations were held in a quite and convenient place such as in the family's home, at the child's school or in a room in private teaching institution or at a sports club. Each mother was interviewed individually. The whole interview was conducted by the graduate student and audiotaped for later verbatim transcription and coding. Prior to

each interview, mothers were given a consent form to obtain their willingness to participate in the study (see Appendix A). Mothers also completed a demographic information form and answered the questions of the interviewer. On average, the interviews lasted 22 minutes ($SD = 13$, range from 10 minutes to 1 hour). Interview duration with high SES mothers lasted on average 28 minutes ($SD = 15$, range from 14 minutes to 1 hour) and was significantly longer than the duration with low-SES mothers that lasted on average 16 minutes ($SD = 5$, 9 minutes to 34 minutes).

3.3 Measures

3.3.1 Demographic information form

Mothers were asked to complete demographic information form to obtain information about the child's age and gender, number of siblings, birth order, mother's age, father's age, mothers' educational level (in years), father's educational level (in years), mother's occupation, father's occupation, and parental income (see Appendix B).

3.3.2 Interview

Interview questions were ordered from general to specific domains to obtain mothers' description of period of adolescence, how mothers see adolescence different from childhood and adulthood, parental expectations of a well-functioning adolescent, parental interpretation about what makes them happy and concerned about their adolescent-aged children.

In addition, interview questions also included dimensions of autonomy. Mothers were asked follow-up questions about behavioral and psychological autonomy. They

were asked whether or not their child should be engaged in a list of activity (see Appendix C) and should be allowed to be free about each of the given situations in terms of his/her values, beliefs and individual preferences. Behavioral autonomy questions tapped about privileges and responsibilities based on previous studies (Feldman & Quatman, 1988; Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998). Emotional Autonomy Scale (Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986), The Cognitive Autonomy and Self-Evaluation (CASE) inventory (Thompson, 2006), and the items about independence and personal choices (Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998) were also used for formulate interview questions about psychological autonomy (see Appendix C). Furthermore, mothers were also asked about possible generational differences with their caregivers. Passages from the interviews were provided to illustrate each coding category in Turkish for further exploration (see Appendix D).

3.3.3 Coding of interviews

The interviews were transcribed by one coder. A total of three coders evaluated each transcription to discuss which topics were dominant and consistent across mothers' interview transcripts. Based on these themes, a coding criteria was by Mansour and colleagues' study about competent child (Mansour, Summers, Mone, Kathuria, Sanders & Friedlmeier, 2018) was also used to develop coding categories. All 40 transcripts were reviewed by three coders. Each coder determined the mothers who endorsed a statement from each coding category throughout the transcripts. Differences between their codings were discussed and a final set of codes was used for analysis (Syed & Nelson, 2015).

Frequency counts were completed to obtain how many times mothers endorsed a given theme in their interview transcript. These frequency counts were subjected to statistical analyses. One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used to compare the frequencies of answers. The total number of each coding category was subjected to Intraclass Correlation (ICC) inter-rater reliability because of the continuous nature of the variable. Mean ICC coefficients between the raters was .94 (range from .92 to .97), which were classified as “excellent agreement” (Koo & Li, 2016). For the questions which required categorical variables as an answer, Chi-square analyses were conducted.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 Mothers' conceptualization of the adolescence period

Interviews started with the question to evaluate mothers' opinions toward the timetable of adolescence. Each mother was requested to indicate the start time and end time of the adolescence period based on their knowledge. In this question, it is important to take into consideration that adolescence period is different in terms of gender of children (Spear, 2002). Therefore, mothers' answers were summarized based on their children's gender (see Table 2).

Nineteen mothers from high-SES group gave specific start time. Of those mothers of girls, approximately half of them thought that adolescence starts by 12-13 years of age. Only 30% of the mothers of boys thought that adolescence starts by 12-13 years. About 40% endorsed 14- to 15-years of age as the start of adolescence for boys. Seventeen mothers from high-SES group gave specific end time. Majority of girls' mothers (63%) endorsed that adolescence ends by the age of 18 years, whereas only 11% of boys' mothers endorsed 18 years as the end period. Forty-five percent of boys' mothers endorsed 16-17 years of age as the end, and 44% extended the end period of adolescence till the age of 19-20 years. Two mothers of adolescence said that they don't know about the end time and they will observe while their children are growing up. One mother did not give any age neither for start time nor for end time and she said,

I believe that adolescence is a continuing process in every human being. I can't set a time. When my child was 2 years old, the child psychologist said that she had symptoms like adolescents. I think there is a 2-year situation. Similarly, when women are in menopause or men are in anthropos, we observe similar

behaviors that are also seen in adolescence. (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 1)

Table 2. Age Period of Adolescence Based on Common Answers of Mothers

High SES (n=20)				Low SES (n=20)			
Girls		Boys		Girls		Boys	
Start time (n=9)	End time (n=8)	Start time (n=10)	End time (n=9)	Start time (n=10)	End time (n=9)	Start time (n=10)	End time (n=8)
12 (33,3%)	18 (62,5%)	14 (30%)	20 (33,3%)	13 (40%)	18 (55.5%)	13 (30%)	20 (75%)
8 (22,3%)	20 (25%)	12 (20%)	17 (22,3%)	11 (20%)	20 (22.2%)	12 (30%)	18 (12.5%)
13 (22,3%)	16 (12,5%)	10 (10%)	16 (22,3%)	14 (10%)	16 (11.1%)	17(10%)	16 (12.5%)
11 (11,3%)		15 (10%)	19 (11,3%)	18 (10%)	15 (11.1%)	15(10%)	
14 (11,3%)		13 (10%)	18 (11,3%)	12 (10%)		14(10%)	
		8 (10%)		10 (10%)		11(10%)	
		7 (10%)					

In the case of low-SES mothers of girls, half of them also endorsed that adolescence starts by 12-13 years of age and ends by 18 years. Sixty percent of mothers of boys endorsed that adolescence starts by 12-13 years of age. Only 20% endorsed 14-15 years as the start. The majority of mothers of boys (75%) thought adolescence ends by 20 years of age. Three mothers said that they don't know about the end time.

Next, mothers were asked to reflect on the differences between adolescence and childhood as well as on the differences between adolescence and adulthood. The main objective was to reveal mothers' understanding of the adolescence period by discerning mothers' use of adjectives or classifications attributed to the period of adolescence in contrast to childhood and adulthood. Transcripts were reviewed, and common themes were listed below and the percentages of participants who used the estimated coding categories are listed (see Table 3 and Table 4). Chi-square analysis were calculated to

see whether there is a significant difference between two groups of mothers in terms of their endorsement of each given category.

4.1.1 Disobedience

This category refers to the descriptions that adolescents don't follow directions from parents. Statements such as "I cannot lead him anymore", "He is not listening to you anymore", "He is not compliant", and "They don't do what you want" were coded under disobedience.

4.1.2 Decreasing time with family/Increasing time with friends

This category refers to the descriptions which cover physical and emotional separateness from family members and physical and emotional closeness with friends. Statements such as "separation from family", "giving more importance to friends and peers", and "the center of his life is his friends" were coded under this category.

4.1.3 Negative affect/conduct

This category refers to the behaviors which reflects anger, tension, and temper.

Statements such as "aggressive", "mad", "getting angry faster", "nervous" were coded under this category.

4.1.4 Independence (positive and negative)

This category was classified as having a positive or negative emphasis on independence. The aim was to understand how mothers construed the concept of independence. The statements, which reflected a mother's respect for her child's individuality and identity development such as "I don't need to lead him anymore, he is grown-up.", "Adolescence is the period when a person feels him/herself as an individual.", and "They (adolescents) want to stand on their own legs and it increases their self-confidence." were coded as positive emphasis.

However, if statements included intrusive remarks or concerns about the independence of the adolescent such as "He thinks that he knows everything, he behaves self-centered and arrogant!", "He was more compliant when he was a child. Now, he wants to make his own decision and go outside on his own.", and "They (adolescents) want to behave on their own and spend more time outside in this period, I hope it decreases when they grow up.", they were coded as negative emphasis.

4.1.5 Issue of maturity

This category refers to mothers' thoughts about their children's personality and psychological development which is uniquely visible when they were asked about the differences between adolescents and adulthood. Statements such as "having broad perspective", "forming personality", "deciding more consciously", "having a control on behaviors", "inhibiting some behaviors", "being mentally mature" were coded under the issue of maturity.

4.2 Mothers' conceptualization of adolescence in contrast to childhood

4.2.1 Disobedience

Results revealed that there is no significant difference between high-SES (40%) mothers and low-SES mothers (60%) on their endorsement of disobedience ($\chi^2(1) = 1.600, p = 0.343$). Eight high-SES and 12 low-SES mothers thought that children become more disobedient as they move from childhood to adolescence period. Of those 8 high-SES mothers, 5 of them (62.5%) were the mothers of boys and 3 of them (37.5%) were the mothers of girls. Of those 12 low-SES mothers, 7 of them (58.3%) were the mothers of boys and 5 of them (41.7%) were the mothers of girls.

4.2.2 Decreasing time with family/Increasing time with friends

A significant difference was found between two groups of mothers' statements ($\chi^2(1) = 6.465, p < .05$). Compared to low-SES mothers (25%), high-SES mothers (65%) were more likely to endorse that adolescence is a period that involves children's separateness from family and closeness with peers in contrast to childhood. Of those 13 high-SES mothers, 5 of them (38.5%) were the mothers of boys and 8 of them (61.5%) were the mothers of girls. Of those 5 low-SES mothers, one of them (20%) was a mother of boy and 4 of them (80%) were the mothers of girls.

4.2.3 Negative affect/conduct: When mothers were asked to compare childhood and adolescence, 90% of low-SES mothers endorsed that adolescents become angrier and aggressive compared to 30% of high-SES mothers. The endorsement rate of this

category was significantly different between both groups of mothers, ($\chi^2(1) = 15.000, p < .001$). Of those 6 high-SES mothers, 4 of them (66.7%) were the mothers of boys and 2 of them (33.3%) were the mothers of girls. Of those 18 low-SES mothers, 10 of them (55.5%) were the mothers of boys and the rest of them (44.5%) were the mothers of girls.

4.2.4 Independence (positive)

High-SES mothers were more likely to endorse the independence theme positively than low-SES mothers, ($\chi^2(1) = 11.613, p < .01$). Forty percent of the high SES mothers differentiated adolescence from childhood by emphasizing positive aspects of independence such as an increasing tendency to express opinions, realizing their own tastes, attitudes, and behaviors, developing a personality, feeling self-sufficient and self-confident, independence in decision-making, understanding and accepting oneself as a separate individual. Of those 9 high-SES mothers, 4 of them (44.4%) were the mothers of boys and 5 of them (55.6%) were the mothers of girls. None of the low-SES mothers endorsed any positive independence theme as they described the difference between childhood and adolescence.

Table 3. What Represents Adolescence (as Contrast to Childhood)

	High SES (n=20)		Low SES (n=20)		p
Common Answers	Girls (n = 10)	Boys (n = 10)	Girls (n = 10)	Boys (n = 10)	
Disobedience	3 (30%)	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	7 (70%)	
Decreasing time with family/Increasing time with friends	8 (80%)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	*
Negative Affect/Conduct	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	8 (80%)	10 (100%)	***
Independence (+)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)	0	0	**
Independence (-)	3 (30%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	

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

4.2.5 Independence (negative)

Results revealed no significant difference between high-SES (35%) mothers and low-SES mothers (50%) in their endorsement of independence negatively ($\chi^2(1) = 0.921, p = 0.523$). When describing the difference of adolescence period from childhood, high and low SES mothers were equally likely to endorse concerns about the independence that their adolescent-aged children gained. Of those 7 high-SES mothers, 4 of them (57.2%) were the mothers of boys and 3 of them (42.8%) were the mothers of girls. Of those 10 low-SES mothers, 6 of them (60%) were the mothers of boys and 4 of them (40%) were the mothers of girls.

4.3 Mothers' conceptualization of adolescence in contrast to adulthood

As consistent with previous question, mothers' answers were grouped in terms of common themes. Categories "decreasing time with family/increasing time with friends", "negative affect/conduct", and "independence (negative)" were also endorsed in

response to this question. However, an additional category, “issue of maturity”, which focused on mothers’ answers through their children personality and psychological development has emerged from mothers’ discourse. Independent from SES, equal number of mothers from each group (80%) thought that adolescence is a period, which doesn’t provide completed personality development. They stated that when adolescents become adults they will be more likely to be mature, logical, form their personality, open to communication, be sympathetic, and self-conscious. Of those 16 high-SES mothers, 8 of them (50%) were the mothers of boys and 8 of them (50%) were the mothers of girls. Of those 16 low-SES mothers, 9 of them (56.25%) were the mothers of boys and 7 of them (43.75%) were the mothers of girls.

Table 4. What Represents Adolescence (as Contrast to Adulthood)

Common Answers	High SES (n=20)		Low SES (n=20)		p
	Girls (n = 10)	Boys (n = 10)	Girls (n = 10)	Boys (n = 10)	
Issue of maturity	8 (80%)	8 (80%)	7 (70%)	9 (90%)	
Decreasing time with family/Increasing time with friends	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	0	
Negative Affect/Conduct	0	1 (10%)	3 (30%)	4 (40%)	***
Independence (-)	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	

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

4.3.1 Decreasing time with family/Increasing time with friends

Results revealed that there is no significant difference between high-SES (25%) mothers and low-SES mothers (5%) on their endorsement of this category when they compared adolescence and adulthood. When describing the difference of adolescence period from

adulthood, high and low SES mothers were equally likely to endorse ideas about the family separateness and peer engagement. Of those 5 high-SES mothers, 2 of them (40%) were the mothers of boys and 3 of them (60%) were the mothers of girls. One low-SES mother who endorsed this category was mother of girl.

4.3.2 Negative affect/conduct

A significant difference was found ($\chi^2(1) = 5.625, p < .05$) in this category. When describing the difference of adolescence period from adulthood, low SES mothers (35%) were more likely to put emphasis again on negative mood and conduct such as aggression, annoyance, problems in anger control, compared to the high-SES mothers (5%). Of those 7 low-SES mothers, 4 of them (57.2%) were the mothers of boys and 3 of them (42.8%) were the mothers of girls. One high-SES mother who endorsed this category was the mother of boy.

4.3.3 Independence (negative)

When mothers' responses were reviewed it was found that independence was only endorsed negatively in this question, meaning that mothers' evaluated adolescence period as more dependent to others in contrast to adulthood. In addition, they thought that children's effort to be more independent is more egocentric in the adolescence period and it will decrease in the adulthood. Results revealed that there is no significant difference between high-SES (20%) mothers and low-SES mothers (10%) on their endorsement of this category when they compare adolescence and adulthood. Of those 4 high-SES mothers, 2 of them (50%) were the mothers of boys and the other half

included the mothers of girls. Of those 2 low-SES mothers, gender was also distributed equally.

4.4 Parental ethnotheories of adolescence

After mothers were asked about their opinions toward adolescence period, they were asked to describe a teenager who is doing well, as well as state their reasons of happiness and concerns related to their children. The main objective of these questions was to elicit parental expectations of a well-functioning adolescent. Answers in response to these questions were classified under two different categories; individualistic competences and relational competences. This classification was based on individualistic and collectivistic cultural differences which was proposed by Markus and Kitayama (1991) and used in previous studies with the aim of investigating differences in emotion socialization by using individualistic emotional competences and relational emotional competences (Chan, Bowes & Wyver, 2009; Friedlmeier, Corapci & Cole, 2011). In the current study competences were endorsed in both emotional and behavioral level. Therefore, the division was based on individualistic and relational competences. The individualistic competence included mothers' expectations and values related to their children's development of self (Keller, Greenfield, Fuligni & Maynard, 2003). On the other hand, the relational competence included mothers' "other-focused" expectations and values. In this category, interpersonal harmony, family relations and fitting to society were more important (Chan et. al., 2009). In the current study, expectations related to children's self-assertiveness, "ego-focused" emotions and "individual-oriented" behaviors were coded under the individualistic competence.

Conformity behaviors including “obedient”, “calm”, “respect” and “group-oriented” attributes were coded under the relational competence.

4.4.1 An adolescent who is doing well

Mothers expectations toward a well-functioning adolescent were specified below (see Table 5 and Table 6).

Table 5. High-SES Mothers’ Descriptions of an Adolescent Who is Doing Well

Mothers	Individualistic Competence	Relational Competence
Mothers of Girls		
1	have a balance between academic and social life	don’t have bad habits
2	reading book, hardworking	respectful, spending time with grandparents
3	self-confident, strong character, behaving like an individual, don’t make concessions from her character, art-lover	not impertinent, don’t always want from other people
4	knowing what she wants, standing up like an individual	decent, open to communication
5	self-confident	calm, not dominant, don’t object to everything
6	mature, expressing himself as an individual	respectful, decent, participating in a conversation
7	expressing anger, extrovert	open to communication
8	having time-management skills, successful	social
9	self-confident, knowing what he wants, knowing enjoying life, happy, mature	easy going, social
10	responsible	showing her affection
Mothers of Boys		
1	having time-management skills, hardworking	obedient, don’t object to everything
2	-	open to communication
3	thinking before action, expressing own emotions	behaving not to upset family, social
4	thinking before action, logical	listen to parents more often
5	responsible	helping housework, not behaving like priggish when he is with elder people, expressing himself decently
6	-	respectful, obedient, calm, open to communication
7	time-management, self-disciplined, cautious, conscious about nutrition, hardworking, reading books	don’t spend too much time with computer, don’t have bad habits
8	sensitive about environment, being aware of his own characteristics, academically successful	open to communication, dealing with conflicts
9	responsible	respectful, not yelling, good listener, merciful
10	mature, improving himself	not too headstrong, not disconnected from family, honest, valuing people

Results indicated that 18 high-SES mothers (95%) endorsed at least one of those individualistic competences listed in Table 5 and all of them (100%) mentioned about at least one of those relational competences when they talked about an adolescence who is doing well. Fifty percent of high-SES mothers who endorsed individualistic competences focused on development of self by putting emphasis on self-confidence, improving himself, being aware of one's own characteristics, expressing own emotions and anger. Six of high-SES mothers (66.7%) mothers who endorsed these salient answers have girls, and 3 of them (33.3%) have boys. Sixty percent of high-SES mothers who endorsed statements about relational competences focused on increasing interpersonal relationships such as being open to communication, expressing himself/herself in a decent way, being social, valuing people and being a good listener. Seven of high-SES (58.3%) mothers who endorsed these salient answers have boys, and 5 of them (41.67%) have girls. In addition, high-SES mothers endorsed conformity behaviors such as being respectful, obedient, easygoing, not dominant, and decent. Sixty-six percent of 18 high-SES mothers endorsed conformity behaviors. Six of high-SES (50%) mothers who endorsed these salient relational competences have girls, and 6 of them (50%) have boys.

Table 6. Low-SES Mothers' Descriptions of an Adolescent Who is Doing Well

Mothers	Individualistic Competence	Relational Competence
Mothers of Girls		
1	mature	respectful
2	academically successful	obedient, respectful,
3	-	respectful, obedient, taking care of siblings, helpful
4	mature	decent
5	-	calm, not jealous to his brothers
6	-	respectful, knowing where to stop while talking with parents
7	-	respectful, well-behaved
8	-	obedient, respectful, not belittle parents, showing her affection
9	-	decent, easy going
10	-	obedient, respectful, showing her affection
Mothers of Boys		
1	-	obedient, not belittle parents
2	academically successful	calm, obedient
3	-	calm, obedient, not aggressive
4	mature	decent, connected to family
5	-	respectful, not going outside often, informing parents
6	hardworking	obedient
7	academically successful	respectful, obedient, showing his affection
8	-	calm, obedient
9	-	informing parents, not rebuffing
10	academically successful	tidy, decent

Eight low-SES mothers (40%) endorsed at least one of those individualistic competence listed in Table 6 and all of them (100%) mentioned about at least one of those relational competences when they talked about an adolescence who is doing well. Low-SES mothers who endorsed individualistic competences focused on maturity and being hardworking and successful. Five of low-SES mothers (62.5%) mothers who endorsed these salient answers have boys, and 3 of them (37.5%) have girls. All low-SES mothers endorsed conformity behaviors such as being respectful, obedient, calm

and easy going. Therefore, half of them who endorsed this salient response were mother of girls and the other half were mothers of boys.

The numbers of individualistic and relational competences endorsed by each mother were summed. Results indicated that high-SES mothers endorsed significantly more individualistic competences than low-SES mothers, $F(1, 38) = 23.120$ $p < .001$. However, there were no significant differences between high- and low-SES mothers' endorsement of these categories, $F(1, 38) = 0.246$, $p = .623$.

A paired sample t -test was also calculated to observe whether there is a significant difference between mothers' endorsement of individualistic and relational competences. Results showed that high SES mothers made a balanced endorsement of individualistic competences ($M = 2.05$, $SD = 1.50$) and relational competences ($M = 2.15$, $SD = 1.04$), which did not differ significantly $t(19) = -0.23$, $p = 0.821$. However, low-SES mothers were less likely to endorse individualistic competences ($M = 0.35$, $SD = 0.49$) compared to relational competences ($M = 2.30$, $SD = 0.86$) when describing an adolescent who is doing well, $t(19) = -7.32$, $p < 0.001$.

4.4.2 Mothers' happiness and concerns related to their children

As a part of parental ethnotheories section, mothers were also asked that about their reasons of happiness and concerns related to their children's behaviors or characteristics.

Results indicated that 13 high-SES mothers (65%) mentioned about at least one individualistic competences and 18 of them (90%) mentioned about at least one relational competences when they talked about what makes them happy related to their children (see Table 7). High-SES mothers expressed their happiness when their children

indicated their characteristics by showing self-confidence, expressing themselves comfortably and directly, and sharing their preferences. Three mothers of girls (42.8%) endorsed this salient answer while 4 mothers of boys (57.2%) also endorsed them. High-SES mothers (50%) also expressed their happiness when their children displayed behaviors such as being obedient, decent, respectful and easy-going. Four of high-SES (40%) mothers who endorsed these salient behavioral characteristics have girls, and 6 of them (60%) have boys. It was important to note that, only mothers of boys endorsed the answer of being calm when they mentioned about what makes them happy.

Table 7. High-SES Mothers' Reasons of Happiness Related to their Children

Mothers	Individualistic Competence	Relational Competence
Mothers of Girls		
1	hardworking	tidy
2	determined (the way she applies her own decisions)	decent, having strong friendship
3	art-lover, successful, courageous, happy	good listener, open to criticism
4	hardworking	decent, well-behaved, merciful, humane, empathetic, fair
5	humorous	-
6	humorous, art-lover, expressing her abilities and talents, happy, being able to share what she likes	having a conversation like friends, intimate
7	-	peaceful/easily settling down
8	successful	fair, sensitive
9	self-confident, happy	fair, merciful, humane
10	-	respectful, agreeing myself, showing her affection, honest
Mothers of Boys		
1	-	calm, easygoing, showing his affection
2	unique character	obedient
3	self-confident	calm, social
4	-	obedient, calm
5	expressing himself comfortably	respectful, spending money prudently, social
6	expressing himself directly	informing before taking action, honest
7	-	informing about his private life, showing his affection
8	-	polite, sensitive to other people
9	sophisticated	-
10	-	respectful, building communication with people (expressing himself), smiling, social

Furthermore, it is indicated that 6 low-SES mothers (30%) mentioned about at least one individualistic competences and 18 of them (90%) mentioned about at least one relational competences when they talked about what makes them happy related to their children (see Table 8). One answer was most salient and it was the mothers' endorsement of happiness about their children's academic performance. One of low-SES (25%) mothers who endorsed these salient answer has girl, and 2 of them (75%) have boys. In addition, low-SES mothers (50%) also expressed their happiness when their children indicated conformity behaviors such as being obedient, decent, and respectful. Five of low-SES (55.5%) mothers who endorsed these responses have girls, and 4 of them (45.5%) have boys.

Table 8. Low-SES Mothers' Reasons of Happiness Related to their Children

Mothers	Individual Competences	Relational Competences
Mothers of Girls		
1	-	helpful for housework
2	-	respectful, calm
3	self-defended	fair
4	conscious, academically successful	decent in society
5	-	calm, obedient, respectful
6	-	calm, obedient
7	-	quite/calm, having dinner with us
8	-	dependent to mother, honest
9	-	asking before going outside
10	-	-
Mothers of Boys		
1	studying	respectful
2	-	obedient
3	happy	calm, obedient, conversable (expressing himself)
4	competent	-
5	-	honest
6	-	informing before going outside, not having bad habits, honest
7	-	showing his affection
8	-	going easy with siblings, domestic
9	studying	decent in society, not rubbing, honest
10	-	peaceful

A paired sample *t*-test was also calculated to observe whether there is a significant difference between mothers' endorsement of individualistic and relational competences when they talked about what makes them happy. Results showed that high SES mothers were more likely to endorse individualistic competences ($M = 1.05, SD = 1.32$) compared to relational competences ($M = 2.20, SD = 1.40$) when describing their happiness related their children, $t(19) = -2.56, p < .05$. In addition, low-SES mothers were less likely to endorse individualistic competences ($M = 0.35, SD = 0.59$) compared to relational competences ($M = 1.55, SD = 0.94$) when describing their happiness related their children, $t(19) = -4.66, p < .001$.

Reasons for what makes mothers concerned were also asked and results indicated that 9 high-SES mothers (45%) mentioned about individualistic competences and 13 of them (65%) mentioned about relational competences when they talked about what makes them concerned related to their children (see Table 9). Of all high-SES mothers, 33.3% of them indicated that they felt concerned when their child was concerned about anything. One high-SES (33.3%) mother who endorsed this salient answer have a boy, and 2 of them (66.6%) have girls. High-SES mothers were also concerned when their children were aggressive (30.8%). Three high-SES (75%) mother who endorsed these salient answer has boys, and 1 of them (25%) have a girl.

Table 9. High-SES Mothers' Reasons of Concerns Related to their Children

Mothers	Individual Competences	Relational Competences
Mothers of Girls		
3	being tired because of too much studying	-
4	-	messy
6	getting lower grade	-
10	concerned about our country	-
13	complaining	aggressive
14	-	spending time with friends who is not appropriate
15	concerned about physical appearance	-
16	-	too sensitive, easily offended
17	too relax	-
18	-	insistent about what she wants
Mothers of Boys		
1	-	aggressive, busy with computer
2	-	selfish
3	-	aggressive, decide faster
4	-	passionate about fast cars
5	-	changing friends too often
6	undetermined	-
7	concerned	organizing my life and my decisions
8	-	being lonely, busy with computer
9	introvert	-
10	-	aggressive, rebuffering, disobedient

Furthermore, it is indicated that 4 low-SES mothers (20%) mentioned about individualistic competences and 16 of them (80%) mentioned about relational competences when they talked about what makes them concerned related to their children (see Table 10). Three different individualistic competences were revealed among answers of low-SES mothers, which are being anxious, lack of self-confident and naïve. In terms of relational competences, majority of low-SES (43.7%) mothers were concerned about their inability to monitor their children such as when their children were outside spending time with unfamiliar friends, especially if they were not informed about their children's whereabouts. Mothers also indicated their concerns when their

children spend time with mobile phones (18.7%). Both mothers of boys (50%) and mothers of girls (50%) endorsed these characteristics equally in their responses.

Table 10. Low-SES Mothers' Reasons of Concerns Related to their Children

Mothers	Individual Competences	Relational Competences
Mothers of Girls		
1	-	spending time with mobile phone
2	-	deciding on his own
3	-	spending time with mobile phone
4	lack of self-confident	-
5	-	not giving an answer when I call him
6	-	not informing when going outside, not answering when I call
7	-	getting angry when something occurs against her will
8	naïve	smoking
9	-	not informing when going outside
10	-	spending time with friends who is not appropriate, harsh response
Mothers of Boys		
1	-	staying out late, not asking before going outside
2	-	disobedient
3	-	disobedient
4	-	going outside frequently
5	-	lying
6	-	spending time with friends who is not appropriate
7	anxious	-
8	-	smoking, spending time with mobile phone
9	-	-
10	-	fighting with siblings

A paired sample *t*-test was also calculated to observe whether there is a significant difference between mothers' endorsement of individualistic and relational competences when they talked about what makes them concerned. Results showed that high SES mothers made a balanced endorsement of individualistic ($M = 0.45$, $SD = 0.51$) and relational competences ($M = 0.85$, $SD = 0.74$), which did not differ significantly $t(19) = -1.51$, $p = 0.148$. In addition, low-SES mothers were less likely to endorse individualistic competences ($M = 0.20$, $SD = 0.41$) compared to relational

competences ($M = 1.00$, $SD = 0.65$) when describing their concerns related their children, $t(19) = -3.76$, $p < .01$.

The numbers of individualistic and relational competences endorsed by each mother were summed. Analyses regarding frequency counts showed that high-SES mothers ($M = 1.05$, $SD = 1.32$) endorsed more reasons for happiness under individual competences than low-SES mothers ($M = .35$, $SD = .59$), $F(1, 38) = 4.71$, $p < .05$. However, there were no significant differences between high- ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 1.40$) and low-SES mothers' ($M = 1.55$, $SD = .94$) endorsement of relational competences when they described their reasons for happiness, $F(1, 38) = 2.96$, $p = .093$. In addition, there were no significant differences between high- ($M = .45$, $SD = .51$) and low-SES mothers' ($M = .20$, $SD = .41$) endorsement of individualistic competences when they described their reasons for concerns, $F(1, 38) = 2.91$, $p = .096$. There were also no significant differences between high- ($M = .85$, $SD = .74$) and low-SES mothers' ($M = 1.00$, $SD = .65$) endorsement of relational competences when they described their reasons for concerns, $F(1, 38) = .46$, $p = .501$.

Mothers were also asked to think of unacceptable behaviors or desires of their children. Totally 39 mothers (95%) of all sample gave specific answers to this question. Categorization was provided based on the answer of each respondent (see Table 11).

Table 11. Unacceptable Topics Based on Common Answers of Mothers

Categories	High-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)		Low-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)	
	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)
Smoking/Alcohol/Drugs	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)
Disrespect	2 (20%)	2 (20%)	0	0
Staying outside home	3 (30%)	0	2 (20%)	1 (10%)
Going out without informing	0	0	3 (30%)	1 (10%)

Based on the answers of both high- and low-SES mothers, the most unacceptable behavior was substance use (i.e., smoking, drinking alcohol, using drugs). Twenty-five percent of high SES and 40% of low-SES mothers thought that smoking, drinking alcohol and using drugs are unacceptable. Among high-SES mothers who endorsed substance use as unacceptable 3 of them (60%) were mothers of boys and 2 of them (40%) were mothers of girl. Among low-SES mothers who endorsed substance use as unacceptable 4 of them (50%) were mothers of boys and the other half were mothers of girl. Disrespect ranked second, and staying outside of home without permission ranked third among high-SES mothers. Among high-SES mothers who endorsed disrespect, 2 of them (50%) were mothers of boys and 2 of them (50%) were mothers of girls. Among high-SES mothers who endorsed staying outside of home unacceptable, all of them (100%) were mothers of girls. Not informing the mother about whereabouts was ranked second and staying outside of home ranked third among low-SES mothers. Among low-SES mothers who endorsed not being informed about whereabouts, 3 of them (75%) were mothers of girls and 1 of them (25%) was a mother of boy. Among low-SES mothers who endorsed staying outside of home unacceptable, 2 of them (66.7%) were mothers of girls and 1 of them (33.3%) was a mother of boy.

4.4.3 Emphasis on independence: Autonomy granting versus expectation of obedience

The whole transcript of each mother was reviewed in terms of mothers' overall emphasis on independence in response to each question as a part of parental ethnotheories toward adolescence. Main objective of this review was to explore mothers' conceptualization, verbalization, and discourse toward the theme of independence. Mothers' emphasis on independence was further classified as positive emphasis on independence or negative emphasis on independence.

The statements which reflected a mother's respect for her child's individuality and identity development were coded as positive emphasis. Examples from the high-SES mothers' answers were provided below,

I think the transition to adolescence is a time when people start to feel themselves as individuals and a period in which they try to prove themselves, so it is different from childhood. She tries to prove herself, to show herself, to get to know her personality and to introduce herself to her environment (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 2).

This is the period which they want to communicate more individually. They want to be more alone...They want to be more alone to make their own decisions (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 3).

Even in a crowded family, I think he needs to feel his own identity and character. Not the same as his brother or sister, but a standard of his own. If he has unique characteristic I would think that he is having a good adolescence period. I don't want him to be a copy of his brother or a friend. If he expresses himself out of standards, I would be very happy (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 4).

Examples from the low-SES mothers' answers on positive emphasis on independence were also provided,

She decides all of them (about behavioral autonomy questions) because it is not important what I want, it is important what she wants (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 5).

I trust my daughter. For example, I never said her to study because she can take her responsibility in each subject already (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 6).

I want him to improve and open himself, he is not supposed to be dependent on me (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 7).

However, if statements included intrusive remarks, the importance of following directions and the mothers' expectations toward obedience they were coded as negative emphasis on independence. Examples from the low-SES mothers' answers were provided below,

For example, she listens to us, she doesn't go anywhere without asking us, she acts by asking me. I have not seen that she made me upset (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 8).

When he was little he adapted to everything but when he grew up he wanted to be on his own, he wanted to go on his own. He used to adapt to whatever I did before, but now he says he will go himself. Sometimes I don't like it. You shouldn't leave him on his own, so you're gonna push him a little bit so he will be decent finally. (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 9).

He is not compliant; he wants to do what he says. He is becoming aggressive. He was more compliant when he was a child. Now, he wants to make his own decision and go outside on his own (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 10).

Examples from the high-SES mothers' answers on negative emphasis on independence were also provided,

He was more convinsible when he was a child. Now, when he is in adolescence he is not convinsible and he objects everything. We are having difficulties (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 11).

My daughter has dominant characteristics. She has objections. She pushes you until she made you accept her idea. (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 12).

When you became a mother you think that, listening to you and saying okey to you is important. I am saying to him "When I say something, say okey at least once. This is what I want. (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 13).

4.5 Behavioral autonomy granting

To understand mothers' attributes in behavioral autonomy they were asked, "Which behaviors or daily activities would your child engage and decide on his/her own?" This question was elaborated with 9 examples (see Table 12) which pointed out mothers' attitudes on their children's autonomy to do daily activities/behaviors on their own.

Table 12. Number of Mothers who Thought That Their Children Can Engage in a Given Activity Without Intervention

Questions	High-SES (n = 20)		Low-SES (n = 20)	
	Girls (n = 10)	Boys (n = 10)	Girls (n = 10)	Boys (n = 10)
1. What is your opinion about your child's deciding which books to read?	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	9 (90%)
2. What is your opinion about your child's deciding which music to listen?	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	9 (90%)
3. What is your opinion about your child's deciding on his/her own physical appearances (hair, dress, etc.)?	10 (100%)	9 (90%)	8 (80%)	8 (80%)
4. What is your opinion about your child's deciding his/her meals or meal time?	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	9 (90%)
5. What is your opinion about your child's deciding which TV programme to watch?	10 (100%)	10 (100%)	9 (90%)	9 (90%)
6. What is your opinion about your child's deciding his/her own study time/schedule?	10 (100%)	7 (70%)	10 (100%)	5 (50%)
7. What is your opinion about your child's travelling alone? (by walking or using public transportation/taxi)	9 (90%)	10 (100%)	9 (90%)	7 (70%)
8. What is your opinion about your child's going to doctor alone?	4 (40%)	4 (40%)	5 (50%)	6 (60%)
9. What is your opinion about your child's staying alone at home in your absence?	9 (90%)	10 (100%)	9 (90%)	8 (80%)

When mothers expressed that their children can make decisions of above-mentioned activities on his/her own, answer was coded as 1, but when mothers expressed that their children cannot engage in given activities without their intervention, their answer was coded as 0. Finally, an overall score was calculated for each mother between 0 and 9. ANOVA was used to observe whether there is a significant difference between overall score of attitudes toward behavioral autonomy. Analysis showed that there were no significant differences between high-educated ($M = 8.10$, $SD = 0.79$) and

low-educated mothers' ($M = 7.45$, $SD = 1.99$) answers in their overall behavioral autonomy granting score. According to answers of mothers, the most salient gender difference was indicated in question which was about children's own engagement of study time. In each group, only mothers of boys stated their intervention on children's study schedule.

4.6. Psychological autonomy granting

In this part of the interview, mothers were asked whether their children were able to participate in decisions, whether they were allowed to voice their own beliefs, common topics of arguments and their children's problem-solving abilities on their own. The main objective of these questions was to evaluate mothers' respect about their children's individuality and self-reliance.

4.6.1 Asking for child's opinion

As a part of psychological autonomy granting, mothers were asked about topics/decisions that they ask about their child's opinions. Answers categorized as family issues and personal issues. When mothers mentioned about the decisions related to family or home such as asking for an opinion about holiday or a thing to buy for house it was categorized under family issues. Examples were provided below:

For example, if we are going to go somewhere for holiday, shopping or cinema, we usually get his opinion, he can express his own decisions. (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 14).

When we go to holiday, I absolutely want her to select hotel for her to enjoy. She loves aquapark so much, she selects based on it (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 15).

On the other hand, when mothers mentioned about the decisions related themselves such as asking for an opinion about buying a personal belongings or choosing a dress it was categorized under personal issues. Examples were provided below:

I get her opinion on a lot of things. For instance, about my order in workplace... I can even consult for any clothes I bought myself, I like her ideas. We talk a lot of things, sometimes I even ask her what to cook at home (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 16).

I ask him when I need to change my mobile phone because he is more interested in technological devices (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 17).

Based on mothers' answers, all high-SES mothers stated that they included their children in the decision making processes (see Table 13). However, 16 low-SES mothers (80%) endorsed this answer. In the high-SES group, 14 mothers (70%) stated that they ask for their children also for their personal decisions. Of those 14 mothers, 8 of them (57.1%) were mothers of girls, and 6 of them (42.8%) were mothers of boys. In the low-SES group, only 5 mothers (25%) stated that they ask for their children also for their personal decisions. Of those 5 mothers, 4 of them (80%) were mothers of girls, and 1 of them (20%) was a mother of boy. For instance, mothers' who endorsed that they asked their children's opinions explained this situation as below,

He can express himself such as in holiday organizations and things about the family. If he wants to go somewhere else, he can go. To be honest, his younger brothers are more dependent on us in terms of their ages, but if he doesn't want to come with us during this age, for example, to a wedding or breakfast organization, I don't push him with me (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 18).

I get his opinion on everything such as about my own clothes, about the holidays we go to, the programs and activities we will do... Because he is really a mature child. I think his feelings are very complicated right now. But I can ask him anything. There is a very good dialogue between us (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 19).

Let me say something... We ask our children, for example, about shopping, about our daily life at home. If we're going to buy something, we ask the kids. We get the idea of the children. In this way, they get used to life. We don't know what's going to happen tomorrow to us as parents, so they can stand on their own feet and learn about life. Let them know where to go, what to buy (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 20).

On the other hand, mothers' who endorsed that they don't ask their children's opinions explained this situation as below,

I don't think it's right to get his opinion on everything about the house, and then he may demand more. Maybe now (after this age) we may ask more. For example, we don't ask what color to paint the house, because it's a burden, but we can ask for holiday programme. (...) I think he should know a little bit about the boundaries, but we'll ask him about things that related to him (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 21).

I never got his opinion, but we ask him if something is going to be taken for him, but we usually decide on the things about the house. He doesn't interfere with decisions related to home (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 22).

Table 13. Number of Mothers who Asked for Children's Opinions in Family and Personal Issues

	High-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)		Low-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)	
	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)
Family Issues	10 (100%)	9 (90%)	9 (90%)	6 (60%)
Personal Issues	8 (80%)	6 (60%)	4 (40%)	1 (10%)
Any		0	3 (30%)	1 (10%)

4.6.2 Topics of arguments

Mothers were asked to identify the type of topics that give rise to arguments between themselves and their children. Same answers were categorized together and the majority of answers were indicated below (see Table 14). Answers showed that the top topic for arguments as endorsed by (25%) of low SES mothers was about their children's relationship with siblings. Of those mothers, 3 of them (60%) were mothers of girls, and 2 of them (40%) were mothers of boys. Example statements were provided below,

He usually beats his brothers, that's why we have conflicts, because of the problems between the brothers (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 23).

When he had a fight with brother. They don't get along; they even forbid to enter each other's room (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 24).

Among high-SES mothers, the most common topics of argument was about doing homework, as endorsed by 7 high-SES mothers (35%) stated. Of those mothers, 3 of them (42.8%) were mothers of girls, and 4 of them (57.1%) were mothers of boys.

For instance, they stated

About studying and grades... Sometimes we argue about not doing homework. We obstinate with each other and it is very frustrating, so I stop talking there. It is the best because it never ends. If we both don't negotiate with each other, I stop talking (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 25).

We don't have much discussion, but sometimes I get nervous when she behaves very relaxed. Especially when she does that during the exam period. (...) She is a child who is not very ambitious and she never compete with friends because we said that the grades aren't important, I am still thinking in that way but unfortunately, it is important in this current educational system in Turkey. This is the topic that we discuss the most (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 26).

He thinks that we always say him to study. He sees only that part. He thinks we didn't see what he already did (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 27).

Table 14. Topics of Arguments Based on Common Answers of Mothers

	High-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)		Low-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)	
	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)
Fighting with siblings	0	2 (20%)	3 (30%)	2 (20%)
Mess	2 (20%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	2 (20%)
Homework/Studying	3 (30%)	4 (40%)	0	2 (20%)
Allowance	1 (10%)	0	3 (30%)	1 (10%)

4.6.3 Voicing own opinions

In addition, mothers were asked about their thoughts and reactions when their children have different opinions in important topics in life such as different political or religious orientations. The answer of these question categorized under three topics: unacceptable, undecided, and granting genuine autonomy. When mothers certainly did not accept the situation and expressed that they try to intervene it, it was coded under the category of unacceptable. For instance,

If our opinions conflict I think we would say ‘We are your parents and our decision will be valid.’. I would reflect my authority, I guess (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 28).

When mothers were not sure about their acceptance it was coded under the category of undecided. For instance,

I don’t know how do I handle it. I think I respect to her opinion, since mine is different and hers is different (Low-SES moter of a girl, see Appendix D, 29).

When mothers were quite sure and reflected their respect without hesitation it was coded under the category on granting genuine autonomy. For instance,

I would respect when he has different opinions, it wouldn’t be an argument, we would talk (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 30).

To eliminate the effect of “social desirability bias”, three coders listen to the records and read the transcriptions to decide which mother reflected undecided

statements and which of them reflected genuine autonomy. The percentage agreement was %97.5 for this categorization.

Results indicated that 8 high-SES mothers (40%) said they wouldn't accept differences in opinions (see Table 15). Of those 8 mothers, 5 of them (62.5%) were mothers of girls, and 3 of them (37.5%) were mothers of boys. Twelve high-SES mothers (60%) expressed they would accept genuinely. There is any high-SES mother who endorsed undecided statements. Of those 12 mothers, 5 of them (41.7%) were mothers of girls, and 7 of them (58.3%) were mothers of boys. For instance, high-SES mothers who endorsed that they wouldn't accept differences stated,

I should be open to it as a psychological counselor, but as a mother, of course, I have some thoughts about my children. Then I guess I may lead them a bit (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 31).

So if she has a very different view than we would somehow try to convince her (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 32).

We did not encounter with a situation like this but I may find it strange, I may not find it very natural (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 33).

I don't want to talk about especially the religious things, because she is confused right now. I control her not to stray away (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 34).

Her thoughts were parallel with ours and I liked that situation because I was a bit afraid about it. I was nervous about if she had different opinion ideologically (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 35).

If it is something you don't want, of course, we all try to lead them. It would be lie to say "I'm not leading." Now they're very young, we don't discuss them, but I'm telling you for later, of course, you want to intervene in some way because it is your truth (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 36).

I don't want a different opinion from ours. For example, let's assume that as a very extreme point if the preferences are different, I try to turn his preferences, I insist. I don't stop insisting (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 37).

On the other hand, 5 low-SES mothers (25%) mothers endorsed undecided statements. Of those 5 mothers, 3 of them (60%) were mothers of girls, and 2 of them (40%) were mothers of boys. Eight low-SES mothers (40%) stated they wouldn't accept this situation. Of those 8 mothers, 4 of them (50%) were mothers of girls, and the other half included mothers of boys. Seven low-SES mothers (35%) expressed they would accept it genuinely. Of those 7 mothers, 3 of them (42.8%) were mothers of girls, and 4 of them (57.2%) were mothers of boys. For instance, low-SES mothers who endorsed that they would accept differences stated,

I would respect if he has different opinions, we wouldn't fight, we would talk (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 38).

I am respecting, for example, I know he has different political view but we never reject his view, what would I do? I would just respect (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 39).

We did not experience such thing, but I generally followed them on other issues where we had conflicts. I mean, if I like this paper, I don't see the other papers at all. Then, I think that what my child like about this paper and I listen to it from his point of view (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 40).

We don't have very different views but standing on his own feet in the future is more important for me. He can do what he wants I'm not so prescriptive. If our views don't match, we would sit down, talk, find a middle ground (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 41).

I would find it very normal because they (adolescents) read a lot (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 42).

I would respect and wouldn't have conflicts because everybody has their own free thoughts (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 43).

Table 15. Number of Mothers Based on Their Answers on Voicing Their Children’s Opinion

	High-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)		Low-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)	
	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)
Unacceptable	5 (50%)	3 (30%)	4 (40%)	4 (40%)
Undecided	0		3 (30%)	2 (20%)
Genuine autonomy	5 (50%)	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	4 (40%)

4.6.4 Self-reliance in coping

Apart from these, mothers were also asked about whether their children were self-reliant or seeking for help when they encountered any problem in their lives. There is no significant difference between high-SES (70%) and low-SES mothers (60%) in their response related to their children ability to deal with the problems on his/her own (see Table 16).

Table 16. Number of Mothers Based on Their Answers on Their Children’s Self-Reliance

Categories	High-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)		Low-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)	
	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)
Self-reliant	7 (70%)	7 (70%)	5 (50%)	7 (70%)
Seeking for help	3 (30%)	3 (30%)	5 (50%)	3 (30%)

Among high-SES mothers who endorsed that their children are self-reliant, 7 of them (50%) were mothers of boys, and the other half included mothers of girls. However, among low-SES mothers who endorsed that their children were self-reliant, 5 of them (41.7%) were mothers of girls, and 7 of them (58.3%) were mothers of boys.

4.7 Expectation from an adolescence in a family environment

Mothers' were asked about their opinions regarding their children's contribution to housework and working in a job. Main objective in these questions was to observe mothers' expectation from their children in a family environment.

There is no significant difference between high-SES (80%) and low-SES (90%) mothers in their endorsement of taking responsibility in housework. Majority of mothers from both groups expected their children to help housework and maintain order in the home (see Table 17). For instance, they wanted their children to make their beds, to fold their clothes, to help setting a table, to prepare breakfast, and to empty the dishwasher. One high-SES mother who endorsed her children should take responsibility in home stated that,

He should do because two days later me or his father may not be alive. He may have to live somewhere on his own, so he must learn and help (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 44).

On the other hand, a low-SES mother said,

God knows that I want him to help too much and I'm saying to him "What will you do when you get married and if your wife will be also working, aren't you going to help her?" (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 45).

A high-SES mother who endorsed that she had no expectation from her child to contribute housework stated,

Sometimes I think that she is going to do these when she gets married and I let her to enjoy at home (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 46).

On the other hand, a low-SES mother said that,

She doesn't take responsibility and I don't push her not to prevent her to study (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 47).

Table 17. Number of Mothers Based on Their Answer on Their Children’s Contributions to Housework

	High-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)		Low-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)	
	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)
Yes	6 (60%)	9 (90%)	9 (90%)	9 (90%)
No	4 (40%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	1 (10%)

Among high-SES mothers who endorsed their positive opinion toward their children’s contributing to housework, 6 of them (40%) have girls and 9 of them (60%) have boys. Among low-SES mothers, this percentage was equal for girls (50%) and boys (50%).

In addition, as a response to the question about their working in a job, a significant difference was found ($\chi^2(1) = 6.144, p < .05$). High-SES mothers (90%) were more likely to say that their children could work in a job if they want to in contrast to low-SES mothers (55%) (see Table 18). When their reasons were elaborated in the interview, 17 high-SES mothers (85%) mentioned about personality development, taking responsibility, increasing self-confidence, knowing what you want in the future and gaining experience. However, only 7 low-SES mothers (35%) explained their reasons for why their child can have a job. Of those mothers, only one mother stated contribution to family income as a reason for allowing her child to work in a job. The other 6 mothers endorsed that they would want their children to work to learn life, to stand on their own feet, to take responsibility, to know the value of school, and to know the difficulties of earning money.

Low-SES mothers who did not approve of their child’s work have explained that they wanted their children to be successful in school and they thought that working in a

job would distract them from working hard at school. In addition, 6 low-SES mothers (30%) specified that they would intervene their children if they want to spend their money independently while only 1 high-SES mother (5%) endorsed that answer.

Table 18. Number of Mothers Based on Their Answer on Their Children's Working in a Job

	High-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)		Low-SES (<i>n</i> = 20)	
	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)	Girls (<i>n</i> = 10)	Boys (<i>n</i> = 10)
Yes	9 (90%)	9 (90%)	5 (50%)	6 (60%)
No	1 (10%)	1 (10%)	5 (50%)	4 (40%)

Among low-SES mothers who endorsed their positive opinion toward their children's working, 5 of them (45.5%) have girls and 6 of them (54.5%) have boys. Among high-SES mothers, this percentage was equal for girls (50%) and boys (50%).

4.8 Generational differences

Mothers were also asked to evaluate how they are similar with their parents and how they are different from them in terms of child-rearing practices and attitudes in adolescence period. First, it was indicated that how many mothers remarked on similarities and differences then frequency count of similarities and differences was calculated.

Among high-SES mothers, 18 of them (95%) mentioned about similarities. Five high-SES mothers (27.8%) endorsed about their own caregivers as modern, relaxed, visionary, and sensitive as themselves. The other common similarity among high-SES mothers was about being open to communication (27.8%).

Sixteen out of 20 high-SES mothers (80%) mentioned about differences. Of those, 9 mothers (56.2%) mentioned that their caregiver was more strict and intervened more (see Table 19).

Table 19. Generational Similarities and Differences Endorsed by High-SES Mothers

Family	Similarities	Differences: Grandmothers are seen as...
1	impatient, thrifty	-
2	authoritarian	more patient
3	hardworking	more strict, less communicative
4	-	giving more domestic responsibility
5	vigilant	more strict
6	visionary	following norms more often
7	self-sacrificing	more strict
8	affectionate, open to communication	more prescriptive
9	open to communication	more strict
10	open to communication, giving importance to education	more strict
11	open to communication, having a talk with children	more intervening
12	intervening	comparing with other children
13	modern	-
14	calm	make me feel that I am not special (we are crowded family)
15	open to communication, relax	less controller
16	-	more intervening, calmer
17	affectionate	-
18	stubborn	more relax
19	relax, helpful	-
20	disciplined	more strict, less open to communication

On the other hand, 11 low-SES mothers (55%) mentioned about similarities. These similarities included being insistent about studying and eating, not letting them go outside alone, and being concerned when he is outside. Only one low-SES mother endorsed that she behaves strictly like her mother. In addition, 19 low-SES mothers (95%) mentioned about differences and 16 of those mothers (84.2%) characterized their adolescence period with more parental pressure, strictness, and rules (see Table 20).

Table 20. Generational Similarities and Differences Endorsed by Low-SES Mothers

Family	Similarities	Differences: Grandmothers are seen as....
1	insistent about studying	less supportive, yeller
2	insistent about eating	more strict, not fulfilling desires
3	-	not fulfilling desires, giving more domestic responsibility, yeller
4	calm	not affectionate, not interested
5	sharing	giving more domestic responsibility
6	-	more strict
7	-	more strict, less open to communication
8	not letting them to go outside alone	more prescriptive
9	-	more strict
10	-	more strict
11	-	give less importance to girls and education; less independent, lack of self-confident
12	-	applying domestic violence
13	angry	more strict
14	strict	-
15	good listener	more strict, more patient
16	-	more strict, not affectionate
17	-	more strict
18	being concerned when he is outside	more strict
19	giving responsibility	more strict
20	obsessive with cleaning	more strict, spending less time together

According to the frequency counts of similarities and differences, it was observed that high-SES mothers ($M = 1.20$, $SD = .62$) mentioned more similarities than low-SES mothers ($M = .55$, $SD = .51$), $F(1, 38) = 13.214$, $p < .01$. Furthermore, they put more emphasis on communication, affection, and freedom when they described their parents' practices.

For example, similarities were indicated as below,

I grew up in a loving family. We were three sisters, my father was extremely loving and so was my mother. My mother and father were elementary school graduates, but we had something, for example, if we have financial problems, we can talk about it. Sometimes, we knew some things without talking, I got it from family. I raised my son the same way (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 48).

I can say that I take them as examples because they have no aspects that I wanted to change. I'm definitely trying to be similar with them because were different from other parents. I was aware it even when I was adolescent. They were modern and it was a huge thing for those times (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 49).

I see myself lucky because I grew up in a very loving family. We grew up in a very happy and peaceful family atmosphere. That's why the most important thing that I want to give my daughter is peace in our home. I mean, you can feel the peace in our house when you walked through the door. I learned it from my own family and grew up like that. Now I want to do it in my house (High-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 50).

I've done a lot like my mother, but I used to tell my mom everything. We had no secrets, I saw the benefit of this in my own child, because he has no secrets from me. He doesn't do anything by hiding. I'm trying to build trust based relationship, like a friend (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 51).

Only 1 out of 20 mothers said that she is trying to maintain her mothers' authority as a family practices.

My mother was mother very authoritarian. I'm still going on with the same manner. Mothers must be like mothers, not like friends (High-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 52).

On the other hand, low-SES mothers ($M = 1.55$, $SD = .89$) mentioned about more differences than high-SES mothers ($M = .95$, $SD = .60$), $F(1, 38) = 6.247$, $p < .05$. More specifically, low-educated mothers mentioned about more authoritarian attitude, less autonomy granting and more strict rules when they described their parents' practices as they remembered their own adolescence years. For example, some differences are indicated as below.

I'm acting differently, there's a lot of difference between us. We are open to our children in every matter, but we could not even tell our mother that we had our period when we were 15-16 years old. Everything was limited for us, our parents didn't talk to us. There's no similarity. My mother was very prescriptive. Now, we have more communication. So I try not to be similar, I do my best (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 53).

I'm acting differently; my mother couldn't take care of me because she was in the village. I am always with my husband and children; I am more interested in my children. My mother is not a type of mother who tells her children, I love you (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 54).

I am different; I encourage my child to go to school. I want him to be self-confident. The environments and conditions were not very good when we were little. Now, they are better, I want them to stand on their own feet. My mother and I are very opposite, she cares about her son, and I don't distinguish between boys and girls. She has been more interested in my brother, I'm sensitive about that because I have a son and a daughter, I try to be equal (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 55).

I can't even think right now. My environment and my daughter's are different, of course, because I grew up in the village. I didn't live as a teenager. I can't say anything because our life was always busy. They behaved strictly, I try to make my daughter a little more comfortable. My environment and her current environment are not the same. We couldn't go anywhere comfortably (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 56).

Two out of 20 low-educated mothers said that they maintain the overprotective attitude of their own parents with their children.

I am behaving like my mother, she always says 'Don't go, there is a bad environment outside and you are girls'. I am acting like this, trying not to allow him to go outside as I saw in my mom (Low-SES mother of a boy, see Appendix D, 57).

As similarity, I also don't allow her to go outside alone. This is the same (Low-SES mother of a girl, see Appendix D, 58).

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

The present study aimed to better understand how mothers from different socioeconomic groups conceptualized the period of adolescence and investigate their parental ethnotheories about adolescence. The extent to which mothers grant behavioral and psychological autonomy, as well as their expectation from their adolescent-aged children, were of particular focus of the present study. Possible generational differences between mothers and their own mothers in terms of child rearing in the adolescence period have also been explored.

This study used qualitative data from individually administered interviews to explore differences between high- and low-SES mothers. This methodology helps researcher to understand respondents' opinions and perceptions (Barriball & White, 1994), provide deeper knowledge about participants' experiences (Schultze & Avital, 2011), and enable researcher to clarify questions to eliminate any misinterpreted answers (Doody & Noonan, 2013).

5.1 Mothers' conceptualization of the adolescence period

The first aim of the present study was to delineate mothers' conceptualizations toward the adolescence period. Towards this end, mothers' conceptualization of the age range of adolescence, their views about the differences between adolescence and childhood, as well as differences between adolescence and adulthood were elicited. First, with respect to the age range that covers adolescence, the majority of high-SES mothers of girls

endorsed the age of 12-13 as start time and 18 years of age as end time for adolescence period. The majority of high-SES mothers of boys endorsed the age of 14-15 as start time and 16-17 as end time for adolescence period. In addition, the majority of low-SES mothers of girls endorsed the age of 12-13 as start time, and 18 as end time for adolescence period. The majority of low-SES mothers of boys endorsed the age of 12-13 as start time, and 20 as end time for adolescence period. It means mothers also confirmed that adolescence period indicated differences between gender (Spear, 2002).

Secondly, mothers' understanding about what differentiates adolescence period from childhood and emerging adulthood has revealed a number of themes. These themes included disobedience, decreasing time with family and increasing time with peers, affect/conduct, independence (positive-negative) and issue of maturity. The theme of "disobedience" was only revealed in the question that focused on the comparison of childhood and adolescence, and it was found that there is no significant difference between two groups of mothers in their endorsement of disobedience. Both high-SES and low-SES mothers thought that their children in the adolescence period were not as compliant as they were in their childhood. On the other hand, high-SES mothers were more likely to differentiate childhood from adolescence by endorsing their children's spending more time with peers and less time with family. When mothers were asked to compare adolescence and adulthood, both group of mothers thought that adolescents would again establish a bond with their families when in their adulthood years.

Furthermore, low-SES mothers were more likely to attribute aggression, problems in anger control to the adolescence period as categorized under "Negative affect/conduct" compared to high-SES mothers. This significant difference was

observed when adolescence period was compared both with the childhood and adulthood. In other words, based on low-SES mothers experience and knowledge, aggression, negative mood and problems in anger control were apparent in adolescence and they thought that these behaviors will decrease when they grow-up.

In addition, only high-SES mothers in the present study focused on the positive side of independence, but only when they were reporting how adolescence differs from childhood. High SES mothers' use of adjectives and statements such as "deciding on his own", "understanding and accepting him/herself as a separate individual", and "standing on their own legs" were coded under this category. Surprisingly, 35% of high-SES mothers also endorsed some concerns about the growing independence striving of their adolescent-aged children. On the one hand, almost half of the mothers' emphasis on the positive side of independence suggested they value certain characteristics of the individualistic cultures such as an emphasis on personal choices, self-esteem, and following own preferences (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Roche et. al. 2014; Tamis-Lemondé et. al., 2007). One can speculate that high-SES participants in the present study showed some features of individualistic cultures because of their higher education level even if the Turkish culture is characterized as collectivistic. This finding is consistent with Kağıtçıbaşı's Family Change Model (1985, 1990, 2007). In this model, families of collectivistic cultures that undergo higher education, modernization and urbanization are characterized as the "family model of psychological interdependence." According to Kağıtçıbaşı's research, parents in this family model do not perceive children's autonomy as a threat and rather value their children's independence (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). On the other hand, as noted above, more than one-third of the mothers also interpreted

independence as “self-centered” and “arrogant.” These findings suggest that there is quite variability within the high-SES mothers with respect to how they perceive and evaluate independence.

Low-SES mothers in the present study did not endorse the concept of independence in a positive way at all as a differentiating feature of adolescence from childhood. Although they acknowledged their adolescents’ striving for independence from their mothers, they evaluated this effort as egocentric and selfish, and they also thought that this striving for independence would decrease in the adulthood period. Thus, one can argue that low-SES mothers in the present study perceived adolescence more in line with the “family model of interdependence” (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005).

In addition, the theme of “maturity” was revealed only in the comparison between adolescence and adulthood. Mothers’ attribution of maturity and personality development to adulthood years suggested that they don’t perceive their adolescent-aged children showing these competencies yet. There was no significant SES group difference between mothers’ endorsements about issue of maturity. In other words, each group of mothers associated adulthood with personality development, being logical, and having communication skills.

5.2 Parental ethnotheories of adolescence

Parental ethnotheories refer to mothers’ socialization goals and their understanding about child-rearing, which are shaped by cultural belief system and socioeconomic differences (Keller, 2003; Lamm et. al., 2007; Super & Harkness, 1997). In this study, one major goal was to explore parental ethnotheories, specifically in relation to mothers’

description of an adolescent who is doing well. Furthermore, mothers' statements about what makes them happy and concerned about their children were also taken into consideration to better understand their views of adolescents' wellbeing.

Results were consistent with the first hypothesis of this study which suggested that mothers' education level would play a role in mothers' conceptualization of ethnotheories. In the present study, when high-SES mothers described a teenager who is doing well, they endorsed more individualistic competences such as self-confident and assertiveness in their answers. This finding was consistent with previous qualitative research that also showed highly educated mothers' emphasis on such attributes (Martinez et. al., 2012). These findings also fit with research findings that reveal parents' awareness of their children's needs for autonomy, self-esteem, and self-assertion in the period of adolescence (Normi, 2004; Steinberg & Morris, 2001; Ramirez, Oshin, & Milan, 2017).

It was also found that there was a significant difference between the endorsement of these two categories in the answers of low-SES mothers. Low SES mothers endorsed relational competences such as obedience, respect, and decency significantly more than individualistic competences. This pattern suggested that low-SES mothers showed the features of "family model of interdependence" given their relative emphasis on appropriate conduct and conformity with parental expectations (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005, 2007).

The endorsement of respect was also analyzed to see whether it was the common value for both groups of mothers. Results also showed that there was no significant difference between high-SES and low-SES mothers in terms of their endorsement of

“being respectful” in their definitions. This finding implied that both groups shared the features of collectivistic cultures in terms of its value on respect (Chao, 2000; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Smetana, 2002). However, in the case of high-SES mothers, there was a balanced endorsement of individualistic and relational competences. This suggested that high SES mothers valued their children’s confidence and assertiveness but also expected respectful demeanor. This pattern of endorsement seemed to fit with the “family model of psychological interdependence”.

Mothers’ happiness and concerns related to their children were also inquired to better understand their conceptualization of a teenager who is doing well. Same categorization was applied for the answers as discussed in the results section. It was observed that high-SES mothers endorsed more individualistic competences in their reasons for happiness in contrast to low-SES mothers. This result also confirmed the previous finding and put more emphasis on features in collectivistic cultures. It was also found that there was a significant difference between the endorsement of individualistic and relational competences in the answers of high-SES mothers and low-SES mothers. High-SES mothers endorsed individualistic competences significantly more than relational competences when they described their happiness, but not when describing their concerns. Low SES mothers endorsed relational competences significantly more than individualistic competences when they described both their happiness and concerns. This pattern was consistent with the results of previous question which suggested that low-SES mothers showed the features of “family model of interdependence” (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005, 2007). Their answers, more specifically their positive and negative

mood, were affected based on their children's behaviors and it indicated that they gave relatively more importance to appropriate conduct and conformity.

Mothers' thoughts about unacceptable behaviors or desires of their children were also asked. The most common answer endorsed by the majority of mothers in each group was the category of "smoking/drinking". Apart from their socioeconomic status, each group of mothers shared the same concern for their children since in this age peer influence for substance use is indeed prevalent (Fujimoto & Valente, 2012; Tucker, de la Haye, Kennedy, Green & Pollard, 2014; Valente, Fujimoto, Soto, Ritt-Olson & Unger, 2013). Surprisingly, any low-SES mothers endorsed disrespect as an unacceptable in response to this question although they have mentioned respect as a salient component of their well-functioning adolescent. One can speculate that low-SES mothers were thinking of the worst scenario when they were asked about the unacceptable behavior. Given that substance use is relatively common in poor neighborhoods (Criss, Rodriguez & Goldman, 2016; Coley, Sims, Dearing & Spielvogel, 2018; Fagan, Wright, & Pinchevsky, 2015), substance use may have occurred to them as more salient and more unacceptable compared to being disrespectful. Furthermore, low SES mothers definitely expected to be informed about their children's whereabouts. It could validate that they had difficulties to feel safe when their children going outside because of the quality of their neighborhood (Cuellar, Jones & Sterrett, 2015; Jones, Loiselle & Highlander, 2018), so they may need to be informed in case of any dangerous situation.

5.2.1 Emphasis on independence: Autonomy granting versus expectation of obedience

Mothers' emphasis on independence was reviewed not only by the endorsement in the previous questions but also through the whole transcript to understand mothers' conceptualization, verbalization, and discourse toward the theme of independence. Remarks on independence was estimated in a positive and/or in a negative way during the interview. Positive endorsement of independence reflected mothers' respect for the adolescents' opinions, personality, and decision-making. Negative endorsement of independence reflected mothers' intervention, intrusiveness, and expectation of obedience.

Overall, a positive emphasis was more common in high-SES group and a negative emphasis was more common in low-SES group. For instance, while high-SES mothers mentioned about the importance of being an individual and have a unique character, low-SES mothers were more likely to mention about them as unwanted characteristics. This finding was consistent with the study of Martinez and colleagues (2012) which put emphasis on the society norms, the importance of accepting rules and respect in low-SES mothers. However, high-SES parents put more emphasis on independent decision-making and taking responsibility also the quality of communication between them and their children and not being an authority figure.

5.3 Autonomy granting

Autonomy is one of the basic needs to provide psychological well-being mentioned in the Self-Determination Theory (SDT, Deci & Ryan, 1985; 2000; 2008). It helps

adolescents to be psychologically mature and a competent individual as part of their psychosocial development (Inguglia et. al., 2015; Zimmer-Gembeck & Collins, 2003). Therefore, the current study aimed to explore mothers' autonomy granting in terms of behavioral and psychological domains of development.

5.3.1 Behavioral autonomy granting

Questions related to daily and social activities of adolescents tapped behavioral autonomy granting. Children's daily activities such as deciding which books to read, which music to listen, which clothing to choose, or which TV programme to watch are examples of behavioral autonomy domains. The findings of the present study revealed that there was no significant difference in the endorsement of behavioral autonomy between low- and high-SES mothers. In other words, both groups of mothers were equally likely to say that they let their adolescent-aged child to do these activities on their own.

5.3.2 Psychological autonomy granting

To investigate psychological autonomy granting, mothers were asked about their opinions toward their children's participation in decision-making, voicing their own opinions, and solving problems on their own. Results indicated that both groups of mothers ask their children opinions about family issues such as decisions about holidays or buying something for the family. However, there were more mothers in the high-SES group who stated that they would ask their children's opinions for also issues related themselves. It indicated that high-SES mothers seen their adolescence-aged children as

an individual who can give them advice. This finding was consistent with the previous findings of this study which implied that high-SES mothers described adolescence period with more positive remarks on independence, they were more likely to see adolescents as a separate individual. In addition, this was also consistent with the previous finding that pointed out parents' who granted psychological autonomy were more likely to encourage their children to express their point of views in decisions (Kunz & Grych, 2013; Roer-Strier & Rivlis, 1998).

High-SES mothers were also more likely to let their children voice their own opinions in contrast to low-SES group. Mothers explained that it is normal for the adolescents to voice their own opinions because they try to express their existence, individuality and form their personality. In addition, mothers thought that the key solution was here to be respectful and not to push their children to have the same opinion with them because it could cause more conflicts and distance between mother and child. These explanations of mothers suggest the co-existence of autonomy and relatedness and fit with the characteristics of the family model of psychological interdependence (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca,2005).

Furthermore, the majority of mothers in the high-SES group and in the low-SES group stated that their children were self-reliant when they encountered a problem. Mothers endorsed that their children's first attempt was to struggle by themselves and then they informed their parents about the situation or problem. They also endorsed that if their children were not capable of solving the problem, they were ready to solve it together. None of the high- and low-SES mothers endorsed that they would push their children to be self-reliant. This approach suggested that they granted children autonomy

but also provided support as to scaffold them. This discourse was consistent with the implications of the Self Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1985; 2000; 2008), which pointed out that not only autonomy but also relatedness are two basic human needs for human-beings to motivate them to overcome challenges. It was also consistent with the previous empirical research which discussed that the pressure may increase the distance and decrease the intimacy in parent-child relationship (Van Petegem, Beyers, Vansteenkiste & Soenens, 2012).

5.4 Expectation from an adolescence in a family environment

Mothers' were asked about their opinions regarding their children's contribution to housework and working in a job. The majority of mothers from both high-SES and low-SES groups stated that their children should take responsibility in housework with contributions such as making their bed, setting a table, preparing breakfast, and to empty the dishwasher. Previous finding from Value of Children studies indicated that mothers' expectations decreased toward the helping housework with the increasing time and more-educated mothers were less likely to have these expectations (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). However, this result of the present study indicated that both groups of mothers had similar expectations for their children to contribute house. Mothers may think that being capable of doing housework increase their children's self-reliance and help them to stand on their own legs.

However, in terms of opinions towards working in a job, surprisingly, less mothers in the low-SES group than in the high-SES group indicated their willingness for their child's working. This finding suggested that low-SES mothers in the present study

did not hold utilitarian values and did not expect children to provide financial contribution to the family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1985, 1990, 2007). On the contrary, low-SES mothers had educational aspiration for their children. They wanted their children to be more successful in school than themselves and they thought that working in a job would pose an obstacle to their academic success. This result was consistent with the Value of Children II (VoC II) study findings, which also indicated a substantial decrease in the material expectation from children in low SES families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). In addition, answers of high-SES mothers revealed that their expectations from their children to be experienced in real life, rather than financial contribution. One may speculate that with the developing educational and academic opportunities, high-SES mothers would think that working could broaden their children's horizon and prepare them to be experienced and self-confident in their future jobs.

5.5 Gender differences

Each question was reviewed to understand whether there was any apparent gender difference between the answers of mothers in each group. In terms of conceptualization of adolescence period, results indicated that mothers of boys in each SES group attributed more disobedience and negative affect to the adolescence period in contrast to childhood and adulthood. In addition, when parental ethnotheories were investigated in terms of gender, it was found that calm demeanor as a reason of happiness were only apparent in mothers of boys in the answer of high-SES mothers. It was also consistent with their endorsement of disobedience and negative affect. In addition, it also

confirmed the previous studies which observed more aggression in adolescent boys than girls (Archer, 2009; Perry & Pauletti, 2011).

In terms of behavioral autonomy, mothers of boys in each group were also higher than mothers of girls in their endorsement about intervention of study time and schedule. This result was also confirmed that girls' lower level of problem behavior such as aggression could reflect their higher level of success in school (Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer & Crouter, 2006). Therefore, it could be possible that mothers of girls did not need to intervene their children study programme. In terms of psychological autonomy, more mothers of girls in each group endorsed their tendency to ask for their children's opinion. It could be associated with girls' same-sex relationships were more likely to include intimacy, caring, and validation (Perry & Pauletti, 2011). Therefore, it could be possible for mothers to ask for their opinions as a part of their relationships. When two groups of mothers' answers were reviewed in terms of their genuine autonomy granting in the question about voicing opinion, it was observed that in each group granting genuine autonomy was more common in mothers of boys, rather than mothers of girls. Surprisingly, more high-SES mothers of girls endorsed the category of unacceptable in contrast to low-SES mothers. It could be evaluated that although two groups were significantly different in their educational level, their endorsement of gender specific answers indicated similarity as a part of collectivistic culture (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Gender differences also were not apparent in the question which focused on the child's contribution of housework and expectations of working. This could confirm that with the increase in urbanization, maternal expectations toward boys

and girls would differ as presented in the “Value of Children II” (VoC II). (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).

5.6 Generational differences

Mothers’ interpretation and evaluation of their own upbringing in adolescence and their reflections on their own parents’ attitudes were asked to explore generational differences. Fewer mothers in the low-SES group found similarities between their own and their mothers’ way of caring for adolescents. On the other hand, the majority of high-SES mothers stated that their parenting was similar to their own mothers.

First, generational similarities that high-SES mothers noticed between their parenting and their own mothers’ parenting included having a relaxed attitude, and sensitivity to child’s needs as well as open communication with children. On the other hand, the generational similarities that low-SES mothers mentioned included insistence about studying, caring for the child’s diet, not letting them to go outside alone, and being concerned when child is outside. Only one low-SES mother endorsed that she behaves strictly like her mother.

Second, more than half of the high-SES mothers who endorsed differences mentioned about their parents behaved more strict and they reported that they try not behave as strict as their own parents. On the other hand, the majority of low-SES mothers mentioned that their adolescence period was full of pressure, strictness, and rules because of their parents’ practices. These results suggested that mothers from lower educational background perceived their own mothers’ strict parenting practices as wrong and they have motivation to show change in the way they care for their

adolescents. Since they endorsed that they did not want their children to confront with same problem, they wanted them to be more independent, self-confident, affectionate and educated. This finding is consistent with the previous findings, which elaborated differences in mothers and grandmothers in terms of their understanding toward autonomy because of changes in social structure (Keller & Greenfield, 2000). Other studies have also shown that mothers endorsed more autonomy and grandmothers endorsed more obedience (Lamm et. al., 2008; Zhou et. al., 2017).

5.6 Strengths and limitations of the current study

There is lack of research investigating parental ethnotheories with Turkish caregivers, especially in the context of autonomy. The present study aimed to fill in this gap by providing data from semi-structured interviews with high- and low-SES mothers. Asking open-ended questions provided researcher to reveal hidden variables such as conceptualization and discourse of participants, which were elaborated in their answers (Doody & Noonan, 2013; Knox, & Burkard 2009).

The present study has a number of limitations as well. Given the qualitative nature of the study, we restricted the number of informants to 40 mothers with 20 mothers from each SES group. This relatively small sample size was deemed necessary to conduct in-depth interviews and elicit further information that would go beyond the first answers that mothers provided. Future research should also include interviews with adolescents to better understand their perceptions of autonomy. Such research could illuminate how mothers' and adolescents' perceived autonomy are similar or different from each other (Pérez, Cumsille, & Martínez, 2016). Furthermore, past research pointed out that

perceived parental autonomy relates to adolescents' well-being (Duineveld, Parker, Ryan, Ciarrochi, & Salmela-Aro, 2017). The present study lacks data on mothers' view of their adolescent-aged children's well-being. Finally, gender differences were not investigated in a quantitative manner in this study because of the restrictions in sample size and the methodology.

5.7 Conclusions

Interviewing high- and low-SES Turkish mothers of adolescents contributed to an understanding of parental ethnotheories. Although Turkish culture have collectivistic features in general, educational differences causes the changes in the maternal perspective and reflected the features of individualistic culture. Findings suggest that high-SES mothers differed from low-SES mothers in terms of understanding toward adolescence period and autonomy granting to adolescents. They put greater emphasis on autonomy which is the component of psychological well-being (Deci & Ryan, 1985). by reflecting the family model of psychological interdependence whereas low-SES mothers reflected the family model of interdependence (Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005). The next step for research in this area should be to investigate how these differences in parental understanding and conceptualization are perceived by adolescents and affect parent-child relationships. Understanding this can contribute as richer insight into Turkish culture, more specifically changes in Turkish families.

APPENDIX A
CONSENT FORM

Araştırmayı destekleyen kurum: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü
Araştırmanın Adı: Annelerin Ergenlik Dönemine Bakış Açısı
Proje Yürütücüsü: Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı
E-mail adresi: feyza.corapci@boun.edu.tr
Telefonu: 0212 359 73 23
Araştırmacının Adı: Nihan Keşir
E-mail adresi: nihankesir@gmail.com

Sayın Veli,

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü öğretim üyesi Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı “Annelerin Ergenlik Dönemine Bakış Açısı” adı altında bilimsel bir araştırma projesi yürütmektedir. Bu çalışmanın amacı annelerin ergen çocuklarının gelişimlerine dair beklentilerini araştırmaktır. Mevcut çalışma, bu amaçla ülkemizde yürütülen önemli ve güncel çalışmalardan biri olacaktır. Bu çalışmanın yürütülmesi için gerekli izinler alınmıştır. Kararınızdan önce araştırma hakkında sizi bilgilendirmek istiyoruz. Bu bilgileri okuduktan sonra araştırmaya katılmak isterseniz bu formu imzalayıp size verilen zarf içinde bize vermeniz yeterli olacaktır.

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde, öncelikle sizden 5 dakika sürecek kısa bir demografik bilgi formu doldurmanız beklenecektir. Demografik form çocuğunuzun doğum tarihi, cinsiyeti, sizin doğum tarihiniz, mesleğiniz, eğitiminiz gibi konular hakkında sorular içerecektir. Sonrasında, sizinle bireysel bir görüşme gerçekleştirilecektir. Bu görüşmede çocuğunuzun ergenlik dönemindeki deneyimleri ve sizin bunlara ilişkin görüşleriniz üzerinde durulacaktır. Görüşme sürecin kısa sürmesine katkı sağlaması ve daha sonrasında sonuçların hesaplanabilmesi amacıyla kayıt cihazı tarafından kaydedilecektir. Bu kısım yaklaşık 20-25 dakika sürecek ve sorular sizin özerklik tutumunuzu ölçmeye yönelik olacaktır. Bütün bu aşamalarda araştırmacı yardımı ihtiyacınız olması durumunda size eşlik edecektir.

Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas tutulmaktadır. Dosya kayıtlarında katılımcıların ismi yerine bir numara kullanılacak ve katılımcıların isimleri kendilerinden alınan verilerle eşleştirilmeyecektir. Toplanan veriler bireysel olarak değil toplu olarak değerlendirilip yayınlanacaktır. Kullanılacak ses kayıtları araştırmacılar dışında hiç kimseye paylaşılmayacaktır ve araştırma sonlandığında silinecektir. Araştırmaya katılmak tamamen isteğe bağlıdır. Katıldığınız takdirde araştırmanın herhangi bir aşamasında bir sebep göstermeden araştırmadan çekilmek hakkına sahipsiniz. Bu çalışma Boğaziçi Üniversitesi etik kurulu tarafından onaylanmıştır. Araştırma projesi hakkında ek bilgi almak istediğiniz takdirde lütfen Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Prof. Dr. Feyza Çorapçı (Telefon: : 0212 359 73 23) veya araştırmacı Nihan Keşir ile temasa geçiniz (Telefon: 0505 777 19 92, Adres: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü, 34342 Bebek, İstanbul). Araştırmayla ilgili haklarınız konusunda yerel etik kurullarına veya Boğaziçi Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Kurumsal Değerlendirme Alt Kurulu’na (INAREK)

danışabilirsiniz. Eğer bu araştırma projesine katılmayı kabul ediyorsanız, lütfen bu formu imzalayıp kapalı bir zarf içerisinde bize geri yollayın.

Ben, (katılımcının adı), yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkanı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir olumsuzluk ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım.

Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Formun bir örneğini aldım / almak istemiyorum (bu durumda araştırmacı bu kopyayı saklar).

Katılımcının Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Adresi (varsa Telefon No, E-mail):.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

Araştırmacının Adı-Soyadı:.....

İmzası:.....

Tarih (gün/ay/yıl):...../...../.....

APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION FORM

1. The code number on the envelope: _____
2. The date you completed the questionnaire: Day____ Month____ Year_____
3. Child's date of birth: Day____ Month____ Year_____
4. Child's gender (please mark): Male ___ Female ___
5. Child's number of siblings: _____

	MOTHER	FATHER
Date of birth	____/____/____ Day Month Year	____/____/____ Day Month Year
Job	-----	-----
Working Status	1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Full-time (40 hours per week) <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Part-time (less than 40 hours per week) <input type="checkbox"/>	1. No <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Full-time (40 hours per week) <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Part-time (less than 40 hours per week) <input type="checkbox"/>
Marital Status	1. Married <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Single, Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Remarried <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Widowed <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Married <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Single, Divorced <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Remarried <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Widowed <input type="checkbox"/>
Education	(Please circle the appropriate option) 1. Primary school leave 2. Primary school graduate 3. Secondary school leave 4. Secondary school graduate 5. High school leave 6. High school graduate 7. Vocational-school graduate 8. University leave 9. University graduate 10. Post graduate degree (MA or Ph.D.)	(Please circle the appropriate option) 1. Primary school leave 2. Primary school graduate 3. Secondary school leave 4. Secondary school graduate 5. High school leave 6. High school graduate 7. Vocational-school graduate 8. University leave 9. University graduate 10. Post graduate degree (MA or Ph.D.)
Total Years of Education		
The total income of the family (Monthly)	1. Less than 1000 TL 2. 1000 - 3000 TL 3. 3001 - 5000 TL 4. 5001 - 7000 TL 5. 7001 – 10000 TL 6. More than 10000 TL	

Turkish Version of Demographic Information Form

1. Zarfın üzerinde bulunan kod numarası: _____
2. Anketi doldurduğunuz tarih: Gün _____ Ay _____ Yıl _____
3. Çocuğunuzun doğum tarihi: Gün _____ Ay _____ Yıl _____
4. Çocuğunuzun cinsiyeti (lütfen işaretleyiniz): Erkek _____ Kız _____
5. Çocuğunuzun kardeş sayısı:
6. Çocuğunuzun doğum sırası:

	ANNE	BABA
Doğum Tarihi	____/____/____ Gün Ay Yıl	____/____/____ Gün Ay Yıl
Mesleği	-----	-----
Çalışma Durumu	1. Hayır <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Tam-zamanlı (haftada 40 saat) <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Yarı-zamanlı (haftada 40 saatten az) <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Hayır <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Tam-zamanlı (haftada 40 saat) <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Yarı-zamanlı (haftada 40 saatten az) <input type="checkbox"/>
Medeni Hali	1. Evli <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Bekar, Boşanmış <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Yeniden Evlenmiş <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Dul <input type="checkbox"/>	1. Evli <input type="checkbox"/> 2. Bekar, Boşanmış <input type="checkbox"/> 3. Yeniden Evlenmiş <input type="checkbox"/> 4. Dul <input type="checkbox"/>
Eğitim	(Uygun olan seçeneğin önündeki rakamı daire içine alınız) 1. İlkokul terk 2. İlkokul mezunu 3. Ortaokul terk 4. Ortaokul mezunu 5. Lise terk 6. Lise mezunu 7. Yüksekokul mezunu 8. Üniversite terk 9. Üniversite mezunu 10. Uzmanlık derecesi (master ya da doktora)	(Uygun olan seçeneğin önündeki rakamı daire içine alınız) 1. İlkokul terk 2. İlkokul mezunu 3. Ortaokul terk 4. Ortaokul mezunu 5. Lise terk 6. Lise mezunu 7. Yüksekokul mezunu 8. Üniversite terk 9. Üniversite mezunu 10. Uzmanlık derecesi (master ya da doktora)
Toplam eğitim süresi (yıl olarak hesaplanmış şekilde)		
Ailenin toplam geliri (Aylık)	1000 TL'nin altında 1000 - 3000 TL 3001 - 5000 TL 5001 - 7000 TL 7001 - 10000 TL 10000 TL'nin üzerinde	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What do you think about the ages of adolescence period?
2. What are the differences between childhood and adolescence?
3. What are the differences between adulthood and adolescence?
4. How do you describe an adolescence who is doing well?
 - a. What characteristics an adolescence should have? How an adolescence should behave?

Now, let's talk about your child;

5. Which behaviors or characteristics of your child make you happy?
6. Which behaviors or characteristics of your child makes you concerned? What is certainly unacceptable for you?
7. Which behaviors or daily activities would your child engage and decide on his/her own? (This question was asked with 9-examples)
 - a. What is your opinion about your child's deciding which books to read?
 - b. What is your opinion about your child's deciding which music to listen?
 - c. What is your opinion about your child's deciding on his/her own physical appearances (hair, dress, etc.)?
 - d. What is your opinion about your child's deciding his/her meals or meal time?
 - e. What is your opinion about your child's deciding which TV programme to watch?
 - f. What is your opinion about your child's deciding his/her study time/schedule?
 - g. What is your opinion about your child's travelling alone? (by walking or using public transportation/taxi)
 - h. What is your opinion about your child's going to doctor alone?

- i. What is your opinion about your child's staying alone at home in your absence?
8. In which topics you ask for your child's opinion? What is your common topics of arguments?
What do you think if your child has different opinion from you?
9. How does your child handle with a problem? Does he/she try to solve or seek for help?
10. What is your opinion your child's contributing to housework?
11. What is your opinion about your child's working in a job and spending the money on his/her own?
12. Now, please think about your adolescence period and your parents' behaviors and attitudes toward you. Do you think you are similar with them or you are different from them? What are the similarities or differences?

Turkish Version of the Interview Questions

1. Size göre ergenlik dönemi hangi yaş aralığındadır?
2. Sizce çocukluk dönemi ile ergenlik dönemi arasında ne gibi farklar vardır?
3. Sizce ergenlik dönemi ile yetişkinlik dönemi arasında ne gibi farklar vardır?
4. İyi bir ergeni nasıl tanımlarsınız?
 - a. Sizce bir ergen ne gibi özelliklere sahip olmalıdır? Nasıl davranmalıdır?

Sizin çocuğunuzdan bahsedecek olursak;

5. Çocuğunuzda hangi davranışları/özellikleri görmek sizi mutlu eder?
6. Çocuğunuzda hangi davranışları/özellikleri görmek sizi kaygılandırır? (Anneyi dinledikten sonra ayrıca “Çocuğunuzun sizin için kesinlikle kabul edilemeyecek istekleri ya da davranışları neler olabilir?” diye sorulmalıdır.)
7. Çocuğunuz kendisi ile ilgili hangi aktiviteler ve sorumluluklara kendisi karar verebilir? Örnekler verir misiniz?
 - a. Okuyacağı dergi ve kitaplara kendisi karar vermesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - b. Hangi müzikleri dinleyeceğine kendisi karar vermesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - c. Hangi kıyafeti alacağına ve hangi saç şeklini kullanacağına kendisi karar vermesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - d. Ne yiyeceği ve ne zaman yiyeceğine kendisi karar vermesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - e. Hangi TV programını veya hangi filmi izleyeceğine, ne kadar süre TV izleyeceğine/bilgisayar kullanacağına kendisi karar vermesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - f. Ödevlerini hangi saatte yapabileceğine kendisi karar vermesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz?
 - g. Tek başına bir yerden bir yere gitmesi hakkında ne düşünüyorsunuz? (Örn., okul, dersane, alışveriş merkezi vs.)

- h. Doktora yalnız gimesi hakkında ne düşünöyorsunuz?
- i. Siz evde yokken tek başına kalması hakkında ne düşünöyorsunuz?
8. Siz hangi konularda çocuđunuzun fikrini alırsınız? Neler hakkında tartışma yaşarsınız?
Sizden farklı görüşlere sahip olması hakkında ne düşünöyorsunuz?
9. Çocuđunuz bir sorunu olduđunda bununla nasıl başa çıkar? İlk kimin fikrini alır/kime danışır?
10. Çocuđunuzun ev işlerine yardım etmesine bakış açınız nedir?
11. Çocuđunuzun bir işte çalışması hakkında ne düşünöyorsunuz? Kazandıđı parayı bağımsız harcaması ile ilgili ne düşünöyorsunuz?
12. Kendi anne-babanızın siz ergenken size nasıl davrandıđını düşünün. Siz de kendi çocuđunuza onların size davrandıđı gibi mi davranıyorsunuz? Ne gibi farklılıklar ve benzerlikler gözlemliyorsunuz?

APPENDIX D

ORIGINAL TURKISH QUOTATIONS FROM THE INTERVIEWS

1. Ergenliğin ben her insanda dönem dönem hala devam ettiğine inanıyorum. Bir zaman belirleyemiyorum. Çocuğum 2 yaşındayken çocuk psikoloğu ergenliğe girdiğini söylemişti, 2 yaş durumu var sanırım bir. Aynı şekilde kadınlar da menopoza girerken ya da erkekler de antropoza girerken bir ergende görülmeyen hal ve hareketleri görüyoruz.
2. Ergenlik dönemine geçiş biraz daha insanın kendini birey olarak hissetmeye başladığı bir dönem bence ve kendini kanıtlamaya çalıştığı bir dönem, o yüzden çocukluk döneminden farklı. Kendini kanıtlamaya, göstermeye çalışıyor, kişiliğini tanımaya çalışıyor ve çevresine tanıtmaya, kabul ettirmeye çalışıyor.
3. Daha bireysel iletişim kurdukları bir dönem. Zaman zaman daha yalnız kalmayı istedikleri bir dönem...Daha yalnız kalma daha kendi kararlarını vermek istedikleri bir dönem bence.
4. Kalabalık bir ailede olsa bile kendine ait kimlik ve karakterini hissettirmesi gerekiyor bence. Ağabeyinin ya da ablasının aynısı gibi değil de kendine ait bir standart oluşturması. “Evet bu bu oğluma has bir şey, onun da standardı bu.” diyebilmem. Onu görürsem herhalde “İyi bir ergenlik geçiriyor.” derim. Kendine has olması, arkadaşının veya ağabeyinin kopyası olmaması beni mutlu eder.
5. Hepsine karar veriyor çünkü benim istediğim değil ne istediği önemli.
6. Ben kızıma o konularda çok güvenirim. Mesela şu yaşa geldi kızım, ben bir kere bile ona “Kızım dersine çalış.” dediğimi hatırlamam. Kendi sorumluluklarını aldı gidiyor zaten.
7. Kendini geliştirsin ve açsın isterim. Bana bağlı olmaması gerekiyor.
8. Mesela bizi dinler, bize sormadan bir yerlere gitmez, bana sorarak hareket eder, öyle aşırı bir üzdüğünü de görmedim yani.
9. Küçükken her şeye uyum sağlıyor ama büyüyünce kendi başına olmak istiyor, kendi başına gitmek istiyor. Önceden ben ne yaparsam ona uyum sağlıyordu ama şimdi “Ben kendim gideceğim. Kendi alacağım.” Bazen hoşuma gitmiyor bu. Bir de boş bırakmaman lazım, biraz sıkacaksın ki sonunda terbiyeli olsun diye.
10. Söz dinlemiyor, “Benim dediğim olacak” diyor, bir şey yaparken “Ben kendim karar verebilirim” diyor. Biraz agresif oluyor. Çocukken daha yumuşaktı, ne desem yapardı

sözümü dinlerdi. Şimdi gideceği yerlere tek başına gitmek istiyor. “Kendi kararlarımı verebilirim” diyor.

11. Çocukken daha uyumlu oluyordu. Daha her şeye ikna edilebilir oluyordu. Ama ergenlik dönemine girdiğinde ikna daha zor oluyor ve her şeye muhalefet ediyorlar zorlanıyoruz.
12. Kızım daha baskın karakterli, itirazları var. Sonuna kadar seni zorluyor, muhalefet anlamında, kabul ettirene kadar.
13. Anneye göre değişiyor bu durum. Anne olunca senin sözünü dinlesin, bir şeylere “Tamam anneciğim” demesi. Ben ona diyorum “Bir şey söylediğim zaman bir kere de “Tamam anneciğim.” de ve hemen karşı çıkma. Benim istediğim mesela bu. Daha sakın yapıda olması benim istediğim.
14. Bir yere tatile, alışverişe, sinemaya gideceksek mesela genelde onun fikrini alıyoruz, kendi kararlarımı ifade edebilirler çocuklar.
15. Tatile giderken mutlaka oteli onun seçmesini isterim keyif alması için. Aqua parkı çok seviyor, ona göre seçer.
16. Pek çok konuda fikrini alırım. Atıyorum iş yerindeki yerleşim düzeninden tut da, kendime aldığım herhangi bir kıyafet için bile danışabilirim, fikirlerini beğenirim. Pek çok şeyi konuşuruz evde ne pişireceğimi bile bazen sorarım ona.
17. Mesela ben telefon alacaksam ona sorarım o çünkü teknolojiyi daha iyi biliyor benden.
18. Kendini ifade edebilir. Mesela tatil organizasyonları, aile ile ilgili şeyler, onun dışında bir yere gideceksek gelmek isteyip istememesine kendisi karar verir. İşin açıkçası, küçük kardeşleri bize daha bağımlı oluyorlar ama bu yaş döneminde kendi gelmek istemiyorsa, mesela bir düğün veya kahvaltılı organizasyonu, zorla bir yere götürmüyorum.
19. Her konuda fikrini alırım. Kendi kıyafetlerim konusunda, gideceğimiz tatil konusunda, yapacağımız programlar ve etkinliklerde... Çünkü gerçekten normalinde olgun bir çocuk. Şuanda duyguları bence çok karışık. Ama ben ona her şeyi sorabilirim. Aramızda çok güzel bir diyalog var aslında.
20. Şöyle bir şey diyeyim, mesela alışveriş olsun, evdeki günlük yaşantımızda olsun eşimle çocuklara sorarız biz. Bir şey alacaksak mesela sorarız çocuklara. Çocukların fikrini alırız biz her konuda. Yarın ne olacağını bilemeyiz, onlar da kendi ayakları üzerinde dursunlar, hayatı öğrensin. Nereye ne yapılacağını bilsinler.

21. Evle ilgili şeylerde de her konuda fikrini almayı çok doğru bulmuyorum, sonra her şeyi kendine hak gören bir nesil yetişiyor. Belki şimdiden sonra (bu yaşından sonra) sormamız daha olabilir, belki artık onu ilgilendirmeye de başlıyor. Mesela evi ne renge boyacağımızı sormayız, çünkü bu bir yük. Ama tatil programlarını sorarız, onun da gitmek istediği bir yer olabilir diye. Biraz sınırları da bilmesi gerektiğini düşünüyorum ama onunla ilgili konularda zaten sorarız.
22. Hiç onun fikrini almadım ama... Ona bir şey alınacaksa soruyoruz ama evle ilgili şeylerde genelde biz karar veriyoruz, ona sormuyoruz. O da evle ilgili kararlara karışmaz.
23. Genelde kardeşlerini dövüyor, o yüzden. Kardeşler arasındaki sorunlar yüzünden.
24. Kardeşle kavga ettiğinde. Anlaşamıyorlar, birbirlerinin odasına girmeye bile yasak koymuşlar.
25. Ders konusu, alınan notlar, çalışıp çalışmaması. Bazen ödev yapmama konusunda tartıştığımız oluyor. İnatlaşmalar oluyor bazen, çok yıpratıcı olduğu için ben de o durumda kesiyorum orada o konuşmayı. En iyisi o çünkü sonumuz yok ben beyaz diyorum o siyah diyor ikimiz de ortada ulaşamıyorsak ben kesiyorum konuşmayı.
26. Çok tartışma yaşamıyoruz ama bazen o çok rahat davrandığı zaman ben geriliyorum. Özellikle sınav dönemlerinde böyle yaptığı zaman. Çok hırslı olmayan bir çocuk, arkadaşlarıyla asla rekabet etmez. Biz çünkü ailede not önemli değil falan diye yetiştirdik dolayısıyla o da "Not önemli değil, ben biliyorum zaten bunu yaptım, sınav da ne ki?" falan diyor. Haklı, destekliyorum ama şuanki eğitim sisteminde ne yazık ki ya da Türkiye'de bunlar önemli oluyor. En fazla tartıştığımız bu.
27. Hep ona "ders çalış" dediğimizi düşünüyor, tabii o kısmı görüyor. Yaptıklarını görmediğimizi düşünüyor.
28. Görüşler uyuşmazsa herhalde "Biz anne-babayız. Bizim dediğimiz olacak." deriz herhalde, o konuda otorite olurum diye düşünüyorum.
29. Bilmiyorum ki, nasıl başa çıkarım? Görüşlerine saygı duyarım bence, onunki ayırdır benimki ayırdır çünkü.
30. Bizden farklı bir görüşü olduğunda da saygı duyarım, tartışma şeklinde olmaz ama konuşuruz.

31. Mesleki olarak buna açık olmam gerekir aslında ama anne olarak kafamda çocuklarımla ilgili tabii ki bir takım düşünceler var. O zaman sanırım biraz yönlendirici olabiliyorum.
32. Bizden çok farklı bir siyasi ya da dini bir görüşe sahip olsaydı bir şekilde onu ikna ederdik.
33. Öyle bir şeyle karşılaşmadık bilmiyorum ama heralde garip karşılarım, doğal karşılamayabilirim.
34. . Ama ben çok o konulara girmek istemiyorum şu dönemde, özellikle dini konularda mesela. Onun kafası karışık şuanda, onun netleşmesi lazım, etkilemek istemiyorum yani. Yani verilen bir şey vardır ya zaten, ondan sapmasın. Onun kontrolündeyim, ana hatlarıyla bir şeyleri bilsin, inansın ama çok sapmasın.
35. Şuanda bizimle paralel düşünüyor, bu da bizi mutlu ediyor açıkcası. Benim en kaygılandığım şeylerden biri buydu aslında. “Acaba bizim dünya görüşümüz dışında başka şeylere kayar mı? Başka ideolojik şeylere kayar mı?” diye endişe ediyordum aslında.
36. istemediğiniz bir şeyse tabii ki insanlık gereği hepimiz yönlendirmeye çalışırız. “Yönlendirmiyorum.” diyen yalan söyler. Şimdi çok küçükler bunları tartışmıyoruz ama daha ileriki zamanlar için söylüyorum. Tabii ki bir şekilde ona müdahale etmek istersiniz sizin doğrunuz o olduğu için.
37. Bizim görüşümüzden farklı bir görüş istemem herhalde. Mesela farz edelim çok uç bir nokta olarak tercihleri farklı olsa, bunu eşimle de konuştum, sonuçta çocuğum atıp satamam. Döndürmeye çalışırım tercihlerinden, ısrar ederim yılmadan.
38. Bizden farklı bir görüşü olduğunda da saygı duyarım, tartışma şeklinde olmaz ama konuşuruz.
39. Saygı duyuyorum, biliyorum onun hangi görüşte olduğunu, bize de tam ters. (Siyasi görüşten bahsediyor.) Ama hiçbir zaman karşı gelmedik. Ne yapabilirim? Saygı duyarım. Sanmıyorum onunla biz aynı görüşte olduğumuzu o konuda, siyasi olarak.
40. Böyle bir şey yaşanmadı ama görüş uyuşmazlığı yaşadığımız başka konularda genelde ben onlara uydum. Diyorum ya ben bu kağıdı beğendiysen diğer kağıdı gözüm görmez. Hep kendimi suçlarım “Acaba çocuk bunda ne buldu?” düşünürüm yani. Bir de onun açısından dinlerim. O şekilde düşünürüm.

41. Çok farklı görüşümüz yok. Ama ileride benim için kendi ayakları üzerinde dursun onun dışında istediğini yapsın ben o kadar kuralcı değilim. Görüşlerimiz uyuşmazsa oturur, konuşuruz bir orta yol buluruz.
42. Normal karşılarım herhalde, çünkü onlar okuyor artık bir şeyleri görüyor.
43. Saygı duyarım. Bu konuda fikir çatışması yaşamam çünkü herkes kendi özgür düşüncesine sahiptir.
44. İki gün sonra ben ya da babası hayatta olmayabiliriz. Kendi başına bir yerde yaşamak zorunda kalabilir onun için öğrenmeli ve yardımcı olmalı.
45. Ben çok istiyorum, Allah biliyor ya ona da diyorum “Bak oğlum yarın bir gün evleneceksin belki karın çalışıyor olacak ona yardım etmeyecek misin?”
46. Şöyle düşünüyorum, “Nasıl olsa evlendiği zaman mecbur yapacak?” onu düşündüğüm için şimdi baba evinde keyfini sürsün istiyorum.
47. Ev işlerine pek karışmıyor, derslerini çalışsın diye ben de çok şey yapmıyorum.
48. Ben çok güzel sevgi dolu bir ailede büyüdüm Nihan. Biz üç kız kardeşlik babam aşırı derecede sevgi doluydu annem de o şekilde. Annem ve babam ilkokul mezunuydu fakat şey vardı bizde yani oturup bu ay mesela bizim maddi sıkıntımız da varsa babamla annem onu bize hissettirdi, anlatırdı, biz konuşmadan da bazı şeyleri bilirdik, ben onu almışım yani aileden. Oğlum da aynı şekilde yetiştirdim yani.
49. Onların değiştirebileceğim bir yönleri olmadığı için çok, daha onları örnek aldığımı söyleyebilirim. Benzemeye çalışıyorum kesinlikle. Çünkü diğer anne babalardan farklı olduklarının ben o zaman da farkındaydım. Çünkü o dönem için ciddi şeylerdi bunlar, daha modernlerdi.
50. Şanslı görüyorum kendimi çevreme bakınca çok sevgi dolu bir ailede büyüdüğüm için. O yüzden benim de babasıyla beraber kızıma vermek istediğim en önemli şey evimizde huzur olması. Yani böyle biri kapıdan girdiğinde evdeki huzuru hissederdi yani. Hala da hisseder, böyle gergin olmayan bir ortam. Bunu kendi ailemden öğrendim öyle yetiştim. Şimdi kendim de öyle yapmak istiyorum.
51. Annem gibi yaptığım çok şey var ama, anneme her şeyimi anlatırdım. Gizlimiz saklımız yoktu, bunun faydasını kendi çocuğumda gördüm çünkü onun da benden gizlisi saklısı yok. Gizli kapaklı hiçbir şey yapmaz. Güven ilişkisi kurmaya çalışıyorum, arkadaş gibi.
52. Bizim annemiz anne olarak çok otoriterdi. Ben de oğluma “Ben arkadaş gibi olayım.” diye değil hala aynı mayaya ile devam ediyorum. Anne anne gibi otoriter olmalı.
53. Farklı davranıyorum, çok fark var bizlerle onlar arasında. Biz her konuda çocuklarımıza açtık ama biz 15-16 yaşımızdayken hastalandığımızı (adet olduğumuzu) bile annemize söyleyemezdik. Her şey bizlerde kısıtlıydı ama şimdi onlarda olan olanak çok farklı, en

basiti. Bizi alıp da annemiz babamız bizimle konuşmazlardı kesinlikle. Benzerlik yok, zaten benzemesin. Annem çok kuralcıydı. Bizim daha fazla iletişimimiz var. O yüzden olmamaya da gayret gösteriyorum elimden geleni yapıyorum.

54. Farklı davranıyorum, annem köyde olduğu için benimle ilgilenemedi. Çünkü sürekli tarlada dışarıdaldı. Ben eşimle ve çocuklarımla sürekli bir aradayım, ben çocuklarıma daha ilgiliyim. Annem çocuklarına “Seni seviyorum.” diyen bir anne değil.
55. Farklı davranıyorum, ben çocuğumu sürekli okuması için teşvik ediyorum. Biraz kendisine özgüveninin gelmesini sağlıyorum. Biz küçükken ortamlar ve şartlar çok iyi değildi. Kendi çocuğumda ortamlar ve şartlar daha iyi, kendi ayakları üzerinde dursun istiyorum. Benzerlik konusunda pek bir şey yok. Annemle çok zıt kutuplarız, o erkek evlada önem verir, bende evlatlar arasında ayırım yapmıyorum. O kardeşime daha düşkün, ben o konuda hassasım bir erkek bir kız çocuğum olduğu için eşit olmasına özen gösteriyorum.
56. Şuan düşünmüyorum. Benim ortamımla kızımınki tabii ki farklı yani, ben köyde büyüdüğüm için. Ben ergenlikmiş, şuymuş, buymuş yaşamadım. Bizimki hep yoğun işle geçtiği için bir şey diyemeyeceğim. Onlar bizi daha sıkı tutuyorlardı, ben kendi kızımı biraz daha rahat bırakıyorum. Benim ortamımla şimdiki bir değil. Biz rahat rahat her yere gidemiyorduk.
57. Biz kendimiz nasıl gördüysek onun gibi davranıyoruz bizim annemiz de derdi “Bir yere gitmeyin, ortalık kötü. Bir de kız uşağısınız.” diye annem bizi bir yere salmazdı yani sonuçta. İyi olsun öyle kötü bir yerlere gitmesin diye çabalarız yani. Benim bildiğim öyle. Annemizden ne gördüysek o.
58. Benzerlik olarak ben de yalnız hiç bir yere yollamıyorum, izin vermiyorum. Aynı devam ediyor o.

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