

CHANGE IN WOMEN'S PERCEPTIONS OF
PARENTAL CHILD REARING PRACTICES,
ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS IN THE
CONTEXT OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN TURKEY

- A THREE GENERATION COMPARISON -

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1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to study the change in women's perceptions of parental child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs across three consecutive generations within the context of social change in the Turkish society.

Social change, or more specifically, transition from "traditional" to "modern" society involves change in the psychological outlook of man as well as change in his environment (Eisenstadt, 1970, Kağıtçıbaşı, 1977, Lerner, 1958, Inkeles, 1969, 1971). There is a whole area of study in these two aspects of social change and their interactions. In the Turkish context, the modifications in attitudes, beliefs and values constituting the general psychological outlook of the people have been studied quite extensively (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1977, Kandiyoti, 1978, Lerner, 1958). In the present study however, the focus is on the mediating process between these two aspects, i.e. socialization which may be said to refer to the practical problem of child rearing. Since the family is generally accepted to be one of the main mediating agencies of social influence on the individual (Freud, 1943, Held, 1980, Hurlock, 1974, Erikson, 1963, Kardiner, 1959, Inkeles, 1964, McClelland, 1964), the child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs of parents deserve attention and the question of "what happened to parental child rearing practices attitudes and beliefs under the condition of social change in

Turkey?" needs to be asked.

Before going on further, we need to clarify one important point related to the aim of the study. In this research, the attempt is not to draw causal relations between the changes expected in child rearing practices and the social change phenomenon but rather to establish the changes in perceived child rearing practices within the context of social change. On the one hand, the study is exploratory and descriptive because it tries to study the changes within a macro-level context, i.e. socio historical change and, on the other hand it bases on specific hypotheses related to changes in perceived child rearing practices. Attempting to combine these two approaches may bring along its own advantages (Baumrind, 1980, Etzioni et al. 1964).

In attempting to study the perceived changes in parental child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs across generations, the following rationale guides our thinking;

A generational difference is expected because "historical periods define 'generations' constituted of people of roughly similar age who are particularly effected by contemporary events. Particular generations are identified by the particular cluster of historical events that characterize a period of their life. The objective changes that individuals experience give them subjective world views that they carry with them forward in time. These world views shape their interpretations of subsequent objective events and shape their own actions" (Garner, 1977, p.87). This difference between generations is expected to be heightened and more striking if the time in question is one of rapid social change (Mead, 1956). Since under conditions of rapid social change, different generations are expected to have different experiences, their subjective world views and actions can be

expected to be different. More specifically, in the child rearing practices realm, the parents are expected to prepare their children for the future in accordance with what they are anticipating in the light of their own experience (Inkeles, 1964,1968).

Turkish society can definitely be said to be undergoing rapid social change (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1977, Kıray, 1984, Kandiyoti, 1978, Şenyapılı, 1982) and, basing on the above views the present study aims to establish the change in perceived child rearing practices under conditions of social change in Turkey.

The study focuses on three generations that may be said to have characteristics of upper middle socioeconomic status and are living presently in Istanbul. The time periods represented by the generations falls roughly into three different periods of social change in the Turkish society as the Pre-Republican period, the first decades of the Republican period and the period after 1950's.

Only the women's perceptions are studied in this research. Atatürk made the advance of women a central aim of his reforms by means of which he set forth a rapid change. The extent to which these changes on the social level have brought about psychosocial changes in women has been an area of interest (Kandiyoti, 1978). In this connection, the changes in the women's perceptions of their parents' child rearing practices seems to deserve attention.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In order to provide a theoretical and an empirical background for the investigation of changes in perceived child rearing practices, attitudes and, beliefs within the context of social change, the following areas will be reviewed; social change, socialization, child rearing practices and, investigations done in these areas in the Turkish society.

Each of these areas are broad domains of study in themselves and their in depth treatment is beyond the scope of this study. Only the relevant aspects of each will be reviewed so as to provide definitions of the concepts used and to highlight the major theoretical framework on which the study is based.

In the first section, major aspects of social change will be discussed particularly within the framework of the structural functional approach. In the second section, the concept of child rearing practices will be defined, the types of child rearing practices and the factors influencing the variations in child rearing practices will be discussed. In the last section, the literature on Turkey only in relevance to our study will be presented.

2.1. Social Change

Among the different approaches to the study of social change, the structural functional approach will be briefly reviewed here.

The structural-functional approach is mainly concerned with the process of "differentiation" and Parsons' model for the study of change of a system is based on this idea. According to the model, any given social unit has a "simple", "undifferentiated" structure in which the various functions realized by the unit are "fused" together. That is, they are all carried out by the same people in the same set of relationships. In the process of differentiation, various functions acquire their own structural units. These new units, each specialized in a certain function, should be related to each other, that is, integrated. The changing family is given as an example of this process. According to this view, production and socialization functions of the family are differentiated and are transferred to other social structures such as the factory and the school. It is claimed that, while these functions of the family decline, its importance as a source of "companionship and emotional security" increases (Parsons, 1964, Etzioni, 1964).

In the structural functional approach, the changes in the whole system, i.e. the society itself, is studied. Fitting into this framework, Inkeles makes a distinction between "personal system" and "sociocultural system". "Those acts, for which the referent is a particular individual, are taken collectively to make up a personal system" and, "those acts which are shared by a relatively enduring group of individuals are considered to make up the social or cultural system" (Inkeles, 1971, p.266). In the process of social change, both of these two systems are assumed to be "differentiating" and "interacting". In a simpler form, one may say that social change involves both the changes in man's environment (sociocultural system) and the changes in man's general psychological outlook (personal system).

The major changes in the external environment may be

described as demographic revolution characterized by a sharp decline in both the birth and the death rates; decrease in size and scope of the family; higher rates of mobility; transition from tribal or feudal structure to bureaucracy; decline in the influence of religion, the separation of education from the family and community life; development of schools and universities; increase in mass media of communication and the emergence of a market economy and industrialization (Etzioni, 1964, Lerner, 1958, Inkeles, 1966,1969).

The major changes in man's psychological outlook may be described in terms of a series of attitudes and values that have been found by Inkeles in his study of the modernization process (Inkeles, 1969,1974). These are, mainly, openness to new experience, increasing independence from the authority of traditional figures like parents, teachers etc., belief in science and a general abandonment of passivity and fatalism; ambition for oneself and one's children to achieve high occupational and educational goals; interest in planning and punctuality; having interest and taking part in civic and community affairs and striving, to keep up with the changes.

These changes in the man's environment and the man's psychological outlook can be regarded as describing the change in the society itself, at least, in broad terms. Since, Turkish society is said to be undergoing social change, similar trends can be expected to prevail in the Turkish social context and within this background we may focus on the variations in child rearing practices.

2.2. Socialization: Child Bearing Practices

Socialization is the "whole process by which an individual born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined within a much narrower range - the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group" (Child, 1954, p.655). Socialization designates a

general area of interest and embraces different aspects, agents and relations. However, it can primarily be regarded as an "adult initiated process by which developing children, through insight, training and imitation, acquire the habits and values congruent with the adaptation to their culture" (Baumrind, 1980, p.640). The family, as the child's first social environment and as the social group with which he has the most frequent and closest contacts, is generally accepted as the most important agency of socialization (Freud, 1943, McClelland, 1953, Erikson, 1963, Kardiner, 1959, Fromm, Reich and Horkheimer cited in Held, 1980). Therefore, we define the focus of interest of the present study as "child rearing practices" which is one of the major aspects of socialization.

2.2.1. Types of Child Rearing Practices

Child rearing practices refers to the interactions between parents and their children. These interactions involve parental practices and expression of attitudes, values and beliefs (Sears, Maccoby and Levin, 1957). Psychologists have tried to determine the major types or characteristics of child rearing practices and in this section some of these attempts at isolating significant characteristics of parental behavior will be reviewed.

The works of Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957), Sewell, Mussen and Harris (1955) and Crandall and Preston (1955), all based on interviewing techniques, were concerned with identifying the factors which appeared to underlie a wide variety of parental behaviors (cited in McCandless, 1967).

Sears, Maccoby and Levin identified eight factors which were permissiveness - restrictiveness, family adjustment, warmth of mother - child relationship, responsible child training orientation, aggressiveness and punitiveness, perception of husband, orientation toward child's physical well being and pattern of control and discipline used by the mother. Sewell, Mussen and Harris identified seven factors

which were practices reflecting permissiveness in early feeding situations; permissive toilet training practices; practices involving much activity of the parent with the child; non-punitive treatment of behavior; practices making for early independence; practices reflecting causal attitudes of the parents in a number of situations and noninsistent reactions on the part of the parent. Crandall and Preston reported four major dimensions of maternal behavior as affection, protective, coercive control and coercive control.

There seems to be no general agreement on what constitutes the most important elements of child rearing practices but these findings indicate that the following may be significant variables; permissiveness - restrictiveness, autocratic - democratic practices; punitive - nonpunitive discipline; warmth - coldness of parental attitudes and practices; casual - ignoring behavior toward the child, stress on promoting independence as opposed to encouraging dependence on the parents (McCandless, 1967).

Baumrind (1967) has conducted direct observational studies of parent-child interaction and classified parents into three types according to their use of disciplinary practices and attitudes; authoritarian, authoritative and permissive. Authoritarian parents are described as parents controlling their children through absolute set of rules rarely providing justifications to their children. They prefer power assertion, discourage verbal give and take and sometimes tend to reject their children. Authoritative parents show high scores on four dimensions: 1) exercise firm control through directives resisting reactions from their children 2) demands maturity by pressuring their children to perform according to their abilities and by encouraging independence and decision making. 3) offer reasons to justify their requests for compliance, solicit their children's opinions 4) exercise discipline in the context of a warm, emotionally supportive home environment (Cited in McCandless, 1967). Finally, permissive parents avoid exercising control, use

little punishment, act in an accepting positive way toward their children's actions and, generally let them regulate their own activities.

Having seen that a number of dimensions can be used to describe the characteristics of child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs and that there seems to be no general agreement on what constitutes the most important elements of child rearing practices, we will first attempt to explore a wide number of characteristics rather than limiting our study to a few dimensions. This may enable us to study the changes in child rearing practices in a broader perspective. Then, special emphasis will be given to four dimensions only which seem to be the discriminating aspects between different parenting styles as given in Baumrind's classification. These dimensions refer to "independence, control, expression of affect and free expression".

2.2.2. Influences on Child Rearing Practices

Variations in child rearing practices attitudes and beliefs are influenced by a number of factors and these variations can be studied at different levels of analysis which may be loosely grouped as 1) influences within the family, 2) influence of the environment through the family and 3) influence of social change through the family.

Influences within the family: At this level of analysis, the variations in child rearing practices are seen to be a function of certain characteristics of the parent responsible of training the child or of the child himself. Factors like age, education and occupation of the parent, parent's concept of his role, the personality of the parent and the personality of the child are seen as influencing child rearing practices (Hurlock, 1974, Whiting and Child, 1966, McArthur, 1955, Aberle and Naegele, 1952).

Influence of the Environment Through the Family: Influence of environmental factors through the family is emphasized in this approach to the of variations in child rearing practices. Ecology, maintenance systems (Whiting, Child, 1966), political structure, technology and economic organisations (Aberle, 1961) father's work setting (Miller and Swanson, 1958), rural/urban setting of the parent (Hurlock, 1974), and, socioeconomic status of the family are some of the factors studied in this connection.

Influence of Social Change Through the Family: The third level of analysis recognizes the influence of social change through the family and draws attention to the "adjustive capacity" of human beings and the process of continuous interaction between man and his sociocultural environment. Lewin (1964) states that people are more reluctant to change or to persist in their changed behavior if approached as individuals and they are more likely to change if approached as members of a group. As Lewin sees it, the individual, in need of his groups approval, tends to adjust his behavior to the group standards. Therefore, it is easier for him to change when the group standards change as well.

In line with this view, it is assumed that men can be changed in quite fundamental ways under the influence of modernizing institutions by incorporating the norms implicit in these organisations into their own personality and by expressing them through their own attitudes, values and behavior (Inkeles, 1974, Aberle and Naegele, 1952). Inkeles states that, "Although parents and adults, they may nevertheless still learn and learn what they feel to be major 'lessons' from their experiences under conditions of social change. This learning furthermore, may influence the parents to seek purposefully to bring their children up in a way

different from that in which they were raised and in a manner intended better to suit the children for life in the changed social situation (Inkeles, 1964, p.345).

The present study investigates child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs within this macrolevel of analysis. Therefore a study by Inkeles on material collected by the Harvard Project on the Soviet Social System is of special relevance (Inkeles, 1964). In the Harvard Project (1950), detailed life history interviews were conducted with former Soviet citizens. The interview extensively explored the life of the respondent and particular attention was given to the values with respect to character development and occupational goals that dominated the child rearing practices of the respondent's parents and the respondent himself in the role of the parent. By telling how their parents brought them up, they provided data about the Tsarist generation and by describing the training of their own children, they provided material on the child rearing practices of the Revolutionary generation. Inkeles attempted to see "some of the effects of social change in the Soviet Union as the parents who 'lived' the change adjusted their child rearing practices in response to their own adult experiences, and thus acted as intermediaries in transmitting the effect of their current change to a future generation" (Inkeles, 1964, p.346). In his conclusion, he claims that the data seemed to strongly support the assumption that "the experience of extreme social change that the Revolutionary generation underwent did have a marked effect on that generation's approach to the rearing of its children" (Inkeles, 1964, p.350).

2.3. Review of Literature in Turkey

2.3.1. Historical Context of Social Change in Turkey

The general social context of the Turkish society today may be described as one of rapid social change from being a traditional, agricultural, rural and patriarchal society into an increasingly urbanized, industrial, modern, egalitarian society (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1977). From the historical point of view, three periods representing this change can be identified: Pre-Republican, first decades of the Republic and the period after 1950's. These do not indicate clear cut periods but rather are used to denote approximate thresholds of change in Turkey.

The Pre-Republican period may be viewed basically as a traditional society. However, there were already signs of change, at least, in the urban context. Education and women's rights started to become important issues and first steps toward secularism were taken (Abadan-Onat, 1979, Avcioğlu, 1968).

First decades of Republican period witnessed social, religious and legal reforms of Atatürk. Separation of the muslim institution from the secular state, emphasis given to education, enacting of swiss code to insure women's freedom and equality, granting of political rights to women are a few of the reforms which prepared the way for social change (Abadan-Unat, 1979).

The period after 1950 is generally considered as one of rapid social change. After a few decades of a single party government, with the national elections in 1950, the liberal Democratic Party came to power and its economic policies opened a new phase in the Turkish economy as well as in the

lives of people. The private sector took the lead and with the growth of urban industry a concomitant private and public bureaucratic sector developed. The technological innovation in agriculture, rural to urban and international migration, education and the mass media have all been precipitators of social change on a different level since then (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982, Şenyapılı, 1982, Abadan-Unat, 1979).

It is felt that the generations who lived during these periods which can be identified as being relatively different in social, political and economic realms have had relatively different experiences and that it is worthwhile to investigate the changes in perceived child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs within this context.

2.3.2. Child Rearing Practices in Turkey

The Turkish family is generally characterized as one where there is a warm and loving parent-child relationship (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1973). With respect to discipline, the general attitude can be described as controlling and protective (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1981, Köknel, 1970). Love and control seem to go together in the parent-child relationship in contrast to Western families in which love goes with permissiveness and use of control usually implies an insufficiency of love (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1972, Fişek, 1982). Kağıtçıbaşı found degrees of control and affection in the family to be independent of each other and that strict discipline does not necessarily mean lack of sincere love. Furthermore, some studies report a relationship of affection and tolerance specifically between father and daughter (Kandiyoti, 1977, Stirling, 1965).

Variations in child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs have been studied mainly with respect to social structural variables. One study found five dimensions of child

rearing attitudes among mothers of three different SES in Ankara. The dimensions were extreme mothering and overprotection; encouraging verbalization and equality; rejection of the housewife role; parental conflict and; discipline and obedience. Mothers of high socioeconomic status tended to receive high scores on encouraging verbalization and equality, rejection of the housewife role and parental conflict. Mothers of low socioeconomic status supported the dimensions of extreme mothering and protection; discipline and obedience (Lecompte G., Lecompte A., Özer S., 1978).

Effect of social-structural variables on parent-child relationship was also studied in Izmir by Kağıtçıbaşı. She found that upper socioeconomic status, urban residence or rural to urban or upward social mobility were associated with affection orientation within the family, which, in turn was associated with modern attitudinal tendencies and values among youth. On the other hand, lower socioeconomic standing, rural residence or lack of mobility were associated with a control (strict discipline) orientation within the family, which in turn, was associated with traditional tendencies among the youth (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1973,1975).

As for intergenerational variations in child rearing, Kongar's subjects reported that their children had more freedom and autonomy than they did as children (Kongar, 1972). Another study concerning families belonging to the middle, and lower socioeconomic classes in Istanbul, found evidence of considerable intergenerational continuity of socialization in the domestic/nurturant role of women (Kağıtçıbaşı and Kansu 1976-1977). Intergenerational study of Kandiyoti (1978), the main objective of which was to investigate the dimensions of psychosocial change in women, was partially similar to the present study and its findings is of special relevance. One of the four dimensions she investigated was socialization

characteristics. In the exploratory study of this dimension significant differences between the socialization characteristics of the two generations were found. Girls perceived higher emphasis in their socialization with respect to achievement in school, encouragement of independence, responsibility and decision making. Mothers on the other hand perceived higher emphasis on strict discipline in their own socialization. Mother generation tended to perceive their mothers as more rigid and authoritarian while girls tended to perceive their mothers as more family oriented. Respect to parents, perceived affection and control of feelings did not show significant differences across generations. Correlation analyses between these items seemed to support the impression that mothers were raised in a more 'traditional' family atmosphere (Kandiyoti, 1978).

One other study which has findings relevant to the present investigation is the national study of Turkish Value of Children (VOC). In the study, it is claimed that through social change and development, the way children are perceived and the values attributed to them change. Mainly, there is a decrease in the economic value and an increase in the psychological value attached to the child. Psychological value is perceived primarily as providing "companionship, love and joy and is highly valued in daughters especially by mothers. Another finding which needs to be mentioned is that the child's dependence rather than independence is valued in the Turkish society which is explainable by the economic value of children in the context of underdevelopment (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1980).

So far, in our review of literature we have seen that variations in child rearing practices attitudes and beliefs can be studied at different levels of analysis one of which is the macro level. This approach recognizes the influence of

social change through the family. Since adult experience changes under the impact of social change, it is believed that here may ultimately be shifts in child rearing practices as well. In the Turkish context, variations in child rearing practices attitudes and beliefs have been studied mainly with respect to social structural variables and it is felt that a more macro level approach may provide additional insights into this area of interest. Therefore, the present study took this approach and aimed to show that there will be significant differences across generations in the women's perceptions of parental child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs.

Significant differences are expected especially in dimensions of authoritarian control, expression of affect, encouragement of open expression and encouragement of independence. The reasons for suggesting change in these dimensions are as follows; First, these dimensions, which are almost classic (Kandiyoti, 1978), seem to be the discriminating aspects between different parenting styles. Therefore, if any important change has occurred across generations, it can be expected to reflect itself by the changes mainly in those dimensions. Secondly, the set of attitudes and values describing the major changes in man's psychological outlook (like increasing independence from the authority of traditional figures; openness to new experience and general abandonment of passivity) seems to be close in essence to the dimensions we have selected. Therefore, reflection of social change to child rearing may be seen in the changes of these dimensions. Lastly, the literature in Turkey seems to provide support for expecting change in these aspects of child rearing. A direction for change is not hypothesized and rather an exploratory approach is adopted in this respect.

3. HYPOTHESES

The general hypothesis of the study is that there will be significant differences in women's perceptions of both parents' child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs across three generations.

The specific hypotheses are as follows;

- 1- There will be significant differences between the three generations' perceptions with respect to the dimension of "authoritarian control" in both of their parents' child rearing practices.
- 2- There will be significant differences between the three generations' perceptions with respect to the dimension of "encouragement of independence" in both of their parents' child rearing practices.
- 3- There will be significant differences between the three generations' perceptions with respect to the dimension of "open expression of affect" in both of their parents' child rearing practices.
- 4- There will be significant differences between the three generations' perceptions with respect to the dimension of "encouraging openness of expression" in both of their parents' child rearing practices.

4. METHOD

4.1. Subjects

The subjects consisted of daughters, their mothers and grandmothers. The total sample consisted of 48 subjects; 16 in each of the groups representing a generation. The mean age of the subjects for the daughter generation is 14, for the mother generation, 40 and for the grandmother generation, 68. The distribution of the subjects by age into three generations are presented in Table 1.

The daughters who had both their mothers and grandmothers living in Istanbul were initially selected from the 7th. grade of Üsküdar American College for Girls. Only 2 daughter subjects attending Austrian Lycée in Istanbul were later included in the sample.

One reason for selecting the daughter generation from a foreign school was due to the expectation that they will have the social structural characteristics of the population we aim to study. It is generally known that majority of the students attending these schools come from families of upper middle socioeconomic status. High tuitions and very competitive entrance exams, for which the children are intensively trained by tutors seem to filter the daughters of high socioeconomic status families in. Therefore, it was expected that there would be a relatively homogeneous group of subjects in such schools. The descriptive characteristics of the subjects given in the result section provides evidence for these assumptions.

The reasons for selecting the daughter subjects from a school were that 1) it was the most convenient way of finding subjects of similar age group to identify generations. 2) Making the first contacts with the three consecutive generations for a lengthy test through a school authority could provide a relatively easy acceptance from the subjects to take the test.

4.2. Measurement

A Child Rearing Practices Report (CRPR) which was developed by Block (1965) was used in the study. Block reports basically the following procedures in developing the instrument. The initial item pool was developed from behavioral dimensions found to differentiate groups of mothers with different child handling techniques. Mother-child interactions in standardized situations were observed and quantified using both a behavioral check list and a set of Q-items tapping interpersonal or interactional behaviors. To supplement the empirically derived item pool, a thorough review of socialization literature was conducted and additional items were written to tap dimensions not included originally in the observational study. The CRPR was translated into several languages and was proven to be a suitable and sensitive instrument for use in cross-cultural investigations (Block, 1965).

The CRPR consists of 91 socialization relevant items that the subjects are asked to arrange for both parents on a 7. point scale from "most descriptive" to "least descriptive" using a forced choice Q-sort format with 13 prescribed items at each scale point. The items are originally phrased both in first person and third person form, with appropriate introductory stems: "My mother..." and "My Father..." was used in the present study. The items were translated into

Turkish by Sunar et al. (A list of items in Turkish is presented in Appendix A). As a pilot, 4 subjects from each generation were given the test and problems in administration and understanding of the items were assessed. Some corrections were made in translations in accordance with the results of this pilot. A list of the items for the mother form is presented in Appendix A.

Subjects were also given a face sheet covering demographic information such as birth date and childhood residence of the subject and, education, occupation and knowledge of foreign language of both parents.

Reliability of the CRPR was assessed by Block in two test-retest studies with 3 years in between (Block, 1965, 1969). Cross time correlations in both studies were high (r values between .61-.69). Suggesting considerable stability for both the first and third person forms of CRPR.

In assessing the construct validity of the CRPR, a relationship was sought between self reports as indexed by CRPR responses and actual maternal behaviors toward the child as observed in three structured situations designed to tap achievement emphasis, modes and degrees of control and independence training (Block, 1969, Block and Roberts, 1982). The results provide indication of the behavioral relevance of the CRPR.

4.3. Procedure

The administration of the test was done basically in two steps as interviewing the daughters and interviewing their mothers and grandmothers.

Interview with the daughters: The daughters who were

students at the 7th grade were given the CRPR during 2 class hours on two consecutive days in May 1984. The investigator herself and an assistant was present in each of the sessions.

Initially a detailed written instruction (given in Appendix B) was distributed in addition to verbal explanation. After the subjects filled out the face sheets, they were asked to sort the "mother perception" cards. After they were through with "mother perception" cards they started to sort the "father perception" cards. For some of the subjects, it took too long to sort the cards and they could not finish the "father" cards. Up to this stage, the whole class participated in the test. The remaining steps of the test were carried out by those subjects who had both their mothers and grandmothers alive and living in Istanbul. Those subjects who could not complete sorting "father perception cards" and belonged to the group to continue the test were asked to finish sorting the cards at home to be picked up by the investigator later. The reason the whole class was included in the first session was in order to avoid causing inconvenience to the school administration by breaking up the class and not to influence the subjects by making a discrimination before they could understand what was going on.

The telephone numbers and addresses of the subjects' mothers and grandmothers were also recorded on the face sheet and with this information the mother - grandmother subjects were contacted.

Interviews with mothers-grandmothers: Mothers and grandmothers were visited at their homes after taking an appointment. The same written instructions, face sheet and, Q-sorts were given and the whole procedure was also explained verbally. The investigator or a trained interviewer who acted as an assistant helped the subjects by answering their

questions about the procedure or the content of the items. Only a few of the mother subjects completed the test all by themselves and the cards were collected the next day. It took about two to three hours for each subject to complete both sets of Q-sorts for mothers and fathers.

4.4. Analysis

After coding each of the data sets, statistical calculations were carried out with the use of the SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences) package programme at the Boğaziçi University Computer Center.

Two types of analyses are carried out:

1- Mean Difference Analysis: Comparisons of the means of each of the 91 items across generations were evaluated using t-tests. Changes in mean values across generations were analyzed between daughters and mothers, mothers and grandmothers, daughters and grandmothers. The t values with $p \leq .05$ (two tail) were accepted as significant.

2- Correlational Analysis Across Generations: Correlational analysis across generations were carried out using Kendall's tau. The correlation coefficients with significance levels less than or equal to .05 were accepted as significant.

Categories of Change and Continuity

For purposes of convenience in the evaluation of the findings, categories of change and continuity, similar to Block's (1982) are used; through these categories, different patterns of change in women's perceptions are described on the basis of both correlational and t-test analyses. The categories used and the criteria for establishing these categories are as follows:

Category 1: Increasing Salience

Items with significantly increasing means and with no significant correlations across generations are included in this category. These items show the aspects of perceived child rearing practices which are emphasized to a significantly higher degree by the "younger" generation. The change observed in these items may be related to changes on the macro-social level since there is no correlation across generations.

Category 2: Decreasing Salience

Items with significantly decreasing means with no significant correlations across generations are given under this category. These items show the aspects of child rearing practices which are emphasized significantly less by the younger generation. The changes in these items may be related to macro social changes as in Category 1.

Category 3: Increasing Salience, Order Maintained

In this category are the items which show significant correlations and significantly increasing means across generations. These are the items which show significant change in the direction of increasing emphasis in the younger generations' perceptions although similar in pattern to the older generations perceptions. Therefore, these items may be accepted as showing "similarity" in child rearing practices, while increasing in emphasis across generations.

Category 4: Decreasing Salience, Order Maintained

The items which show significant correlation and significantly decreasing means across generations are given

under this category. These items are accepted to signify "similarity" across generations while showing decreasing emphasis.

Category 5: Sameness

The items which show significant correlations across generations with no significant mean differences are classified under this category. These items are accepted as showing the same pattern across generations.

Clustering of Items

A factor analysis to reduce the items into a number of conceptual variables was not used in this study.

This may be regarded as one of the major limitations of this study especially for the evaluation of the specific hypotheses referring to specific dimensions of childrearing. However, we had good reasons for not employing this technique, at least, at the present stage of investigating the variations in child rearing practices. One basic reason was due to our emphasis on the exploratory and descriptive approach; it was believed that the items, in their own right, can act as clear-cut operational indices and be highly informative about the variations in child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs. Another reason, already mentioned in literature review, was that there seems to be no general agreement on what constitutes the most important elements of child rearing practices; therefore, we did not want to limit the study with this theoretical problem of identifying the underlying variables (Blalock, 1960). For these reasons, item analysis rather than factor analysis is used in evaluating the data concerning the general hypothesis.

As was mentioned in the introduction section, this study also specifies some hypotheses referring to four dimensions of child rearing. In specifying these dimensions, item clusters derived by Block (1965), are used and this is the area where the limitation for the study arises. The extent to which these clusters can be applied to child rearing practices in Turkey may be questionable. However, awareness of this limitation will lead us to present the results concerning these dimensions also on an item basis.

Items Discarded from the Analyses 8

Four items out of 91 are not included in the analyses concerning perceptions of fathers and mothers. Two of these items (code no. 23 and 32) were skipped in data processing and it was too late to reprocess it when realized. The other two items (code no. 49 and 78) referred to toilet training and breast feeding, and, it was felt that the respondents did not have clear perceptions on these items. One other item (code no. 75) referring to encouragement of independence had a typing error on the cards used for perceptions of fathers and therefore, it was discarded only from the results concerning fathers. With these reductions, the number of items evaluated are 87 for perceptions of mothers and 86 for perceptions of fathers in total.

5. RESULTS

5.1. Descriptive Characteristics of Subjects

Some descriptive characteristics of each generation will be presented in this section and the results are given on Tables 1-4. The terms used for each generation are as follows; "daughters" for the third generation, "mothers" for the second generation and "grandmothers" for the first generation.

The 3rd Generation; The Daughters

Subjects' Age and Residence: The average age of the subjects representing the "daughter" generation was 14. They had their childhood years in the 1970's and their parents lived both their late childhood and adulthood during 1950's. The majority of the subjects (13 out of 16) spent their childhood years (defined as being roughly up to 12 years) in Istanbul and the remaining, in other big cities.

Parents' Education, Knowledge of Foreign Language and Occupation: Both the fathers and the mothers of this generation are well educated in the sense that they represent the high end of the educational level of their time (Kazgan, 1979). Eleven fathers are university graduates, the remaining being lycee or technical school graduates; five mothers are university graduates, eight mothers are lycee graduates and only one has primary school education. 11 mothers and 12 fathers know languages of Latin origin. The number of mothers knowing a foreign language is higher than the number of mothers who had university education and this may imply that their lycee education was mainly in foreign

school in Turkey. With the exception of 2 mothers who are working professionally, all the mothers are housewives. 10 of the fathers are professionals and four are working at high level positions in the private sector. These characteristics lead to description of the third generation as representatives of upper middle socio economic status urban families.

The 2nd Generation: The Mothers

Subjects' Age and Residence: The average age of the mothers was 40. They had their late childhood and adulthood in 1950's and their mothers lived their childhood and started their adulthood in the first decades of the Republican period. This generation's mothers can be regarded as the first generation who lived the period of Atatürk's reforms. Three fourths of the mother subjects have lived in Istanbul since their childhood and the remaining were also of urban origin.

Parents' Education, Knowledge of Foreign Language and Occupation: The educational level of the parents of the second generation was lower than the educational level of the daughters' parents who are in fact the second generation themselves. However, regarding the level of education in the first decades of the Republican period, it can still be considered relatively high. Only one mother and seven fathers were university graduates and 13 mothers and eight fathers had education ranging from primary to technical school level.

Knowledge of foreign language of Latin origin drops strikingly among mothers of the second generation. Only one mother and 8 fathers claim to have knowledge of a foreign language. As it was the case with the mothers of the third generation, the second generation's mothers are also mainly housewives. Fathers' occupation shows an interesting shift such that only one of the fathers is working as a professional

in contrast to 10 in the case of the third generation's fathers. Mothers' fathers have mainly either high level free employment or high rank in the army.

The above characteristics may lead us to assume an upper middle socioeconomic standing of urban origin for the second generation also.

The 1st Generation; The Grand Mothers

Subjects' Age and Residence: The average age of the grand mothers was 68. Most of them had their childhood during World War I, War of Independence and the first years of the Republic. All of their parents spent their childhood and the majority of their adulthood in the Pre-Republican (Ottoman) period.

Six of the grandmothers have lived in Istanbul since their childhood and the remaining 10 grandmothers spent their childhood years in other "cities" of Turkey. None claimed to be of rural origin.

Parents' Education, Knowledge of Foreign Language and Occupation: The educational level of the first generations' parents is much lower than the parents of the younger generations, as it would be expected. However, for their time it can still be considered high since 'six of the grandmothers' mothers had primary school education and five fathers had university education.

Among the parents of the first generation, only one mother and 5 fathers know a foreign language of Latin origin.

With respect to occupation, all the mothers were housewives and the fathers had either free employment or

white collar work.

These characteristics lead us to describe the subjects representing each generation as children of relatively upper middle socioeconomic status families of urban origin. The time periods in which the subjects and their parents lived may allow us to say that our three generations represent the three periods that we have taken as signifying relatively different periods of social change; the pre-Republican, first decades of Republic and the period after 1950's.

5.2. Results Concerning the Hypotheses

The general hypothesis of the study states that there will be significant differences in women's perceptions of both parents' child rearing practices, attitudes and, beliefs across three generations. Results concerning this hypothesis will be presented separately for "perceptions of mothers" and "perceptions of fathers". There are three generation comparisons as "daughters" versus "mothers", "mothers" versus "grandmothers" and "daughters" versus "grandmothers" and all the results are presented with respect to these three comparisons.

Perceptions of Mothers

Inspection of Table 5 which presents the mean difference analysis, reveals that 26 items out of 87 in total had significant differences ($p \leq .05$) across generations; significant differences between the daughters' and mothers' perceptions appeared in 24 items, between the daughters' and grandmothers' perceptions in 12 items and between the mothers' and the grandmothers' perceptions in only six items. It should be noted that these numbers do not add up to the total number of items showing significant differences because

TABLE 1- DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS BY AGE INTO THE THREE GENERATIONS

DAUGHTERS		MOTHERS		GRANDMOTHERS	
N=16		N=16		N=16	
<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Absolute Frequency</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Absolute Frequency</u>	<u>Year of Birth</u>	<u>Absolute Frequency</u>
1968-69	4	1935-40	2	1902-10	4
1970	9	1941-45	9	1912-18	7
1971	3	1946-50	5	1920-30	5
Mean Age:	14	Mean Age:	40	Mean Age	68

TABLE 2- EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE PARENTS OF THE THREE GENERATIONS

<u>Absolute Frequencies</u>	DAUGHTERS'		MOTHERS'		GRANDMOTHERS'	
	N=16		N=16		N=16	
	<u>MOTHER</u>	<u>FATHER</u>	<u>MOTHER</u>	<u>FATHER</u>	<u>MOTHER</u>	<u>FATHER</u>
Primary	1	-	5	2	6	3
Secondary	2	-	3	4	-	1
Lycee	8	3	4	2	-	2
Technical School	-	2	1	-	-	1
University	5	11	1	7	1	5
No education	-	-	2	1	8	1
Don't know	-	-	-	-	1	3

TABLE 3- PARENTS' KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Absolute Frequencies	DAUGHTERS'		MOTHERS'		GRANDMOTHERS'	
	N=16		N=16		N=16	
	MOTHER	FATHER	MOTHER	FATHER	MOTHER	FATHER
Does not know foreign lang.	4	3	13	7	12	8
Knows lang.of Latin origin	11	12	1	8	1	5
Knows other languages	2	2	2	1	3	5

TABLE 4- OCCUPATION OF THE PARENTS OF THREE GENERATIONS

Absolute Frequencies	DAUGHTERS'		MOTHERS'		GRANDMOTHERS'	
	N=16		N=16		N=16	
	MOTHER	FATHER	MOTHER	FATHER	MOTHER	FATHER
Professional	2	10	-	1	-	2
High level free employ.	-	4	-	6	-	6
Low level free employ.	-	2	-	3	-	2
High level white color	-	-	-	-	-	3
Low level white color	-	-	2	2	-	2
Worker	-	-	-	-	-	-
High level army	-	-	-	4	-	1
Housewife	14	-	14	-	16	-

TABLE 5- "PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS": T-VALUES OF ITEMS SHOWING SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers t - value	Mothers - Grandm. t - value	Daught - Grandm. t - value
14	Believes physical punishment is the best way of discipline	AUTH. CONTROL	-2.13*	.74	-1.13
15	Believes C should be seen and not heard	AUTH. CONTROL	-3.03**	-.17	-2.27*
55	Teaches C to control feelings at all times	AUTH. CONTROL	2.55*	-3.70**	-1.90
70	C not allowed to question parental decisions	AUTH. CONTROL	-4.47*	1.11	-2.89**
1	Respects C's opinions and encourages to express	ENC. INDEP.	4.00**	-1.50	.79
6	Encourages C to handle problems mostly by herself	ENC. INDEP.	-2.15*	.39	-1.55
11	Feels C should be given comfort and understanding	EXPRESS AFFECT	2.31*	.12	1.83
40	Jokes and plays with child	EXPRESS AFFECT	4.39**	-.50	4.18**
42	Parent/child share warm intimate times	EXPRESS AFFECT	2.36*	.77	2.33*
24	Feels C should have time to think/daydream	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.94**	.09	2.39*
45	Encourages C to be curious, explore, question	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.86*	-.31	2.45*
53	Encourages C to talk about her troubles	OPEN EXPRESSION	3.04**	-1.53	1.87
22	Takes C's preferences into account in making plans for the family	ENCOUR. INDEP.	5.59**	.00	5.63**
57	Dreaded answering C's questions about sex		-4.92**	-.36	-8.78**
77	Found being with C interesting and educational		3.29**	-1.29	1.15
30	Did not blame C for what happened if others asked for trouble		2.34*	-1.87	.24
72	Liked to have sometime for herself away from C		3.71**	-4.78**	-.91

TABLE 5- Cont'd.

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers t - value	Mothers - Grandm. t - value	Daught - Grandm. t - value
3	Placed mates wishes ahead of those of her children		-2.12*	-1.52	-3.65**
20	Did not want C to try things if there is a chance of failure		-2.22*	-.73	-2.79**
7	Punishes C by putting off by herself for a while		-2.18*	.56	-1.92
52	Makes sure C knows she is appreciated for trying or accomplishing		4.21**	-1.24	2.51*
65	Believed C should be aware of parent's sacrifices		-2.80**	3.51**	-.35
16	Sometimes forgot the promises she made		-2.33*	2.09*	-.64
69	There was conflict between my mother and me		-3.17**	3.81**	-.13
90	Thought it unwise to let C play a lot by themselves without supervision		.55	2.89*	1.97
46	Sometimes explained things by supernatural forces		-.83	-1.93	-2.90**

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

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some items show significant differences in two different groups of generation comparisons.

The analysis of the items in categories of the change and continuity, indicate the following results.

Items Indicating Increasing Saliience

These are the items which had significantly increasing means with no correlation across generations. These items show the aspects of perceived child rearing practices which are emphasized at a significantly higher degree by the younger generation. The change observed in these items may be related to changes on the macro social level since there is no correlation across generations.

Fifteen items indicated increasing saliience, 13 of which were between the daughter and the mother generations. These items refer to encouraging independence, openness of expression, open expression of affect, protecting from blame, letting child know she is appreciated, enjoyment of parental role, parent having time for herself away from children and teaching child to control feelings. Two items showed increasing saliience only between mothers and grandmothers and these items referred to parents' inconsistency in not keeping promises and encouraging child to play with sex appropriate toys. These results are presented on Table 6.

Items Indicating Decreasing Saliience

Items with significantly decreasing means with no significant correlations across generations are given under this category. These items show aspects of child rearing emphasized less in the younger generations' perceptions. As in category 1, these changes may be related to macrosocial changes.

TABLE 6- "PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS": ITEMS INDICATING INCREASING SALIENCE ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers t - value	Mothers - Grandm. t - value	Daught - Grandm. t - value
1	Espects C's opinions and encourages to express them.	ENC. INDEP.	4.00**		
22	Takes C's preferences into account	ENC INDEP.	5.59**		5.63**
11	Feels C should be given confort and understanding when upset	EXPRESS AFFECT	2.31*		
40	Jokes and plays with child	EXPRESS AFFECT	4.39**		
42	Parent/child share warm intimate times	EXPRESS AFFECT	2.36*		
24	Feels C should have time to think/ daydream	ENC. OPENEX	2.94**		2.38*
45	Encourages C to be curious, explore, question	ENC. OPENEX	2.86*		2.45*
53	Encourages C to talk about troubles	ENC. OPENEX	3.04**		
55	Teashes C to control feelings at all times	AUTH. CONTROL	2.55*		
30	Did not blame C for whatever happened if others asked for trouble		2.34*		
52	Makes sure C knows she is appreciated for trying		4.21**		2.51*
72	Liked to have time for self away from C		3.71**		
77	Found being with C interesting/ educational		3.29**		
16	Sometimes forgot the promises she made			2.09*	
90	Encourages play with sex app. toys.			2.89*	

Category 1: Significantly increasing means, with no correlation

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

Thirteen items indicated decreasing salience across generations and 10 of these items had this shift of emphasis between the daughters and their mothers and/or grandmother. These items refer to authoritarian control, encouraging independence, parents' giving of precedence to mates wishes, making sure the child is aware of parents' sacrifices, punishing child by putting off somewhere by herself for a while, protecting from failure, inconsistency in keeping the promises, using supernatural explanations and avoiding sex related questions. Two items showed significant differences only between the mothers' and grandmothers' perceptions. These items referred to control of feelings and parent having time for herself away from children. These results are presented on Table 7.

Items Indicating Increasing Salience, Order Maintained

The items which show significant correlations and significantly increasing means across generations are given under this category. These items may be accepted as receiving significantly higher emphasis in the younger generations' perceptions while they are "similar" in pattern to the previous generations' perceptions.

Only four items appeared under this category and they referred to open expression of affect, conflict between mother and child and, making sure the child is aware of parents' sacrifices. The last two items showed increasing emphasis in mother-grandmother comparisons and the two items referring to open expression of affect showed increasing emphasis in daughter-grandmother comparisons. These results are presented on Table 8.

TABLE 7- "PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS": ITEMS INDICATING DECREASING SALIENCE ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers t - value	Mothers - Grandm. t - value	Daught - Grandm. t - value
14	Believes physical punishment best way of discipline	AUTH. CONTROL.	-2.13*		
15	Believes C should be seen and not heard	AUTH. CONTROL	-3.03**		-2.27*
70	Does not allow C to question her decisions	AUTH. CONTROL	-4.47**		-2.89**
55	Teaches C to control feelings	AUTH. CONTROL		-3.70**	
6	Encouraged C to handle problems mostly by herself	ENC. INDEP.	-2.15*		
3	Placed mates wishes ahead of those of her children		-2.12*		-3.65**
72	Liked to have sometime for herself away from C			-4.78**	
7	Punished C by putting off somewhere by herself for a while		-2.18*		
20	Did not want C to try if she thought C may fail		-2.22*		-2.79**
46	Sometimes explained things by supernatural forces				-2.90**
57	Dreaded answering C's questions about sex		-4.92**		
16	Sometimes forgot the promises she made		-2.33*		
65	Believed C should be aware of parents' sacrifices		-2.80*		

*p≤.05

**p≤.01

Category 2: Significantly decreasing means, no correlation

Items Indicating Decreasing Saliience, Order Maintained

The items which show significant correlations and significantly decreasing means across generations are presented in this category.

Only two items appeared under this category. Daughters perceived their mothers as avoiding sex related questions significantly less than their grandmothers perceived their mothers. Perceptions about conflict between the mother and the child were significantly less in daughter generation than the mother generation. These results are presented on Table 9.

Items Indicating Sameness Across Generation

These are the items with no significant mean differences but showing significant correlations across generations indicating "sameness" or "continuity" across generation.

Eighteen items in total fall under this category and they are presented on Table 10. Eight items, showed sameness between daughters and mothers, 10 items between mothers and grandmothers and only two items showed sameness between daughters and grandmothers. The items indicating continuity between daughters and grandmothers refer to emphasis on cleanliness and conformity to reference group.

Items indicating continuity only between daughters and mothers refer to giving family responsibilities and duties to child, emphasis on health, preferring praise to punishment as a method of discipline, encouraging achievement in competition, encouraging to make good impression on others and, supervision of the child.

TABLE 8- "PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS": ITEMS INDICATING INCREASING SALIENCE ORDER MAINTAINED ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers		Mothers - Grandm.		Daught - Grandm.	
			t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c
40	Jokes and plays with C.	EXPRESS AFFECT					4.18**	.351*
42	Parent-child share warm intimate times together	EXPRESS AFFECT					2.33*	.458**
65	Believed C should be aware of sacrifices				3.51**	.450**		
69	There was conflict between my mother and me				3.81**	.458**		

Category 3: Significant Correlation, sig. increasing means.

TABLE 9- "PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS": ITEMS INDICATING DECREASING SALIENCE, ORDER MAINTAINED ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers		Mothers - Grandm.		Daught - Grandm.	
			t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c
69	There was conflict betw. my mother and me.		-3.17**	.312*				
57	Dreaded answering C's questions about sex.						-8.78**	.433*

Category 4: Significant correlation, significantly decreasing means.

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 10- "PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS": ITEMS INDICATING SAMENESS ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers tau c	Mothers - Grandm. tau c	Daught - Grandm. tau c
41	Gave many family duties and responsibilities	ENC. INDEP	.318*		
11	Gave confort and understanding when C scared or upset	EXPRESS AFFECT		.390*	
17	Thought it was good practice to perform in front of others			.498**	
59	Thought C be encouraged to do things better than others		.441*		
74	Wanted C to make good impression on others		.342*		
36	Tend to spoil child			.322*	
25	Found it difficult to punish		.356*	.468**	
12	Tried to keep her away from child of families with different ideas/values		.342*	.319*	
57	Dreaded answering questions about sex			.318*	
46	Sometimes explained things by supernatural forces, beings			.322*	
80	Preferred to stay at home rather than leave C with strangers			.328*	
60	Punished C by taking away privileges			.497**	
51	Believed in praising C when good rather than punish; when bad		.356*		
82	Thought C must learn early not to cry			.328*	
8	Watched closely what C ate.		.547**		
79	Instructed C. not to get dirty while playing				.318*
91	Believed supervising C when playing alone		.356*		
85	Did not want C to be looked upon as different from others				.450**

Category 5: Significant correlation

* Sig.<.05

The items indicating continuity only between mothers and grandmothers are expression of affect, encouraging child to perform in front of others, tending to spoil the child, avoiding sex related questions, punishing by taking away privileges, training not be cry, preferring to stay at home rather than leaving with a stranger and using supernatural explanations.

The items indicating continuity between both daughters and mothers and mothers and grandmothers are protecting child from children of families with different ideas/values and finding it difficult to punish.

PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS

Mean difference analysis across generations shows 18 items out of 86 to have significant differences ($p \leq .05$). Among these items, 10 show significant differences between daughters and mothers, 15 between daughters and grandmothers and only three between mothers and grandmothers. These results are presented in Table 11.

The analysis of the items in categories of change and continuity indicate the following results.

Items Indicating Increasing Salience

Ten items indicated increasing salience; among these items, nine showed increasing saliences between daughters and their; mothers/grandmothers. These items referred to encouraging of independence, open expression, new experience, expression of affect and control of feelings. Only one item related to encouragement of independence showed increasing salience in both daughters' and mothers' perceptions in comparison to the grandmothers' perceptions of their fathers. These results are presented on Table 12.

TABLE 11- "FATHER PERCEPTIONS": T-VALUES OF ITEMS SHOWING SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers t - value	Mothers - Grandm. t - value	Daught - Grandm. t - value
15	Believes C should be seen and not heard	AUTH. CONTROL	-2.09*	-2.26*	-3.87**
27	Does not allow C to say bad things about teacher	AUTH. CONTROL	-.61	-1.78	-2.89**
43	Had strict, well established rules for C	AUTH. CONTROL	-.11	-1.87	-2.25*
55	Taught C to keep control of feelings at all times	AUTH. CONTROL	3.05**	-1.51	1.19
1	Respects C's opinions and encourages to express	ENC. INDEP.	2.31*	1.00	3.48**
6	Encourages C to handle problems mostly by herself.	ENC. INDEP.	2.20*	.82	3.07**
22	Takes C's preferences into account in making plans for family	ENC. INDEP.	1.48	5.90**	4.89**
40	Jokes and plays with C	EXPRESS AFFECT	1.94	.76	2.90**
21	Encourages C to wonder and think about life	OPEN EXPRESSION	1.46	1.48	3.09**
24	Feels child should have time to think and daydream	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.40	.79	3.30**
45	Encourages C to be curious, explore and question things	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.54*	.00	3.99**
53	Encourages C to talk about her troubles	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.55*	-.77	2.26*
44	Realized to let her take some chances as she grew up		2.56*	.20	3.85**
3	Placed mates wishes ahead of those of his children		-3.15**	-1.07	-3.40**
4	Helped C when teased by her friends		-.72	-1.67	-2.56*
46	Sometimes explained things by supernatural forces		-2.11*	-1.65	-3.36**
57	Dreaded answering C's questions about sex		-2.15*	1.01	-1.63
79	Instructs C not to get dirty while playing		1.48	-3.58**	-1.51

TABLE 12- "PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS": ITEMS INDICATING INCREASING SALIENCE ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers t - value	Mothers - Grandm. t - value	Daught - Grandm. t - value
1	Respects C's opinions, encourages to express them.	ENC. INDEP.	2.31*		3.48*
6	Expects C to handle problems herself when in trouble	ENC. INDEP.	2.20*		3.07**
21	Enc. C to wonder and think about life.	OPEN EXPRESSION			3.09**
24	Feels C should have time to think, daydream	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.40*		3.30**
45	Encourages C to be curious explore and question	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.54*		
53	Encourages C to talk about her problems	OPEN EXPRESSION	2.55*		
55	Taught C to keep control of feelings	AUTH. CONTROL	3.05**		
40	Jokes and plays with C.	EXPRESS AFFECT			2.90**
44	Realized to let her take some chances as grew up and triend new things		2.56*		3.85**
22	Takes C's preferences into account	ENC. INDEP		5.90**	4.89**

Category 1: Signif. increasing means.

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

Items Indicating Decreasing Saliency

Eight items indicated decreasing saliency across generations, six of which were between daughters and their grandmothers. The items which showed decreasing saliency referred to authoritarian control, giving precedence to mate's wishes, helping child when teased by friends, avoiding sex related questions, emphasizing cleanliness, and using supernatural explanations. These results are presented on Table 13.

Items Indicating Increasing Saliency Order Maintained

Only two items both of which refer to encouraging openness of expression came under this category. This shifting of emphasis is seen in daughter-grandmother comparison. These results are presented on Table 14.

Items Indicating Decreasing Saliency Order Maintained

Three items falling under this category refer to authoritarian control, use of supernatural explanations and giving precedence to mate's wishes. All of these items showed decreasing saliency between daughter and mother generation. These results are presented on Table 15.

Items Indicating Sameness

Seventeen items are in this category and are presented on Table 16. The items indicating sameness across generations refer to expression of affect, encouraging openness of expression, encouraging independence, enjoying parental role worry about child's future, teaching child punishment will find her if bad, expecting a great deal from the child, encouraging to perform in front of others, use of reasoning

TABLE 13- "PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS": ITEMS INDICATING DECREASING SALIENCE ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers t - value	Mothers - Grandm. t - value	Daught - Grandm. t - value
27	Does not allow C to say bad things about teacher	AUTH. CONTROL			-2.89**
43	Had strict, well established rules for C	AUTH. CONTROL			-2.25*
15	Believes C should be seen and not heard	AUTH. CONTROL		-2.26*	-3.87**
4	Helped C when teased by friends				-2.56*
46	Sometimes explained things by supernatural forces				-3.36**
57	Dreaded answering C's questions about sex		-2.15*		
79	Instructs child not to get dirty while playing			-3.58**	
3	Puts wishes of mate ahead of C's wishes				-3.40**

Category 2: Sig. decreasing means

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

TABLE 14- "PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS": ITEMS INDICATING INCREASING SALIENCE, ORDER MAINTAINED ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers		Mothers - Grandm.		Daught - Grandm.	
			t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c
45	Encourages C to be curious explore and question things	OPEN EXPRESSION					3.99**	.449*
53	Encourages C to talk about her troubles	OPEN EXPRESSION					2.26*	.390*

Category 3: Sig. Increasing means, sig. correlation

TABLE 15- "PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS": ITEMS INDICATING DECREASING SALIENCE, ORDER MAINTAINED ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers		Mothers - Grandm.		Daught - Grandm.	
			t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c	t-value	tau c
15	Believes C should be seen and not heard	AUTH. CONTROL	-2.09*	.361*				
3	Puts wishes of mate ahead of C's wishes		-3.15**	.332*				
46	Sometimes explained things by supernatural forces, beings		-2.11*	.458*				

Category 5: Sig. Decreasing Means, sig. correlation.

when child misbehaves, parent having time for herself away from children, finding it difficult to punish the child, letting child know she is appreciated and keeping child away from fighting.

Before proceeding on to the presentation of results concerning the specific hypotheses, we may briefly summarize the above results.

Thirty two items out of 87 showed significant differences across generations on perceptions of at least one parent; of these items, 13 showed significant differences in perceptions of both parents, 14 only in perceptions of mothers and six only in perceptions of fathers.

Of the thirty two items which showed significant differences across generations on perceptions of at least, one parent, exactly one half were related to the specific hypotheses of the study; namely, authoritarian control, encouraging openness of expression, open expression of affect and encouraging independence.

With these results, it seems fair to say that our general hypothesis is at least, partially supported.

Hypothesis I stated that there will be significant differences between the three generations' perceptions with respect to the dimension of "authoritarian control" in both of their parents' child rearing practices.

Perceptions of Mothers

Nine items were used to measure the "authoritarian control" dimension and the results are presented on Table 17. Four items showed significant differences across generations.

TABLE 16- "PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS": ITEMS INDICATING SAMENESS ACROSS GENERATIONS

Code No	Item	Items related to specific hypothesis	Daught - Mothers tau c	Mothers - Grandm. tau c	Daught - Grandm. tau c
11	Feels C should be given comfort and understanding when upset	EXPRESS AFFECT			.344*
42	Parent/child shared warm intimate times together	EXPRESS AFFECT		.319*	
1	Respects C's opinions and encourages to express them	ENC. INDEP.		.392*	
24	Felt C should have time to think, daydream and even loaf sometimes	OPEN EXPRESSION		.400*	
31	Does not allow C to get angry with him	AUTH. CONTROL			.332*
33	Expected a great deal of C		.394*		
17	Thought it good practice to perform in front of others			.459**	
2	Encouraged C to do her best				.417*
38	Talked it over and reasoned when C misbehaved				.394*
52	Lets C know she is appreciated trying, accomplishing				.398*
19	Found satisfaction in children		.344*		.322*
28	Worries about child's future as she grows up				.394*
29	Taught C punishment will find her if bad		-.355*		
56	Kept C away from fighting			.478**	
25	Found it difficult to punish			.465**	
85	Did not want C to be looked upon as different from others		.428*		.450*
72	Likes to have time for self away from C		.441*		

Category 5: Significant correlation

TABLE 17- ANALYSIS OF ITEMS RELATED TO "AUTHORITARIAN CONTROL" DIMENSION FOR:

Code No	Item	PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS				PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS			
		Daugh. - Moth. t Value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - Grandm. t value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - Moth. t value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - Grandm. t value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c
14	Believes physical punishment is best method of discipline.	-2.13*	.74	-1.13	.44	-1.95	-1.78		
15	Believes C should be seen not heard	-3.03**	.17	-2.27*	-2.09*	.361*	-2.26*	-3.87**	
70	Does not allow C to question parental decisions	-4.47**	1.11	-2.89**	-.78	-.46	-1.27		
55	Teaches C to control feelings at all times	2.55*	-3.70**	-1.90	3.05**	-1.51	1.19		
27	Does not allow C to say bad things about teacher	-1.13	-.54	-1.93	-.61	-1.78	-2.89**		
54	No secrets from parents	-.51	1.35	.42	1.09	-.95	.11		
64	Believes scolding, criticism makes improve	.19	-1.63	-.89	.55	-.45	.00		
43	Has strict well established rules for C.	.10	-.80	-.81	-.11	-1.87	-2.25*		
31	Does not allow C to get angry with parent	-.68	.92	.46	-.56	-.76	1.41	.332*	

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

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These items refer to belief in physical punishment as the best method of discipline, not allowing the child to question parental decisions, believing that the child should be seen and not heard and teaching the child to control feelings at all times. All four of these items showed differences between the daughters' perceptions and their mothers' and/or grandmothers' perceptions. The differences were in the direction of decreasing salience except for one item related to control of feelings. None of the items showed significant correlations across generations.

Perceptions of Fathers

Four out of nine items showed significant differences between generations and these results are presented on Table 17. These items refer to control of feelings, having strict well established rules for child, respect to authority (teacher) and belief that the child should be seen and not heard. All of these items, except the one related to control of feelings were in the direction of decreasing salience. The item on, control of feelings showed increasing salience between the daughter and mother generations. The item referring to not allowing the child to get angry with the parent showed "sameness" in the daughters' and grandmothers' perceptions.

When perceptions of both parents are evaluated together, it is seen that six out of nine items show significant differences between generations for at least one parent and except for control of feelings all show decreasing salience in the younger generations.

One item which referred to "not allowing children to get angry with the parent" showed significant correlation with no significant difference indicating "sameness" across generations. This was found only in daughters' and grand-

mothers' perceptions of fathers.

With these results, one can say that Hypothesis I is at least partially supported.

Hypothesis II stated that there will be significant differences between the three generations' perceptions with respect to "encouragement of independence" dimension of both of their parents' child rearing practices.

Perceptions of Mothers

Out of seven items related to "encouragement of independence" dimension, three showed significant differences across generations. These items are related to respecting child's opinions and encouraging to express them; taking child's preferences into account in making plans for the family; and encouraging child to handle the problem mostly by himself when he gets into trouble. The items related to opinions and preferences showed increasing salience while the item related to handling of problems showed decreasing salience in daughters' perceptions of their mothers. Only one item, giving the child duties and responsibilities within the family, indicated "someness" between daughters' and mothers' perceptions. These results are presented on Table 18.

Perceptions of Fathers

The above three items show significant differences also in perceptions of fathers and these results are presented in Table 18. Since only three out of seven items showed significant differences and one item shows "sameness" across generations, the results can not be regarded as supporting Hypothesis II. Nevertheless, the results indicate a trend in the expected direction.

TABLE 18- ANALYSIS OF ITEMS RELATED TO "ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDEPENDENCE" DIMENSION FOR:

Code No	Item	PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS				PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS					
		Daugh. - Moth. t Value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - Grandm. t value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - Moth. t value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - Grandm. t value	Moth. - Grandm. tau c		
1	Respects C's opinions and encourages to express them	4.00**		-1.50		.79		2.31*	1.00	.392*	3.48**
6	Expects C to handle problems mostly by herself when she gets in trouble	-2.15*		.39		-1.55		2.20*	.82		3.07**
22	Takes C's preferences into account in making plans for the fam.	5.59**		.00		5.63**		1.48	5.90**		4.89**
26	Lets child make many decisions for herself	1.52		.36		1.71		.00	1.37		1.95
41	Gives C duties, responsibilities in the family	.97	.318*	-1.02		-.49		.88	-.87		.11
67	Teaches C she is responsible for what happens to her.	.40		-.70		-.49		.25	-.08		.18
75	Encourages C to be indep.of parent	1.10		.11		1.77					

* p ≤ .05
 ** p ≤ .01

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Hypothesis III stated that there will be significant differences between the three generations' perceptions with respect to the dimension of "open expression of affect" in both of their parents' child rearing practices.

Perceptions of Mothers

Three out of six items relating to "open expression of affect" show significant differences across generations and these items are related to giving comfort and understanding when the child is scared or upset; joking and playing with the child; and, sharing warm, intimate times together with the child. The differences are in the direction of increasing salience in the daughters' perceptions of their mothers. Joking and playing and warmth of parent-child relationship showed significant correlations along with significant differences across daughters and grandmothers. These correlations may imply the continuity of warmth in parent-child relationship with increasing emphasis. These results are presented in Table 19.

Perceptions of Fathers

Only one item showed significant difference across generations which refers to joking and playing with the child. On the other hand, two items related to giving comfort and understanding to the child and joking and playing with the child showed significant correlations indicating "sameness" across generations. These results are presented on Table 19.

These results, show that hypothesis III is not supported. However, it may be fair to regard the findings concerning perceptions of mothers as indicating a trend towards increasing salience following the same pattern across generations.

TABLE 19- ANALYSIS OF ITEMS RELATED TO "OPEN EXPRESSION OF AFFECT" DIMENSION FOR :

Code No	Item	PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS				PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS							
		Daugh. - t Value	Moth. tau c	Moth. - Grandm. t value	Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - t Value	Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - t value	Grandm. tau c	Daugh. - t value	Grandm. tau c		
11	Feels C should be given confort and understanding when upset or scared	2.31*		.12	.390*	1.83		.42		-.57		-.14	.344*
40	Jokes and plays with child	4.39**		-.50		4.18**	.351*	1.94		.76		2.90**	
42	Parent-child share warm intimate times together	2.36*		.77		2.33**	.458**	1.63		-.10		.319*	1.85
18	Expresses affection by hugging-kissing	.95		-.17		.81		.00		.36		.39	
58	When angry, lets child know	-1.93		.81		-.64		-.08		.14		.10	
34	Parent is easy going and relaxed with C.	-.08		.85		.53		2.01		-.96		.68	

* p ≤ .05

** p ≤ .01

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Hypothesis IV stated that there will be significant differences between the three generations perceptions with respect to "encouraging openness of expression" dimension of both of their parents' child rearing practices.

Perceptions of Mothers

Out of four items related to encouragement of open expression dimension, three items show significant differences across daughters and mothers and/or grandmothers. These items refer to encouraging the child to talk about her problems, to be curious, explore and question things and letting the child have time to think, daydream and even loaf sometimes. None of these items had significant intergenerational correlations. These results are presented in Table 20.

Perceptions of Fathers

All of the four items showed significant differences across generations, the difference being in the direction of increasing salience in the daughters' perceptions in comparison to both their mothers' and grandmothers' perceptions. These results are presented in Table 20.

It can be said that the results seem to fully support hypothesis IV since all of the items showed significant differences across generations for at least one parent.

TABLE 20- ANALYSIS OF ITEMS RELATED TO "OPENNESS OF EXPRESSION" DIMENSION FOR:

Code No	Item	PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS						PERCEPTIONS OF FATHERS					
		Daugh. - Moth.		Moth. - Grandm.		Daugh. - Grandm.		Daugh. - Moth.		Moth. - Grandm.		Daugh. - Grandm.	
		t Value	tau c	t value	tau c	t value	tau c	t value	tau c	t value	tau c	t value	tau c
45	Encourages C to be curious, explore and question things	2.86**		-.31		2.45*		2.54*		.00		3.99**	.449*
24	Feels C should have time to think, day dream and loaf sometimes	2.94**		.09		2.38*		2.40*		.79	.400*	3.30**	
53	Encourages C to talk about her troubles	3.04		-1.53		1.87		2.55*		-.77		2.26*	.390*
21	Encourages C to wonder and think about life	1.26		-.61		.60		1.46		1.48		3.09**	

* $p \leq .05$

** $p \leq .01$

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of the present investigation was to study the change in women's perceptions of parental child rearing practices, attitudes, and beliefs across three consecutive generations within the context of social change in Turkish society.

Other than providing at least partial support for our general hypothesis, the study provided us with some insights about the aspects of child rearing which seem to have changed; the direction of this change; whether this change indicates a continuity of already existing child rearing orientations across generations with a different degree of emphasis or whether it could be related to macro social changes and; historically, in which generation most of the have happened. It should be noted however that all of this information is acquired through the subjects' perceptions of their parents.

Before discussing the results in detail, we may have a look at the general picture which seems to emerge from this exploration.

Perceived child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs show significant differences across generations with respect to many aspects of child rearing. These aspects can be described by thirty two items which showed significant differences on perceptions of at least one parent. Exactly one half of these items refer to "authoritarian control", "encouraging independence", "encouraging open expression" and "open

expression of affect" dimensions which were covered in the specific hypotheses of the study. The direction of change in these items, in most general terms, seemed to indicate at least a trend towards decreasing emphasis on authoritarian control and an increasing emphasis on encouraging independence, open expression and expression of affect. As was noted in the literature review, these dimensions seem to be close in "essence" to the set of attitudes and values (like increasing independence from the authority of traditional figures, openness to new experience, and general abandonment of passivity) used to describe the change in the general psychological outlook of man under the impact of social change (Inkeles, 1966,1969). This may imply that the variations in child rearing practices as perceived by women seem to be reflecting the change expected in the general psychological outlook under social change.

Also, we have seen that most of the items showing significant differences were not correlated across generations. This may imply that most of the perceived changes may be related to macrosocial changes rather than being basically a continuation of the already existing patterns with a different degree of emphasis. These findings provide additional support for the above views.

Lastly, we can say that most of the significant differences in perceived child rearing seem to be between the daughters and their mothers and/or grandmothers. The daughters' perceptions were regarded as reflecting the period after 1950's since both the daughters themselves as children and their mothers as teenagers and adults have lived in this period. The period after the 1950's on the other hand was accepted as being one of rapid social change. The results of the present study seem to provide support for this expectation.

This overall picture of variations across generations in the perceived child rearing practices seems to fit in the general framework of the context of social change in Turkey.

Now, the results will be discussed in detail in order to delienate those aspects of child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs that seem to have changed in women's perceptions.

Authoritarian Control

Significant differences in women's perceptions with respect to "authoritarian control" employed by their parents in child rearing were expected and the results provided partial support for this expectation. Both mothers and grandmothers perceived their mothers as believing in physical punishment and not allowing them to question their decisions. They also perceived their fathers as having strict, well established rules and not allowing them to say bad things about teachers. Such perceptions were at a significantly higher degree than those of the daughters. This may imply that in the traditional context, fathers are perceived as setting the rules and demanding respect for authority and mothers are perceived as applying these rules by not allowing the child to question parental decisions and using physical punishment as a method of discipline. These aspects are emphasized significantly less in the daughters' perceptions of their parents.

A common belief of parents in the view that a child should be seen and not heard seems to be decreasing in the younger generations perceptions of their parents in comparison to the older generations perceptions. While these aspects of authoritarian control seem to be decreasing, daughters' perceptions of their fathers as not allowing their child to

get angry with them show significant correlation with the grandmothers' perceptions of their fathers in the same respect. These results seem to fit in with Kandiyoti's suggestion (1978) that mothers (in our case both mothers and grandmothers) were raised in a more "traditional" family atmosphere.

One item of authoritarian control dimension did not have the same direction of change with the above mentioned items. It was interesting to see that the daughters perceived both of their mothers and fathers as teaching them to keep their feelings under control at all times significantly more than their mothers perceived their parents. In perceptions of mothers, the mother generation seemed to perceive this aspect less even from their own mothers. Also, there were no intergenerational correlations with respect to this item. This may suggest to us that the increasing emphasis in daughters' perceptions of their parents as teaching control of feelings may be related to the changes in the general outlook to women. In the traditional context, control of feelings may not be expected from women as much as from men. However, the changing role of women may be perceived as requiring control of feelings for women also. Kandiyoti (1978) reports no difference between the daughter and mother generations perceptions of their mothers with respect to control of feelings. Contradictory findings of these two studies seem to point for a need for further investigation for a better understanding of this aspect.

As a general comment, it may be said that there seems to be some relaxation in control as perceived by the daughters.

Encouragement of Independence

The second dimension in which significant differences

were expected between the three generations perceptions was related to "encouragement of independence".

According to Kağıtçıbaşı (1980), the child's dependence rather than independence is valued in the Turkish society and a change may be expected when the value of children changes from being "economic" to "psychological" under social change and economic development. Since this study investigates child rearing in the context of social change, a focus on the dimension of independence seemed to be necessary so as to see whether the eventually expected change seems to be on the way or not.

Seven items were grouped under this dimension in order to cover different aspects of this multi dimensional concept. Among these items were encouraging independence from the parent, decision making and, taking children's opinions which are among the dimensions Bamrind (1967) used for identifying authoritative style of parenting.

In our results, there were significant differences across generations in the perceptions of both mothers and fathers with respect to three items. These items refer to taking child's preferences into account in making plans for the family; respecting the child's opinions and encouraging to express them and; expecting child to handle problems mostly by herself when she gets into trouble. Younger generations seemed to perceive both their mothers and fathers as placing more emphasis to these aspects in their child rearing except for the "handling of problems". The daughter generation perceived their mothers as placing less emphasis on "handling of problems" than the mother or grandmother generations perceived their own parents. The item related to giving the child duties and responsibilities in the family showed "sameness" between the daughters' and mothers' perceptions of their

mothers. In Value of Children, Kağıtçıbaşı has found that household help is one of the major reasons for wanting a daughter. Also, expecting household help from daughters seems to reflect an aspect of sex role socialization in the way of preparing them for the home making role they are going to have in the future. It may be said that household help has a "present" value for the mother and a "future" value for the child. Therefore, a continuing emphasis on this aspect of perceived child rearing across generations seems to be understandable. This finding may indirectly imply the continuation of traditional sex roles.

The items which referred to "encouraging the child to be independent of the mother (data for fathers is missing), teaching the child that she is responsible for what happens to her and letting the child make many decisions for herself" did not show any significant differences across generations. Kandiyoti (1978), on the other hand reports significant differences across generations with respect to the perceived emphasis placed by the mothers to "being independent", "having responsibility" and "being able to decide for herself" in child rearing. The difference in the results of these two studies may be primarily due to different conceptualization of these concepts. "Independence" is taken as a multidimensional concept in our study and "being independent from the parent" was regarded as one of its aspects. In Kandiyoti's study, independence is taken as a general concept and what aspect of independence it refers to is not made explicit. Therefore, a comparison of the findings does not seem to take us any where other than drawing attention to the need for defining such multidimensional concepts more explicitly.

The same argument holds true for "having responsibility". While "having responsibilities in the family" showed

cross-generational continuity, teaching the child that she is responsible for what happens to her showed no significant differences in our study. The general concept of "having responsibility" in Kandiyoti's study again does not show explicitly to which type of responsibility it refers to and a comparison of the data of these two studies becomes unfruitful.

One further note needs to be made with respect to the important implication of the item which refers to "teaching the child that she is responsible for what happens to her". This item seems to be referring to the parents' orientation towards "internal control of reinforcement" which theoretically implies an autonomous, self reliant and, active behavior (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1975). The findings of our study show that parents' attitudes toward teaching internal control of reinforcement to their daughters is not perceived as being any different across generations.

While passing from a traditional to a modern society requires higher emphasis on self-reliance and autonomy in child rearing, such an emphasis is not perceived by our generations.

As a concluding remark for the perceived changes in emphasis given to "encouraging of independence" in child rearing, we may say that parents seem to be perceived as more willing to take children's wishes into considerations in making decisions, but the decision always rests with the parent in the final analysis. So the child's wishes are information or data that contribute to the parent's decision, but the child herself is not conceptualized as a separate and distinct decision maker. The leadership is not shared within the family.

Open Expression of Affect

This dimension covered different forms of expressing affect which were giving comfort and understanding when scared or upset; joking and playing; sharing warm, intimate times; hugging and kissing; expressing anger; and, being easy going and relaxed.

Among these items, the first three which refer to a warm, loving and understanding relationship were perceived of mothers at a higher degree by the daughters in comparison to mothers and grandmothers. These aspects also had significant correlations across generations indicating that a warm loving and understanding relationship is continuing to be perceived across generations but at a higher degree of emphasis in the perceptions of daughters.

A warm and understanding relationship with the father is also perceived in continuity with no significant differences across generations while joking and playing with the father seemed to have increased with the daughter generation in comparison to their grandmothers. These findings seem to give us a general picture in women's perceptions of a warm, understanding and loving relationship which continues across generations with a significantly higher emphasis among the youngest generation. This general picture fits in with the findings of previous studies indicating the presence of a warm and loving parent-child relationship in the Turkish family (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1973). Furthermore, the expectation that the importance of family as a source of companionship and emotional security increases in the course of social change (Parsons, 1964) is also met in our study. Finally, through social change and economic development, the psychological value of children which is perceived as mainly providing companionship, love and joy is expected to increase. The

significantly increasing emphasis placed on warm and loving relationship in the youngest generations perceptions seem to point out that this expected change in the psychological value of children is happening in the course of social change in our society.

Encouraging Openness of Expression

The dimension of encouraging openness of expression involved encouraging of the child to talk about her troubles, to wonder and think about life, to daydream, explore, question and be curious". Daughters perceived their parents as giving much higher emphasis to these dimensions in their child rearing than the mothers and grandmothers perceived their parents.

Among the characteristics claimed to be defining the change in man's general psychological outlook in the process of social change are openness to new experience and general abandonment of passivity which may be said to refer to openness of expression dimension. Therefore, the findings of our study may suggest that women perceive in their parents' child rearing attitudes more encouragement and liberation towards open expression which, in turn may be a sign of modern attitudinal tendencies.

Other Changing Aspects of Child Rearing

As it was pointed out earlier, thirty two items showed significant differences across generations for at least one parent, 16 of which referred to the four dimension discussed. A discussion of the remaining 16 items may provide some more insights into the changing aspects of perceived child rearing.

Both the mothers and the fathers were perceived as emphasizing the following aspects of behavior significantly less by the daughters in comparison to their mothers and/or grandmothers: dreading the child's sex related questions; using supernatural explanations; placing mates wishes ahead of those of children and; not wanting the child to try if there are chances of failure. On the other hand, the mothers were perceived as emphasizing the following aspects significantly more by daughters in comparison to their mothers and/or grandmothers: finding it interesting and educational to be with children, appreciating the child for trying or accomplishing and not blaming the child if others asked for trouble.

These differences in daughters' perceptions also seem to point out to a change in child rearing attitudes and beliefs which in general suggest a decreasing emphasis on traditional beliefs (i.e. sex, supernatural forces) and an increasing emphasis on new experience and enjoyment of parental role.

Before proceeding to the conclusion, one other interesting finding of the study needs to be noted. In any one item, if there were significant differences across generations, the direction of change was the same; that is; the emphasis on that item was either increasing or decreasing towards the younger generations. Only five items and only in relation to perceptions of mothers showed an exceptional case. Items referring to conflict between mother and child, for getting of promises made and making child aware of parents' sacrifices, received an increasing emphasis in the mother generation's perceptions while received a decreasing emphasis in the daughter generations's perceptions. On the other hand, items referring to encouraging control of feelings and mother liking to have time for herself away from children had a

decreasing emphasis by the mother generation and an increasing emphasis by the daughter generation. An explanation of this complicated looking relationship may be that the mother generation who felt to experience conflict, guilt induction through reminding of sacrifices, inconsistency in keeping promises with a mother who did not seem to have time for herself away from children, took care not to show the same attitudes toward their daughters. A question which may arise from these findings would be "why did the mother generation perceive these attitudes?". It is believed that the answer may be found with a better understanding of the period they lived in. The mother generation lived their late childhood and adulthood in 1950's; the period of rapid social change. Therefore, this generation which may be identified as a "transitional" generation may very well have conflicts with the previous generation.

As a general remark it may be said that significant variations seem to have happened in child rearing practices as perceived by different generations and these variations seem to be in the direction of decreasing emphasis on traditional child rearing practices, values and beliefs and increasing emphasis on aspects which are a sign of modern attitudinal tendencies.

In the light of this research, limited with its sample, wide generalizations would be misleading. This investigation has mainly attempted to "explore" a large number of items referring to various aspects of child rearing practices, attitudes and beliefs in the context of social change and only for women. A more complete picture would be provided if a cross sex comparison could be added. We would accept this investigation to have fulfilled its objectives if it could provide some insights for further research in this wide domain.

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8. APPENDICES

APPENDIX A- COMPLETE LIST OF THE ITEMS USED IN THE STUDY FOR PERCEPTIONS OF MOTHERS (IN TURKISH)

- 1- Annem görüşlerime saygı gösterir ve beni onları belirtmeye teşvik ederdi.
- 2- Annem beni her zaman yapabildiğim en iyisini yapmaya teşvik ederdi.
- 3- Annem çocuklarınıninkine kıyasla babamın isteklerine öncelik tanırdı.
- 4- Arkadaşlarım bana sataştıkları zaman annem bana yardım ederdi.
- 5- Annem bana sık sık kızardı.
- 6- Başım sıkıştığında annem sorunlarımı kendi kendime çözmemi beklerdi.
- 7- Annem beni cezalandırmak için bir süre tek başıma bir yerde oturdurdu.
- 8- Annem ne zaman ne yediğimi yakından izlerdi.
- 9- Annem küçük kız ve erkek çocukların birbirlerini çıplak görmelerini uygun bulmazdı.
- 10- Annem babamın biz çocuklarıyla daha yakından ilgilenmesini isterdi.
- 11- Annem korktuğum ya da üzülüğüm zamanlar beni rahatlatır ve anlayış gösterirdi.
- 12- Annem beni kendisinininkinden farklı düşünce ve değerleri olan ailelerin çocuklarından uzak tutmaya çalışırdı.
- 13- Annem vurdulu kırdılı oyunlar oynamamı ya da canımı yakabilecek şeyleri yapmamı istemezdi.
- 14- Annem dayağın en iyi terbiye yöntemi olduğuna inanırdı.
- 15- Annem çocukların göz önünde fakat sessiz durmaları gerektiğine inanırdı.
- 16- Annem ara sıra bana verdiği sözleri unuturdu.
- 17- Annem becerilerimi başkaları önünde sergilememin bana yararlı olduğuna inanırdı.
- 18- Annem sevgisini beni kucaklayıp öperek gösterirdi.

- 19- Annemin en büyük zevklerinden biri çocuklarıydı.
- 20- Annem yapamayacağımı düşündüğü şeyleri denememi istemezdi.
- 21- Annem beni hayat hakkında düşünmeye ve merak etmeye teşvik ederdi.
- 22- Aile ile ilgili planlar yapılırken çoğu kez benim tercihlerim de göz önünde tutulurdu.
- 23- Annem büyümemi pek istemezdi.
- 24- Annem arada sırada düşünmem, hayal kurmak ve tembellik yapmam için vaktim olması gerektiğine inanırdı.
- 25- Beni cezalandırmak anneme zor gelirdi.
- 26- Annem beni birçok konuda kendi kararlarımı vermekte serbest bırakırdı.
- 27- Annem öğretmenlerim hakkında kötü şeyler söylememe izin vermezdi.
- 28- Annem ben büyürken başıma gelebilecek kötü ve üzücü şeylerden endişelenirdi.
- 29- Annem bana, kötülük yaparsam şu veya bu şekilde cezalandırılacağımı öğretti.
- 30- Başkaları mesele çıkardığı zaman annem olanlar için beni suçlamazdı.
- 31- Annem kendisine kızmama izin vermezdi.
- 32- Annem kendisini hayal kırıklığına uğrattığıma inanırdı.
- 33- Annem benden çok şey beklerdi.
- 34- Annem bana karşı rahat ve tasasızdı.
- 35- Annem çocukları yüzünden bazı ilgi ve uğraşlarından vazgeçti.
- 36- Annem beni şımartırdı.
- 37- Annem her zaman gerçeği söylediğime inanırdı.
- 38- Annem yaramazlık yaptığım zamanlar durumu bana mantıklı bir şekilde anlatırdı.
- 39- Annem, kendi yokluğunda bile gerektiği gibi davranacağıma güvenirdi.
- 40- Annem benimle oynar ve şakalaşırdı.
- 41- Annem bana aile içerisinde birçok görevler ve sorumluluklar verirdi.
- 42- Annemle birçok tatlı ve yakın anlarımız oldu.

- 43- Annem benim için katı ve kesin olarak belirlenmiş kurallar koymuştu.
- 44- Annem ben büyüdükçe yeni şeyler denemeyi göze almamın gerektiğine inanırdı.
- 45- Annem meraklı olmam, sorular sormam ve araştırmacı olmam için teşvik ederdi.
- 46- Annem bana bazı şeyleri doğa üstü güç ve varlıklardan söz ederek açıklardı.
- 47- Annem elimdeki olanakların değerini bilmemi ve şükretmemi beklerdi.
- 48- Annem kendini çocuklarına gereğinden fazla vermişti.
- 49- Annem, çocuğu tuvalete alıştırmamanın mümkün olduğu kadar erken başlaması gerektiğine inanırdı.
- 50- Annem beni tehdit ettiği kadar sık cezalandırmazdı.
- 51- Annem kötü birşey yaptığım zamanlar ceza vermekten çok, iyi birşey yaptığım zaman ödüllendirmeye önem verirdi.
- 52- Annem başarıma ya da çabama değer verdiğini gösterirdi.
- 53- Annem beni sorunlarım hakkında konuşmaya teşvik ederdi.
- 54- Annem çocukların anne-babalarından gizli sırları olmaması gerektiğine inanırdı.
- 55- Annem beni her zaman duygularıma hakim olmaya teşvik ederdi.
- 56- Annem kavga etmemi istemezdi.
- 57- Annem cinsiyet ile ilgili sorularıma cevap vermekten çekinirdi.
- 58- Annem bana kızgınlığını belli ederdi.
- 59- Annem beni herşeyi başkalarından daha iyi yapmaya teşvik ederdi.
- 60- Annem beni cezalandırmak için bazı haklarımdan yoksun bırakırdı.
- 61- Annem iyi davrandığım zamanlar bana fazladan bazı haklar verirdi.
- 62- Annem evin çocuklarla dolu olmasından hoşlanırdı.
- 63- Annem fazla sevgi ve şefkatin bir çocuk için zararlı olabileceğine ve onu zayıflatabileceğine inanırdı.
- 64- Annem azar ve eleştirinin bana faydalı olacağına inanırdı.
- 65- Annem benim için ne fedakârlıklara katlandığını belli ederdi.

- 66- Annem ara sıra bana takılır ve alay ederdi.
- 67- Annem bana başıma gelenlerden kendimin sorumlu olduğunu öğretti.
- 68- Annem sağlığımdan endişelenirdi.
- 69- Annemle aramızda epey çatışma vardı.
- 70- Annem kararları hakkında soru sormama izin vermezdi.
- 71- Annem rekabete dayanan oyunlar oynamamın bana yararlı olacağına inanırdı.
- 72- Annem kendisine çocuklarından ayrı olarak zaman ayırmayı severdi.
- 73- Annem kötü davrandığımda benden ne kadar utandığını ve düş kırıklığına uğradığını söylerdi.
- 74- Annem başkaları üzerinde iyi bir izlenim uyandırmamı isterdi
- 75- Annem beni ona bağımlı olmamaya teşvik ederdi.
- 76- Annem nerede olduğumu ve ne yaptığımı kesinlikle bilmeye her zaman özen gösterirdi.
- 77- Annem çocuklarıyla birlikte olmayı, uzun süreler için bile olsa, ilginç ve eğitici bulurdu.
- 78- Annem çocuğun meme ya da biberondan mümkün olduğu kadar erken kesilmesi gerektiğine inanırdı.
- 79- Annem oynarken üstümü kirletmememi tembih ederdi.
- 80- Annem beni küçükken evde bir yabancı ile bırakmaktansa kendisi evde kalmayı tercih ederdi.
- 81- Annem kardeşlerime karşı kıskançlık ya da kızgınlık gösterdiğimde beni cezalandırırdı.
- 82- Annem bana ağlamamayı küçük yaşta öğretmişti.
- 83- Annem başıma gelebilecek tüm kötü şeylere karşı beni uyarmak suretiyle yaptıklarımı denetlerdi.
- 84- Ailemizde çocuklara en çok sözünü geçiren kişi annemdi.
- 85- Annem benim diğer çocuklardan farklı görülmemi istemezdi.
- 86- Ben herşeyi anlayabilecek duruma gelmeden annem bana cinsel konularla ilgili bilgi verilmemesi gerektiğine inanırdı.
- 87- Annem dışarıda oynayıp, temiz hava almanın benim için çok önemli olduğuna inanırdı.

- 88- Annem iřtahla ve zevk alarak yemek yememi grmekten hořlanırdı.
- 89- Annem bařkalarına satařmama ve muziplik yapmama izin vermezdi.
- 90- Annem kız ve erkek çocukların farklı oyuncaklarla veya farklı oyunlar oynamaları iin ısrar etmezdi.
- 91- Annem çocukların sık sık byklerin gzetiminden uzak kendi kendilerine oynamalarını sakıncalı bulurdu.

APPENDIX B- INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN TO THE SUBJECTS DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TEST

Bu araştırma çocuklar hakkında daha fazla bilgi edinmek için yapılmaktadır. Sizden öğrenmek istediğimiz, annenizin sizi yetiştirirken nelere daha fazla önem verdiği ve ne gibi yöntemler uyguladığıdır. Bunun için, çocuk yetiştirme ile ilgili cümleler içeren özel kartlar hazırlanmıştır. Sizden bu kartları bir sıralamaya koymanızı rica ediyoruz.

KARTLAR VE ZARFLAR

Destede 91 kart var. Her kartta çocuk yetiştirme ile ilgili bir cümle var. Bazı cümleler annenizin size karşı tutum ve davranışları için gerçek ve tanımlayıcı olabilir. Bazıları ise sizin için gerçektışı ve geçersiz olabilir. Kartları aşağıda gösterildiği şekilde ayırarak bu cümlelerin sizin için ne kadar tanımlayıcı veya geçersiz olduğunu belirtmeniz isteniyor.

Kartlarla birlikte aşağıda görüldüğü gibi etiketlenmiş yedi tane de zarf almış bulunuyorsunuz.

- 7- Bu kartlar en tanımlayıcı
- 6- Bu kartlar oldukça tanımlayıcı
- 5- Bu kartlar biraz tanımlayıcı
- 4- Bu kartlar ne tanımlayıcı ne de geçersiz
- 3- Bu kartlar biraz geçersiz
- 2- Bu kartlar oldukça geçersiz
- 1- Bu kartlar en geçersiz

Sizin işiniz her kategoriye uyan 13 kartı seçip bunları uygun zarfların içine koymaktadır.

KARTLARI NASIL DİZECEKSİNİZ?

(İstenirse her biri bittiğinde işaretlenebilir).

- 1- Kartları alın ve karıştırın
- 2- Masa ya da tezgah gibi geniş bir yerde zarfları 7 den 1'e gidecek şekilde dizin (En tanımlıyıcıdan en geçersize).
- 3- Şimdi karıştırılmış kartlar destesini alın ve her cümleyi dikkatle okuyun. Sonra kartlardan üç küme yapın. Biri sizin için genellikle gerçek ve tanımlayıcı, biri emin olmadıklarınız ve biri de sizin için

gerçekdışı ve geçersiz olanlar. İleride kartların yerlerini değiştirebileceğinizden bu aşamada kümelere kaçır kart koyduğunuz önemli değildir. Şimdi kartlarınız ve zarflarınız aşağıdaki görünümde olmalıdır-

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Tanımlayıcı Kartlar	Emin olmadığınız kartlar			Geçersiz Kartlar		

- 4- Şimdi tanımlayıcı kümeyi alın ve içinden annenizle olan ilişkileriniz için geçerli olan en tanımlayıcı 13 kartı seçin. Bunları 7 no.lu zarfın üzerine koyun. Değiştirmek isteyebileceğinizden zarfın içine koymayın.
 - 5- Şimdi kalan kartlardan oldukça tanımlayıcı olan 13 kartı seçin ve 6 numaralı zarfın üstüne koyun ("Tanımlayıcı" kümenizde kartlar bitmiş ise "emin olmadıklarınız" kümesinden daha tanımlayıcı kartlar seçeceksiniz).
 - 6- Şimdi diğer uçtan (baştan) başlayın. Geçersiz kümeyi alın ve sizin için en geçersiz 13 kartı seçip 1 numaralı zarfın üstüne koyun.
 - 7- Arkasından oldukça geçersiz olan 13 kartı seçip 2 numaralı zarfın üstüne koyun.
 - 8- Şimdi elinizde 39 kartın kalmış olması gerek. Bunlar da her birinde 13'er kart bulunan 3 kümeye ayrılacak. Sizin için biraz tanımlayıcı olan 13 kartı 5 numaralı zarfın üstüne, sizin için ne tanımlayıcı ne de geçersiz olan 13 kartı 4 numaralı zarfın üstüne ve sizin için biraz geçersiz olan 13 kartı 3 numaralı zarfın üstüne koyun.
- Siz de başkaları gibi her kümeye aynı sayıda kart koymakta güçlük çekebilirsiniz. Ancak her ne kadar kendinizi kısıtlandırılmış hissetseniz de, sizden her kümeye aynı sayıda kart koymanızı rica edeceğiz.
- 9- Son olarak, kümelere yeniden bakıp değişiklikler yapmak isteyip istemediğinizi gözden geçirin. Eğer bir değişiklik yapmak istiyorsanız, yine her kümede 13'er kart olmasına dikkat ederek, istediğiniz değişikliği yapın. Yapacağınız bir değişiklik kalmamış ise, her kümeyi ait olduğu zarfın içine koyun ve zarfı kapayın.

Küçük zarfları da büyük zarfın içine koyun.

İlgi ve yardımlarınıza teşekkür ederiz.