

THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL PARENTIFICATION HISTORY, MATERNAL  
ATTACHMENT STYLES, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND CHILDREN'S  
SELF-CONSTRUALS ON PARENTIFICATION ROLES AND PERCEIVED  
PARENTAL CAREGIVING

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## ABSTRACT

### THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL PARENTIFICATION HISTORY, MATERNAL ATTACHMENT STYLES, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND CHILDREN'S SELF-CONSTRUALS ON PARENTIFICATION ROLES AND PERCEIVED PARENTAL CAREGIVING

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This thesis study aimed to explore how well the maternal history of parentification, adult attachment styles, self-construal of children and SES of the family contribute to explain the variability on parentification behaviors of children. The sample comprised 92 mother-child dyads. Mothers' mean age was 40.11 ( $SD = 5.56$ ), and mean education level of 2.45 ( $SD = 1.25$ ). Children's mean age was 12.56 ( $SD = .63$ ). Mothers were given the *Filial Responsibility Scale- Adult Version* (Jurkovic, Thirkield, and Morrell, 2001) and the *Experiences in Close Relationships Inventory-II* (Fraley, Waller, and Brennan, 2000). Children were given the *Twenty Statement Scale* (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954). Children were also asked three open-ended questions about regular family activities. Their narratives were coded according to specific coding schemes. Results of regression analyses showed that anxious mothers were perceived as providing more instrumental care. Besides, girls perceived their mothers as providing more emotional care. In terms of child's emotional parentification, children of less anxious mothers expressed more emotional parentification behaviors towards their mothers. Moreover, more relational children explained more emotional parentification. In terms of child's instrumental parentification behaviors, girls explained more instrumental parentification. In addition, children who were more independent, tend to show less instrumental

parentification. Children of avoidant mothers tend to explain more autonomous behavior. Children who perceived themselves as more interdependent also perceived themselves as more autonomous. Besides, girls explained more collective activity of their families. The findings, possible limitations and contributions of this study were discussed in light of the related literature.

*Keywords:* parentification, maternal attachment, perceived parental caregiving, self-construal of child, SES.

## ÖZ

### ANNENİN EBEVEYNLEŞME GEÇMİŞİ, ANNENİN BAĞLANMA TİPİ, SOSYOEKONOMİK STATÜ VE ÇOCUKLARIN BENLİK KURGUSUNUN ÇOCUKLARININ EBEVEYNLEŞME DAVRANIŞLARI VE ALGINAN EBEVEYN BAKIMINA ETKİSİ

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Bu tez çalışmasında, annenin çocukluğundaki ebeveynleşme davranışı tecrübeleri, eşiyle ilişkisindeki bağlanması, ailenin sosyo-ekonomik düzeyi ve çocuğun benlik kurgusunun çocuğun ebeveynleşme davranışları üzerindeki etkisi incelenmiştir. Çalışmaya toplam 92 anne-çocuk çifti katılmıştır (46 yüksek, 46 düşük SES). Annelerin ortalama yaşı 40.11 ( $SD = 5.56$ ), ve ortalama eğitim seviyesi 2.45'tir. ( $SD = 1.25$ ). Çocukların ortalama yaşı 12.56 ( $SD = .63$ ). Annelere, *Filial Sorumluluk Ölçeği*, *Yetişkin Versiyonu* (Jurkovic, Thirkield, ve Morrell, 2001) ve *Yakın İlişkilerde Yaşantılar Ölçeği-II*, (Fraleay, Waller, ve Brennan, 2000) verilmiştir. Çocuklara, *Yirmi Durum Ölçeği* (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) verilmiş, buna ek olarak aile içi rol ve sorumluluk dağılımını anlatmaları istenen üç açık uçlu soru sorulmuştur. Çocukların açık uçlu cevaplarından yapılan her bi kodlama, belirlenen bağımsız değişkenlerle hiyerarşik regresyon analiziyle test edilmiştir. Çalışmada; anksiyetesi yüksek annelerin çocukları, annelerin daha çok fiziksel bakım verdiği açıklamışlardır. Kızlar erkeklere kıyasla ebeveynlerinin daha çok duygusal bakım verdiğini açıklamışlardır. Çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışları incelendiğinde, anksiyetesi düşük annelerin çocukları, daha çok duygusal ebeveynleşme davranışı göstermektedir. Ayrıca, ilişkisel benliğe sahip olma eğilimindeki çocuklar, daha çok duygusal ebeveynleşme davranışı gösterdiklerini açıklamışlardır. Çocuğun pratik



ebeveynleşmesini incelediğimizde, kızlar erkeklere göre daha aile üyelerine daha çok fiziksel bakım sağladıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca, bağımsız benliğe sahip olma eğilimindeki çocuklar daha az fiziksel bakım verdiklerini açıklamışlardır. Ayrıca, bu çalışmada geliştirilen kodlamalardan biri olarak çocuğun özerk davranışlarını annenin kaçınan davranışları ve birbirine karşılıklı bağımlı benlik anlayışı pozitif yönde tahmin etmiştir. Ailece yapılan aktiviteleri incelediğimizde, kızlar erkeklere kıyasla daha çok ailece aktivite yaptıklarını açıklamışlardır. Çalışmada kısıtlayıcı olabilecek faktörler ve çalışmanın katkılarına tartışma bölümünde yer verilmiştir.

*Anahtar Kelimeler:* ebeveynleşme, çocuğun algıladığı ebeveyn tarafından verilen bakım, annenin bağlanma stili, çocuğun benlik kurgusu, SES.

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### **FIGURES**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ECR	Experiences in Close Relationships Scale
FRS	Filial Responsibility Scale
NH	New Hampshire
SES	Socio-Economic-Status

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*“Children begin by loving their parents; as they grow older they judge them; sometimes they forgive them.”*

Oscar Wilde, the Picture of Dorian Gray

#### *1.1. Overview*

Child development is conceptually associated with the role and the effect of the parental behaviors and attitudes on both positive and negative child outcomes (Lerner, 1982). Parents have the leading role in every step of child development. Usually, parents are the ones in charge of their children’s needs. In developmental psychology, the contemporary view on child development concerns the dialectical relationship between children and their parents, which refers to the active role of children in their own development, as well as their effects on their parents’ socio-emotional development (Kuczynski & De Mol, in press).

However, in various cases, children might start to take over the role of caring for their parents, as well. In psychology literature, this phenomenon is called as “parentification”.

Especially in the field of clinical psychology, parentification has been extensively studied and the results mostly emphasized negative outcomes for children. Parentification term is first used by Boszormanyi-Nagy, & Spark (1973) for expressing unusual family roles of parents and children. According to this phenomenon, either implicitly or explicitly, parents encourage children to provide caretaking behaviors for other family members (Hooper, 2008). In other words, those children learn to behave as if they are the adults who take the responsibility of other family members and they specifically try to meet the needs of their parents.

Nevertheless, they mostly feel psychology overwhelmed as a result of their over excessive responsibilities and as a child. Many studies focusing on this issue showed that, exercise of parentification causes various negative outcomes for children (Earley & Cushway, 2002) such as negative self-evaluation (Castro, Jones, & Mirsalimi, 2004), showing depressive symptoms, emotional dependency on significant others, and problems in socialization (Wells & Jones, 1998).

The parentification literature explained that possible reasons of parentification are mostly caused by unhealthy family relationships and problematic parenting (Burnett, Jones, Bliwise, & Ross, 2006). Therefore, most of the studies examined mainly dysfunctional families, in which the role reversal of parent and child is more likely to be observed. Examples of these families could be listed as families with alcoholic parents (Burnett et al., 2006), sexually abused parents (Barnett & Parker, 1998), parents with medical illnesses (such as HIV/AIDS, cancer) (Tompkins, 2007), parents with mental illnesses such as schizophrenia or depression (Abraham & Stein, 2013; Champion, Jaser, Reeslund, Simmons, Potts, Shears & Compas, 2009), divorced families, or single-parent families (Srouf & Ward, 1980; Burton, 2007).

Thereby parentification studies have been criticized for its pathologically focused perspective and the inadequate research examining parentification in the social and cultural context (Chase, 1999; Earley & Cushway, 2002). Contemporary studies found that not all forms of parentification have to result negatively. Conversely, positive gains are possible for children in long-term. However, it appears that there is still insufficient research examining parentification in non-clinical communal samples, and in social and cultural context (Truong, 2001). Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, there are a few studies specifically examining parentification in Turkish cultural context (Mebert & Sahin, 2007). Therefore, this study aims to examine parentification in Turkish cultural context by comparing families from high and low socio-economic status.

A detailed review of parentification literature is presented in the next sections. For further understanding, features of the Turkish family structure, cross-cultural and within-cultural differences are also provided in the introduction section.

First, the definition and types of parentification are described. In this study, we used various variables that might contribute into explaining caretaking roles of children, which we coded from the narratives that children provided. Specifically, we aim to measure the effects of children's self-construal types, mothers' attachment style and maternal history of parentification, on children's reports of parentification behaviors.

### ***1.2. Defining Parentification***

In a typical family relationship, all family members are tied to each other and there is a common trust and care among members (Jurkovic, Morrell, & Thirkield, 1999). There are also expected roles and duties for each family member. However, when there is a reversal in these roles in any direction, an imbalance occurs in the family system. These types of relationships between parents and children are considered as deformity within family boundaries, in other words, an unhealthy family relationship (Minuchin, 1974). Jurkovic et al. (1999) explained that 'parentification' could be an example of these deteriorated relationship. It is the situation in which children aim to fulfill unmet needs of their parents and adopt parental roles as if they are the parents who are responsible of caretaking (Boszormanyi-Nagy, & Spark, 1973). The term 'parentified child' is often used in literature in order to define children who have experienced parentification (Boszormanyi-Nagy, & Spark, 1973).

Parentification is first defined by Boszormanyi-Nagy and Spark (1973) as children who are performing parental roles and who meet the needs of their parents. Later, Jurkovic et al. extended the literature on parentification by examining the difficulties that those children might face (1999). In the beginning, this issue is mainly examined from the clinical psychology perspective (Chase, 1999). Since it required unusual roles in the family, such as switch of expected roles between parents and children, it was more likely to be observed in dysfunctional family contexts. Therefore, it has been studied in various dysfunctional families. Many studies have examined children's of alcoholic parents (Burnett et al., 2006), addicted parents, sexually abused parents (Barnett & Parker, 1998), parents with chronic medical illnesses, parents with mental illnesses, immigrant families, divorced parents and such (Abraham & Stein, 2013; Champion et al., 2009; Tompkins, 2007).

Moreover, many studies observed parentification in divorced families and single-parent families (Burton, 2007). Marital conflict, immigrated families, and low family income are also the predominant characteristics of families in which parentification is mostly observed (Byng-Hall, 2002).

Parentification might be observed in various ways in family context. It could include taking care of physical, emotional, and monetary needs of their parents (Burnett et al., 2006). To further explain the components of parentification, Minuchin and his colleagues (1974) examined types of parentification and expanded the literature by defining two types of parentification; emotional and instrumental parentification (as cited as Black & Sleigh, 2013; Hooper, 2012). The next sections explain those two phenomena in detail.

### ***1.2.1. Instrumental Parentification***

Instrumental parentification is children's participation in the maintenance and endurance of the family, especially for the physical needs (Champion et al. 2009; Hooper, 2008; Jurkovic et al., 1999). The child is responsible for physical duties and errands, which are mostly related to housework and regulations. For example, the child usually does the instrumental tasks such as doing housework, cleaning dishes, paying bills, cooking, shopping (Hooper, 2007; Champion et al., 2009). According to Minuchin, it is natural for children taking more responsibilities and helping family members in large or extended families (1974). This type of parentification could be considered as more material and could be seen more commonly in most of the families in communal samples. Moreover, this type of parentification might have positive outcomes for the child. In this regard, Thirkield (2002) conducted a study examining the relationship between instrumental parentification and interpersonal competence in later life. The results revealed that there is a positive relationship between instrumental parentification and interpersonal competence, showing that children's taking responsibilities might be beneficial for their later relationships and socialization. However, in terms of negative aspects, parents might encumber their children with heavy responsibilities as shown in other studies (Byng-Hall, 2002). In those terms, since research focusing on positive outcomes of parentification is only a few in numbers, this subject should be further explored.

### ***1.2.2. Emotional Parentification***

Emotional parentification is defined as the situation in which children try to meet the emotional needs of their parents (Hooper, 2007). In emotional caretaking, children deal with emotional problems of their parents although it is not a problem directly related to or involving children themselves. These types of behaviors could be exemplified as just talking about the problems or finding solutions to problems of parents (Champion et al., 2009).

This phenomenon is usually observed in families, in which marital conflicts are frequently occurring. In those families, children play roles, such as confidant and companion of a parent (Hooper, 2008; Jurkovic et al., 1999), or peacemaker between parents (Hooper, 2012). Traditionally, most of the literature has focused on the emotional side of parentification (Earley & Cushway, 2002), since it has been suggested that this type of parentification is more likely to cause negative behavioral and psychological outcomes for children compared to instrumental parentification (Hooper, 2007; Hooper, 2012; Tompkins, 2007).

The general view suggests that emotional parentification threatens children's psychological development in terms of delivering negative child outcomes, because this type of relationship is usually very demanding for children and the needs of parents often exceed the age-appropriate cognitive and emotional capabilities of children (Hooper, 2007). These children might ignore their own needs and wishes in order to satisfy their parents' emotional needs. In other words, they mostly give priority to their parents instead of their own selves. Moreover, they usually internalize this behavioral pattern of their parents, since this type of behavior would serve better and be functional within a dysfunctional family system (Chase, 1999). It is usually the parentified children who sacrifice their own needs and work hard to please their parents, yet their efforts are mostly not appreciated by their parents (Jurkovic et al., 1999).

Abovementioned, this type of self-sacrifice of children and getting no or low level of positive feedback from parents might lead to current and future negative outcomes for those children. Many studies investigated the relationships between parentification in childhood and the related problems in future as an adult (Peris,

Goeke-Morey, Cummings, & Emery, 2008). Mostly, parentification is linked to negative outcomes (Earley & Cushway, 2002) such as negative self-evaluation (Castro, Jones, & Mirsalimi, 2004), depressive symptoms, emotional dependency on significant others, defensive splitting (result of undifferentiating from the family, children produce defensive and narcissist characteristics in order to defend themselves from emotional wounds) and problems in socialization with other people (Wells & Jones, 1998).

Chase (1999) criticized the previous studies for being clinically focused and suggested that parentification should also be researched in social context. In temporary literature, parentification is evaluated not always as pathological, since it could also be associated with an accumulated experience of taking responsibilities and opportunity for gaining autonomy (Burnett et al., 2006). Moreover, increasing number of studies reported the positive outcomes, such as resilience for parentified children (Tam, 2009). Some researchers argue that it might be quite beneficial, especially when children are supported for their contribution to their family (Burnett et al., 2006). This is referred as ‘adaptive parentification’ (Earley & Cushway, 2002). In the current study, adaptive parentification would be examined in the Turkish cultural context.

One of the arising questions in the literature is how to differentiate adaptive parentification from maladaptive parentification and examine behavioral and cognitive patterns in adaptive parentification. Literature suggested that there is now a more positive perspective to parentification behaviors, suggesting that taking care of their parents does not necessarily have to be destructive for children. On the contrary, these behaviors might be the signs of love and intimate relationships between parents and children that do not have to result with negative outcomes (Truong, 2001). It is explained that the main difference derived from the intensity and the duration of the responsibilities (Tam, 2009). In social context, we expect to find healthy parentification patterns compared to destructive parentification.

### ***1.2.3. Reciprocity***

There are also some conceptual problems while examining family relationships in terms of parentification (Earley & Cushway, 2002). Besides role



reversal, reciprocity in family relationships is also important for understanding the nature of relationships among family members (Truong, 2001). Reciprocity in family could be defined as balanced exchange between family members (Truong, 2001). In other words, even though, studies dealt mainly with the parentification phenomenon, it is suggested that the process of parentification should also be examined for further understanding (Earley & Cushway, 2002). Throughout this process, how children recognize the caring in family gains importance for the destructiveness of parentification (Earley & Cushway, 2002). In typical family relationships, each member of the family has responsibilities and duties, and all these responsibilities and duties are carried out in a reciprocal environment (Earley & Cushway, 2002). Hence, recent studies started to pay more attention to reciprocity issue on parent-child relationship. For example, in their study, Woolgar and Murray (2010) examined children of depressive mothers and their school adjustment. Five-year-old children were asked to play with dolls and their dollhouse plays were coded in terms of emotional and instrumental parentification behaviors, children's representation of their parents and reciprocity of the relationship between parents and children. Results showed that even if children could not get enough attention from their mothers, their reciprocal relationship with their fathers might compensate for the adverse effects of inadequate maternal care (Woolgar & Murray, 2010). It was also found that the parentified children showed less adjustment problems to school. Furthermore, emphatic caregiving of children predicted higher prosocial skills of children.

These few studies suggested the possible positive child outcomes related to parentification, which constituted an opponent finding to the extensive parentification literature (Woolgar & Murray, 2010). In other words, there are a few studies focusing on positive outcomes, but they consistently showed that in non-clinical samples, types of parentification might have positive outcomes for children. Furthermore, to the best of our knowledge, none of the studies in the literature (even the ones focusing on parentification behaviors in daily interactions or game playing in non-clinical samples) did not directly explore what kind of individual characteristics of children or parents are predicting parentification behaviors of children, which is one of the main goals of the current study.

The recent studies on parentification showed that the existence of reciprocity (from either parent) mostly leads to adaptive parentification rather than destructive parentification (Woolgar & Murray, 2010). For further understanding, parentification phenomenon is explained through different theoretical perspectives.

### ***1.3.Theoretical Underpinnings***

#### ***1.3.1. Family Systems Theory***

Parentification has been explained through different theoretical perspectives (Black & Sleigh, 2013; Hooper, 2007). Since this issue is closely related to whole family relationships, one of leading theories explaining parentification is *Family Systems Theory*. This theory considers each person as a part of family and each member of it is connected to each other. According to the theory, every member has its own characteristics as a person and there are relationships among family members that are the composites of the family structure (Jurkovic, 1998). Besides, there are specific patterns in the family that determine the relationships and the balance in that family. It is explained that each family creates its own balance (equilibrium). In scope of this theory, it is also suggested that members of family could not be evaluated independent from their families and behaviors of its members. Moreover, interactions among family members should be appraised according to within family role distribution (Jurkovic, 1998). Therefore, while examining parentification, examining other members of the family would explain the within family regulations and roles (such as caregiving provided by children and parents or between parents) in a better way.

Roles and responsibilities in the family are mainly divided into two specific categories that are instrumental and expressive roles (Truong, 2001). The first, instrumental roles, include financial issues or basic needs such as cooking or cleaning; whereas, expressive roles exemplified as giving emotional help to other members, listening their problems, showing emotional expressions and support such as hugs, kisses, or organizing family activities (Truong, 2001). In a typical family pattern, parents have both instrumental and expressive roles in relation to their children. They are expected to regulate financial issues, do the housework, and take care of children both emotionally and instrumentally. In an appropriate relationship

between mother and child, mother has more power, authority and shows sensitive care for needs of her children (Howes & Cicchetti, 1993).

Aforementioned, the systems create their own balances and sometimes they might generate unusual family patterns, rather than expected patterns (Jurkovic, 1998), such as parentification (Hooper, 2007). For instance, as it could be observed within the scope of parentification practices, if one of the parents was in need of a caregiving person in a family system and the partner could not afford it, child or mostly the elder child in the family might fulfill the unmet needs of parents within the family context. Similarly, children's taking more responsibilities than the parents compared to the ones they are supposed to take originally, is an example of deterioration of family roles in terms of the borders across generations, regarding the role of parents as caregivers and children as the offspring to be taken of (Earley & Cushway, 2002). These types of relationships are more likely to be observed in dysfunctional families and in these kinds of families; the traditional family relationships usually could not be maintained. Thus, these unusual roles come up within the family system (Hooper & Wallace, 2010). Although, most of the studies in the literature found that these unusual paths brought negative outcomes for the children, some others findings argued that these relationships do not have to be always destructive for family relationships (Byng-Hall, 2002). According to the Family Systems Theory, this destructiveness level is mainly related to differences in perceptions and reactions of children. Moreover, the context, which the child lives in, also shapes the perception of children about social roles and dynamics in their families. For example, how children perceived helping to parents is also related to significant others' perception in the social system that the child is living in. These significant others could be relatives or neighbors within the social system. For instance, if it is the norm to take care of the errands in their community –such as preparing breakfast for other family members or taking care of siblings- then those practices would be accepted as a part of usual social roles in that community, rather than instrumental parentification that a child might experience, such as taking care of errands because one of the caregivers is depressed or overwhelmed. At this point, it could be concluded that families and cultural context gain a huge importance for

determining both children's perception and destructiveness of parentification behavior (Hooper, 2007). Moreover, two children meeting the same set of needs in terms of instrumental or emotional parentification, depending on the family context, individual differences and communal norms, might perceive these practices either as a burden, or as a normal part of everyday life.

Apart from the negative results, positive outcomes of parentification could also be explained by the Family Systems Theory perspective. According to this view, families, as a whole, might face different stressors or practical or emotional life difficulties. In those times, families might experience some renovations and during these renovations, roles and responsibilities for each family member might change temporarily (Hooper, 2012). In these kind of relationships, parentification is referred to as 'adaptive parentification' might be healthier for the sake of family maintenance (Hooper, 2010), since children who are experiencing adaptive parentification are more likely to act more mature and responsible in times of difficulties. Different from maladaptive parentification, in adaptive parentification, nature of the relationships among family members is based on reciprocity and fairness. Children usually evaluate their own behavior as contributing to the family in hard times and they are not likely to feel unfairness in family. Moreover, the other family members usually appreciate their caregiving attempts –with positive feedback-, which is one of the main differences between adaptive (healthy) and destructive (unhealthy) parentification types.

Parentification should be considered in Family Systems Theory since the role reversal between family members affects the whole family system (Macfie, Mcelwain, Houts, & Cox, 2005). As Family Systems Theory suggests, a situation in individual dyadic relationship has implications for other relationships in the family system (Hooper, Wallace, Doehler, & Dantzler, 2012). For example, Peris et al. (2008) explained that if a mother continuously seeks for support from children but the father in the same family system does not, children might evaluate their mothers as closer and warmer; on the other hand, perceive their fathers as less close or less warm, even if those fathers were not distant and cold towards their children. In those terms, the cultural implications are very important in terms of interpreting the effects

of family dynamics on children's perceptions. For example, (Kagitcibasi & Sumer, 2010) found that Turkish and American cultures do not follow the same pattern in terms of which kind of attachment style –referring to the quality of the relationship between the caregiver and the child and is explained further in the following sections- would yield to positive or negative child outcomes, depending on the cultural context. Therefore, while explaining role reversals, it is also important to explain parentification in terms of attachment theory, and how it would be laid out in different communal contexts.

### ***1.3.2. Attachment Theory***

It is crucial to explain Attachment Theory; since parentification is based on parent-child relationships (Hooper, 2007). The attachment theory, proposed by Bowlby, originally concentrated on the quality of the mother-infant relationship (1973). Studies on this area were examined the separation and reunion sessions of children and their caregivers. Mainly, the difference in distress, which infants go through and infants' reactions to absence of their caregivers or existence of a stranger, were examined in order to define different attachment types (Metzger, Erdman, and Ng, 2010). Attachment researchers mainly focused on maternal sensitivity and consistency in terms of attending to the needs of their children. Bowlby also explained that Attachment Theory has its evolutionary roots, because infants are not able to survive alone and they need protection of an adult, which increases the likelihood of their survival. Therefore, from the beginning of their lives, infants have the instinct to develop an emotional relationship with an attachment figure, which is – in turn- protecting them (Bowlby, 1973).

Attachment Theory especially focused on early years of life; however, it was long argued that attachment styles –specifically the mental schemas referred to as internal working models- are active throughout one's life span. In 1980's the attachment theory exceeded its borders with infants, and researchers started to examine attachment in adulthood (Shaver, Mikulincer, Alonso- Arbiol, &Lavy, 2010). In this regard, attachment was specifically examined for adult intimate relationships (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). It was revealed that both infant-mother and adult attachment have common features such as feeling safe when the attachment

figure is around, having a close relationship and physical contact, and feeling unsafe when away from the attachment figure (Shaver et al., 2010) For a better definition, three basic functions were defined as the basis of adult attachment. First, proximity maintenance with partner is needed in relationships. People are in need of spending time with their partner and want their partner to be with them. In addition, in situations of separation, they are likely to feel distressed. Second, when they are with the attachment figure, emotional and physical security feelings arise. Last, a secure base should be established between partners, which is helpful for each partner to discover their own capabilities (Shaver et al., 2010).

Although there are common features of infant-caregiver attachment and adult attachment, the latter has two specific dimensions, namely, anxiety and avoidance (Shaver et al., 2010). Elicited from these two dimensions, there are four types of attachment. These four types of attachment are namely, secure, anxious-preoccupied, dismissive-avoidant and fearful-avoidant that are in accordance with infant types: secure, insecure-avoidant, insecure-ambivalent, and disorganized/disoriented, respectively (Fraley & Waller, 1998). In the first type, lower scores on both dimensions (avoidance and anxiety) refer to secure attachment type. Second, avoidant type person is the person who scores high on avoidance and low on anxiety. In contrast, anxious type is who score high on anxiety but low on avoidance. Both of these types are considered as insecure attachment. In the last type, scores of both dimensions are high, named as 'fearful avoidant' (Shaver et al., 2010). In order to measure these types, scales, which consist of these two dimensions, were developed.

Beginning from the very early years of life, children have instinct to seek for attention and care of their caregivers. By their close relationships with their caregivers, children get an understanding for the nature of the relationships and start to lay foundations of attachment to their caregivers. While developing attachment, children also start to develop internal working models through their experiences in family. Those models are the mental representations that are helpful for infants to regulate their own behaviors and predict future behaviors of others (Bowlby, 1973). In terms of the attachment theory, the *internal working models* are specifically used by children in order to establish attachment between the attachment figure and their

own selves (Hooper, 2007). As a result, quality of infants' relationship with their caregiver builds the content of internal working models of children. In other words, internal working models are the mental representations –schemas- that are derived from mother-infant attachment relationships (Thompson, 2008). These internal working models begin to be constructed in infancy, and they work as a base for the regulations of other social relationships throughout one's life span. In general, internal working models are not only useful for children but also for adults, since it works as a guide that recreate behaviors according to previous experiences (Thompson, 2008), interpreting people's behaviors, guessing about the future acts, and preparing their behaviors according to these predictions (Hooper, 2007). According to attachment theory, securely attached people have secure internal working models that bring positive self-representation and positive relationships with others. For example, in terms of parenting, securely attached parents are better at caregiving, and affiliation; whereas, parents with insecure attachment style have problems in parenting (Baggett, Shaffer, & Muetzelfeld, 2013). Besides, those with insecure attachment types are less likely to create positive self-representations; rather, they usually create negative self-representation and they are more likely to be emotionally distant and less warm in their relationships with others, as well as, in their parenting practices (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). In regards to the current study, it is important to explain the relationship between mothers' attachment and their children's behaviors, since mothers' attachment style is theorized and shown to predict the relationship between mother and child, and, in return, this relationship predicts the children's parentification behaviors.

#### ***1.4. Adult Attachment and Parentification***

As Shaver et al. (2010, p.94) explained, “no one of any age is completely free of actual reliance on others”, all people are in need of an attachment figure and they are continuously searching for establishing a secure base which generally refers securely established family relationships (Byng-Hall, 2002). Parents' providing a basis for secure attachment is crucial for their children since establishing a secure attachment is a key for better self and social regulations in every aspect of the life (Shaver et al., 2010). People with secure attachment style tend to have trusting

relationships, high self-esteem and they are usually extroverted people who are enjoying socializing. Most of people are able to achieve establishing securely attached relationships; however, some others failed to establish securely-based attachment style. Byng-Hall (2002) explained that those people who are unable to form a secure attachment, usually suffer from anxious-ambivalent or avoidant feelings. Since, one of the underlying reasons of these insecure attachment styles is explained by the early life experiences, those people are usually the ones who have problems about their early life experiences with respect to family relationships. These problems might later negatively affect their cognitions and internal working models (Baggett et al., 2013). Children, who experienced problems with their families in early stages of their lives, are likely to be introverted, distant and avoidant adults in their future (Berk, 2008)

In this regard, early parentification experiences are also likely to have a negative impact on future life orientations and relationships, especially regarding romantic relationships (Baggett et al., 2013). For example, exposure to childhood parentification might result in low self-esteem and self-worth in later life. As these children form an understanding that they do not worth to be loved, their cognition only perceives the negative situations they experienced or they usually put themselves into negative situations, especially in their romantic relationships, to confirm their negative ideas (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). In other words, they are likely to seek the situations that verify their negative self- views. On another note, as stated before, attachment literature showed that, in light of the early-adopted internal working models, individuals mostly carry their style of attaching with significant others, especially in romantic relationships that require intimacy, trust and interdependence (Larson, 2013). In a similar fashion, one may possibly organize how they treated their children emotionally and physically, depending on their early-learned internal working models, which may also include how much emotional or physical dependency they would expect from their own children (Macfie et al., 2005) In those terms, it is worthwhile to examine how and towards which direction parental attachment styles would affect the parentification of their children.



Macfie et al. (2005) explained the process of how internal working models for role reversal developed. Even in early years of life, children are able to be aware of the distress that their parents experience. Throughout their childhood, behaviors of parents, who are insensitive to the needs of children, and who lack support in terms of their children's development, might lead children to find another way to draw attention and care of their parents. These children discover that providing emotional support to their parents is helpful in this regard. Over time, parallel to their newly developed internal working models of role reversal, children learn how to meet the needs of their parents, either emotionally or instrumentally. For example, if a mother hugs her child only when the child helps to do housework, the child does the housework in order to get attention of the mothers; or even if the mother seems to be less distressed when the housework is done, this would also work as a motivation for the child to follow that lead in order to please the main caregiver. As these children internalize this process, they learn to place their parents' needs and desires before their own desires and wishes (Macfie et al., 2005). In the end, this unconventional relationship between mother and child continues, mostly all through their lives.

When parentified children become mothers (mothers who experienced parentification, attended in housework, gave emotional support to their parents, and did not receive sufficient emotional and/ or physical care from their parents throughout their childhood), parents expect their children to behave in a similar fashion, as they had done in their own childhood, since their internal working models might lead them to view parenting this way, since it had been mostly the only parental practice that they had been exposed to (Macfie et al., 2005). These parents are also likely to develop unhealthy attachment relationships with their partners and children (Jelastopulu & Tzoumerka, 2013). For this reason, they are more likely to experience more anxiety and distress in their relationships with others (Cicchetti, 2004; Hooper, 2007). A study examined parentification experiences of adolescents whose parents experienced marital conflicts. Results showed that adolescents, whose parents had marital conflicts, tended to show more parentification behaviors. It was also suggested that children, who rated their parents as low in emotional warmth and closeness, showed more parentification behaviors towards their parents (Peris et al.,

2008). It is also derived from the findings that mothers, who are experiencing marital conflicts, tend to seek more emotional caretaking – or mostly emotional parentification- from their children. These results suggest that parentification phenomenon does not only exist in high-risk samples, but it is also found in community samples (Peris et al., 2008). In addition, relational problems of parents have negative effects on dyadic relationship of mothers and their children.

In terms of quality of parenting, mothers who have secure attachment style are likely to have healthy relationships with their parents. In light of the literature, the current study aimed to examine the relationship between maternal attachment style and its relation to children's parentification behavior. Specifically, we wanted to examine whether maternal attachment style would predict children's parentification behaviors.

While explaining maternal attachment, the importance of mothers' childhood experiences was also emphasized. The next section will provide a more in-depth explanation to mothers' early childhood experiences and their parentification experiences in their childhoods in regards to how it might affect their own relationship with their children.

### ***1.5. Maternal History of Parentification***

Researchers have tried to understand and explain the roots of parentification behavior, since it is unusual for parents to expect instrumental or emotional care from their children, rather than providing that care for their children. From the psychoanalytical perspective, this situation is explained as people, who experienced parentification throughout their childhood, are more likely to give their children parental roles and expect them to fulfill the role of a parental figure. By doing this, they try to create a parental figure for themselves which derives from their unsatisfied needs of nurturance in their childhood (Boszormenyi-Nagy & Spark, 1973). Moreover, researchers explained that these kinds of relationships, unless the pattern is differed, via individual differences, such as temperament, or other factors, such as the care of the other parent, transferred across generations by parent-child relationships (Winton, 2003). It is argued that the internal working models and the

impacts of their early life experiences could still be observed in their parent's adulthood (Hooper, 2007).

Long-lasting effects of early parentification experiences also have some implications for future families of these parentified children (Black & Sleigh, 2013; Hooper, 2007). In this regard, parentification behaviors are more likely to be observed in children of the parentified child (Hooper, 2007); because people -who have history of parentification- have a tendency to repeat those behavioral patterns when it comes to their relationships with their children (Hooper, 2008). For a better explanation, in their adulthood -when the parentified child becomes a mother- she expects her children to behave in a similar fashion, as she had done through her childhood (Jelastopulu & Tzoumerka, 2013). In this regard, a study examined the transmission of parentification across generations (Macfie et al., 2005). They conducted interviews with parents about role reversal in their relationship with their own parents and they observed these parents with their two-year-old children. Findings showed that there is a gender specific transmission of parentification across generations (Macfie et al., 2005). The transmission is more likely to occur between mothers and daughters or fathers and sons. Specifically, mothers who have a certain history of parentification with their mothers are more likely to establish a role reversal in their relationship with daughters (Macfie et al., 2005).

Another study, examining the role reversal and attachment styles of mothers and their two-year-old children, found that disorganized attachment type of mothers was linked to the role reversal between mother-child pair (Macfie, Fitzpatrick, Rivas, & Cox, 2008). These studies concluded that maternal role reversal history was predicted role reversal in current mother-child relationships (Macfie et al., 2008). Furthermore, Black and Sleigh (2013) examined the effects of history of parentification on future parenting beliefs of college students. Their results revealed that participants with parentification history expressed that they did not want to raise their children the same way as they had been grown up. Even though they explained that they wanted to have a different relationship with their children; in the end, they exhibited similar patterns of parenting as their own parents (Byng-Hall, 2002). Similarly, the study examining the relationship between maternal parentification

history and maternal warm responsiveness found that mothers with parentification history were more likely to have less emotional warmth towards their children (Nutgall, Valentino, & Borkowski, 2012).

These studies regarding the role of parental history of parentification provided a basis for the idea that retrospective parentification experiences of mothers might to predict current mother-child role reversal in their own relationship with their children. Thus, in the current study, maternal history of parentification was taken into consideration and examined in Turkish cultural context. However, as mentioned before, how children perceive parentification roles also depend on the social context they were grown up in. In those terms, while examining parentification behaviors of children in a specific cultural context, within cultural differences should be also highlighted. In next section, the possible within cultural differences is explained.

#### ***1.6. Turkish Cultural Context and SES***

Although social context is one of the important factors while considering familial roles and relationships (Earley & Cushway, 2002), very few studies considered “parentification” phenomenon in a larger socio-cultural context (Chase, 1999; Truong, 2001). In this regard, first the following question posed by Hooper should be discussed “*Is the parentification process culturally expected and valued?*” (2008, p.39). Most of the clinical studies considered parentification as role reversal between family members that was destructive for family relationships; however, Byng-Hall (2002) explained that a role-reversal between parents and children or deterioration in family relationships were not necessary for parentification. According to his theory, parentified children might perform parental roles to other family members, while others do not have to change their expected roles, which mean there was no need for role-reversal.

As previously explained, children’s attributions to these parentification-related family roles were important to consider. For example, children might be feeling emotionally satisfied while contributing to family, especially if it is the prevalent social role of children in that particular community; therefore, they did not have to consider this situation as destructive or unfair (Byng-Hall, 2002). Moreover,

children could perform parental roles without parents' seek for caretaking from their children. In this situation, children might even benefit from contributing to their families since their parentification behaviors improve their survival skills in the social context of their community. From parents' side, children's involving in housework or supplying emotional support might help them in terms of family regulations (Byng-Hall, 2002). In conclusion, this process does not require a direct role reversal, but this situation could still be considered as parentification behaviors. In these terms, there are different patterns of parentification that are accepted either as socially acceptable and prevalent, or not, that families adopt and apply while they are bringing up their children. In other words, there are both within and across culture differences regarding the prevalence and socially accepted set of behaviors and attitudes, and those should be considered in order to better understand parentification phenomenon.

Across the world, different cultures load various caregiving roles to children. Although U.S. researchers claim that giving much responsibility to children is not appropriate, in most of the societies, children could start to contribute to family even during the early years of their developing membership in family context (Hooper, 2008; Rogoff, 2003). For instance, they might help to prepare meals, do housework, or supervise the household etc. Moreover, in many societies, older siblings are expected to take care of their younger siblings (Rogoff, 2003). Even starting from the age of five, elder siblings might take care of their younger siblings and by doing that practice they learn to take responsibilities and duties as a family member (Hooper, 2008). Rogoff (2003) also explained that this process is a complementary part of parenting younger children by parents, and it significantly contributes to children's developmental process. All in all, performing these social roles and responsibilities is helpful for children in terms of conducting and increasing their autonomy and competency (Hooper, 2008; Troung, 2001).

There are cross-cultural differences in terms of how parents treat their children and what kind of social responsibilities that assigned to them (Rogoff, 2003). Yet within-cultural differences might also be present, depending of the communal practices of people, coming from different regions or socio-economic

backgrounds but living in the same culture. In those terms, while examining parentification in cultural context, within cultural differences should also be examined. For instance, in traditional Turkish culture, each member of a family is expected to contribute to the family. In most of the families, children start to help to their families – mostly by housework or taking care of siblings- from early years of life (Kagitcibasi, 2007). In this regard, Byng-Hall (2002) stated that it is human nature to learn caregiving behaviors, and this caregiving process starts even in early years of life with play-parenting game. For example, in temporary situations, such as illness, expecting children to exhibit caretaking roles are natural (Byng-Hall, 2002). Furthermore, although in Western cultural context children are expected to leave home adolescence and establish their own families, in some other societies, children are either encouraged or expected to stay with family –especially if they are not married. Even after they are married, parents mostly intervene with the life-related decisions and implicitly expect them to stay as children throughout their lives (Kagitcibasi & Sunar, 1992; Rogoff, 2003). In other words, emotional dependency is mostly existent, and in turn children are also and always feeling responsible towards their parents. The latter is valid for the traditional Turkish cultural context, as well. Turkish families mostly expressed that they value their children as an investment for their future, as their old-age security (Kagitcibasi, 2007). In contrast to previous generations, parents mostly do not demand any financial help from their children, yet they expect emotional dependence and support, which is referred as old-age security in Kagitcibasi's work (Kagitcibasi, 2007).

Considering these characteristics of Turkish cultural context, children are expected to show care taking behavior to their parents from the beginnings of early years of their lives, and continue to behave this way throughout their life span. Moreover, in most of the societies, gender roles create differences in terms of caregiving behaviors of children. Parents predominantly expect their daughters – rather than sons- to take more responsibilities in family. This gender-based pattern is presented in some other cultural context, as well. For instance, the study of Peris et al. (2008) found that mothers are more likely to seek for emotional support from their children. Moreover, daughters give more emotional support than sons do (Peris, et

al., 2008). This situation is similar in Turkish cultural context, as well (Sunar & Fişek, 2005). In this regard, daughters provide more caregiving towards their parents and show more parentification behaviors in family.

To further explain, parent-child dependency in families, Kagitcibasi (2005) explained three specific family interactions are categorized as a) interdependence in terms of material and emotional domains, b) independence, and c) emotional interdependence, and material independence. Regarding the first one, there is a mutual dependency between parents and children. In the second one, there is no dependency between generations, it is considered as typical individualistic model. In the last one, although parents and children are materially independent from each other, they are still connected by emotional bonds. Kagitcibasi (2005) explained that in low SES families, interdependent relationships are more common. Although these intergenerational familial relationships are designed with adult children of the family, it is argued that parents might be showing related behaviors and attitudes that would lead their children in the way expected, starting from the very early years of their children.

It is important to better understand the parenting values in Turkish cultural context, since the current study took place in it. In scope of the ‘value of children’ study, which was conducted with two thousand and three hundred Turkish mothers as a part of cross-cultural study (Kagitcibasi, 2007), mothers were interviewed about their childrearing and values they attribute to their children. Derived from the results, parental attributions towards children could be broadly named in three specific categories that are a) utilitarian, b) psychological, and c) social value of the children. First of all, the utilitarian value was explained as economic or material value of children. The main concern of parents about their children was their economic contribution to their family. Children might contribute to their family by either helping housework or working in family business. In addition, in long-term parents see their children as insurance for old age since their children take care of them when they grow old. Second of all, the psychological value was parents’ feelings of love and happiness to have children. Last of all, the social value is referred to environmental values such as having a child as a married couple or continuing their

family name (Kagitcibasi, 2007). According to these values, results of this study showed that, in regard to the utilitarian value, expecting children to contribute house chores is more common in parents with low levels of education; however, with increase in education level, importance of this value decreases (28 % at no education level, 22% at primary school level, 11% at high school level, and 0% at university level). The value of material help of children is also decrease with increase in education level of parents (56% at no education level, 54% at primary level, 15% at high school level, and 20% at university level) (Kagitcibasi, 2007, p.131). On the other hand, the psychological value of children gains more importance in high SES families. Although children are costly to have in urban lifestyle because they could not contribute the family materially, people continue to have children. Thus, the psychological value of children gains importance. It was explained that families have children in order to satisfy their needs of love and pride. Moreover, the companionship of children is another motivation for families to have children (Kagitcibasi, 2007). This motivation could also be related to parents' seek for emotional support from their children. Results showed that with the increase in SES, the utilitarian value of children decrease and the psychological value of children increase.

Abovementioned values about parenting values and practices regarding Turkish cultural context vary according to different SES of the families in different communal samples (Sunar & Fişek, 2005). There are a few studies examining parentification in terms of SES. Burton (2007) explained that children living in low affluence show more adult-like behaviors, such as helping household chores, cooking, cleaning, which could be considered as instrumental parentification. She also created a conceptual model examining parentification as 'adultification' in low SES families. According to this model, family needs, family capital, and family culture are the predictors of adult like behavior of children. The model also classifies forms of adultification as precocious knowledge, mentored adultification, peerification/ spousification and parentification. As stated in the model, needs such as sibling care, doing housework or being emotional confidante for parents could be observed in low SES families (Burton, 2007). Moreover, family capitals in the model



refer to time and effort that parents give to their children. In this regard, parenting style and psychological awareness could be considered as the examples of parental capital. In low SES families, parents are likely not to be aware of their contribution to their children (Kagitcibasi, 2007), and this unawareness and effortlessness likely to be resulted with adult-like behaviors of children. Considering all these family context-related features, it is more likely for children in low SES families to perform parent-like behaviors (which is called as parentification in this study), especially regarding instrumental caregiving. On the other hand, children raised in high-SES families are less likely to develop such behaviors. As Kagitcibasi (2007) explained, the underlying reason for high SES families' having children is because of its psychological value. They expect their children to be a source of emotional satisfaction; however, they have no predominantly expectation from their children about contributing instrumentally to family.

Turkish family structure has differences across the levels of SES in terms of family relationships. Sunar and Fişek (2005) explained that families with high SES were likely to have more communication in family and there was an equal role division between partners; however, in low levels, there was less communication between parents and higher dominancy of male. Moreover, in terms of emotional closeness, mothers from high SES showed more closeness and educated couples had more egalitarian relationship. In terms of family boundaries, higher interdependence between family members and intimacy was considered as 'enmeshment' in terms of the family system theory (Minuchin, 1974); however, it was considered as a norm in Turkish cultural context (Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Therefore, parentification behaviors of children are expected to differ in terms of SES levels of families. In this regard, the current study aimed to compare children from high versus low SES families in terms of parentification behaviors.

Cultural context is an important factor for children's exhibiting parentification behaviors; since, as discussed earlier, in some cultures children are given more responsibilities than a child should take (Rogoff, 2003). Besides, children's perception about their roles in their families also differs across cultures. In this regard a study comparing U.S. and Turkish students in terms of parentification,

found that Turkish students are performing more caregiving behavior to other family members than U.S. students do (Mebert & Sahin, 2007). In terms of instrumental caregiving, U.S. students showed more housekeeping activities. However, in terms of emotional parentification, Turkish female students scored higher in confidante factor compared to Turkish male and U.S. male and female groups (Mebert & Sahin, 2007). Therefore, examining parentification in Turkish cultural context might produce different results than the existing parentification literature. Especially, in terms of the perception of parentification, Turkish children might be less likely to perceive parentification as an unfair or negative situation because Turkish culture is traditionally considered as a predominantly collectivist culture, in which all members of the family are expected to contribute to family and take an active role in the family system. Moreover, living in a traditionally patriarchal society, children, especially daughters, are expected to serve to their parents. For these reasons, parentification behaviors are likely to be frequently observed in Turkish cultural context. Yet, there may be individual differences of children, as well, which might vary the degree to which they practice parentification. For instance, a few studies conducted in Turkish cultural context showed that depending on mothers' self-construals –a set of values and beliefs regarding the self in terms of how emotionally close a person to her/his family (relatedness) and how individualized as a unique individual (individuation)- their way of conversing with their children change. They are more elaborative with their children if they have a self-construal including more individuation and relatedness (Sahin-Acar & Leichtman, 2014). Yet, to the best of our knowledge there are no studies exploring the effect of children's self-construal on how they perceive their parents' parenting practices in Turkish cultural context. Another goal of the current study is to control for the effect of children's self-construals on their own parentification behaviors, which would be the first attempt to explore this relationship in national and international literature. Since we explained that children's perception is the main difference both across cultures and families, in next section, children's own perceptions, which are their self-construals, is explained.

### *1.7. Self-construals of Children*

All these familial variables, maternal history of parentification, adult attachment styles, and family SES, are expected to predict parentification behavior of children and likely to contribute to children's parentification behaviors. Besides these variables, it was explained in the literature that, in terms of self-construals, people who grown up in a predominant collectivistic cultures are more socio-centric; whereas, people from Western and more predominantly individualistic cultures are more egocentric. Moreover, people from collectivistic cultures are more likely to define themselves as relational and the one from individualistic cultures are defining themselves as more independently-oriented (Gardner, Gabriel & Lee, 1999). When the importance of parents in children's lives is considered, children's defining themselves in relation to their parents is inevitable (Kagitcibasi, 2007; Pomerantz, Qin, Wang, & Chen, 2009). Yet, there might be some differences across cultures, in those terms, as well as due to individual differences in self-construals even in the same communal group. For example, the study of Pomerantz et al. (2009) compared Chinese and American children's parent-oriented self-construals. They found that Chinese children explained more relational self-construal towards their parents compared to American children's self-construal. Since Turkish culture is more similar to Chinese culture in literature (Hofstede, 1980), we expect to find out similar results for Turkish children. In another study, Sahin-Acar & Leichtman (2014) compared mother-child pair's memory conversations in western Turkey (İzmir), eastern Turkey (Gaziantep) and the US (New Hampshire). They found that there is a converging pattern in results showing that western Turkish mothers fall in between mothers from Gaziantep and NH, whereas mothers from Gaziantep are more repetitive and mothers from NH are more elaborative in their conversations with children. Moreover, they also found that regardless of cultural group, mothers who are more related and individuated in terms of their self-construals are more elaborative and less repetitive in their conversations compared to their counterparts, who are less related and less individualized in terms of self-construals. In those terms, the current study expects to find regional differences regarding socio-economic status, yet also controls for the self-construals of children in order to

examine possible individual difference in parentification behaviors of children and how they perceive their parents' caregiving behaviors.

In terms of parentification, the literature focuses mostly on pathological results on self-identity, as mentioned before. It is explained that children who showed parentification behaviors were likely to have disturbances in differentiation of self (Chase, 1999). They were unable to differentiate themselves from their families that results with loss of their selves and stay undifferentiated (Chase, 1999) and parentification experience in the early years of life is likely to result with problems in autonomous behavior of children (Macfie et al., 2008). Because children focus too much on needs of parents, they ignore their own needs. However, on the contrary to previous findings, recent studies showed that in long-term; those parentified children show more autonomous behaviors (Thirkield, 2002). As well as the autonomous behavior, interpersonal competence in children is likely to improve by adaptive parentification (Burton, 2002; Hooper, 2008). As it could be interfered, there is no consensus about the relationship between parentification and self-development. Therefore, in this study, self-construal of children would be examined as a child variable that might be linked to parentification behavior of children.

While examining predictors of adaptive parentification behavior in children, the developmental processes of them should be taken into consideration. Children start to show responsibility taking behavior at ages of five or seven years old, and it continues to develop throughout childhood to adolescence (Rogoff, 2003). However, the adolescence period is labeled as rebelliousness, emotional crisis, or self-centeredness (Rogoff, 2003). In those times, newly emerging adolescents separate themselves from their families and try to find their own identities; their focus derives from family to the peer group (Kagitcibasi, 2007; Pomerantz, et al., 2009; Rogoff, 2003). On the other hand, in transition to from childhood to adulthood children also start to take more responsibilities in their own lives. They are no longer under the full supervision of their parents, but not exactly differentiated from their family, either (Rogoff, 2003). In order to examine caretaking behaviors of children, children aged between 12 and 13 were chosen, since this age range is considered a transition age from childhood to adolescence. They reached the formal operational stage and

capable in terms of cognitive abilities, yet they are still at the end of childhood and in the beginning of adolescence stage and more engaged in the family system (Berk, 2008).

All in all, the current study aimed to examine parental factors, such as maternal attachment style and her history of parentification, children's self-construal as a possible variable to catch individual differences, and SES as two communal samples which might vary in daily practices and social roles, in order to further explore their effects on, a) children's parentification behaviors, and b) how they perceive their parents' caregiving behaviors.

### ***1.8. Preliminary Assessment and Hypotheses of the Study***

We first collected pilot data in order to explore what we can derive from children's reports in terms of coding for parentification and caregiving behaviors. Pilot data was collected from a small sample, five mother-child dyads in total, in order to test whether children could manage to answer what we would ask them. Moreover, these data guided to construct the specific hypotheses for the current study and constructing the coding schemas for children's narratives about family context.

Given the empirical literature on parentification concept, this study aimed to explore how well the maternal history of parentification, adult attachment styles, self-construal of children and SES of the family contribute to explain the variability on parentification behaviors of children and perceived parental caregiving behaviors, as a complementary part of parentification practices (Peris et al., 2008). Specifically, the four predictor variables; a) maternal history of parentification, b) adult attachment of mothers, c) self-construal of children, d) SES of the family were examined to explain the variance observed in the criterion variables that are, a) children's perceptions of parental care and b) children's parentification behaviors in their family narratives.

The specific objective of the current study was as follows: 1) the first objective was to investigate intergenerational transmission of parentification roles of mother to their children through the parentification history of the mother, and parentification behavior of children, 2) the second was to examine child-parent roles between high and low SES families, especially given the changes in SES, it was

expected that family role representations and parentification roles would vary in families from high and low SES families, 3) the third objective was to examine the relation between mothers' attachment and parentification behavior of children and 4) lastly, children's self-construal in relation to their families and whether those would predict their parentification behavior.

In light of the objectives stated above, the specific hypotheses regarding the current study are presented below:

- 1) Children, whose mothers scored higher on history of maternal parentification, would also get higher explain parentification behaviors more in their narratives.
- 2) Children, whose mothers scored higher on adult attachment scale (including both anxiety and avoidance orientations), would explain more parentification behaviors in their narratives.
- 3) Children coming from different SES levels are expected to show different types of parentification behaviors. In this regard, children from low SES families were expected to explain more instrumental parentification behaviors in their narratives. However, in terms of emotional parentification, we did not expect any difference.
- 4) Children, who described themselves as more relational in terms of their self-construals, were expected to explain emotional parentification behaviors more in their narratives.

## CHAPTER II

### METHOD

#### *2.1. Participants*

In this study elementary school students and their mothers participated. Children were aged between 12 -13 years. As explained before, this age group was selected since children start to take more responsibilities in family. In order to compare different SES regions, half of the participants were recruited from a school in low SES district of Ankara, and the other half was selected from a school, in which students are mostly from high SES families. Besides, average monthly income level of families was asked and their income levels were very similar to our categorization. The sample for this study comprised 92 mother-child pairs. Mothers' average age of 40.11 ( $SD = 5.56$ ), and their reported mean education level was 2.45 ( $SD = 1.25$ ). Children's mean age was 12.56 ( $SD = .63$ ).

For the high SES sample, the mean age for the mothers was 41.57 ( $SD = 5.59$ ), and the half of the mothers was composed of working women. The mean level of education for mothers was 3.28 ( $SD = 1.00$ ). Among them, two of the mothers had a graduate degree, 20 of them had college degree and 18 of them had high school degree. In terms of marital status, 93.5% of mothers were married, only 2.2% of mothers were divorced and 4.3 % of mothers were widowed. In demographic form, mothers were given an option for marital status as "still married but living separately"; however, there was not any mother who was still married, but living separately from their husbands. For this group, the mean score for the household crowd was 4.00 and the mean for the number of siblings was 1.93. Twenty eight of children were the eldest child (60.9%); 14 of them were the second child (30.4%); three of them were the third child (6.5%) and only one child is the fourth child in the family (2.2%). The mean age of children was 12.58 ( $SD = .49$ ). Among 46 children, 20 of them were male, and 26 of them were female.

For the low SES sample, the mean age of mothers was 38.51 ( $SD = 5.12$ ), there were a total of 46 participants, only nine of the mothers were working; whereas, 38 of the mothers were not working. The mean level of education for mothers was 1.63 ( $SD = .89$ ). None of the mothers have a graduate degree (Masters or Ph.D). Only two of them have college degree and seven of them have high school degree. 28 of them have primary school and 10 of them have elementary school degree. In terms of their marital status, 93.56% of mothers were married, only 4.3% of mothers were divorced, and 2.2% of mothers were widowed. There was not any mother who was still married but living separately from their husbands. For this group, the mean score for the household crowd was 4.68 ( $SD = 1.38$ ) and mean for the number of siblings was 2.70 ( $SD = 1.23$ ). Seven of the children were the eldest child (14.9%); 18 of them were the second child (38.3%); 8 of them were the third child (17 %), 11 of them were the fourth child (23. 4 %), 2 of them were the fifth (4. 3 %), and only one them was the sixth children in the family (2. 1 %). The mean age of children was 12. 55 ( $SD= .74$ ), aged between 12 and 13. Among 46 children, 16 of them were male and 31 of them were female (See Table 1).

*Table 1*

*Means and Standard Deviations for demographic informations of Low and High SES Samples*

	Low SES		High SES		Total	
	(N = 46)		(N = 46)		(N = 92)	
	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Maternal Education</i>	1.63	.89	3.28	1.00	2.45	1.25
<i>Mothers' Mean Age</i>	38.51	5.12	41.57	5.59	40.11	5.56
<i>Household Crowd</i>	4.68	1.38	4.00			
<i>Number of Siblings</i>	2.70	1.23	1.93			
<i>Children's Age</i>	12.55	.74	12.58	.49	12.56	.63

*Note.* SD= Standard Deviation.



## **2.2. Procedure**

Ethical approval of the study was taken from the Human Subjects Ethics Committee at Middle East Technical University (METU) and from the Ministry of Education in Ankara (See Appendix A). After the approvals were taken, selected school authorities were contacted via Çankaya Directorate of Nation Ministry of Education (İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü). Two schools were selected to recruit participants, since those school principals accepted to provide help for recruitment of participants.

At the first step, in order to protect privacy of the participants, same codes were given both to children's and parents' questionnaires. Then, parental consent forms and parent questionnaire packs were sent to mothers via students. Apart from the parental consent forms, mothers were given the Filial Responsibility Scale (Jurkovic, Thirkield, & Morrell, 2001) and the Experiences in Close Relationships Inventory (Fraley, Waller, & Brennan, 2000), which were the parts of the questionnaire packs. Once the parental consents were collected, children were given the questionnaires in the classrooms with the permission of school management. It took children approximately 35-45 minutes to fill out the questionnaires. Before handing in the questionnaires, the main researcher explained the study and the verbal consents of children were taken. After that, children were asked three open-ended questions.<sup>1</sup> The questions were about three predominant and regular family activities in their families; a) bed time, b) breakfast time, and c) dinner time. After this section was completed by students, they were asked to complete the Twenty Statement Scale (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954). At the end of the study, debriefing forms were sent to mothers via children (See Appendix I).

## **2.3. Instruments**

**2.3.1. Demographic Information Form:** Parents were asked to complete a simple demographic form that asked mother's age, occupation, and highest level of

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<sup>1</sup> There were five open-ended questions in total, however only the first three were the concern of this study.

educational degree completed, marital status, and family's SES. In addition, the number of people living in their household, their ages and gender, total number of their children, and the age of the child who participated in the study at school were asked (see Appendix C).

**2.3.2. Filial Responsibility Scale, Adult version (FRS)** (Jurkovic, Thirkield, & Morrell, 2001)

This scale includes 30-items measuring mothers' retrospective relationship with their parents during their childhood. Each item is evaluated on a 5-point Likert scale, 1 being "I totally disagree" and 5 being "I totally agree" (see Appendix D). There are three dimensions in this scale, measuring *instrumental caregiving* behaviors, *emotional caregiving* behaviors, and the *level of unfairness* that a person feels. The first two are measuring the types of parentification, and the latter one measures perception of fairness in family that might change in different cultures (Hooper & Wallace, 2010). An example item of instrumental caregiving is "*Sık sık ailenin çamaşır yıkama işlerini yapardım.*" and an example item of emotional caregiving is "*Aile üyeleri bana hep kendi problemlerini getiriyor gibiydi.*". The example item for the level of unfairness is "*Bazen anne babamdan daha çok sorumluluk sahibiymişim gibi gelirdi.*". The parentification score is evaluated by taking average mean of all scores. Higher scores imply more parentification behaviors. The adaptation of the scale into Turkish was completed and explained in detail in the results section.

**2.3.3. Experiences in Close Relationships-Revised Scale (ECR-R)** (Fraley, Waller, & Brennan, 2000)

This 36-itemed scale aims to measure the dimensions of adult attachment, which are *anxiety* and *avoidance*. There are 18 items for each dimension. This scale is adapted to Turkish by Selçuk, Gunaydın, Sumer, and Uysal (2005). According to their results, the scale explained 38% of the total variance; specifically, avoidance explained 21.36 % and anxiety explained 16.33 % of the total variance. The internal consistency for anxiety was .90 (Cronbach's alpha= .90) and for avoidance, it was

.86 (Cronbach's alpha= .86). Moreover, the authors did test-retest reliability for anxiety ( $r = .82$ ) and for avoidance ( $r = .81$ ) (Selçuk, Gunaydın, Sumer, & Uysal, 2005). An example of anxiety items is “*eşimin başka insanlara denk olmadığımı düşünmesinden endişe duyarım.*” and an example item of avoidance is “*eşıme açılma konusunda kendimi rahat hissetmem.*”. The shortened version of this scale (10-itemed version) was used in this study, and for each item (as advised by one of the main authors who did the adaptation study) “my spouse” is used instead of “romantic partner”, since we administered this scale to the mothers of children. In this version, the second and the sixth items were the reversed items. The means of odd numbered items provide the anxiety score, and the mean of even numbered items provide the avoidance score (See Appendix E). The reliability for the overall scale was .75, Cronbach's alpha= .75, the reliability for anxiety subscale was .75, Cronbach's alpha= .75. The reliability for avoidance subscale was .50, Cronbach's alpha= .50.

#### **2.3.4. Family Narratives**

This task was mostly adopted from the study of Woolgar and Murray (2010). In their study, children were given a dollhouse and asked to play with it according to four different scenarios that are about bedtime, dinnertime, favorite time, and a bad time at home. Their play was coded in terms of parental care and care provided by the child (Woolgar & Murray, 2010). We generated our themes by using the first two themes in that study, and generating one more. Instead of the doll-house play, children were asked to write about a usual dinnertime (akşam yemeği zamanı), bedtime (yatma zamanı), and the breakfast time (kahvaltı zamanı) in their family (See Appendix F). These three different familial scenarios were chosen, since they were representing important daily activities or possible personal moments regarding family roles and relationships, and in line with the existing literature. Moreover, since children answer these questions on their own as self-reports, they mainly represent children's perceptions about their family roles and regulations.

The first question was about the dinner time at home. Children were asked to write about the dinner time roles and responsibilities taking place at home.

Specifically, the first question was as follows: “*Haftanın herhangi bir günü, akşam yemeği vakti evde nasıl geçer? Mesela hangi yemek yapılacağına kim karar verir? Sofrayı kim kurar ve kim toplar? Sofrada neler konuşulur? Bu sürede annen, baban (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?*”. The second question was related to bed time at home. Again, children were asked to write about the roles about each family member. We specifically asked the second question as follows: “*Haftanın herhangi bir günü evde yatma zamanı nasıl olur? Mesela, sen kendin mi yatarsın yoksa annen veya baban yanına gelir mi? (Varsa) Kardeş(ler)ine yatmasında yardımcı olur musun? Bu sürede annen, baban, (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?*”. The last question was about the breakfast time at home, and again we asked about the roles of each family member. The third question was as follows: “*Haftanın herhangi bir günü, sabah kalkma vakti evde nasıl olur? Nasıl uyanırsınız (alarmla mı, biri mi uyandırır)? Kahvaltıyı kim hazırlar? Bu sürede annen, baban (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?*”.

While writing about each scenario, children were expected to explain the roles and conversations, which might be representative of children’s generative schemas of their families. The questions were asked in a conversation-like manner. Therefore, children were asked to write down as if they were talking to the researcher. In order to provide inter-rater reliability, 25% of the narratives were coded by a second coder, who was a sophomore psychology student at METU (Cronbach’s alpha = .94).

#### **2.3.4.1. Coding Schemes**

All narratives on different themes were coded on two main dimensions; caregiving provided by parents and caregiving provided by children. Each dimension of care (emotional and instrumental) was counted in every scenario. Besides, autonomous behavior of children and collective activity in family were also counted. An overall composite score was calculated by summing each dimension for the three independent narratives. Each coding scheme was explained below in detail (See Table 2).

*Parental emotional care* (Woolgar & Murray, 2010): Parents' personal care, practical care, and protection that specifically concern emotional care were coded as parental emotional care. It includes parents' giving kisses, hugs, cuddling, compliments, spending time just for the sake of it, and alike. Parents' showing interest to child, such as, "*Yatmadan önce annem bana sarılır*" was accepted as a sign of interest, which was counted as parental emotional care.

*Parental instrumental care* (Woolgar & Murray, 2010): Parents' helping children physically or doing something physical for them (e.g., preparing meals) or doing housework, such as helping children in their homework or preparing dinner for the family, were all counted as parental practical care. For instance, in a sentence like "*Ne yemek yapılacağına annem karar verir ve o sofrayı hazırlar*", we counted parental instrumental care both for giving decision about the dinner and preparing the table.

*Emotional caregiving by the child* (Woolgar & Murray, 2010): Emotional care provided by children to other family members was coded as emotional caregiving by the child. Emotional care to other family members, such as dealing with parents' emotional problems and providing emotional support to their parents were some examples. This coding scheme is the complementary part of the parental emotional care coding scheme, conceptually. An example would be: "*Okuldan gelince anneme gününün nasıl geçtiğini sorarım*". In this sentence, asking about the day counted as emotional caregiving of the child.

*Instrumental caregiving by the child* (Woolgar & Murray, 2010): Children's instrumental care for other family members was coded as instrumental caregiving by the child. Examples of this care could be doing housework, doing the laundry or cooking that is done by children. In the collected data, children usually explained they prepared dinner, or they helped their sibling at bedtime. This coding scheme is the complementary part of the parental instrumental care coding scheme, conceptually. An example would be: "*Yemeği annem yapar ve sofrayı o hazırlar.*".

*Autonomous behavior of the child:* This coding scheme was developed by the main researchers and used for the first time in this study. Similar to the Twenty Statements Scale, this was coded by counting the total number of individual related activities and definitions. Likewise, this coding scheme also taps onto autonomy, only this time we counted those in the narratives provided by children. Children’s behaviors that they managed to do all alone were coded as autonomous behavior of children. For example, “*Ödevlerimi kendi başıma yaparım*” or “*Akşamları yatmaya tek başıma giderim*” were the examples of autonomous behavior.

*Table 2*

*Examples of Parentification Characteristics Coded from the Narratives*

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Example</i>
<i>Parental Instrumental Care</i>	“Sabahları annem uyandırır”. “Kahvaltıyı o (anne) hazırlar.”
<i>Parental Emotional Care</i>	“Sofrada önce benim günümün nasıl geçtiğini sorarlar.” “Yatmadan önce annem bana sarılır”
<i>Child Instrumental Care</i>	“Yemekten sonra sofrayı ben toplarım.” “Bazen uykum kaçır erken uyanır, kahvaltıyı ben hazırlarım.”
<i>Child Emotional Care</i>	“Kardeşimin gece korktuğu zaman benim yanımda uyumasına izin veririm.” “Okuldan gelince anneme gününün nasıl geçtiğini sorarım.”
<i>Autonomy</i>	“Ödevlerimi kendi başıma yaparım.” “Kendi yemeğimi kendim hazırlarım.”
<i>Collective Activity</i>	“Sofrayı ailecek hazırlarız.” “Yemekte ailece sohbet ederiz.”

*Note.* These were the coded variables from children’s narratives.

*Collective activity in family:* This coding scheme was developed by the main researchers and used for the first time in this study. The activities that are made with at least two family members coded as collective activity in family. For example, “*Ailece sohbet ederiz.*” or “*Sofrayı ailece hep birlikte hazırlarız.*” were the examples of collective activity in the family.

### **2.3.5. *Twenty Statement Scale*** (TST; Kuhn & McPartland, 1954)

The Twenty Statement Scale includes incomplete sentences, all of which start with “I am...” and the child is expected to complete the sentences as they wish (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954). Their responses are coded either as independent (e.g., “I am very hardworking.”), relational (e.g., “I am the child of my mother.”), or interdependent (e.g., “I am a member of my family.”). The original coding scheme was adopted in the current study. Number of each self-construal type was counted as self-construal scores (see Appendix G).

The next section includes the results of the statistical analyses in the current study.

## CHAPTER III

### RESULTS

The aim of the current study was to examine possible predictors of parentification behaviors of children in Turkish cultural context. Since parentification is highly related to family roles, mother-related variables were specifically examined. In addition, children's self-construals were examined in order to see how individual differences might affect their perception of parentification.

The results were presented in three sections. We presented the adaptation of the Filial Responsibility Scale into Turkish. The next presented topics were the descriptive statistics for mothers' history of parentification and attachment scores, children's self-construals and the continuous parentification scores of the children. Besides, the intercorrelations among predictor variables and the criterion variables were displayed. Then, we presented the regression analyses, which were used to evaluate the relationship between the criterion variables and the predictor variables. The criterion variables in this study were the coded as parentification variables from children's narratives, and the predictors were the dummy coded SES, dummy coded gender of the child, maternal history of parentification, and mothers' attachment style, and children's self-construals which are coded from the Twenty-Statement-Scale. Series of Hierarchical Regression Analyses were conducted in order to examine each relationship.

#### ***3.1. Data Screening***

We initially sent four-hundred research packets to the mothers via their children. We did not specifically aim to collect data from 400 mother-child pairs, but considering the response rate, we handed in more than we had originally planned. The response rate was 23%, in which all the questionnaires were filled out. Apart from mother-child dyads, 62 parents gave permission for their children, but those mothers did not fill out the questionnaires, so those were also excluded from the original study. Ultimately, 92 mother-child dyads –



who all filled out all the questionnaires in the study- were included in this study. All statistical analyses were performed on total of 92 cases (mother-child pairs), with no missing data. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests.

Results were analyzed via SPSS statistical software. In order to control the accuracy of the data, first the ranges of variables were controlled, and no outliers were found. All variables were controlled for whether there was any missing data that has a systemic pattern, and no systemic pattern was found, either. There were only a few missing values, which were replaced by the replacing mean value. Normality, linearity and homoscedasticity of variables were controlled by histograms and scatterplot graphs. Since no specific outlier was found, no answer was omitted. The univariate distribution of the each variable was normal.

### ***3.2. Adaptation of the Filial Responsibility Scale to Turkish***

As a part of the current study the Filial Responsibility Scale was adapted into Turkish. This scale was developed by Jurkovic et al. in 2001, in order to measure parentification behaviors of parents. This scale was also used for measuring parentification history regarding childhood experiences. In the original version, there were 10 items for each subscale examining the instrumental and emotional parentification, and the perceived fairness dimensions. However, Hooper and Wallace (2010) reexamined the psychometric properties (factor structure and reliability) of this scale. In their reanalysis, as the result of Principal Component Analysis, three factors explained 49% of the total variance; specifically, 29% explained by the perceived fairness, 13.4% explained by the emotional parentification and 6.5% explained by the instrumental parentification. The reliability for instrumental parentification was Cronbach's  $\alpha=.81$ , for emotional parentification was Cronbach's  $\alpha=.82$ , and for perceived fairness was Cronbach's  $\alpha=.88$ .

In scope of the current study, this scale was translated into Turkish by using translation back-translation method. The questionnaire was filled out by 92 mothers who participated in this study. After Exploratory Factor Analyses, the final results supported two-factor solution.

### ***3.2.1. Preliminary Analysis***

At the first step, Principal Component Analyses with Varimax Orthogonal Rotation was run with the data from both online survey and the participants of this study. This analysis was specifically used in order to find out coherent subscales. Kaiser's Measure of Sampling Adequacy was .80. Moreover, Bartlett Test of Sphericity was significant ( $p < .001$ ). Both showed that the data was appropriate for applying principal component analysis. This analysis resulted with loading of eight dimensions in total, which was similar to the first step of the reanalysis of the Hooper et al. study (2010). In scope of our hypotheses and the theoretical framework of the current study, eight-factor-solution was not a distinguishing way due to the cross loaded items and the scree-plot demonstration. Therefore, in the next step, three-factor solution was forced in the factor analysis, since the original version had also three factors.

### ***3.2.2. Secondary Analysis***

In this second analysis, Principal Component Analysis with Varimax Rotation was run again. Rather than considering eigenvalues, three-factor solution was forced for this analysis. Results of this analysis were more convenient compared to the first analysis, regarding the number of factors extracted. However, in terms of the semantic content and compared to the original subscales, items were loaded incoherently. Moreover, the scree-plot of this analysis could be also interpreted in a way that a two-factor solution would be more plausible. Therefore, for the next step, a two-factor-solution was performed.

### ***3.2.3. Final Analysis***

At the third analysis, Principal Component Analysis was performed by extracting two factors. According to the results of this analysis, components explained 33.89% of the total variance. Factor 1 explained 24.48% of the total variance, and factor 2 explained 9.42% of the total variance. The cross-loaded items were not deleted, because these items were both conceptually and

numerically important for the factor solution. However, there were some items loaded lower than .30. Those items were deleted because of the accepted statistical wisdom (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

After deletion of those items, the analysis was performed again. These two components taken together, explained 37.67% of the total variance. Factor 1 explained 27.50% of the total variance, and factor 2 explained 10.16% of the total variance. We used some criteria while deciding on the most coherent factor structures. The total explained variance and the scree plot tests are usually the milestones for these kinds of decision. For the current adaptation analysis, after comparison of factor solutions with various numbers of items and factors, the most theoretically interpretable solution was selected. Among those analyses, the most meaningful solution was a two-factor-solution, in terms of coherence and the statistical results. Although there were three components in the original version of this scale, Turkish adaptation of this scale extracted two main components of parentification, which were emotional and instrumental parentification. According to the results, the first factor mainly represented emotional parentification; however, there were some other items which were not directly related to emotional parentification. Therefore, rather than naming as emotional parentification, we named this factor as *parentification* and the second represented *instrumental parentification*. According to discussion above, two factors were evident in the final 25 items. Factor loadings and a list of the items within each factor were illustrated in Table 3.

The scale was also analyzed in terms of reliability scores. The overall reliability of the scale was high, Cronbach's alpha= .84. Internal consistency coefficient was found acceptable and similar to the original scale value. However, when the internal reliabilities of the subscales were examined, only emotional parentification history had good internal consistency, Cronbach's alpha= .80; however, instrumental parentification history had not, Cronbach's alpha= .19. For this reason, in this study we only used the emotional parentification history in the regression analyses.

Table 3

*Two-factor solution for Filial Responsibility Scale*

	Factor loadings		$h^2$
	1	2	
Factor 1: Emotional Parentification (24.48% of variance)			
4) Ailem her ne kadar iyi niyetli olsa da, onların tüm ihtiyaçlarımı karşılayabileceklerine güvenemem.	.35		.13
6) Sıklıkla, ailemdeki bir üyenin fiziksel bakımında görevliydim.	.58		.37
7) Ailemde benim duygularıma genelde pek itibar edilmez.	.50		.26
8) Aileme para getirmek için çalıştım.	.47		.22
9) Kendimi aile içinde bir hakem gibi hissedirim.	.48		.29
10) Sık sık aile bireyleri beni hayal kırıklığına uğrattır.	.65		.46
11) Ailem için farkına varılmayan fedakarlıklar yaptım.	.61		.42
12) Aile üyeleri bana hep kendi problemlerini getiriyor gibiydi.	.81		.65
13) Sık sık ailenin çamaşır yıkama işlerini yapardım.	.64		.41
17) Annem ve babam tartışmalarında beni kendi taraflarına çekmek isterlerdi.	.62		.60
20) Bazen anne babamdan daha çok sorumluluk sahibiymişim gibi gelirdi.	.71		.40
22) Anne ve babam benden kardeşlerimi yetiştirmeye yardımcı olmamı beklerdi.	.57		.57
25) Bazı nedenlerden dolayı benim için anne ve babama güvenmek zordu.	.71		.55
26) Sık sık kendimi anne ve babamın tartışmalarının ortasında kalmış olarak bulurdum.	.51		.34
27) Ailemin finansal işlerine yardımcı olurdum (harcamalar hakkında karar vermek ya da faturaları ödemek gibi).	.55		.55
28) Aile içinde sık sık aldığımdan fazlasını verdim.	.60		.39
29) Evdeki sorumluluklarım yüzünden okulu devam ettirmek bazen zor olurdu.	.67		.31
30) Aile içinde sıklıkla bir çocuktan ziyade bir yetişkin gibi hissedirdim.	.57		.40
Factor 2: Instrumental Parentification (9.42% of variance)			
1) Ailem için birçok alışveriş yaptım (market, elbise gibi).		.36	.13
2) Bazen, annem ve babamın yardım isteyecekleri kişinin sadece ben olduğumu hissedirdim.		.54	.36
15) Ne zaman bir problemim olsa annem ve babam yardımcıydılar.		-.63	.04
18) Ailemin bana ihtiyacı olmasa bile ben kendimi onlara karşı sorumlu hissedirdim.		.68	.10
21) Ailemdeki insanlar beni çok iyi anlardı.		-.69	.47
Eigenvalues	6.88	2.54	

Note. N=92; emotional parentification, instrumental parentification, communalities

### ***3.3. Analyses of Parentification Features***

#### ***3.3.1. Descriptive Statistics for the Characteristics of the Sample***

Descriptive statistics for instrumental and emotional caretaking behaviors -both for parents and children- reported by children, maternal history of parentification, and maternal attachment scores were illustrated. All variables had enough variance and distribution for correlation and regression analyses. For maternal parentification history, the possible mean range was 1 to 5. The mean for the emotional parentification history was 2.39, ( $SD = .72$ ; range=1.26- 4.84). The means of the FRS score for the sample was similar to the means reported in the previous studies utilizing the scale (Hooper, 2011). For the ECR scale, there were two subscales, avoidance and anxiety. The possible range of scores was 1 to 7. The mean score for the avoidance subscale was 2.38 ( $SD = 1.28$ ). Means were ranging from 1.00 to 5.60. For the anxiety subscale the mean was 3.82 ( $SD = .80$ ) ranging from 1.60 to 6.40.

Descriptive statistics for the parentification codings were also illustrated. The mean for the composite parental emotional care that was expressed by their children was .29 ( $SD = .38$ ). Since children might not express any emotional care, minimum score was 0 and maximum score was 1.67. The mean score for the composite parental instrumental care was 1.14 ( $SD = .59$ ) Minimum score was 0 and maximum was 2.67. The composite emotional care given by the children had a mean of .20 ( $SD = .31$ ) ranging from 0 to 1.33. For the composite instrumental care given by the children, the mean was .42 ( $SD = .45$ ) ranging from 0 to 2.33. The mean for the composite autonomous behavior of children was .88 ( $SD = .71$ ). The minimum mean was 0 and the maximum mean was 4.33. Lastly, the mean for the composite collective activity in the family was .91 ( $SD = .75$ ; range = 00- 4.33) (See Table 4).

#### ***3.3.2. Bivariate Correlations***

When the correlations among variables were examined, SES groups were negatively correlated to instrumental care provided by the child ( $r = -.24$ ,  $p = .022$ ); however, positively correlated with independent self-construal of children

( $r = .22, p = .038$ ) and marginally correlated with relational self-construal of children ( $r = -.21, p = .057$ ). Child's gender was negatively significantly correlated with mothers' anxiety ( $r = -.27, p = .032$ ) but positively correlated with perceived emotional care provided by the parents ( $r = .34, p = .002$ ), instrumental care provided by the child ( $r = .28, p = .007$ ) and interdependent self-construal of children ( $r = .26, p = .016$ ).

*Table 4*

*Descriptive Statistics for Independent Variables in the Study*

Variable Name	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Maternal Emotional Parentification History	1.26	4.84	2.39	.72
Avoidance	1.00	5.60	2.38	1.31
Anxiety	1.20	7.00	3.82	.83
Independent Self	.00	10.00	6.72	2.75
Relational Self	.00	6.00	.79	1.24
Interdependent Self	.00	4.00	.29	.80
Parental Emotional Care	.00	1.67	.29	.38
Parental Instrumental Care	.00	2.67	1.14	.59
Emotional Care given by the Child	.00	1.33	.20	.31
Instrumental Care given by the Child	.00	2.33	.42	.45
Autonomous Behavior of the Child	.00	4.33	.88	.71
Collective Activity in the Family	.00	4.33	.91	.75

*Note.* N =92

Maternal emotional parentification history was not significantly correlated with any of the variables. In terms of maternal attachment, there was a moderate and

significant correlation between avoidance and anxiety scores of mothers ( $r = .32, p = .002$ ). Besides, avoidance was marginally and positively correlated with child's autonomous behavior ( $r = .19, p = .067$ ). Maternal anxiety was also significantly correlated with perceived emotional care provided by the parents ( $r = -.23, p = .028$ ), instrumental care provided by the child ( $r = -.25, p = .017$ ) and independent self-construal of children ( $r = .27, p = .011$ ).

We also examined the Pearson's correlations for the coding schemes. Correlation analyses revealed that parental emotional care was positively correlated with emotional care provided by the child ( $r = .58, p < .001$ ), the collective activity in family ( $r = .30, p = .004$ ) and independent self-construal of children ( $r = .22, p = .041$ ). In addition, perceived parental the instrumental care was significantly correlated with the instrumental care given by the child ( $r = .22, p = .039$ ). Moreover, there was a significant correlation between the instrumental care given by the child and the emotional care given by the child ( $r = .28, p = .007$ ). Instrumental care given by the child was negatively correlated with independent self-construal of children ( $r = .22, p = .039$ ). Lastly, the autonomous behavior of the child showed no significant correlation with other variables (See Table 5).

### 3.3.3. SES Differences

One of the main hypotheses of the current study was that children from low SES would show more instrumental parentification behavior compared to children from high SES. The Pearson correlation for instrumental parentification and SES was  $r = -.24 (p < .05)$ . In order to further analyze the related hypothesis, one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was run, by entering SES as an independent variable and the instrumental caregiving score of children as the dependent variable. The high SES group is coded as "1" and the low SES group is coded as "0" for the analysis. Results showed that there was a significant difference between children from high and low SES,  $F(1, 93) = 5.43, p = .02, \eta^2 = .05$

Table 5  
Bivariate Correlations between Study Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
<b>1.SES</b>	1													
<b>2.GENDER</b>	-.09	1												
<b>3.FIL_EMO</b>	-.16	-.14	1											
<b>4.AVO</b>	-.03	-.08	.12	1										
<b>5.ANX</b>	-.06	-.22*	.01	.32**	1									
<b>6.PAR_EMO</b>	.01	.32**	-.03	-.08	-.23*	1								
<b>7.PAR_INS</b>	.13	.07	-.15	.06	.17	.18	1							
<b>8.CHILD_EMO</b>	-.01	.15	.07	-.07	-.25*	.52**	-.07	1						
<b>9.CHILD_INS</b>	.23*	.28**	.06	.17	.07	.18	.21*	.27**	1					
<b>10.CHILD_AUTO</b>	.08	.03	-.03	.19	-.06	-.03	-.15	-.06	-.03	1				
<b>11.COLLECT_ACT</b>	.03	.23*	-.02	-.02	.01	.29**	.24*	.16	.25*	-.18	1			
<b>12.INDEPENDENT</b>	.22*	.11	-.04	-.10	-.27*	.21*	.05	.04	-.24*	.01	-.04	1		
<b>13.RELATIONAL</b>	.20	.04	.04	.02	.11	.04	.08	.17	.19	.14	.01	.23	1	
<b>14.INTERDEPENT</b>	-.09	.26*	-.08	.03	-.18	.18	.13	.10	.07	-.13	.10	-.08	.01	1

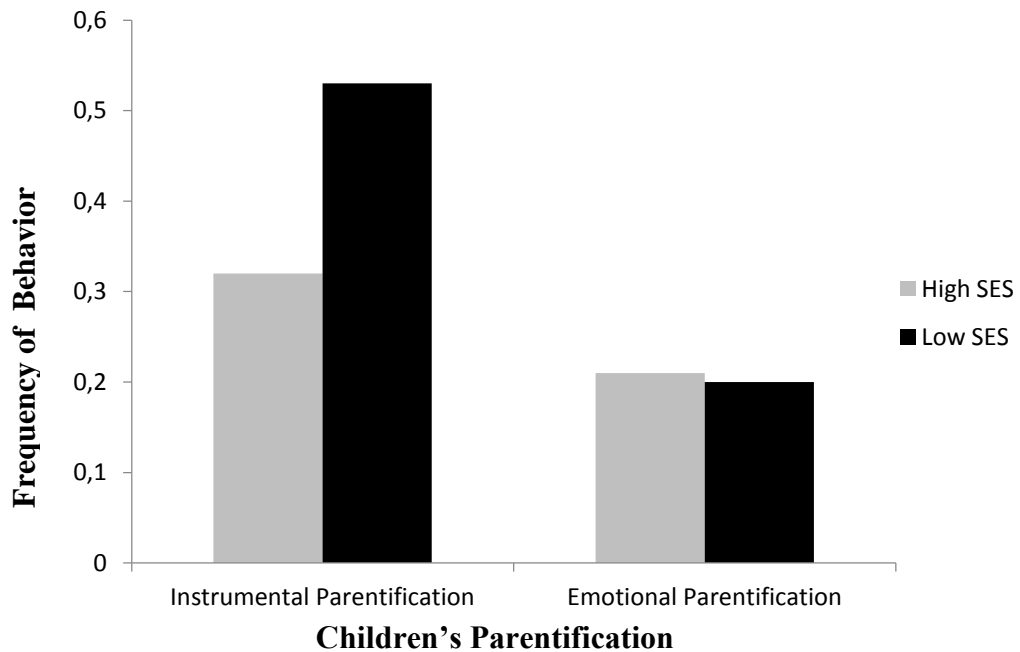
Note. SES= Socio-Economic-Status; GENDER= Children's Gender, FIL\_EMO= Maternal Emotional Parentification History; AVO= Maternal Avoidance; ANX=Maternal Anxiety; PAR\_EMO= Perceived Parental Emotional Caregiving; PAR\_INS= Perceived Parental Instrumental Caregiving; CHILD\_EMO= Children's Emotional Parentification; CHILD\_INS= Children's Instrumental Parentification; CHILD\_AUTO= Children's Autonomous Behavior; COLLECT\_ACT= Collective Activity in Family; INDEPENDENT= Children's Independent Self-Construals; RELATIONAL= Children's Relational Self-Construals; INTERDEPENDENT= Children's Interdependent Self-Construals,

\* $p < .05$ ;

\*\* $p < .01$ .



Children from low SES expressed that they were giving more instrumental caregiving to other family members, which was one of the main hypotheses of this study. The mean instrumental parentification score of the low SES ( $M = .53$ ,  $SE = .064$ ) was significantly higher than the high SES ( $M = .32$ ,  $SE = .065$ ). As predicted, SES groups significantly differ in terms of providing instrumental caregiving by children. The effect size was, Cohen's  $d = .03$ . (See Figure 1). With respect to emotional parentification, there was no specific hypothesis. Results of the one-way ANOVA for the SES groups and emotional parentification of children showed no significant difference between the groups,  $F(1, 93) = 5.43$ ,  $p = .88$ ,  $\eta^2 = .00$  (See Figure 1).



**Figure 1.** SES differences for children's emotional and instrumental parentification

#### **3.3.4. Parentification Features**

In terms of parentification codings, both maternal parentification history and attachment scores were expected to predict parentification behaviors of children. In order to examine the predictive value of SES, gender, maternal parentification, maternal attachment, on parentification characteristics, series of hierarchical

regression analyses were conducted. Since there were three different open-ended questions for parentification, a composite score for each schema was calculated by summing the parentification scores for each scenario. For each coding scheme, separate regression analysis was conducted (parental emotional caregiving, parental instrumental caregiving, emotional caregiving by the child, and instrumental caregiving by the child, collective activity in family and autonomous behavior of the child). In predicting children's self-reports on parentification characteristics, in the first step of the model, SES and gender of children- as a control variable- were entered to the model. In the second step, only emotional parentification history of mothers was entered. In the third step, avoidance and anxiety scores of mothers were added, and in the fourth step, self-construals of children (relational, independent, and interdependent) were entered to the analysis. , and the same set of predictors was used in the same exact order for all of the following regression analyses.

#### ***3.3.4.1. Perceived Caregiving by Parents***

##### ***3.3.4.1.1. Perceived Parental Emotional Care***

It was hypothesized that children, whose mothers scored higher on history of maternal parentification and maternal attachment, would explain more parentification behaviors in their narratives. In order to test this model, a hierarchical regression analysis was run for each of the parentification codings. All predictors were entered to the model in the order described above.

Hierarchical Regression analysis predicting perceived parental emotional care yielded a marginally significant overall model,  $R = .40$ ,  $R^2 = .16$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .08$ ),  $F(8,84) = 2.00$ ,  $p = .057$ . Results showed that gender and SES entered in the first step was significant and accounted for 10% of the variance in parental emotional care,  $R = .32$ ,  $R^2 = .10$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .08$ ),  $F(2, 90) = 5.24$ ,  $p = .007$ . Gender of children had the highest  $\beta$  value ( $\beta = .32$ ,  $t(90) = 3.24$ ,  $p = .002$ ); whereas, SES was not significant ( $\beta = .04$ ,  $t(90) = .40$ ,  $p = .694$ ). The second step involving mothers' retrospective emotional parentification also significant; however, entering mothers' retrospective emotional parentification to the model did not add a significant variance to the

model,  $R = .32$ ,  $R^2 = .11$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .08$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $F_{inc}(1,89) = .04$ ,  $p = .835$ . Mothers' retrospective emotional parentification ( $\beta = .02$ ,  $t(89) = .21$ ,  $p = .835$ ) did not significantly predict parental emotional care. The third step, including maternal anxiety and avoidance, the model was also significant. However, entering maternal avoidance and anxiety to the model did not add a significant variance to the model,  $R = .36$ ,  $R^2 = .13$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .08$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .02$ ,  $F_{inc}(2,87) = 1.12$ ,  $p = .332$ . Neither avoidance ( $\beta = -.01$ ,  $t(87) = -.13$ ,  $p = .90$ ) nor anxiety ( $\beta = -.15$ ,  $t(87) = -1.38$ ,  $p = .170$ ) significantly predicted parental emotional care.

Table 6

*Results of the Analysis for Perceived Parental Emotional Care Based on Children's Narratives (N =92)*

	$\beta$	$T$	$Sig.$	$R^2$	$R^2$ Change	$F$
Step 1				.10	.10	5.24*
SES	.00	.04	.97			
Child's gender	.26	2.37	.02*			
Step 2				.11	.00	.04
Maternal Emotional Parentification History	.02	.24	.81			
Step 3				.13	.02	1.12
Avoidance	-.02	-.22	.83			
Anxiety	-.09	-.80	.43			
Step 4				.16	.03	1.09
Independent	.17	1.56	.12			
Relational	-.00	-.01	.99			
Interdependent	.11	1.08	.29			

*Note.* The final step scores was illustrated. Dependent Variable is Perceived Parental Emotional Care. Maternal Emotional Parentification History, Avoidance, Anxiety scores belong to mothers; Independent, Relational and Interdependent Self-construals scores belong to children \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .001$ ,  $0.08 > p > .05$ .

The last step including independent, relational and interdependent self-construals of children did not explain any significant variance in predicting perceived parental emotional care,  $R = .40$ ,  $R^2 = .16$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .08$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .03$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(3,84) = 1.09$ ,  $p = .359$ . Neither of the self-construal types significantly predicted parental emotional care, independent ( $\beta = .17$ ,  $t(84) = 1.56$ ,  $p = .123$ ), relational ( $\beta = -.00$ ,  $t(84) = -.01$ ,  $p = .994$ ) or interdependent ( $\beta = .11$ ,  $t(84) = 1.08$ ,  $p = .285$ ). In the last step, only gender remained as a significant predictor, showing that girls expressed more emotional care of their parents compared to boys (See Table 6).

#### **3.3.4.1.2. Perceived Parental Instrumental Care**

The same model was tested for *the perceived parental instrumental caregiving*. The overall model was not significant,  $R = .35$ ,  $R^2 = .12$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .04$ ),  $F(8,84) = 1.42$ ,  $p = .199$ . Results showed that gender and SES entered in the first step was not significant,  $R = .16$ ,  $R^2 = .02$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .00$ ),  $F(2, 90) = 1.13$ ,  $p = .328$ . Neither SES ( $\beta = .14$ ,  $t(92) = 1.33$ ,  $p = .188$ ) nor gender of the child ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $t(90) = .83$ ,  $p = .409$ ) significantly predicted perceived parental instrumental caregiving. The second step involving mothers' retrospective emotional parentification was not significant, and introducing retrospective maternal emotional parentification did not explain any significant variance to the model,  $R = .19$ ,  $R^2 = .04$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .00$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(1,89) = 1.12$ ,  $p = .294$ . Mothers' retrospective emotional parentification did not significantly predict parental instrumental care, either ( $\beta = -.11$ ,  $t(89) = -1.06$ ,  $p = .294$ ). The third step, including maternal anxiety and avoidance, the model was still not significant, and entering maternal avoidance and anxiety to the model did not add a significant variance to the model,  $R = .28$ ,  $R^2 = .08$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .03$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(2,87) = 2.01$ ,  $p = .141$ . Although avoidance did not significantly predicted parental instrumental care ( $\beta = .03$ ,  $t(87) = .30$ ,  $p = .762$ ), anxiety was marginally ( $\beta = .20$ ,  $t(87) = 1.80$ ,  $p = .075$ ) significant in predicting parental instrumental care.

Table 7

Results of the Analysis for Perceived Parental Instrumental Care Based on Children's Narratives (N =92)

	$\beta$	$T$	$Sig.$	$R^2$	$R^2$ Change	$F$
Step 1				.02	.02	1.13
SES	.15	1.37	.18			
Child's gender	.07	.65	.52			
Step 2				.04	.01	1.12
Maternal Emotional Parentification History	-.09	-.86	.40			
Step 3				.08	.04	2.01
Avoidance	.02	.21	.83			
Anxiety	.25	2.12	.04*			
Step 4				.12	.04	1.28
Independent	.12	1.07	.29			
Relational	.10	.92	.36			
Interdependent	.18	1.61	.11			

Note. The final step scores was illustrated. Dependent Variable is Perceived Parental Instrumental Care. Maternal Emotional Parentification History, Avoidance, Anxiety scores belong to mothers; Independent, Relational and Interdependent Self-construals scores belong to children \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .001$ ,  $0.08 > p > .05$ .

The last step including independent, relational and interdependent self- construals of children did not add any significant variance in predicting perceived parental emotional care,  $R = .35$ ,  $R^2 = .12$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .04$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ,  $F_{inc}(3,84) = 1.28$ ,  $p = .286$ . Neither of the self-construal types significantly predicted parental instrumental care, independent ( $\beta = .12$ ,  $t(84) = 1.07$ ,  $p = .287$ ), relational ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $t(84) = .92$ ,  $p = .359$ ) or interdependent ( $\beta = .18$ ,  $t(84) = 1.61$ ,  $p = .11$ ).

In the last step, only maternal anxiety remained as a significant predictor, showing that children of anxious mothers perceive their parents as giving more instrumental care towards themselves (See Table 7).

### **3.3.4.2. Caregiving Provided by Children**

In terms of children's parentification behavior, this time, the emotional caregiving and the instrumental caregiving behaviors of children were examined for the same model.

#### **3.3.4.2.1. Emotional Care given by the Child**

First, the *emotional care given by the child* was examined. The overall model did not significantly explain any variance in predicting children's emotional caregiving behaviors,  $R = .35$ ,  $R^2 = .12$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .04$ ),  $F(8,84) = 1.42$ ,  $p = .201$ . Results showed that gender and SES -entered in the first step- were not significant,  $R = .16$ ,  $R^2 = .03$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .00$ ),  $F(2, 90) = 1.16$ ,  $p = .318$ . Neither SES ( $\beta = -.00$ ,  $t(90) = -.01$ ,  $p = .994$ ) nor gender of the child ( $\beta = .16$ ,  $t(90) = 1.52$ ,  $p = .133$ ) significantly predicted emotional care given by the children. The second step, involving mothers' retrospective emotional parentification was still not significant and introducing maternal emotional parentification did not add any significant variance to the model,  $R = .19$ ,  $R^2 = .04$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .00$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(1,89) = .90$ ,  $p = .345$ . Mothers' retrospective emotional parentification did not significantly predict emotional care given by the child ( $\beta = .10$ ,  $t(89) = .95$ ,  $p = .345$ ). In the third step, the model was still not significant and entering maternal avoidance and anxiety to the model did not add significant variance to the model,  $R = .28$ ,  $R^2 = .08$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .03$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(2,87) = 2.08$ ,  $p = .131$ . Although avoidance did not significantly predict parental instrumental care ( $\beta = -.00$ ,  $t(87) = -.04$ ,  $p = .970$ ), anxiety was marginally ( $\beta = -.22$ ,  $t(87) = -1.94$ ,  $p = .056$ ) significant in predicting emotional care given by the child. The last step, including independent, relational and interdependent self-construals of children, did not explain any additional variance in predicting emotional care given by the child,  $R = .35$ ,  $R^2 = .12$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .04$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(3,84) = 1.27$ ,  $p = .290$ .

Table 8

Results of the Analysis for Emotional Care given by Children Based on Children's Narratives (N =92)

	$\beta$	$T$	$Sig.$	$R^2$	$R^2$ Change	$F$
Step 1				.00	.04	.97
SES	.04	.36	.72			
Child's gender	.11	.96	.34			
Step 2				.04	.01	.90
Maternal Emotional Parentification History	.11	1.04	.30			
Step 3				.08	.04	2.08
Avoidance	.00	.04	.97			
Anxiety	-.23	-1.98	.05 <sup>t</sup>			
Step 4				.12	.04	1.27
Independent	.01	.12	.91			
Relational	.20	1.90	.06 <sup>t</sup>			
Interdependent	.05	.43	.67			

Note. The final step scores was illustrated. Dependent Variable is Emotional Care Given by the Child. Maternal Emotional Parentification History, Avoidance, Anxiety scores belong to mothers; Independent, Relational and Interdependent Self-construals scores belong to children \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .001$ ,  $.08 > p > .05$ .

Neither independent ( $\beta = .01$ ,  $t(84) = .12$ ,  $p = .906$ ) nor interdependent ( $\beta = .05$ ,  $t(84) = .43$ ,  $p = .672$ ) self-construal types was significant; only relational self marginally predicted the ( $\beta = .20$ ,  $t(84) = 1.90$ ,  $p = .061$ ) emotional care given by the child. In the last step, maternal anxiety was still a significant predictor, showing that children of anxious mothers show less emotional care towards their parents. Moreover, in this step, relation self-construal was marginally significant showing

that children who express themselves as more relational tend to show more emotional care towards their parents (See Table 8).

#### **3.3.4.2.2. Instrumental Care given by the Child**

Another hierarchical regression analysis was conducted to test the *instrumental caregiving of the children*. The overall model significantly explained 47% of variation on children emotional caregiving behaviors,  $R = .47$ ,  $R^2 = .22$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .15$ ),  $F(8,84) = 3.02$ ,  $p = .005$ . Results showed that gender and SES ---entered in the first step- were significant and accounted for 12 % of the variance in explaining children's instrumental caregiving,  $R = .35$ ,  $R^2 = .12$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .10$ ),  $F(2, 90) = 6.30$ ,  $p = .003$ . Both SES ( $\beta = -.21$ ,  $t(90) = -2.14$ ,  $p = .035$ ) and gender of the child ( $\beta = .26$ ,  $t(90) = 2.61$ ,  $p = .011$ ) significantly predicted instrumental care given by the children. Girls explained more instrumental care than boys and children who perceived themselves as more independent explained less instrumental care towards other family members. The second step, including mothers' retrospective emotional parentification, was still significant; however, introducing maternal emotional parentification did not add any additional significant variance to the model,  $R = .36$ ,  $R^2 = .13$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .10$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $F_{inc}(1,89) = .47$ ,  $p = .495$ . Mothers' retrospective emotional parentification did not significantly predict instrumental care given by the child ( $\beta = .07$ ,  $t(89) = .68$ ,  $p = .495$ ). The third step, including maternal anxiety and avoidance, the model was still significant; however, entering maternal avoidance and anxiety to the model did not add any additional significant variance to the model, either;  $R = .41$ ,  $R^2 = .17$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .12$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .04$ ,  $F_{inc}(2,87) = 2.03$ ,  $p = .137$ . Neither avoidance ( $\beta = .16$ ,  $t(87) = 1.51$ ,  $p = .133$ ), nor ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $t(87) = .82$ ,  $p = .414$ ) anxiety significantly predicted instrumental care given by the child. In the last step, including independent, relational and interdependent self-construals of children, the overall model was significant; however, entering self-construals did not explain significant additional variance in predicting instrumental care given by the child,  $R = .47$ ,  $R^2 = .22$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .15$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .06$ ,  $F_{inc}(3,84) = 2.06$ ,  $p = .112$ .



Table 9

Results of the Analysis for Instrumental Care given by Children Based on Children's Narratives (N =92)

	$\beta$	<i>T</i>	<i>Sig.</i>	$R^2$	$R^2$ Change	<i>F</i>
Step 1				.12	.12	6.30
SES	-.13	-1.22	.23			
Child's gender	.32	3.10	.00**			
Step 2				.13	.01	.47
Maternal Emotional Parentification History	.06	.62	.53			
Step 3				.17	.04	2.03
Avoidance	.16	1.60	.11			
Anxiety	.02	.18	.86			
Step 4				.22	.06	2.06
Independent	-.21	-1.98	.05 <sup>t</sup>			
Relational	.11	1.12	.27			
Interdependent	-.03	-.28	.78			

Note. The final step scores was illustrated. Dependent Variable is Instrumental Care Given by the Child. Maternal Emotional Parentification History, Avoidance, Anxiety scores belong to mothers; Independent, Relational and Interdependent Self-construals scores belong to children \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .001$ ,  $0.08 > p > .05$ .

Neither relational ( $\beta = .11$ ,  $t(84) = 1.12$ ,  $p = .266$ ) nor interdependent ( $\beta = -.03$ ,  $t(84) = -.28$ ,  $p = .777$ ) self-construal types were significant; only independent self had a marginally significant  $\beta$  value ( $\beta = -.21$ ,  $t(84) = -1.98$ ,  $p = .052$ ). In the last step, only gender and independent self remained as significant predictors. Yet, with additional variables, SES differences lost its significance in the last step (See Table 9).

### 3.3.4.3. Autonomous Behavior of Children

The same model was analyzed also for *autonomous behavior of children*. The overall model did not significantly explained any variance on autonomous behavior of children,  $R = .32$ ,  $R^2 = .10$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = 02$ ),  $F(8,84) = 1.22$ ,  $p = .295$ . Results showed that gender and SES-entered in the first step- were not significant and did not account for any significant variance in explaining children's autonomous behavior,  $R = .09$ ,  $R^2 = .01$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = -.01$ ),  $F(2, 90) = .40$ ,  $p = .675$ . SES was not significant ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $t(90) = .84$ ,  $p = .404$ ), although gender ( $\beta = .04$ ,  $t(92) = .38$ ,  $p = .707$ ) significantly predicted autonomous behavior of children.

Table 10

Results of the Analysis for Autonomous Behavior of Children based on Children's Narratives ( $N = 92$ )

	$\beta$	$T$	Sig.	$R^2$	$R^2$ Change	$F$
Step 1				-.19	-1.75	.08
SES	.05	.49	.63			
Child's gender	.07	.66	.51			
Step 2				.01	.01	.06
Maternal Emotional Parentification History	-.07	-.61	.55			
Step 3				.10	.01	.40
Avoidance	.24	2.14	.04*			
Anxiety	-.16	-1.35	.17			
Step 4				.00	.02	.05
Independent	-.08	-.69	.49			
Relational	-.13	-1.20	.23			
Interdependent	-.19	-1.75	.08 <sup>†</sup>			

Note. The final step scores was illustrated. Dependent Variable is Autonomous Behavior of the Child. Maternal Emotional Parentification History, Avoidance, Anxiety scores belong to mothers; Independent, Relational and Interdependent Self-construals scores belong to children \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .001$ , 08<sup>†</sup>  $p > .05$ .

The second step, involving mothers' retrospective emotional parentification, was still not significant and entering maternal emotional parentification did not add any additional significant variance to the model,  $R = .10$ ,  $R^2 = .01$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = -.02$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(1,89) = .02$ ,  $p = .884$ . Mothers' retrospective emotional parentification did not significantly predict autonomous behavior of children ( $\beta = -.02$ ,  $t(89) = -.15$ ,  $p = .884$ ). The third step, involving maternal anxiety and avoidance, was still not significant,  $R = .24$ ,  $R^2 = .06$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = -.00$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .05$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(2,87) = 2.22$ ,  $p = .115$ . Although avoidance significantly predicted autonomous behavior ( $\beta = .22$ ,  $t(87) = 1.11$ ,  $p = .044$ ), maternal anxiety did not significantly predict autonomous behavior ( $\beta = -.12$ ,  $t(87) = -1.11$ ,  $p = .271$ ). The last step, including independent, relational and interdependent self-construals of children was still not significant, and entering self-construals did not explain any additional variance in explaining autonomous behavior of children,  $R = .32$ ,  $R^2 = .10$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .02$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .05$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(3,84) = 1.48$ ,  $p = .226$ . Neither relational ( $\beta = -.13$ ,  $t(84) = -1.20$ ,  $p = .233$ ) nor independent ( $\beta = -.08$ ,  $t(84) = -.69$ ,  $p = .494$ ) self-construal types were significant; only interdependent self had a marginally significant  $\beta$  value ( $\beta = -.19$ ,  $t(84) = -1.75$ ,  $p = .083$ ). In the last step, only maternal avoidance and interdependent self remained as significant predictors. It showed that children of avoidant mothers expressed more autonomous behaviors in their narratives; however, children who perceive themselves as more interdependent expressed less autonomous behaviors in their narratives regarding family-time stories (See Table 10).

#### **3.3.4.4. Collective Activity in Family**

Finally, the same model was also analyzed for the total *collective activity in the family*. Results showed that SES and gender of the children, entered in the first step, explained marginally significant variance in predicting collective activity in the family,  $R = .25$ ,  $R^2 = .06$ ,  $F(2, 90) = 2.82$ ,  $p = .065$ . Although SES ( $\beta = .06$ ,  $t(90) = .59$ ,  $p = .558$ ) was not significant, gender of the child had a significant  $\beta$  value ( $\beta = .24$ ,  $t(90) = 2.35$ ,  $p = .021$ ). The second step, involving mothers' retrospective emotional parentification was not significant and entering maternal emotional

parentification did not add a significant variance to the model,  $R = .24$ ,  $R^2 = .06$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .04$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .00$ ,  $F_{inc}(1,89) = .04$ ,  $p = .847$ . Mothers' retrospective emotional parentification did not significantly predict collective activity in the family ( $\beta = .02$ ,  $t(89) = .19$ ,  $p = .847$ ).

Table 11

Results of the Analysis for Collective Behavior in Family based on Children's Narratives ( $N = 92$ )

	$\beta$	$T$	$Sig.$	$R^2$	$R^2$ Change	$F$
Step 1				.06	.06	2.82
SES	.09	.76	.45			
Child's Gender	.26	2.9	.03*			
Step 2				.06	.00	.04
Maternal Emotional Parentification History	.3	.27	.79			
Step 3				.07	.01	.34
Avoidance	-.04	-.38	.71			
Anxiety	.09	.76	.45			
Step 4				.08	.01	.27
Independent	-.07	-.60	.55			
Relational	-.03	-.30	.77			
Interdependent	.06	.55	.59			

Note. The final step scores was illustrated. Dependent Variable is Instrumental Care Given by the Child. Maternal Emotional Parentification History, Avoidance, Anxiety scores belong to mothers; Independent, Relational and Interdependent Self-construals scores belong to children \*  $p < .05$ ; \*\*  $p < .001$ ,  $0.08 > p > .05$ .

The third step, including maternal anxiety and avoidance, was still not significant and entering those did not explain additional variance on collective activity in the family,  $R = .26$ ,  $R^2 = .07$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = .02$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $F_{inc}(2,87) = .34$ ,  $p = .712$ .

Neither avoidance ( $\beta = -.03$ ,  $t(87) = -.30$ ,  $p = .765$ ) nor anxiety significantly predicted collective activity in the family ( $\beta = .09$ ,  $t(87) = .82$ ,  $p = .412$ ).

The last step, including independent, relational and interdependent self-construals of children, was still not significant and introducing self-construals did not explain any additional variance on collective activity in the family,  $R = .28$ ,  $R^2 = .08$ , (adjusted  $R^2 = -.01$ ),  $\Delta R^2 = .01$ ,  $F_{\text{inc}}(3,84) = .27$ ,  $p = .848$ . Neither of the self-construals significantly predicted collective activity in the family, relational ( $\beta = -.03$ ,  $t(84) = -.30$ ,  $p = .767$ ), independent ( $\beta = -.07$ ,  $t(84) = -.60$ ,  $p = .551$ ) or interdependent ( $\beta = .06$ ,  $t(84) = .55$ ,  $p = .585$ ). In the last step, only gender remained as a significant predictor, showing that girls expressed more collective activity in their families compared to boys (See Table 11).

## CHAPTER IV

### DISCUSSION

The current study aims to examine and extend the past research on the role of children's caretaking roles in their families, namely parentification. Although child parentification has been studied extensively in various samples of Western (e.g., American) cultures, it has been barely studied in Turkish cultural context, except for a few studies (Mebert & Sahin, 2007). To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study that examined, a) within-culture difference in children's parentification behaviors as a function of socio-economic status, b) the direct relationship between children's parentification behaviors and maternal history of parentification, and the direct relationship between children's perceptions of their parents' behaviors and maternal history of parentification, c) these behaviors as a function of maternal attachment styles, and d) children's parentification behavior as a function of children's self-construal type. In addition, the exploratory scope of the current study shed light onto unexplored novel phenomena in terms of parentification. In other words, along with our hypotheses, we also ran additional analyses with new coding schemes in order to figure out the possible factors explaining parentification behavior of children and parents.

#### ***4.1. SES Differences***

In this study, one of the main goals was comparing parentification behaviors of children in terms of SES differences. We expected to find that instrumental parentification behaviors would be more common in low SES families. As explained earlier, children from low SES families are more likely to contribute to their family by helping household chores, cooking, cleaning, which is considered as examples of instrumental parentification (Burton, 2007). Moreover, as Rogoff (2003) explained, in some cultures children start to take more responsibilities within the family system

due to the expectations of families and social environments. In Turkish cultural context, these instrumental parentification behaviors are expected to be observed especially in low SES families. Previous literature also focused on this issue, for instance Kagıtcıbası (2007) explained that in low SES families, but not in high SES families, mothers expected from their children to be more involved in houseworks compared to the mothers from high SES families.

In order to compare different SES groups, two districts of Ankara were chosen, Bahçelievler District as upper-middle and high SES group, and İlker District as the low SES one. According to the results of ANOVA comparing low and high SES families in terms of children's parentification behaviors, we found a significant difference between children from high and low SES families, as it was hypothesized. In those terms, the current study confirmed that there are differences between low and high SES in Turkish cultural context in terms of social roles and responsibilities, and to the best of our knowledge, it showed for the first time that instrumental parentification of children is more frequently present in the low SES and non-clinical families in Turkish cultural context.

We also controlled for the SES differences for parentification components in regression analyses. In terms of children's perception of parental caregiving behaviors (emotional or instrumental caregiving), there was no significant difference between groups. In other words, children from both SES levels perceived their parents' caregiving behaviors at about similar levels. The reason why we couldn't find any difference between groups in terms of parental instrumental and emotional care might be because of the methodology used in the current study, since we evaluated those variables via children's narratives. In other words, rather than asking directly to parents, we asked children to evaluate their parents' behaviors in their families. This indirect way of gathering information might be the reason for the indifference between groups. In future studies, examining parents' own evaluations about their behaviors might shed more light onto this research topic.

In regards to the children's own caretaking behaviors, children from low SES families reported significantly more instrumental caregiving behaviors, as

hypothesized. However, when children's instrumental parentification was analyzed with a model including children's self-construals, the significance of SES difference disappeared. This finding indicates that the difference between SES levels is rooted from individual differences –self-construals- in each group. In other words, there are predominant self-construal types for different SES groups and among those types, relational and independent self types are significantly different between two SES groups, yet the same effect is not valid for interdependent self. Because of this variability in self-construal scores between SES groups, when we entered them as predictors to the model, the significant SES effect has vanished. Therefore, future studies should cautiously examine SES differences by considering individual differences, as conducted in the current study.

On the other hand, in terms of emotional parentification, as expected, groups were not differentiated from each other. That is to say, those children from different SES levels expressed their emotional caregiving behaviors in a similar way. We speculate that instrumental caregiving might be particularly important in the context of low SES families, as can be seen in our results. As it was discussed previously, low SES Turkish families put more emphasis onto utilitarian contribution of children for family; whereas, in high SES context, the psychological value of the children gains more importance (Kagitcibasi, 2007). In other words, our findings are in tune with the structure of the Turkish family context, both in low and high SES. The reason why we could not find any significant results showing children's emotional parentification might be due to several different issues. For instance, it is always easier for children to detect and explain their behavioral problems rather than their emotional problems, since emotional problems are more abstract and difficult to understand (Berk, 2008). Thus, children might observe and realize their own instrumental caregiving behaviors more clearly than they do for their emotional caregiving behaviors. For this reason, we found a significant difference only for instrumental parentification, but not for emotional parentification. Another reason why we lacked to show SES difference for emotional parentification might be due to the methodology of the current study. Originally, we designed this study as one-to-



one interviews with children; however, due to the complications with the schools in which we collected data, we converted the study design to asking open-ended questions and narrative method, instructing students to write narratives. If we could conduct one-to-one interviews with children, the results might have been more in depth and also showed more evidence for emotional parentification. Yet, most of the studies on this issue assessed child caretaking behaviors via standardized scales that enforce children to express themselves even more limitedly compared to open-ended questions. Therefore, these open-ended questions still enabled children to draw a more convenient and comprehensive picture of their family roles and responsibilities, compared to standardized scales.

In terms of SES differences, we also examined the narratives for various variables, such as “autonomous behavior” (indicating autonomous behavior of children in family context) and “collective activity” (the activities that the family members engage in together). At first, we did not have any specific predictions for these features, but we aimed to explore whether these coding schemes would change as a function of SES (or any of the maternal characteristics). Our results did not indicate any significant difference between SES groups in terms of children’s expression of autonomous behavior or collective activity in family context. These results might be due to a possible variance in the low and high SES groups that we derived from schools. When we examined the educational level and the self-reported SES by mothers, there were only a few members who were not stereotypic in terms of the SES group they belonged to. Yet, future studies may consider visiting neighborhoods instead of collecting data via schools, which might decrease any possible variance. Moreover, previous parentification studies explained autonomy as one of the positive effects of parentification in long term (Burnett et al., 2006). Future studies might further explore this phenomenon in order to reveal a possible relationship and its direction.

#### ***4.2. Correlations Among Variables***

As discussed earlier, the extensive literature on parentification issue concluded that what distinguishes the healthy parentification from the destructive

parentification is the reciprocity of the caregiving between mother and children. For example, in these kinds of relationships, parents support and praised caretaking behaviors of children (Byng-Hall, 2008) reinforce children's caretaking behaviors, positively. In this study, we specifically chose to examine the parentification behaviors in a community sample, since most of the previous studies focused on clinical samples, including dysfunctioning families (Chase, 1999). Thus, rather than finding a destructive parentification pattern, we expected to find a reciprocal caretaking behavior of parents and their children. It is derived from the narratives that children, who perceived more emotional caregiving from their parents, are also engaging in more emotional caregiving behaviors. Correlations also demonstrated that children, who expressed more instrumental caregiving of their parents, are also engaging in more instrumental caregiving behaviors. These results also support the healthy development view in terms of the relationship between parentification and positive outcomes. In a similar fashion, our results revealed that parentification is not solely a focus of clinical groups, but could also be used as a positive outcome.

Correlations among variables also showed that there was a significant positive correlation between emotional and instrumental parentification of children. To further explain, children, who are more engaged in house chores, are also likely to give emotional support for the other family members. In regard to healthy parentification, the literature mostly emphasized that children's involving into housework and showing emotional support to other family members –for appropriate levels of duties- are beneficial in terms of development of the responsibility taking behaviors of children. According to this correlation in the current study, we may consider our findings as an indication of balance in behaviors of children in terms of parentification behaviors, which might be considered as a sign of healthy parentification. Despite the significant correlation between emotional and instrumental parentification of children, we could not find the similar results for these two parentification features in our regression analyses. While both SES and gender were significantly predicting instrumental parentification of children; neither SES nor gender was able to predict emotional parentification. To explore more

convenient relationships among all variables, future studies might also examine the relationships among dependent variables, such as in an analysis of model testing (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

#### ***4.3. Maternal History of Parentification***

Another main hypothesis of the current study was that maternal history of parentification would predict parentification behaviors of children. To the best of our knowledge, this is the first study, which examined the direct relationship between these two phenomena. Nevertheless, the results revealed that there was no significant relationship between mothers' self-reports of parentification history and their children's perception about their current parental caregiving. Further, maternal emotional parentification history did not predict children's emotional or instrumental parentification scores, either. This finding could be explained especially by family scripts that are the storages of within-family roles and regulations, which are conceptually close to "internal working models" in attachment theory, only applying to family relationships rather than individual perceptions. People learn the "within family role division" via their family experiences, and they adopted a certain behavioral pattern regarding family dynamics that they would apply to their own relationships. Most of the literature explained that mothers, who experienced parentification throughout their childhood, are not warm and responsive towards their children. They usually seek for caregiving from their children, since their internal working models were shaped in this way. That is named as *replicative scripts*, in which similar family roles are expected and practiced in the future family context, and in a way they are replicated. However, it is also proposed by the attachment theory that those internal working models could be reorganized with experience (Byng-Hall, 2002). In other words, while some children adopt these scripts for the most part, some correct and reorganize their internal working models. In *corrective scripts*, mothers might desire to behave differently than they had experienced throughout their own childhood (Byng-Hall, 2002). For this reason finding any significant relationship between maternal history of parentification and concurrent parental caregiving perceived by their children could be explained by

corrective scripts of mothers. Even if they had experienced and reported higher levels of parentification in their childhood family context, they might not expect their children to behave as the same way as they did in their childhood, or behave the same way themselves as their own parents. These dynamics explained by corrective family script, might be one of the reasons why we did not find the relationship we expected.

As a part of the exploratory analyses in the current study, we also looked at collective activity in family and children's autonomous behaviors (both of which were newly developed by the main researchers), and whether they would be explained by our predictors. However, maternal history of parentification did not significantly predict autonomous behavior of children. The reason might be derived from some other mediator variables. For example, one of the studies, examining maternal history of parentification and its relations with mothers' responsiveness and children's externalizing behaviors, found that maternal parentification history had an indirect effect on children's externalizing behaviors (Nuttall et al., 2012). Therefore, further studies might examine the possible indirect relationships with mothers' parentification history and children's parentification experiences.

#### ***4.4. Maternal Attachment***

Another one of the main hypotheses of the current study is regarding the effect of maternal attachment style on parentification. For this hypothesis, we examined maternal avoidance and anxiety scores and their relationships with parentification features. Again, to the best of our knowledge, this is the first study examining the relationship of maternal attachment and children's parentification behaviors. Nevertheless, the results revealed that there was no significant relationship between mothers' avoidance and anxiety, and their current emotional caregiving perceived by their children. In addition, neither avoidance nor anxiety predicted children's instrumental parentification scores, and collective activity in the family, either. The previous studies explained that mothers who had more secure attachments in their romantic relationships are more likely to show better parenting

skills, and mothers who had developed disorganized attachment styles are usually perceived low in emotional warmth and closeness by their children. According to our results, in terms of perceived instrumental caregiving provided by the parents, maternal anxiety marginally significantly predicted the perceived parental instrumental care. This finding should definitely be replicated by future studies, since the sample size of the current study might have caused this relationship to be a mild one. With a larger sample size, this relationship might be found in a stronger manner and significantly existent. Yet, this finding is still worthwhile to be closely examined. One may argue that since anxious mothers tend to seek for intimacy and approval of others, they might exaggerate their parenting behaviors in order to establish intimacy with their children and gain their approval. These mothers spend more effort in order to increase within-family relationships. As a result, their children might perceive their mothers as showing more instrumental care. Sumer and Kagitcibasi (2010) suggested that attachment anxiety is more common in collectivistic cultures and in these cultures anxious behaviors of mothers were viewed as helpful for children's security. Thus, these behaviors could be considered as more adaptive in Turkish cultural context (Sumer & Kagitcibasi, 2010). However, maternal attachment anxiety had negatively and marginally significant in predicting emotional care given by the children. In terms of children's emotional care, maternal attachment anxiety had negatively and marginally significant in predicting emotional care given by the children. The sample size issues might be present here, as well. Yet anxious mother often doubt and blame themselves. They usually show higher levels of emotional expressiveness in their relationships. As a result of their overexpressiveness, their children might show less emotional care towards their mothers. This finding should also be replicated by future studies.

In terms of maternal avoidance, we only found that avoidance significantly predicted the autonomous behavior of children. According to the results, avoidance was positively predicting autonomous behavior of the children. Avoidant mothers are likely to be more emotionally distant towards their child, which in return results in emotional detachment of the child, as well. We might say that this emotional

detachment of children might develop their sense of individuation, which is defined as *gaining independence from others*. Moreover, individuation of a person is seen as a component of developmental achievements. However, as Imamoglu (2003) explained in her Balanced Integration-Differentiation (BID) model, solely a developed sense individuation –differentiation- was not enough for a complete sense of self. She explained that we are, as humans, not only in need of differentiation from others but also we have desire to be related to others (Imamoglu, 2003). However, children who experienced emotional detachment might not develop a related self. Even if children whose mothers were avoidant are likely to develop an individuated self-construal, they are likely to be less successful in terms of developing a relational self. Results for the autonomous behaviors were in tune with our expectations. Future studies might examine the relationship between maternal attachment and children's parentification by in-depth methods for replicating and eliciting clearer results.

#### ***4.5. Self-construals of children***

As child-related variables, we also examined self-construals of children as predictor of parentification. We aimed to show whether individual differences –rooted by different self-construals in children would change how they perceive their parents' care and their own care (parentification) in family context. Supporting our hypothesis, children who defined themselves as more relational, showed higher levels of emotional parentification; whereas, children, who defined themselves as more independent, showed less instrumental care towards their parents. In the literature, most of the studies focused on mother-related variables, especially in clinical samples. Contrary to the previous research, in the current study, we examined predictors of parentification behavior in non-clinical samples and we may conclude that, not only mother-related variables, but also child-related variables were also important in predicting parentification behaviors of children. Moreover, as explained by Kagitcibasi (2007), in Turkish cultural context, adult children are expected to take care of their parents either emotionally or instrumentally. We

observed similar caretaking behaviors even at the beginning of adolescence, especially in terms of instrumental care

Besides, children who defined themselves as more interdependent reported more autonomous behaviors in their narratives. Abovementioned, in Balanced Integration-Differentiation (BID) model, for a healthy human development, both individuation and relatedness are necessary. We might say that children who defined themselves as more independent were able to develop both individuation and related self, and as a result their definition of themselves as more interdependent positively and significantly predicted their autonomous behaviors.

#### ***4.6. Limitations and Future Studies***

There are some limitations of the current study. First of all, the data was collected through sixth and seventh graders in two schools. Although we reached over four hundred children, only ninety-two of the mothers returned the questionnaires. Since we are comparing two different SES levels, the larger sample sizes would have yielded stronger results. Inclusion of more mother-child dyads might reveal more significant results. Further, we collected data from mothers via children. Some of the children explained that they forgot their mothers' questionnaires, although she filled out.

The narrative part of this study was first planned as one-to-one interviews with children conducted by the researcher. Therefore, before the main data collection took place, a pilot data was collected from 7 children in total, the researcher would have had better chance to intervene with the interview process, such as asking for more detailed questions about family roles or asking follow-up questions in response to children's answers. Moreover, the coding schemes in this study were mainly developed by the main researchers by using the pilot study, which as originally designed as one-to-one interview. Since we used the same coding schemes for the narratives, the nature of the answers might have changed. Future studies might use these coding schemes in order to improve schemes and replicate the results. Lastly,

future studies should use interview technique in order to further explain parentification behavior. Besides interview, both children and their mothers from low SES families might have had difficulties in understanding the questionnaires; thus, in future studies personal interviews both with children and their mothers might give a chance for more in-depth information.

Besides, we adapted a scale into Turkish for this study. However, the factor analysis and the results of this scale revealed different results than the original one. This could be showing that this scale was not appropriate for Turkish cultural context or the original scale might not be well-developed, since its reliability and validity was retested (Hooper, 2011) and some of the items were deleted.

Overall, besides its specific hypotheses, this study was mainly an exploratory study, since parentification was rarely studied in this cultural context. Therefore, this study might be helpful for researchers to conduct future studies in terms of examining parentification in a community sample. In addition, more research should be conducted to further understand parentification behavior in Turkish cultural context. Specifically, examining children's behavior in relation to other relationships among other family members could better elicit the within family role distributions and children's caretaking behaviors.

#### ***4.7. Unique contributions***

Abovementioned, this was – to the best of our knowledge- the first study examining the direct relationship between maternal history of parentification and children's caretaking behaviors; and the direct relationship between children's perceptions of their parents' caretaking behaviors and maternal history of parentification. Moreover, this was the first study examining the relationship between maternal attachment and children's parentification. Besides, maternal variables, this was one of the first studies examining children's self-construals in the context of Turkish culture. In studies examining SES or cultural differences, researchers usually compare two dichotomous groups (like American vs. Turkish, or low SES and high SES) and report their findings. This study has been a further attempt to explore and control for the effect of individual differences –such as



mothers' attachment style, or children's self-construals- and our findings revealed that there are SES differences, however some of those –such as children's instrumental care, that we hypothesized about- are related to these individuals or self-related differences that we measured for. In those terms, this study makes a valuable contribution into the existing literature, and shows the effects beyond dichotomous SES differences.

This study was one of the first studies examining parentification in Turkish cultural context. Therefore, some of the results were from the exploratory part, which might shed light onto the literature in terms of factors affecting parentification. In exploratory part, even if it was not hypothesized, we found significant effects of gender almost in every analysis. Therefore, we can conclude that gender was one of the strongest predictors of parentification behaviors of children, and future studies should focus on the gender differences in parentification.

Moreover, this study was contributed to the literature by examining parentification behaviors of children in a community sample rather than a clinical sample. It might be concluded that parentification of children might exist in a non-clinical sample and further studies should examine the positive child outcomes more in detail.

To sum up, the current study has shown, a) SES differences, b) self-construal differences, c) maternal attachment style-related differences for some of the major parentification coding schemes (such as, perceived parental instrumental care, children's emotional care, children's instrumental care, and their autonomous behavior) and finally d) children's gender differences in terms of parentification behavior as a converging pattern in our findings. Future studies should focus on the effect of other individual and group-level differences in order to further explain parentification behavior.

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## APPENDICIES

### Appendix A: Ethical Permissions

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ  
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ  
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Sayı: 28620816/ 18 -66

10.01.2014

Gönderilen : Dr. Başak Şahin  
Psikoloji

Gönderen : Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen  
IAK Başkanı

İlgi : Etik Onayı

Danışmanlığını yapmış olduğunuz Psikoloji Bölümü öğrencisi Ayşe Büşra Karagöbek'in "Examining Relations Among Maternal History Of Parentification, Mothers' Attachment Style, Self Construals Of Children, And Parentification Roles Of Children" isimli araştırması "İnsan Araştırmaları Komitesi" tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay verilmiştir.

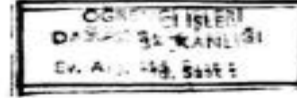
Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Etik Komite Onayı  
Uygundur  
10/01/2014  
Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen  
Uygulamalı Etik Araştırma Merkezi  
( UEAM ) Başkanı  
ODTÜ 06531 ANKARA

14.01.2014 07



T.C.  
ANKARA VALİLİĞİ  
Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğü



Sayı : 14588481/605.99/1085593  
Konu: Araştırma İzni  
(Ayşe Büşra KARAGÖBEK)

13/03/2014

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK UNIVERSİTESİNE  
(Öğrenci İşleri Daire Başkanlığı)

İlgi : a) MEB Yenilik ve Eğitim Teknolojileri Genel Müdürlüğünün 2012/13 nolu genelgesi  
b) 14/02/2014 tarih ve 001722 sayılı yazınız.

Üniversiteniz Gelişim Psikolojisi Ana Bilim Dalı Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi Ayşe Büşra KARAGÖBEK'in "Annenin Ebeveynleşme Rollerini Geçmiş, Bağlanma Tipi ve Çocukların Benlik Kurgusunun Çocukların Ebeveynleşme Dayanışmasıyla İlişkisi" konulu tez önerisi kapsamında uygulama yapma isteği Müdürlüğümüzce uygun görülmesi ve araştırmanın yapılacağı İlçe Milli Eğitim Müdürlüğüne bilgi verilmiştir.

Anketlerin uygulama yapılacak sayıda çoğaltılması ve çalışmanın bitiminde iki örneğinin (CD ortamında) Müdürlüğümüz Strateji Geliştirme-1 Şube Müdürlüğüne gönderilmesini arz ederim.

Hakan GÖNEN  
Müdür a.  
Şube Müdürü

13.03.2014 - 4766

Güvenli Elektronik İmza  
Aşlı İle Aymdır.  
13.05/2014  
  
Yaşar SUBAŞI  
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Bu belge, 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5 nci maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır. Esvak teyidi için <http://svr.kurumgu.meb.gov.tr> adresinden 474e-a9a2-3992-8d79-382e koda ile yapılabilir.

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Ayrıntılı bilgi için : Murat YILMAZER  
Tel: (0312) 212 36 00  
Faks: (0312) 212 60 16

## **Appendix B: Informed Consent Form for Mothers**

### **Bilgilendirilmiş Ebeveyn Onay Formu**

**Sayın Veli,**

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Gelişim Psikolojisi Yüksek Lisans öğrencisi Ayşe Büşra Karagöbek, Psikoloji Bölümü Öğretim Görevlisi Yar. Doç.Dr. Başak Şahin Acar denetiminde çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışları hakkında bir tez çalışması yürütmektedir. Bu çalışmada, ebeveynlerin çocukluk sorumlulukları, annenin bağlanma tipi, çocuğun benlik algısı, ailenin sosyoekonomik düzeyi ve çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışları arasındaki ilişki incelemektedir.

Bu mektubun amacı, sizi ve çocuğunuzu çalışma hakkında bilgilendirmek ve siz anneleri bu çalışmada bize yardımcı olmanız için davet etmektir. Eğer kabul ederseniz, bu formdaki anketleri doldurup, çocuğunuz aracılığıyla bize ulaştırınız.

Bu araştırmaya katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde öncelikle sizden bazı demografik bilgiler alınacaktır. Daha sonra sizin çocukluğunuzdaki sorumluluklarınıza ve şu anda aile içindeki rolünüze dair sorular içeren anketler verilecektir. Bu iki anketi doldurmak yaklaşık olarak onbeş dakikanızı alacaktır. Çocuğunuzdan da kendisinin aile içindeki rol ve sorumluluklarıyla ilgili anketler doldurması istenecektir.

Bu araştırma bilimsel bir amaçla yapılmaktadır ve katılımcı bilgilerinin gizliliği esas tutulmaktadır. Bu yüzden sizin ve çocuğunuzun ismi kullanılmayacaktır. Bu çalışmadan elde edilecek sonuçlar sadece tez çalışması için kullanılacaktır.

Katılımınız tamamen sizin isteğinize bağlıdır. Sizin onayınızı aldığımız zaman, çocuğunuza da anketi vereceğiz.

Katıldığınız takdirde çalışmanın herhangi bir aşamasında bir sebep göstermeden onayınızı çekmek hakkına sahipsiniz. Araştırma projesi hakkında ek bilgi almak istediğiniz takdirde lütfen Ayşe Büşra Karagöbek veya Yar. Doç. Başak Şahin ile temasa geçmekten çekinmeyiniz.

A.Büşra Karagöbek

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Adres: Ortadoğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü

Teşekkürler,

Ayşe Büşra Karagöbek

Ben, (velinin adı) ....., yukarıdaki metni okudum ve katılmam istenen çalışmanın kapsamını ve amacını, gönüllü olarak üzerime düşen sorumlulukları tamamen anladım. Çalışma hakkında soru sorma imkanı buldum. Bu çalışmayı istediğim zaman ve herhangi bir neden belirtmek zorunda kalmadan bırakabileceğimi ve bıraktığım takdirde herhangi bir olumsuz tutum ile karşılaşmayacağımı anladım. Bu koşullarda söz konusu araştırmaya kendi isteğimle, hiçbir baskı ve zorlama olmaksızın katılmayı kabul ediyorum.

Yukarıda açıklamasını okuduğum çalışmaya, oğlum/kızım .....'nin katılımına izin veriyorum.

İmza: \_\_\_\_\_

Çocuğunuzun katılımı ya da haklarının korunmasına yönelik sorularınız varsa ya da çocuğunuz herhangi bir şekilde risk altında olabileceğine, strese maruz kalacağına inanıyorsanız Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Etik Kuruluna (312) 210-37 29 telefon numarasından ulaşabilirsiniz.

## Appendix C: Demographic Information Sheet

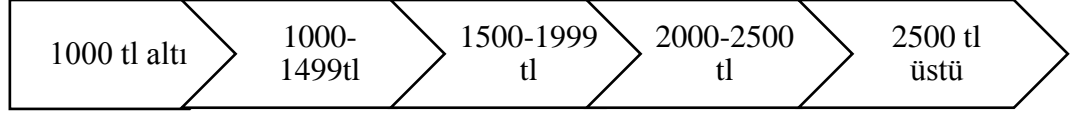
### Demgrafik Bilgi Formu

Listedeki her maddeyi lütfen dikkatle okuyunuz. Aşağıdaki sorularda size en uygun olan seçeneği işaretleyiniz.

- Doğum Tarihiniz: \_\_\_\_\_
- Mesleğiniz: \_\_\_\_\_
- Evinizde siz dahil kaç kişi yaşıyor? \_\_\_\_\_
- Evinizde yaşayanlar kimler ve size yakınlıkları:
  - 
  - 
  - 
  -
- Kaç çocuğunuz var? \_\_\_\_\_
- Araştırmaya katılan çocuğunuz kaçınıcı çocuğunuz? \_\_\_\_\_
- Araştırmaya katılan çocuğunuz doğum tarihi: \_\_\_\_\_
- Eğitim durumunuz: (en son mezun olunan seviye)
  - 1) İlkokul
  - 2) Ortaokul
  - 3) Lise
  - 4) Üniversite
  - 5) Yüksek Lisans
  - 6) Doktora
- Medeni durumu:
  - 1) Evli evet ise eşinizle ne zaman evlendiniz?
  - 2) Dul evet ise eşiniz ne zaman vefat etti?
  - 3) Boşanmış evet ise eşinizle ne zaman boşandınız?
  - 4) Evli ama eşinden ayrı yaşıyor evet ise eşinizle ne zamandır ayrı yaşıyorsunuz?

Gelir

Durumunuz:



## Appendix D: Filial Responsibility Scale- Adult Version

### Filial Sorumluluk Ölçeği-Yetişkin Versiyonu

Aşağıdaki 30 durum sizin çocukluğunuzda aile içinde yaşamış olabileceğiniz olayları belirtmektedir. Her kişinin tecrübeleri birbirinden farklı olduğundan, doğru veya yanlış cevap yoktur. Lütfen sadece size en uygun şekilde cevaplamaya çalışın.

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
1) Ailem için birçok alışveriş yaptım(market,elbise,vb.)	1	2	3	4	5
2) Bazen, annem ve babamın yardım isteyecekleri kişinin sadece ben olduğumu hissederdim.	1	2	3	4	5
3) Kardeşlerime ev ödevlerinde çok yardım ettim.	1	2	3	4	5
4) Ailem her ne kadar iyi niyetli olsa da, onların tüm ihtiyaçlarımı karşılayabileceklerine güvenemem.	1	2	3	4	5
5) Ailemde sık sık yaşıma göre olgun olduğum söylenir.	1	2	3	4	5
6) Sıklıkla, ailemdeki bir üyenin fiziksel bakımında görevliydim. (yıkamak, beslemek, giydirmek gibi)	1	2	3	4	5
7) Ailemde benim duygularıma genelde pek itibar edilmez.	1	2	3	4	5
8) Aileme para getirmek için çalıştım.	1	2	3	4	5



	Kesinlikle Katılmıyor	Katılmıyor	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
9) Kendimi aile içinde bir hakem gibi hissedirim.	1	2	3	4	5
10) Sık sık aile bireyleri beni hayal kırıklığına uğratar.	1	2	3	4	5
11) Ailem için farkına varılmayan fedakarlıklar yaptım.	1	2	3	4	5
12) Aile üyeleri bana hep kendi problemlerini getiriyor gibiydi.	1	2	3	4	5
13) Sık sık ailenin çamaşır yıkama işlerini yapardım.	1	2	3	4	5
14) Eğer bir aile üyesinin canı sıkınsa, ben genelde dahil olmazdım.	1	2	3	4	5
15) Ne zaman bir problemim olsa annem ve babam yardımcıydılar.	1	2	3	4	5
16) Evde yemekleri nadiren ben yapardım.	1	2	3	4	5
17) Annem ve babam tartışmalarında beni kendi taraflarına çekmek isterlerdi.	1	2	3	4	5
18) Ailemin bana ihtiyacı olmasa bile ben kendimi onlara karşı sorumlu hissedirdim.	1	2	3	4	5
19) Benden kardeşlerime bakmam çok nadiren istendi.	1	2	3	4	5
20) Bazen anne babamdan daha çok sorumluluk sahibiymişim gibi gelirdi.	1	2	3	4	5
21) Ailemdeki insanlar beni çok iyi anlardı.	1	2	3	4	5
22) Anne ve babam benden kardeşlerimi yetiştirmeye yardımcı olmamı beklerdi.	1	2	3	4	5

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Kararsızım	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
23) Anne ve babam sık sık benim yardımda bulunma çabalarımı eleştirirdi.	1	2	3	4	5
24) Sık sık ailemin bensiz iyi geçinemeyeceğini düşünürdüm.	1	2	3	4	5
25) Bazı nedenlerden dolayı benim için anne ve babama güvenmek zordu.	1	2	3	4	5
26) Sık sık kendimi anne ve babamın tartışmalarının ortasında kalmış olarak bulurdum.	1	2	3	4	5
27) Ailemin finansal işlerine yardımcı olurdu (harcamalar hakkında karar vermek ya da faturaları ödemek gibi).	1	2	3	4	5
28) Aile içinde sık sık aldığımdan fazlasını verdim.	1	2	3	4	5
29) Evdeki sorumluluklarım yüzünden okulu devam ettirmek bazen zor olurdu.	1	2	3	4	5
30) Aile içinde sıklıkla bir çocuktan ziyade bir yetişkin gibi hissedirdim.	1	2	3	4	5

## Appendix E: Experiences in Close Relationships II- Revised, Short Form

### Yakın İlişkilerde Yaşantılar Ölçeği II- Kısa Formu

Bu kısımda yakın ilişkilerinize yönelik bazı ifadeler verilmiştir. Her ifadeyi dikkatlice okuyunuz ve yaşadığınız ilişkinizi düşünerek her bir ifadenin ilişkilerinizdeki duygu ve düşüncelerinizi ne oranda yansıttığını 7 puanlık ölçek üzerinden değerlendiriniz (1 = Hiç katılmıyorum, 7 = Tamamen katılıyorum)

1-----2-----3-----4-----5-----6-----7

Hiç

Kararsızım/

Tamamen

katılmıyorum

fikrim yok

katılıyorum

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>1</b>	Eşimin başka insanlara denk olmadığını düşünmesinden endişe duyarım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>2</b>	Özel duygu ve düşüncelerimi eşimle paylaşmak konusunda kendimi rahat hissedirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>3</b>	Eşimle olan ilişkiyi kafama çok takarım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>4</b>	Eşime güvenip dayanmak konusunda kendimi rahat bırakmakta zorlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>5</b>	Sıklıkla, eşimin beni gerçekten sevmediği kaygısına kapılırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>6</b>	Eşime yakın olma konusunda çok rahattım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>7</b>	Eşimin beni, benim onu önemseyemediğim kadar önemseyemediğinden endişe	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	duyarım.							
<b>8</b>	Eşime açılma konusunda kendimi rahat hissetmem.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>9</b>	Eşim kendimden şüphe etmeme neden olur.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>10</b>	Gerçekte ne hissettiğimi eşime göstermemeyi tercih ederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Appendix F: Family Narratives

Merhaba sevgili gençler,

Bu ankette sizin rol ve sorumluluklarınızla ilgili sorular bulunmaktadır. Lütfen soruları boş bırakmadan cevaplayınız.

Yaş: \_\_\_\_\_

Cinsiyet: \_\_\_\_\_

Kaç kardeşsiniz: \_\_\_\_\_

Sen kaçınıcı çocuksun: \_\_\_\_\_

Babanın işi: \_\_\_\_\_

Annemi işi: \_\_\_\_\_

İlk kısımda ailecek yaptığımız aktivitelerle ilgili sorular bulunmaktadır. Soruları cevaplariken, kimlerin hangi işi yaptığını, kimlerin yardım ettiğini, en önemlisi sizin bu olaylardaki rolünüzü **ayrıntılı** bir şekilde yazmanız beklenmektedir.

1) Haftanın herhangi bir günü, akşam yemeği vakti evde nasıl geçer?

Mesela hangi yemek yapılacağına kim karar verir? Sofrayı kim kurar ve kim toplar? Sofrada neler konuşulur? Bu sürede annen, baban (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?"

2) Haftanın herhangi bir günü evde yatma zamanı nasıl olur? Mesela sen kendin mi yatarsın yoksa annen veya baban yanına gelir mi? (Varsa) Kardeş(ler)ine yatmasında yardımcı olur musun? Bu sürede annen, baban, (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?”

3) Haftanın herhangi bir günü, sabah kalkma vakti evde nasıl olur? Nasıl Uyanırsınız (alarmla mı, biri mi uyandırır)? Kahvaltıyı kim hazırlar? Bu sürede annen, baban (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?”

4) Annen baban, (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ile hep birlikte yaptığınız ve çok hoşuna giden, çok eğlendiğin bir etkinliği yazar mısın? Kimler vardı? Neredeydiniz? Neler yaptınız? Annen, baban, (varsa) kardeş(ler)in neler yaptı? Sen ne yaptın?”

5) Son olarak yine ailece, annen, baban, (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ile birlikte yaşadığınız, ama çok hoşuna gitmeyen, seni üzen bir anınızı yazar mısın? Kimler vardı? Nasıl bir olay yaşadınız? Annen, baban, (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yaptı? Sen ne yaptın?”

## Appendix G: Twenty Statement Scale

### Yirmi Durum Ölçeđi

1. Ben .
2. Ben .
3. Ben .
4. Ben .
5. Ben .
6. Ben .
7. Ben .
8. Ben .
9. Ben .
10. Ben .
11. Ben .
12. Ben .
13. Ben .
14. Ben .
15. Ben .
16. Ben .
17. Ben .
18. Ben .
19. Ben .
20. Ben .

“Ben kimim?” sorusuna  
verebileceđiniz 20 farklı  
cevabı yazınız.



## **Appendix H: Debriefing Form**

### **Katılım Sonrası Bilgi Formu**

Bu çalışma Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Gelişim Psikolojisi Yüksek Lisans programı öğrencisi Ayşe Büşra Karagöbek tarafından Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Psikoloji Bölümü Yar. Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin denetiminde yürütülen çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışları hakkında bir tez çalışmasıdır. Bu çalışmada, ebeveynlerin çocukluk sorumlulukları, annenin bağlanma tipi, çocuğun benlik algısı, ailenin sosyoekonomik düzeyi ve çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışları arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektir. Araştırmalar, ebeveynlerin çocukluk sorumluluklarının ve varolan ilişkilerindeki bağlanma şekillerinin, çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışlarını etkilediğini göstermektedir. Ayrıca, önceki çalışmalar bu süreci olumsuz olarak değerlendirse de, son zamanlardaki çalışmalar, çocuklarda ebeveynleşme davranışlarının çocukların otonomi geliştirmelerinde olumlu bir rolü olduğunu göstermiştir.

Bu çalışmada annelere çocukluk sorumluluklarını ve varolan ilişkilerindeki bağlanma şekilleriyle ilgili anketler verilmiştir. Daha sonra, sonra çocuklara benlik algıları, aile içi sorumluluklarını anlatabilecekleri açık uçlu sorular sorulmuştur. Çalışmanın sonunda, ebeveynlerin çocukluk sorumluluklarının, çocukların aile içindeki rol ve sorumluluklarını etkilemesi beklenmektedir. Ayrıca, annenin bağlanma tipinin de çocukların aile içindeki rol ve sorumluluklarını etkilemesi beklenmektedir. Ayrıca, farklı sosyoekonomik düzeyden gelen ailelerin çocuklarının içindeki rol ve sorumluluklarının da farklılık göstermesi beklenmektedir.

Sizin bu çalışmaya katılımınız, araştırmacıların bilimsel bir çalışma yürütebilmeleri adına çok önemlidir. Elde edilen bilgiler sadece bilimsel araştırma ve yazılarda kullanılacaktır. Araştırmanın sonuçlarının bilimsel bir yayın haline gelmesi beklenmektedir. Çalışmanın sonuçlarını öğrenmek ya da bu araştırma hakkında daha

fazla bilgi almak için ařađıdaki isimlere bařvurabilirsiniz. Bu arařtırmaya katıldıđınız için tekrar ok teřekkür ederiz.

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## **Appendix I: Turkish Summary**

### **Annenin Ebeveynleşme Rollerini Geçmiş, Bağlanma Tipi ve Çocukların Benlik Kurgusunun, Çocukların Ebeveynleşme Davranışlarıyla İlişkisi**

Ebeveynlerin tutum ve davranışları çocuğun gelişiminde hem olumlu hem de olumsuz sonuçlarıyla bağıntılıdır. Özellikle klinik psikoloji alanında, çocuğun ebeveynleşme davranışları, özellikle olumsuz sonuçları vurgulayacak şekilde yoğun bir şekilde çalışılmıştır. Ebeveynleşme davranışı ilk defa Boszormanyi-Nagy, and Spark (1973) tarafından ebeveynler ve çocuklar arasındaki atipik aile ilişkilerini tanımlamak için kullanılmıştır. Bu tip ilişkilerde ebeveynler, çocuklarının bir ebeveyn gibi sorumluluk almasını ve bu davranışları sergilemesini desteklerler (Hooper, 2008). Bir yetişkin gibi davranan bu çocuklar, ailenin diğer üyelerinin sorumluluğunu alır ve ebeveynlerinin ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya çalışırlar. Literatür ebeveynleşme davranışlarını iki tipe ayırmıştır; duygusal ve pratik ebeveynleşme davranışları. Buna göre; pratik ebeveynleşme davranışı ev işlerine yardım etme, faturaları yatırma gibi davranışlar; duygusal ebeveynleşme, ailenin diğer üyelerine duygusal olarak destek verme, onların dertlerini dinleme ve çözüm bulmalarına yardımcı olma olarak örneklendirilebilir. Fakat, literatür bu davranışları sergilemenin çocuğu gelişimsel olarak olumsuz olarak etkilediğini savunmaktadır. Bu alandaki birçok çalışma, ebeveynleşme davranışları gösteren çocukların olumsuz öz-değerlendirme, depresyon semptomları gösterme, duygusal bağımlılık ve sosyal becerilerde problem yaşama gibi birçok olumsuz sonuç yaşadığını göstermiştir (Earley & Cushway, 2002).

Ebeveynleşme davranışlarının nedenlerine bakıldığında, genelde sağlıklı aile ilişkileri ve problemlili ebeveynlikler başlıca nedenler arasında yer almaktadır (Burnett, Jones, Bliwise, & Ross, 2006). Bu sağlıklı aile ilişkilerine örnek olarak, alkolik ebeveynler, cinsel istismara uğramış ebeveynler, mental veya medikal hastalıklara sahip ebeveynler ya da boşanmış aileler örnek verilebilir (Srouf & Ward, 1980; Burton, 2007). Fakat, bu alandaki çalışmalar, çok fazla patolojik ağırlıklı

olması ve sosyal ve kültürel bağlamda çalışmaların çok az olması nedeniyle eleştirilmiştir (Chase, 1999; Earley & Cushway, 2002). Bu yüzden son zamanlardaki çalışmalar daha çok olumlu sonuçları incelemeye başlamış ve ebeveynleşme davranışlarının hepsinin olumsuz sonuçlanmadığını göstermiştir. Uzun dönemde bu çocuklar için olumlu kazanımlar olabileceği bulunmuştur. Fakat bu sonuçlara rağmen, sosyal ve kültürel bağlamda halen yetersiz araştırma vardır (Truong, 2001).

Ebeveynleşme davranışlarını bir takım teorilerle açıklanmıştır. İlk olarak, aile sistemleri kuramı tarafından açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu kurama göre, aile içi ikili ilişkiler, aile içi dengeden bağımsız düşünülemez. Tipik aile ilişkilerinde çocuğa bakım ve ilgi gösteren ebeveynlerdir. Fakat bazı durumlarda anne bu bakım ve ilgiyi gösteremeyecek durumda olabilir. Örneğin, depresyon tanısı almış anneleri inceleyen bir çalışmada, bu annelerin çocuklarının, normal popülasyona göre daha çok ebeveynleşme davranışı gösterdiği bulunmuştur. Bu yüzden, çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışlarını incelerken, aile içi ilişkiler de göz önünde bulundurulmalıdır. Aile sistemleri kuramına göre çocuklar için ebeveynleşme bir seviyeye kadar yararlı olabilir. Örneğin, annesi hasta olduğunda çocuk ev işlerine geçici bir süre yardımcı olabilir. Fakat ebeveynleşme davranışını çocuklar için olumsuz yapan, ebeveynlerin bu davranışların çocukları tarafından sürekli olarak sergilenmesi ve çocukların bütün çabalarına rağmen takdir görmeyişidir. Yıkıcı ebeveynleşmenin (destructive parentification) aksine sağlıklı ebeveynleşme, çocuğun gelişiminde pozitif bir rol oynayabilir. Çocuğun aile içinde bir takım sorumluluklar alması ve aileye katkıda bulunması, çocuğun otonomi ve özgüven geliştirmesi açısından yararlı olabilmektedir.

Ebeveynler, farklı durumlarda çocuklarından ilgi ve bakım arayışına girebilir, bu konuda annenin önceki tecrübeleri de etkili olmaktadır. Çalışmalar, çocukluğunda ebeveynleşme davranışları göstermiş yetişkinlerin, ebeveyn oldukları zaman, çocuklarının da benzer davranışları göstermesini beklediklerini bulmuştur. Buna göre, çocukluğunda aile içinde daha çok sorumluluk almış ve aile üyelerine daha çok bakım göstermiş çocuklar, buna uygun içsel çalışan modeller (internal working

models) geliştirirler ve bu modelleri ilerleyen yıllardaki ilişkilerini temellendirirken kullanırlar. Bu durumda, ebeveyn olduklarında çocuklarından beklentileri de bu doğrultuda gelişmektedir. Bu yüzden, bu çalışma da annenin ebeveynleşme geçmişi, çocuğun ebeveynleşme davranışlarını etkileyen bir etken olarak incelenmiştir.

Aile sistemleri kuramının yanı sıra ebeveynleşme davranışları bağlanma teorisi bakış açısıyla da açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu teoriye göre, annenin çocukluğundaki bağlanma tipi yetişkinliğindeki romantik ilişkilerindeki bağlanma tipini tahmin edebilmektedir. Aynı zamanda, aile sistemleri teorisiyle de paralel olarak, annenin partneriyle (bu çalışmada annelerin eşleri) ilişkisindeki bağlanma tipi, çocuğuyla olan ilişkisini de etkileyebilmektedir. Örneğin, güvenli bağlanma gösteren annelerin, daha iyi ebeveynlik becerileri sergiledikleri ve çocuklarıyla da daha güvenli bir bağlanma sergiledikleri bulunmuştur. Diğer taraftan, güvensiz bağlanma gösteren annelerin çocuklarıyla da daha güvensiz ilişkiler kurdukları gözlenmiştir. Ebeveynleşme açısından bakıldığında, güvensiz bağlanma gösteren annelerin çocuklarının, daha çok ebeveynleşme davranışı göstereceği tahmin edilmiştir. Bu çalışmada, annenin ebeveynleşme geçmişinin yanı sıra, annenin eşiyle olan bağlanma tipi de bağımsız değişken olarak incelenmiştir. Bu durumda kaçınan ve endişeli olan annelerin, çocuklarının daha çok ebeveynleşme davranışı gösterecekleri tahmin edilmiştir.

Ayrıca, bilinen kadarıyla, Türk kültürel ortamında, ebeveynleşme davranışlarını inceleyen çok az araştırma vardır (Mebert & Şahin, 2007). Yapılan çalışmaların çok büyük bir çoğunluğu Batı kültürlerinde ve genellikle klinik bir örneklem kullanılarak yapılmıştır. Fakat, aile içi sorumluluk alma davranışı, kültürlere göre farklılık gösterebilmektedir. Aile sistemleri kuramına göre çocukların sorumluluk alma davranışlarını nasıl algıladıkları ailelerinin bakış açısı ve içinde buldukları sosyal çevreye göre şekillenmektedir. Örneğin, çocuğun içinde bulunduğu kültür, bu tür davranışları destekliyor ve onaylıyorsa, çocuk bu davranışları aile içindeki adaletsizlikten ziyade aileye katkı sağladıkları yönünde algılama eğilimindedirler. Türk kültürel yapısı incelendiğinde, çocuğun aileye katkısı

erken yaşlardan itibaren beklenen bir davranıştır. Bu durum göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, bu araştırmada ebeveynleşme davranışları Türk Kültürü bağlamında incelenmesi hedeflenmiştir. Özellikle sosyo-ekonomik-statü olarak bu davranışlarda farklılıklar gözlenmesi beklenmektedir. Düşük sosyo-ekonomik-statü sahibi ailelerde çocuğun ev işlerine katkıda bulunması ve küçük kardeşlerine daha çok bakım göstermesi beklenmektedir. Bu çalışmada ebeveynleşme davranışlarını Türk kültürü bağlamında ilk kez inceleyen çalışma olarak hem ebeveynleşme literatürüne hem de Türk literatürüne katkıda bulunmuştur.

Literatürdeki çalışmaların ışığında, Türk kültürü bağlamında çocuklarda bu davranışları incelerken, annenin çocukluğunda kendi ailesinde tecrübe ettiği ebeveynleşme rolleri, annenin eşine olan bağlanma tipi ve çocuğun benlik algısı ve kendini nasıl tanımladığının en önemli öngörücü değişkenlerden olacağı düşünülmüştür. Buna göre, 1) çocukluğunda aile içinde daha çok sorumluluk almış ve ebeveynleşme davranışlarını sergilemiş annelerin çocuklarının daha çok ebeveynleşme davranışı göstermesi, 2) eşleriyle olan ilişkilerinde daha yüksek kaygı ve kaçınma yaşayan annelerin çocuklarının daha çok ebeveynleşme davranışı göstermesi, 3) çocuğun benlik kurgusu açısından, kendini daha ilişkisel olarak tanımlayan çocukların daha çok ebeveynleşme davranışı sergilemesi beklenmektedir. 4) Ayrıca, düşük ve yüksek sosyo-ekonomik-statülü ailelerin çocukları karşılaştırıldığında, ebeveynleşme davranışları açısından farklılıklar bulunması beklenmiştir.

Araştırmanın etik onayı Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Etik Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi ve Ankara İl Milli Müdürlüğü Araştırma Geliştirme Bölümü'nden alınmıştır. Gerekli izinler alındıktan sonra, Ankara'da Bahçelievler ve İlker mahallelerinde bulunan iki okulun yönetimlerinden de izin alarak, 6. ve 7. Sınıf öğrencilerine, annelerine iletmeleri için bilgilendirilmiş ebeveyn onay formu ve anne anketleri dağıtılmıştır. Anketler yaklaşık dörtüüz öğrenciye dağıtılmış ve ebeveyn onayı getiren 92 öğrenciye, çocuk anketleri verilmiştir. Sınıflarda araştırmacı, kendini tanıtmış ve araştırmayı açıklamıştır. Çalışmaya katılımın gönüllülük esasına

dayandığı belirtilerek, çocuklardan sözel onay da alınmıştır. Ayrıca, soruların doğru veya yanlış cevabı olmadığı, önemli olanın kendi düşüncelerini belirtmeleri olduğu söylenmiştir. Öğrencilere anketleri doldurması için 1 ders saati süresi verilmiştir (40 dakika). Çalışmada toplam 92 anne-çocuk çiftinden veri toplanmıştır. Annelerin ortalama yaşı 40.11 ( $SD = 5.56$ ), ve eğitim seviyesi 2.45 ( $SD = 1.25$ ).

Yüksek sosyo-ekonomik-statütlü örneklem için, annelerin yaş ortalaması 41.57 ( $SD = 5.59$ ). Bu gruptaki annelerin yarısı ( $N= 23$ ) çalışıyor, diğer yarısı çalışmıyordu. Bu gruptaki anneler için ortalama eğitim seviyesi 3.28 ( $SD = 1.00$ ). İki anne yüksek lisans derecesine, 20 anne üniversite derecesine, 18 tanesi lise derecesine sahipti. Medeni durumlarına bakıldığında annelerin %93.5 evli, %2.2 si boşanmış ve %4.3 sinin eşi vefat etmişti. Evli olmasına rağmen eşinden ayrı yaşayan hiç bir anne yoktu. Evdeki nüfus ortalaması 4.00 ve ortalama kardeş sayısı 1.93. Çocukların 28 tanesi evin en büyük çocuğuydu. 14 tanesi ikinci, 3 tanesi üçüncü ve 1 tanesi dördüncü çocuktur. Çocukların ortalama yaşı 12.58 ( $SD = .49$ ).

Düşük sosyo-ekonomik-statütlü grup için, annelerin ortalama yaşı 38.51. Bu gruptaki annelerden sadece 9 tanesi çalışıyordu. Geri kalan 38 tanesi ev hanımıydı. Ortalama eğitim seviyesi 1.63. Sadece 2 tanesi üniversite derecesine, 7 tanesi lise derecesine sahipti. 10 anne ortaokul derecesine ve 28 anne ilkokul derecesine sahipti. Medeni durumlara bakıldığında, % 93.56'sı evli, %4.3'ü boşanmış ve %2.2'sinin eşi vefat etmişti. . Evdeki nüfus ortalaması 4.68 ve ortalama kardeş sayısı 2.70. Çocukların 7 tanesi evin en büyük çocuğuydu. 18 tanesi ikinci, 8 tanesi üçüncü, 11 tanesi dördüncü, 2 tanesi beşinci ve 1 tanesi altıncı çocuktur. Bu grupta çocukların ortalama yaşı 12. 55 ( $SD= .74$ ).

Anne için; demografik bilgi formu, Filial Sorumluluk Ölçeği- yetişkin versiyonu- (Jurkovic, Thirkield, ve Morrell, 2001) ve Yakın İlişkilerde Yaşantılar Envanteri 2- kısa versiyonu- (Fraley, Waller, ve Brennan, 2000; Turkish by Selçuk, Gunaydın, Sumer, ve Uysal (2005) ölçekleri verilmiştir.

Demografik bilgi formunda, annenin yaşı, mesleği, eğitim seviyesi, medeni durumu, evde yaşayan kişi sayısı ve gelir durumu sorulmuştur. Filial Sorumluluk Ölçeği, yetişkin versiyonu Jurkovic ve arkadaşları (1986) tarafından 2001 yılında geliştirilmiştir. Ölçekte, yetişkinlerin çocukluklarında tecrübe etmiş olabilecekleri ebeveynleşme davranışları ve ailedeki adalet algısına yönelik toplam 30 madde bulunmaktadır. Toplam üç alt ölçek vardır, pratik ebeveynleşme, duygusal ebeveynleşme ve algılanan adaletsizlik. Ölçeği geliştirenler, yüksek psikometrik özellikler rapor etmiş olsa da ölçeğin psikometrik özellikleri Hooper (2007), tarafından tekrar test edilmiş ve buna göre bazı maddeler, ölçekten çıkarılmıştır. Ölçeğin Türkçe adaptasyonu daha önce yapılmadığı için bu çalışmada çeviri-geriçeviri yöntemi kullanılarak ölçek Türkçeye çevrilmiştir. Ölçeğin, genel adaptasyonun güvenilirliği yüksek çıkmıştır; fakat, alt ölçeklerden sadece duygusal ebeveynleşme yüksek güvenilirlik göstermiştir. Bu yüzden bu çalışmada sadece bu alt ölçeğin verileri kullanılmıştır. Anneye verilen Yakın İlişkilerde Tecrübeler ölçeği, Fraley ve arkadaşları (2000) tarafından geliştirilmiştir. Ölçek Selçuk ve arkadaşları (2005) tarafından Türkçeye çevirilmiştir. Ölçeğin orijinalinde toplam 30 madde bulunmaktadır; fakat daha sonra yapılan çalışmalarda ölçeğin 10 madde kısa versiyonu oluşturulmuştur. Bu çalışmada kullanılan kısa formda kaçınma (avoidance) ve kaygı (anxiety) alt ölçekleri vardır. Tek numaralı maddeler, kaçınma davranışını; çift numaralı maddeler kaygı davranışını ölçmektedir.

Çocuk için; Aile İçi Roller ve Sorumluluklar Ölçeği (Mika, Bergner, ve Baum, 1987; Turkish by Mebert ve Sahin (2007) ve Yirmi Durum Ölçeği (Kuhn ve McPartland, 1954) verilmiştir. Ayrıca çocuklara aile içinde a) akşam yemeği zamanı, b) yatma zamanı ve c) kahvaltılı zamanında aile içi roller ve sorumluluklar hakkında açık uçlu sorular sorulmuştur. Bu sorular sırasıyla, 1) *Haftanın herhangi bir günü, akşam yemeği vakti evde nasıl geçer? Mesela hangi yemek yapılacağına kim karar verir? Sofrayı kim kurar ve kim toplar? Sofrada neler konuşulur? Bu sürede annen, baban (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?*, 2) *Haftanın herhangi bir günü evde yatma zamanı nasıl olur? Mesela sen kendin mi yatarsın yoksa annen veya baban yanına gelir mi? (Varsa) Kardeş(ler)ine yatmasında yardımcı olur musun? Bu*



*sürede annen, baban, (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?”*,3)Haftanın herhangi bir günü, sabah kalkma vakti evde nasıl olur? Nasıl uyanırsınız (alardı mı, biri mi uyandırır)? Kahvaltıyı kim hazırlar? Bu sürede annen, baban (varsa) kardeş(ler)in ne yapar? Sen ne yaparsın?”

Yirmi Durum Ölçeği (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), ben diye başlayan 20 açık uçlu soru içermektedir. Çocukların bu cümleleri kendilerine göre tamamlanması beklenmektedir. Cevaplar, çocukların benlik kurgusu ölçmek üzere üç kategori için kodlanmıştır. Buna göre verilen cevap, bağımsız (independent, ilişkisel (relational) veya birbirine bağımlı (interdependent) olarak kodlanmıştır. Örneğin, “Ben çok çalışkanım” cümlesi bağımsız benlik kurgusu, “ben annemin kızıyım” ilişkisel benlik kurgusu ve “ben ve ailem gezmeyi severiz” birbirine bağımlı benlik kurgusu olarak kodlanmıştır. Aile içindeki role ve sorumluluklarla ilgili soruların cevapları, çocuğun duygusal ve pratik ebeveynleşme davranışları, ebeveynlerin duygusal ve pratik sorumluluk davranışları, çocuğun otonomi davranışları ve ailece yapılan aktiviteler olarak kodlanmıştır. Örneğin, çocuğun annesi için yemek hazırlaması bir ebeveynleşme davranışı olarak sayılmıştır. Aynı şekilde, annenin çocuğunu yatağa götürüp yatırması annenin sorumluluk davranışı olarak kodlanmıştır. Toplam kodlamaların cevaplarının yüzde yirmisi ikinci bir araştırmacı tarafından kodlanmış ve değerlendiriciler arasındaki güvenilirlik. 94 olarak bulunmuştur.

Bu çalışmada, anneler tarafından doldurulan Filial Sorumluluk Ölçeğinin Türkçe adaptasyonu yapılmıştır. Original ölçekte üç alt ölçek bulunmasına rağmen, Türkçe adaptasyonda güvenilirlik ancak bir alt ölçek için uygun bulunmuştur. Bu yüzden, analizlerde sadece bu ölçek kullanılmıştır (duygusal ebeveynleşme geçmişi).

Analizlerde, öncelikle, bütün değişkenler arasındaki korelasyon ilişkileri incelenmiştir. Daha sonra asıl analizlerde, ailenin sosyo-ekonomik-statüsü ve çocuğun cinsiyeti, annenin ebeveynleşme davranışı geçmişi, annenin bağlanması (anksiyete ve kaçınanlığı) ve çocuğun benlik kurgusu ile çocuğun ebeveynleşme davranışları arasındaki ilişkilere bakmak için hiyerarşik regresyon yapılmıştır. Her kodlama için ayrı bir regresyon analizi yapılmıştır. Analizlerde ilk aşamada SES ve

cinsiyet analize sokulmuştur. İkinci adımda, annenin duygusal ebeveynleşme geçmişi, üçüncü aşamada annenin anksiyete ve kaçınma puanları ve son adımda da çocuğun benlik kurguları analize sokulmuştur.

Sonuçlarda, çalışmanın hipotezini destekleyecek şekilde, çocukların pratik ebeveynleşme davranışları arasında sosyo-ekonomik-statü farkı bulunmuştur. Buna göre, düşük sosyo-ekonomik-statüye sahip ailelerin çocukları, aile rollerinde kendilerinin daha çok rol aldığını açıklamışlardır. Fakat analizlere çocukların benlik kurgusu da eklendiğinde bu farkın kaybolduğu görülmüştür. Bu durum, belli sosyo-ekonomik-statülerdeki ailelerde, çocukların ağırlıklı olarak bir tip benlik kurgusu geliştirdikleri yönünde açıklanabilir. Modeli çocuğun pratik ebeveynleşme davranışları için incelediğimizde, son adımda, sadece cinsiyet ve bağımsız benlik kurgusu, çocukların pratik ebeveynleşme davranışını tahmin edilmiştir. Buna göre, daha kız çocukların, erkeklere kıyasla daha çok pratik ebeveynleşme gösterdiği bulunmuştur. Bu bulgu, hem psikoloji literatürüyle hem de Türk kültürel yapısıyla da aynı doğrultudadır. Diğer bir anlamlı bulgu da bağımsız benlik kurgusunun çocuğun pratik ebeveynleşme davranışını negatif olarak tahmin ettiğini göstermiştir. Buna göre, kendini bağımsız olarak tanımlayan çocukların daha az pratik ebeveynleşme gösterdiği bulunmuştur. Bir başka deyişle, bu çocuklar, ev işlerine daha az katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Yine hipotezlerde belirtildiği üzere, çocuğun duygusal ebeveynleşme davranışları açısından sosyo-ekonomik-statü farkı bulunmamıştır. Hiyerarşik Regresyon Analizi sonuçlarına baktığımızda annenin anksiyetesinin ve ilişkisel benlik kurgusunun sınırdan anlamlı olarak çocuğun duygusal ebeveynleşmesi üzerinde varyans açıklayabilmiştir. Buna göre, anksiyetesi daha yüksek olan annelerin çocukları daha az duygusal ebeveynleşme davranışı göstermektedir. Bu durum,

Diğer bir bulgu, çalışma da hipotez edildiği üzere, kendini daha ilişkisel olarak tanımlayan çocukların daha çok duygusal ebeveynleşme gösterdiğidir. Kendilerini diğer aile üyelerine daha çok ilişki olarak tanımlayan çocuklar, aile üyelerine daha çok duygusal bakım vermektedir. Örneğin, onları daha çok dinleyip, daha çok duygusal destek verirler.

Çocuğun algıladığı ebeveyn bakım verme davranışlarını incelediğimizde annenin verdiği duygusal bakımı sadece çocuğun cinsiyeti anlamlı bir şekilde tahmin etmiştir. Buna göre kız çocukları aile içi rol dağılımını açıklarken erkeklere kıyasla ebeveynlerinin daha çok duygusal bakım verdiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Bu durumda daha önceden de açıklandığı gibi ebeveynleşme davranışlarının çocukların üzerindeki olumlu veya olumsuz etkisinin çocukların algılarından kaynaklandığı söylenebilir. Ayrıca, kızların daha çok duygusal bakım algılamaları, psikoloji literatüründe de belirtildiği gibi, kızların daha çok ilişki odaklı olmasından kaynaklanmış olabilir. Bu açıklamayı destekleyecek şekilde, çocukların rapor ettikleri ebeveynlerin fiziksel bakım davranışları için analiz yapıldığında herhangi bir cinsiyet farkı bulunmamıştır. Bu durumda kızların duygusal bakım ve ilgiyi daha kolay fark edip, aile hikâyelerinde daha çok belirtmesine rağmen fiziksel bakımda herhangi bir cinsiyet farkı olmaması da destekleyici bir bulgudur. Fiziksel bakım (örn. yemek yapmak, sofrayı hazırlamak, ev temizlemek vs.) daha somut bir hareket olduğu için her iki cinsiyetten çocuklarda bunu benzer şekilde algılamışken, daha soyut kalan duygusal bakımı (örn. annenin gününün nasıl geçtiğini sorması) kız çocukları bu ilişki odaklı davranışlara raporlarında daha çok yer vermişlerdir.

Çocuğun algıladığı ebeveyn tarafından sağlanan fiziksel bakım regresyon analizinde incelendiğinde, sadece annenin anksiyetesi anlamlı olarak tahmin etmiştir. Buna göre, anksiyetesi yüksek olan annelerin çocukları, annelerini daha çok fiziksel bakım veriyor olarak algılamışlardır. Bu durum anksiyetesi yüksek annelerin sürekli yakınlık kurma ve onaylanma arayışları sonucu çocukları tarafından daha çok fiziksel bakım veriyor olarak algılanmalarına yol açmış olabilir.

Çocukların kendi bakım verme davranışlarını yordayan değişkenleri yine aynı modelle incelediğimizde, çocuk tarafından sağlanan duygusal bakım verme davranışını annenin anksiyetesi negatif yönde yordarken, çocuğun ilişki odaklı benlik kurgusu pozitif yönde yordamıştır. Buna göre anksiyetesi yüksek annelerin çocukları, kendilerini daha az duygusal bakım veriyor olarak tasvir etmişlerdir. Bu durum, annenin anksiyetesi nedeniyle gösterdiği aşırı ilgi sonucu çocuğun daha az duygusal bakım sağlama ihtiyacından kaynaklanıyor olabilir. Çocuğun ilişki odaklı benlik

kurgusuna sahip olması ise, çalışmanın hipotezini de desteklediği üzere, çocuk tarafından sağlanan daha çok duygusal bakım davranışını yordamıştır.

Çocuk tarafından sağlanan fiziksel bakım davranışları aynı modelle test edildiğinde, çocuğun cinsiyeti pozitif, çocuğun bağımsız benlik algısı negatif olarak anlamlı çıkmıştır. Bu sonuçlara göre, kız çocukları erkek çocuklarına kıyasla daha çok fiziksel bakım verdiklerini açıklamışlardır. Bu farklılık, çalışmada hipotez edilmemiş olsa bile, kültürel olarak anlamlı bir bulgudur. Bazı kültürlerde, kız çocuklarının ev işlerine ve aileye daha çok katkıda bulunması beklenir (Rogoff, 2003). Örneğin, akşam yemeğinin hazırlanması, evin temizlenmesi gibi işlerde kız çocuklarının daha aktif rol alması ailenin beklentilerindedir. Öte yandan, daha çok bağımsız benlik kurgusuna sahip çocuklar, ailelerine daha az fiziksel bakım verdiklerini açıklamışlardır. Beklendiği üzere kendini bağımsız olarak tanımlayan çocukların, kendilerini aile üyeleriyle daha az ilişkili hissetmeleri ve buna bağlı olarak ebeveynleşme davranışlarını daha az sergilemeleri beklenen bir sonuçtur.

Çalışmada özellikle çocuk tarafından algılanan ebeveynin duygusal ve fiziksel bakım davranışı ve çocuğun kendi pratik ve duygusal bakım davranışı incelenmiştir. Bunlara ek olarak, bu çalışmada ebeveynleşme davranışı ile bağlantılı olabilecek iki yeni kodlama şeması geliştirilmiştir. Bunlar çocuğun otonomi davranışları ve ailece yapılan toplu aktiviteler olarak kodlanmıştır. Diğer kodlama şemaları için test edilen model, bu iki kodlama içinde ayrı ayrı test edilmiştir. Bunlara göre çocuğun otonomi davranışlarını annenin kaçınma davranışı ve çocuğun karşılıklı birbirine bağlı benlik kurgusu pozitif olarak yordamıştır. Annenin kaçınma davranışı çocuğun daha otonomi sahibi olmasını yordamışsa bile çocuğun gerçek bir özgünleşme yaşaması için bu tek başına yeterli değildir. Dengeli Bütünleşme ve Ayrışma modeline göre kişi bir yandan kendileşebilirken, diğer bir yandan diğer kişilerle ilişkili olabilmelidir (Imamoglu, 2003). Bu bağlamda, annenin kaçınma davranışı çocuğun otonomi davranışları açısından olumlu gibi görünse de tam bir özgünlük için yeterli değildir.

Ailece yapılan toplu aktiviteler için model analiz edildiğinde, sadece çocuğun cinsiyeti anlamlı olarak ailece yapılan toplu aktiviteleri yordayabilmiştir. Buna göre,

kızlar erkeklere göre daha fazla ailece yapılan toplu aktivitelerde bulduklarını açıklamışlardır. Bu durum yine kız çocuklarının erkeklere kıyasla daha çok ilişkisel olmaları durumuyla açıklanabilir (Bowlby, 1973).

Sonuç olarak, bu çalışmada ebeveynleşme davranışını sosyokültürel bağlamda inceleyen ender çalışmalardan biridir. Ayrıca, bizim bildiğimiz kadarıyla, annenin ebeveynleşme davranışları tecrübeleri ve annenin yetişkin bağlanmasını, ve çocuğun ebeveynleşme davranışları arasındaki direk ilişkiyi inceleyen ilk çalışmadır. Ayrıca, kültür içi farklılıkları incelerken özellikle düşük ve yüksek SES karşılaştırması yapan ilk çalışmalardandır. Bu özellikleri nedeniyle, çalışma genel olarak açılımlayıcı tarafı ağır basan bir çalışmadır. Çalışma hem dünyadaki ebeveynleşme literatürüne hem de Türk literatürüne önemli katkılarda bulunmuştur. Ayrıca bundan sonraki araştırmalar içinde bir temel olmuştur. Gelecek çalışmalarda, çocuklarla birebir görüşme tekniği kullanılarak, çocukların ebeveynleşme davranışlarına yönelik daha kapsamlı bilgiler alınabilir. Ayrıca, gelecek çalışmalarda, daha geniş bir örneklem kullanarak ve annelere anketleri birebir uygulayarak, daha çok katılım oranı sağlanabilir.

## Appendix J: Tez Fotokopisi İzin Formu

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü

Enformatik Enstitüsü

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Karagöbek

Adı : Ayşe Büşra

Bölümü: Gelişim Psikolojisi

**TEZİN ADI** : THE EFFECT OF MATERNAL PARENTIFICATION HISTORY, MATERNAL ATTACHMENT STYLES, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS AND CHILDREN'S SELF-CONSTRUALS ON PARENTIFICATION ROLES AND PERCEIVED PARENTAL CAREGIVING

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans

Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**