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FAMILY VALUES TRANSMISSION IN A CHANGING TURKEY

A Dissertation Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of Applied Psychology
Antioch University New England

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy in Marriage and Family Therapy

By
Yudum Akyıl, MA

May, 2012

Keene, New Hampshire
Department of Applied Psychology

June 13th, 2012

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION BY
Yudum Akyıl
ENTITLED
FAMILY VALUES TRANSMISSION IN A CHANGING TURKEY

BE ACCEPTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PSYCHOLOGY

Anne Prouty, PhD
Dissertation Co-Chair

Amy Blanchard, PhD
Dissertation Co-Chair

Dissertation Committee Members

Kevin Lyness, PhD

Accepted: _____

Katherine Clarke, PhD

Department of Applied Psychology

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather Bedrettin Öztemir who passed away when I just started my doctoral studies. He was a great man with a big heart. He gave me and all his children an enthusiasm for learning and self-fulfillment. He transmitted a culture through songs, poems, sayings, and stories. He taught us the virtue of love, truth, respect, hard work and honor. I know he would be proud of me for finishing the first part of this journey about the values that make us special beings.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I first would like to thank my dissertation co-chairs and mentors, Dr. Anne Prouty and Dr. Amy Blanchard. They have guided me from the beginning of my doctoral studies to the end of this dissertation. I also want to thank my dissertation committee, Dr. Kevin Lyness. They have all been excellent role models for me as teachers, supervisors, and researchers. They were very encouraging along the way that kept me going even in tough times.

I would like to acknowledge my professor Dr Güler Fişek, who helped me to clarify my dissertation topic by sharing her experience and insight about Turkish families. I also want to thank my co-investigator, Anıl Özge Üstünel for her contributions and my colleague Binh Pham who gave me support along the way.

I want to thank my parents who gave me an unconditional love and the belief that I can accomplish something if I really want to. I am deeply grateful for my husband and two sons, Yiğit Can and Derin, who survived this long journey standing by me and giving me support. Their presence kept me focused and motivated to get to the finish line.

Lastly, I want to thank all the parents who participated in the study and shared their experiences with me.

ABSTRACT

Yudum Akyıl. Family Values Transmission in a Changing Turkey (Directed by Amy E. Blanchard, PhD and Anne Prouty, PhD). Department of Applied Psychology, Spring 2012.

This dissertation consists of two articles. The first article presented is a literature review written to identify and review studies of intergenerational value transmission and social change. The main outcomes fell into five subsections (a) culture and values (b) social change and values, (c) continuing and changing values in Turkey, (d) parent-adolescent relationship adaptation to social change, and (e) implication for clinicians working with changing families. Overall, the literature review illustrated the complexity of value transmission process for families in rapidly changing societies and the need for more understanding of those families' experiences for the clinicians. The second article extends current literature and is the first known qualitative study conducted with Turkish parents of adolescents on their experiences of intergenerational value transmission. Parents were interviewed together and data were analyzed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis which revealed six themes: (a) family connectedness, (b) transfer strategies, (c) transformations, (d) a changing world, (e) reflecting on parenting, and (f) between the parents. Findings are discussed in relation to existing literature and the implications for clinicians and researchers. The electronic version of this Dissertation is at Ohiolink ETD Center, www.ohiolink.edu/etd.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Intergenerational value transmission (IVT) is the process of one generation, either intentionally or unintentionally, influencing the values and behaviors of the next generation (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992). Although previous theories described IVT as a linear socialization process from the parents to their children, recent research supports that it is a reciprocal process that is highly influenced by the context in which it takes place. Therefore, parents and children encounter different value systems in their ecosystems and negotiate which values to maintain and which values to let go.

This negotiation becomes a greater challenge for rapidly changing societies since westernization through peers, school, and media increases the value discrepancy between the parents and their adolescent children. While the parents tend to stay loyal to family and cultural traditions, the youth who are exposed to Western values adopt a more individualistic, independent and democratic value system. Turkey is an example of a rapidly changing society with a heterogeneous population in terms of SES, education, religious practices and political views. Istanbul, the biggest city in Turkey and having land in Europe and Asia, is the meeting place for eastern and western values. This composition makes Istanbul one of the places that a higher generation gap of values is expected.

This project seeks to bring light into the complexity of the intergenerational value transmission process in rapidly changing societies and how the parents experience this process with their adolescent children. The first article provided in the dissertation is a literature review, which had the primary aim to review the recent literature and address the complexity of the interactions among intergenerational value transmission, culture, social change, and parent-adolescent relationships. The review also underlines the need for a better understanding of these complex processes from the perspectives of families.

The second article extends current literature and the main purpose was to describe the experiences of Turkish parents in transmitting values with their adolescent children. The research questions were: (a) What are the experiences of Turkish, upper-middle class parents transmitting their values to their adolescent children? (b) How do these parents view the values of their children's generation? (c) What are the experiences of those parents negotiating different values with their children?

Chapter Two: Manuscript One

Family Values Transmission in a Changing Turkey

YudumAkyl

Amy Blanchard

Antioch University New England

Anne Prouty

Texas Tech University

Kevin Lyness

Antioch University New England

Abstract

Intergenerational value transmission, the process of one generation influencing the values of the next generation, affects parent-child relationships and necessitates constant negotiation in families. Values internalized by the parents in their families of origin and the zeitgeist (culture as it changes with time) when they were growing up are quite different from the values that their children and the current zeitgeist hold. Generational differences are greater in developing countries going through rapid social change. Using modern western Turkey as an example for such a culture, the authors examine change, continuity, and adaptation in families where the parents hold more collectivistic values than their adolescent children. Special consideration is given to the generational and cultural differences in the autonomy and relatedness dimensions. The review concludes with implications for clinicians.

Keywords: Intergenerational value transmission, family values, social change, adolescence, parenting, culture, family therapy, and Turkish families

Family Values Transmission in a Changing Turkey

Intergenerational value transmission is the process of one generation, either intentionally or unintentionally, influencing the values and behaviors of the next generation (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992). It enables cultural continuity and promotes a balance for the society (Boyd & Richerson, 1985). Families are in constant interaction with different values in their environments and negotiate which values to maintain and which values to let go. This negotiation becomes a greater challenge when parents and their adolescent children have conflicting values due to socialization through peers, school and media.

Rokeach (1973) defined the concept of value as “an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence” (p. 5). However, it seems very hard to describe values as ‘enduring’ in cultures that go through rapid social change. These cultures provide a great opportunity to explore the processes of intergenerational value transmission since the transmission is more rapid and intense than continuous cultures where the transmission is slow and diffuse (Boyd & Richerson, 1985). This intensity has been compared to the immigrant families where parents feel the urge to constrain their children’s acculturation and put in extra effort to transmit their values. Turkey, located at the cross-roads of Europe and Asia, in a region which has been a mosaic of ethnically and culturally distinct groups, is a great example of rapidly developing country with wide urban-rural differences, and where a mixture of traditional and modern lifestyles and value orientations coexist (Sümer, 1998).

The purpose of this literature review is to explore the effects of culture, social change and adolescence on intergenerational value transmission in rapidly changing collectivistic cultures to expand the understanding of clinicians working with those families. The review begins with a general examination of how social change influences the values prioritized in a

culture. Then, focusing on the Turkish families, value changes and continuities in the face of social change are explored and their implications on parent-child relationships are discussed. Special consideration is given to the generational and cultural differences in the autonomy and relatedness dimensions. The review concludes with suggestions for clinicians who work with families.

Culture and Values

The values shared by any culture provide a framework that shapes parental behaviors and interactions with children and the resulting developmental outcomes (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Super & Harkness, 1997). Two fundamental values that have been shown to differentiate European American culture from most non-Western cultures are individualism and collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). These values are found to be useful in explaining observed differences in behavior, self, values, and thinking and relating to others, as well as how parents socialize their children (Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). However, we should consider that these characteristics are not mutually exclusive and can co-exist for people in different times and situations (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).

Collectivistic cultures, such as traditional Turkish culture, share some common characteristics affecting parent-child relationships and other dynamics in families. Familialism is one of the most salient features of collectivist cultures and is related to strong identification and attachment with nuclear and extended family as well as the feelings of loyalty, reciprocity and solidarity (Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Lisansky, & Chang, 1982). Collectivistic individuals have an interdependent self with fluid boundaries rather than an independent self with clear boundaries, a relational conceptualization of self (individuals are not known by their names but instead in terms of whose sons they are), and a cooperative rather than a competitive orientation (Eliram & Schwarzwald, 1987). Moreover, people in collectivistic cultures value social responsibilities and moral issues more than they value

personal choice (Miller, Bersoff, & Harwood, 1990). Modesty (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007), socially engaged emotions (e.g., guilt and shame) rather than socially disengaged emotions (e.g., pride and anger) (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) are among other characteristics of collectivistic individuals.

Both ends of the individualism-collectivism continuum have been criticized by different authors in the fields of psychology and family therapy (e.g., Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Erikson, 1959; Sampson, 1988; Wood, 1985). While extreme collectivism has been criticized for discouraging differentiation and thus impeding optimal human development (Erikson, 1959), the individualistic tradition in mainstream psychology has been criticized for neglecting or underappreciating the importance of relatedness and emphasizing a self-contained individualism (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Sampson, 1988). Wood (1985) also noted that many family clinicians interpreted extreme family connection as dysfunctional. However, many pioneering family therapists emphasized the need for balance between togetherness and separateness for optimal family functioning. For example, Bowen (1974) defined differentiation as the person's capacity for autonomous functioning. In his theory, a well-adjusted person was able to differentiate, separate her or his feelings from others' feelings, and becomes fully aware of his or her own individuality while maintaining close relationships with others. Minuchin (1974) used the term enmeshment to denote negative dependency, an absence of sufficient interpersonal and psychological boundaries and thus a diminished individual autonomy. On the other end of the continuum, he identified disengagement where the family members have rigid boundaries and lack the proximity required for their healthy functioning. Finally, Olson, Russell, and Sprenkle (1989) developed the Circumplex Model in which they identified families that are in the mid-range of proximity and distance continuum, as cohesive families. As Minuchin, Olson defined the two ends of this continuum as dysfunctional.

Social Change and Values

As with any other social phenomenon, we cannot separate values from the effects of time. Values are not stable entities immune to social, economic or political atmospheres in a given culture and within a given time. Social evolution, which often stems from historical and economic changes (Elder, 1994), affects the generational climate in a society. Biblarz, Bengston, and Bucur (1996) have identified four important social changes in the United States over the 20th century: increasing availability of non-manual jobs, a shift in childrearing values from obedience to autonomy, the growth of alternate family structures, and changing gender roles. In the 1960s and 1970s more women from across the social strata began to work full-time outside the home in the U.S. (Amato & Booth, 1997). Stearns (2003) has argued that these parents, who spent more time working and, therefore, less time with their children, have felt obligated to make their time spent with their children as enjoyable as possible, put less effort into being strict, and preferred to talk and reason with their children in an effort to shape their children's behavior. The rise of high density, large cities that were formed in many contemporary industrial and post-industrial societies has resulted in increased anonymity and the loss of community cohesion within these large cities, and subsequently there has been a trend toward a reduction in social pressure toward compliance (Berry, 1994). Moreover, there has been a growing emphasis on personal conviction rather than objective truth and morality with the rise of postmodernism (Verhaagen, 2005). These social changes, together with the major historical events in the 20th century, seem to have had an effect on the rise of individualistic values in many parts of the world.

Historical examinations in the United States have revealed some categories for generations that hold common values and attitudes (Verhaagen, 2005). Babyboomers, born in the 1940s and 1950s, were fighting for individual freedom and rights. Their children, the Generation X, born in the 1960s and 70s, grew up in an adult-focused era and were called

latchkey kids since they often spent after school hours alone. When Millennials arrived between 1983 and 2000, their parents realized they had to reverse this pattern and Millennials became the repair generation, the most child-focused generation in history. Millennials have been given special attention, guidance and nurturance by their parents. They are family oriented, technologically advanced, achievement focused and optimistic people. However, because of technology, they were introduced to the adult world at very early ages. Although the political and social events around the world differ and the timing of each generation category does not exactly overlap, a similar generational trend can be observed in non-United States cultures.

The effects of generational climate play a very important role in intergenerational value transmission and we cannot attribute parent-child similarities to socialization effects only. Even in the absence of significant transmission from parent to child, some values are maintained across generations (Nauck, 1989). Parents and children may have similar value orientations because, as a family, they share a common socio-cultural environment and common status attainment (Bengston, 1975; Glass, Bengston & Dunham, 1986).

Different theories help researchers and clinicians to understand how social change affects individuals, families, and societies. Modernization theory suggests that whatever is different from the Western prototypical pattern will be modified in time to resemble it (Dawson, 1967). According to this theory, developing countries are in transition toward the Western pattern. This change toward individualistic values is mostly seen in immigrant families. For example, one study found that the values of Chinese immigrant families in the United States, were influenced by acculturation to Western values, placing less emphasis on traditional values (e.g., the importance of rites and rituals, non-competitiveness, cultural superiority, tradition, disinterest and purity, and repaying favors) and the family of origin as the residential unit (Feldman, Mont-Reynaud, & Rosenthal, 1992).

However, there are also critiques of modernization theory that have given both historical and current evidence for continuity of important patterns of interpersonal relations, despite social change. For example, it has been found that collectivistic values can be transmitted more easily because they serve group maintenance (Schönpflug, 2001). Keefe (1980) found extended family patterns in Mexican Americans remained as important as for prior generations; in fact, the extended family was strengthened and became larger as contact with host culture increased.

Beyond the discussions regarding which values survive social change, we now know that with globalization and technology, cultures gravitate towards each other and show more of a resemblance than a contrast. For example, parents from cultures with dominantly individualistic orientation hold some socialization values typical of collectivistic orientation, and vice versa (Wang & Phinney, 1998). According to Arnett (2002), a hybrid identity is developed as a result of globalization in which part of one's identity is rooted in the local culture (which is also affected by globalization) while another part is connected to the global world. While media maintains the sense of belonging to the global culture, daily interactions with family, friends and community connects to the local culture. For example, educated youth in India are both integrated into the global technological world, while maintaining traditional Indian values and practices such as arranged marriages and caring for parents in their old age (Verma & Saraswathi, 2002).

Changing and Continuing Values in Turkey

Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic in the early 1920s, industrialization, urbanization, increased educational opportunity and increased employment for women have been leading to significant transformations in the culture (Fişek & Kağıtçıbaşı, 1999). These social changes and expanding norms have affected attitudes of many parents. For example, Aliçlı-Mottram and Hortacsu (2005) found that Turkish mothers born in the 1930s, in an era

of material scarcity, and their daughters born in the 1950s, who grew up at a time of relative material abundance, differed in their parenting styles and attributed their differences to the changing times.

Modernization is observed only in certain domains of Turkish family relationships (see Table 1). Overall, Turkish culture shows a trend of change towards individual autonomy (İmamoğlu, 1987), self-respect--especially for woman, and independence for adults and for children (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). On the other hand, the importance of minding parents (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996), the distinction between male and female roles, and economic interdependence between parents and children has declined. In terms of parenting, authoritarian control was replaced by use of rewards, reasoning and encouragement of positive emotional expression (Sunar, 2002).

Despite these changes, there are some core values that have remained stable across time: Children still value being loyal to their families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996), and parents value good manners (Esmer, 2008), hard work, responsibility and love. Especially in more educated and higher socioeconomic (SES) Turkish families, while the control-based age and gender hierarchy has been weakening, nurturant hierarchy involving protectiveness and close monitoring has continued (Fişek, 2002; Akyıl, Prouty, Blanchard & Lyness, 2012). Therefore, authority is still used but it is more of a nurturant authority rather than a controlling authority.

Kağıtçıbaşı (2007) explains this non-uniform adjustment in her theory of family change. She describes a model of psychological interdependence where individual and family loyalties coexist and an autonomous-related self can develop. Autonomy and relatedness were once thought to be competing values at the two ends of one continuum, but they are now regarded as two points in two distinct continuums (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). Within this new model, autonomy does not imply separateness (Nauck & Kohlman, 1999; Phalet &

Schönpflug, 2001) and, therefore, it is not a threat to family solidarity. Although intergenerational proximity in Turkish families may imply enmeshment from a Western perspective, the individual differentiates from his or her family by fitting a particular role in the hierarchical system (Fisek, 1991). Kağıtçıbaşı (1985) used the term "close-knit" to describe this cultural pattern in Turkish families.

The rise of autonomy within collectivistic societies, such as Turkey, is explained partly by parents' need to prepare their children to adapt to the demands of today's world (Youniss, 1994). Now, with the rise of industrialization and capitalism, autonomy, assertiveness and self-orientation have become more functional values. However, the previous generation had sought compliance because they had been rearing children in an era of political turmoil and the children needed to be close to their families. As Kağıtçıbaşı's (1982) Value of Children studies revealed, with time, the psychological value of children has replaced their economic value and children's responsibility for their parents is more infrequently dependent upon economic ties and authoritarian control.

Social changes affect different sectors of society at different levels. Socio-economic status and education have been found to be significant correlating factors with child rearing values. People in lower classes tend to value conformity, whereas middle-class parents tend to value self-determination (Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986) and autonomy (Elder, 1994). Campbell and Gilmore (2007) found that education level was positively correlated with a more democratic, authoritative parenting style. These parents allowed more autonomy and expected less obedience in their children. Similarly Konrad (1999) found that Turkish families of higher SES have started to question some of the Turkish traditions including honor, obedience and sensitivity to others' needs. Instead, they have adopted values that are characteristics of western cultures such as independence, self-reliance, achievement (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996), autonomy, individuation and differentiation (İmamoğlu, 1981). Lower

SES adolescents in Turkey reported more relatedness with parents than upper SES adolescents (Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygun, 2006) and rural adolescents perceived themselves as having closer ties with their caretakers than their urban counterparts (Tamar, 2006).

Considering the overall literature in terms of values and their transmission in families, it can be concluded that it is a highly complex and multi-layered phenomenon that shows significant diversity based on context. Nevertheless, as Goodnow (1997) suggested, despite judging whether the similarities and differences across these dimensions are positive or negative, it is important to understand how family members experience those similarities and differences in terms of their relationships.

Parent-Adolescent Relationship Adaptation to Social Change

Value transmission becomes a more critical issue for families with adolescent children since the adolescents start turning to peers and media for values, which sometimes threatens the family's function as a support system (Preto, 1999). With the search for identity and the increasing influence of outside forces, many adolescents start to have less traditional values than their parents (Acock & Bengston, 1980; Feather, 1980), which may also create a generation gap between the two. While this transformation is occurring, the parents have to deal with their own changing needs by entering midlife and the needs of their parents entering old age (Preto, 1999).

Adolescence is a period of transition from childhood to adulthood, in which the person experiences mixed ideas and feelings about how to fit in the society, which eventually leads to an identity crisis (Erikson, 1959). Eventually, most adolescents achieve a sense of identity regarding who they are and where their lives are headed. Although recent research does not describe adolescence as a period of crisis, they mostly describe it as a period of transition that changes the parent-child relationship and even the family structure (Arnett, 1999; Preto, 1999;

Youniss & Smoller, 1985). In this period, there is a shift in the parent-child dynamics from unilateral authority to mutuality (McGue, Elkins, Walden, & Iacono, 2005). Parents interact with children and early adolescents in a rule-based and authoritative manner and the children--up to early adolescence--share parental values. However, value agreement is less characteristic of families with middle and late adolescents.

Looking closer at what happens in families to affect the transmission process, we see two important factors. One is the parenting strategies used and the other is the overall structure of the family. Various researchers have confirmed the positive influence of the quality of the dyadic relationship for parent-to-child value transmission (e.g., Schönplflug, 2001; Taris & Semin, 1997). First, when parents expressed values in a clear, frequent, and consistent manner, a higher degree of parent-to-child value transmission took place (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003). Second, warmth in the parent-child relationship made children eager to be similar to or please the parent and, therefore, was an essential aspect for successful value transmission (Grusec, Goodnow, & Kuczynski, 2000). In their study with Turkish upper-middle class parents, Akyl, and colleagues (2012) found that parents were very well aware that they needed to maintain a close relationship with their adolescent children in order to transmit their values.

Parents use different strategies to promote the transmission of their values to their children, and to minimize the acquisition of the values from the outside world that they found damaging or ineffective. Cocooning, pre-arming, compromise and deference were the four strategies used by parents who are exposed to different values from the environment (Goodnow, 1997). Cocooning is shielding children from the influences of the larger society by restricting their access to alternative values or their ability to engage in behavior that conflicts with parental values. Goodnow proposed two ways of cocooning: Reasoned cocooning which is explaining the reasons behind the values and controlled cocooning which

is forcefully direct the child to obey the parents' ways. There appears to be a third strategy that parents may be using especially in more democratic families with low hierarchy and high proximity (Akyıl et al., 2012). That is *emotional cocooning* in which the parents create an atmosphere where the children enjoy being with their parents and experience their values positively and thereby are shielded from opposing values.

The structure of the family also contributes to the transmission of values in families. White (1996) suggested that family adaptability and cohesion play a role in value transmission. Adolescents who perceived their families as high on adaptability and cohesion reported being more influenced by their families than adolescents who perceived their family's adaptability and cohesion to be lower. Moreover, families need to be flexible with more permeable boundaries in order to accommodate to the adolescent's changing values and life choices (McGoldrick, Pearce, & Giordano, 1982). Adolescent stage family members must transform their views of themselves, reconstruct family ideologies and open-up space for the new generation to evolve while maintaining appropriate boundaries and structure (Kreppner, 2001). When the value discrepancy is high between parents and adolescents, and the family does not have the structure and supports to accommodate to the emergent changes, conflict arises.

Parents and children who can integrate traditional features, such as control with concern for the family, into the modern ways do physically and psychologically better (Fişek, 2000). In low SES, high proximity families, weak hierarchy leads to behavioral problems in children (Fişek, 1991). A moderate level of hierarchy has been indicated as helpful for children's wellbeing. This balance is also important in high SES families where the integration of traditional and modern ways is not always very easy and parents experience a dilemma regarding which traditional values they want to hold on to and which new values they want to welcome (Akyıl et al., 2012). Sometimes, parents' needs to negotiate autonomy,

connection, nurturance and control may result in family conflict (Fişek & Scherler, 1996; Fişek & Schepker, 1997).

Modern Turkish parents want to have democratic families with less hierarchic authority while maintaining proximity and interconnectedness (Fisek, 1995; Akyıl et al., 2012). This newly emerging structure necessitates a transformation of the traditional family structure. Currently children's needs and wants are prioritized and the parents put forth effort to stay connected. They feel the need to explain themselves to their children, justify their expectations, and convince the child to act in a certain way. Therefore, they need to educate themselves to become better parents and to find creative and non-intrusive ways (such as text-messaging) to stay close with them (Akyıl et al., 2012). Instead of having the last word as their parents did, they negotiate to find the middle ground and satisfy with partial compliance to balance relationship with autonomy (Hastings & Grusec, 1998).

However, these modern families sometimes struggle with keeping the hierarchy-proximity balance. The weakened hierarchy together with continuing proximity may create heightened emotionality and expectations, leading to a need for negotiation of boundaries (Fişek, 2003). The parents, who were reared in a hierarchical system, may not have the negotiation skills to deal with their children's autonomy. The outcome can be psychological symptoms for the family members and family conflict, which may even end up with divorce (Fişek & Scherler, 1996). Despite the negative effects of rapid social change on modern families, these educated and affluent parents have more access to resources that might help them with resolving family conflicts: Internet, books, and counseling services.

Researchers showed that stress at the time of adolescence is reduced in those societies that manage to maintain, despite social change, a strong cultural identity and at least part of their value system, such as family solidarity (Dasen, 2000). However, experiencing polarizations between Islam and secularism, liberal Turkish parents may feel the urge to

protest against radical Islam and conservatism, and identify with Western values such as individualism and competitiveness. Parents who want to rear their children in a modern way may feel the need to sacrifice their families' and culture's capital which are frequently associated with Islam.

Sometimes, parents are not ready for a change in their values in rearing their children and the change is more of a reactive, imposed and superficial one that does not fit well with their world-views. Therefore, the change is a first-order change (Watzlawick, Weakland, & Fisch, 1974) which involves the change in particular parenting behaviors, but not in the structure of parent-child relationships that would be a second-order change. The change that is not totally integrated in the parents' schemas may not involve the change in the meaning of what they make out of what they hold as important for their children. Parents are in a double-bind in which they get conflicting messages from their environment about what is best for their children. As Verhaagen (2005) suggested, most worries of parents come from too much information and too many options regarding what is best for their children.

Going through such a rapid transition, these parents may not have time to take a step back and ask themselves the meaning of all the incoming information and whether it fits with their worldview. This lack of sense of agency, particularly when faced with obstacles, may threaten their parental self-efficacy and they may get Westernized too quickly, or resist through a conservative homeostatic process involving negative feedback (Hoffman, 1981), which may result in stress and conflict within their relationships with their adolescent children.

Another difficulty may be related to cultural differences between the parents and children. As we know, people's cultural orientation predicts their behavior (Brew & Cairns, 2004). Individualistic cultures prefer direct, explicit communication strategies in managing relationships, whereas collectivistic cultures generally prefer indirect, more contextual

communication strategies. Gudykunst (1991) found that individualistic cultures emphasized the content in communication and paid attention to the specific language used. On the other hand, collectivistic cultures emphasized the context or how something was said and also paid attention to nonverbal cues. If we consider parents and adolescent children at different points along individualism and collectivism spectrum, we may see a similar trend. Parents who come from a collectivistic culture and who prefer to communicate indirectly with their adolescent children may experience challenges since the adolescent would expect a more direct communication. For example, Turkish mothers who do not have a repertoire to verbally handle conflict, may revert to nonverbal messages and covert strategies to resolve conflicts with their children. Since their parents' hierarchical strategies such as shaming or scolding are no longer accepted, they may use strategies such as distancing themselves or evoking guilt in the adolescent. However, the adolescent may not get these messages since he or she is socialized in school and through the media to assert his or her needs and argue to get his or her point across.

In this literature review, we attempted to bring together research on intergenerational value transmission, culture, social change and adolescence. We mainly focused on a group and area in the world (Turkey), and a stage in human development (adolescence) that is subject to an intense change. This interaction is expected to highlight value discrepancies between parents and their children which often lead to parent-child conflict. However, there is a dearth of studies looking at value discrepancies in families with adolescents in rapidly changing societies. The effect of parent-child value discrepancy on family conflict has been mostly studied in immigrant populations in various countries. Researchers, focusing on the acculturation gaps between generations have found that an acculturation gap has a significant effect on perceived levels of intergenerational conflicts (Lee, Choe, Kim, & Ngo, 2000; Montalvo & Guterrez, 1990). These researchers found that adult immigrants who had been

socialized in their native country acculturated to the majority culture of their new country at a much slower rate than did their children, who were developmentally more susceptible to environmental influences and had more opportunities to socialize in the host culture through school and peers (Sluzki, 1979). Over time, researchers found that this intergenerational discrepancy in acculturation widened and led to intergenerational and intercultural conflict, which resulted in psychological distress for both parents and children (Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000).

Despite the lack of research about value discrepancy in non-immigrant parent-child dyads, similar consequences of family conflict can be expected. In fact, the gap in immigrant families is found to be similar and even less than non-immigrant families in a study that compared Polish immigrant families in Canada with Polish and Canadian non-immigrant families (Kwast-Welfel, Boski, & Rovers, 2004). Arnett (2002) described the challenges of non-immigrants in adapting to the rapid social change as:

For some people, adapting to the rapid changes taking place in their cultures is more difficult. The images, values, and opportunities they perceive as being part of the global culture undermine their belief in the value of local cultural practices. At the same time, the ways of the global culture seem out of reach to them, too foreign to everything they know from their direct experience. Rather than becoming bicultural, they may experience themselves as excluded from both their local culture and the global culture, truly belonging to neither (p. 778).

After reviewing a number of studies, Dasen (2000) reported stress increased with rapid social change. For these societies, it may have been hard for the parents to catch up with their children who were more rapidly acculturating to new social environments. It is possible to think about parents' efforts to balance new generations' values and the values they received from their own parents as an acculturation process (Berry, 1997). Some parents succeed in

integrating their own values with their children's. However, some parents may be *assimilating* by welcoming all the new ways of living and by ignoring their own parents' teachings; others might be *separating* by totally rejecting the new generations' belief system and insisting that their offspring must stay true to the 'right way' of living; and some may be *marginalizing* by rejecting both cultures. Berry (1997) has suggested that people who integrate the two cultures show better psychological adaptation than those who use the other three strategies.

Implications for Clinicians Working with Families from Collectivistic Cultures

The review shows that intergenerational value transmission is a highly complex phenomenon that affects the family relationships and the therapists need to understand the broader context in which it takes place. Values being transmitted in families must not only be examined within the culture but also the culture at a specific time. The culture of the parents may be very different than their children's culture and may create challenges for the whole family. These challenges may also differ among social groups in one country. Therefore, the therapists must be sensitive to the 'cultures' in one family, considering not only the ethnic orientation but also the social strata, generation, age, and gender. This requires "attention, awareness, and curiosity" (Falicov, 1995, p.385).

The dilemmas regarding what values to transfer to or what values to receive from the next generation may create confusion and a sense of powerlessness for the parents, which may escalate intergenerational or even parental conflict. On the other hand, these dilemmas have the potential to create a constructive tension that may result in a new synthesis (Fişek, 2002). Marriage and family therapists have a crucial role in assisting people in more successfully negotiating the social change (Aponte, 1985).

When working with families from developing countries, the therapists must be aware of rapid social changes that affect parent-child value transmission. Most of these families in

transition try to balance traditional ways of interconnectedness with allowing the autonomy perceived as necessary to survive in today's world. Rather than promoting one or the other, therapists must contain both needs. Nevertheless, the balance of autonomy and relatedness is found to be associated with the wellbeing of Turkish adolescents (Aydın & Öztütüncü, 2001) and overstressing separation may harm a healthy family relationship especially when working with families in cultures of relatedness (Fişek & Kağıtçıbaşı, 1999). Warmth is actually necessary for successful transmission of values in families (Grusec, Goodnow, & Kuczynski, 2000), however, therapists must be aware of possible differences in defining warmth. Although authoritarian parenting can be seen as lack of warmth for American teens, it is not true for their Turkish counterparts (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1970).

Sometimes parents who come to therapy are concerned with the “problems” they see with their adolescent children. Some of these problems are value differences not just because the age difference between the parents and children but also because of generational differences. Reframing the problem as a generation gap may lead to a systemic understanding of the issue and open up space for discussing contextual factors affecting value orientations. This would shift the parents' focus from evaluating their success in socializing their children in a certain way to a sense of integration of old and new values leading to the optimal adjustment for the whole family. As noted in the acculturation literature (Berry, 1997), integration to original (parents') and the host (children's) cultures will lead to better psychological outcomes.

Although clear, frequent, and consistent expression of values leads to a higher degree of parent-to-child value transmission (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003) some values are not directly communicated in families. Parents expect their children to act in a certain way but when they are asked, they do not know why and they say "I was doing it, so why don't you?" (Akyl et al., 2012). When they reflect on their intentions, they sometimes

realize that they do not really value what they expect from their children, and are parenting via an automatic process learned from their own parents. Therapy can be a venue by which to initiate those conversations so that parents link their behaviors with their values: “By understanding their hopes and purposes, parents can move on to identify how these purposes reflect what is important to them” (White, 2007, p.103). Thus, when parents talk about problems with their adolescent children, they may point out how their problems could relate to a loss of a treasured family or cultural value. This awareness gives them personal agency and intentionality that helps parents to make value-based decisions. Thereby, parents become more flexible and may accept their children's alternative ways because they do conflict with their family values. For example, in Akyl and her colleagues’ qualitative study (2012), one parent talked about how they could never make their son call their grandparents for holidays, but he was happy that he called them to watch a soccer game together.

Although direct communication can be enhanced with the help of therapists, they must also be cognizant of alternative ways of value transmission that are more congruent with collectivistic cultures. Since indirect communication is still preferred for certain sectors in the culture, parents may use strategies such as maintaining rituals and therefore emotionally cocooning (Akyl et al., 2012) their children from the effects of external forces or social change.

It is also very important to discuss with the clients that changing behaviors and ways of living does not always mean losing traditional values. In fact, despite significant changes, there are some core values that remain stable across time. For example, children still value being loyal to their families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996). However, the ways this loyalty is expressed may be quite different. Researchers have found that behavioral familism, more than attitudinal familism, is more likely to change with acculturation (Marin, 1992). In other words, although people become more individualistic in their behaviors, their attitudes towards

the familial values resist this change. This may relieve the parents who are concerned with their children's lack of manners if they know that they may still have internalized the value of respect.

Parent relationship must also be an area of focus in working with families going through social change. Therapy can provide an opportunity for parents to discuss the similarities and differences between their values, their motives behind value transmission, and the ways they use in this process. Gender roles in the parental unit have a great influence in how the values are transmitted in families. With the modernization of the family, values have become more open to negotiation within couples. Couples with higher SES may try to achieve some kind of balance in value transmission and adopt each other's values that they determine to be important (Akyıl et al., 2012). However, the conflicting role expectancies may create a difficulty within this negotiation. Although today's Turkish women are employed more than in previous generations, their primary responsibilities are still home and children (Ergüder, Kalaycıoğlu, & Esmer, 1991).

In summary, therapists working with families from developing countries with collectivistic orientations, such as Turkey, must be aware of the changing values and their effects on family functioning. They need to keep up with research on intergenerational transmission of values in rapidly changing cultures since they transform as the culture, families and individuals evolve.

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Table 1

Summary of Findings of Value Changes with Time in the Turkish Culture

Increasing Values	Decreasing Values	Stable Values
Self-respect especially for women	Importance of minding parents	Significance of family relatedness
Individual autonomy	Parent authoritarian control	Good manners
Independence for self and children	Distinction of gender roles	Hard work
Psychological Value of Children	Economic interdependence between parents and children	Responsibility
Education	Honesty especially for women	Loving
Encouragement of emotional expression	Equality	Discouragement of expression of negative emotions
Use of rewards and reasoning	Helpfulness	

Chapter Three: Manuscript Two

**Parents' Experiences of Intergenerational Value Transmission in Turkey's Changing
Society: An Interpretative Phenomenological Study**

Yudum Akyl, Ph.D.

Antioch University New England

Anne Prouty, Ph.D.

Texas Tech University

Amy Blanchard, Ph.D.

Kevin Lyness, Ph.D.

Antioch University New England

Abstract

Intergenerational value transmission is a systemic phenomenon that affects parent-child relationships. However, there is a dearth of information about bidirectional value transmission processes from the perspectives of the parents. Based on an eco-systemic perspective, the researcher aimed to understand the parents' experience of transmission of values with their adolescent children. This process included: what they chose to transmit, how they had tried to transmit, and the ways they negotiated value differences. The researcher conducted semi-structured interviews in Istanbul, Turkey with six upper-middle class parents who had children between the ages of 13 and 19. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis revealed six main themes that described parents' experiences: (a) family connectedness, (b) transfer strategies, (c) transformations, (d) a changing world, (e) reflecting on parenting, and (f) process between the parents. The researcher then discusses the implications for clinicians and researchers.

Key Words: Intergenerational value transmission, social change, parent-adolescent relationship, culture and values, family therapy, parenting values, Turkish families, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Parents' Experiences of Intergenerational Value Transmission in Turkey's Changing Society:

An Interpretative Phenomenological Study

Relationship problems between adolescents and their parents are among the most common reasons that families seek therapy (Preto, 1999). The age-old experience of the generation gap remains at the forefront among these reasons, especially in developing countries where adolescents are rapidly changing and their parents are trying to catch up (Dasen, 2000). The high rate of social change and cultural instability in many of these countries, such as Turkey, is expected to lead the parents to experience a dilemma between holding onto their family of origin values that highlight traditions, collectivism and sometimes Islam, and the needs and expectations of the new generation's values that include Western, individualistic, and liberal values. Cultures that go through rapid social changes provide a great opportunity to explore the processes of intergenerational value transmission since the transmission is also rapid and intense (Boyd & Richerson, 1985).

Parents and children transmit their preferred values to each other and, thus, simultaneously maintain and change the culture in which they live. Intergenerational value transmission, the process of one generation intentionally or unintentionally influencing the values and behaviors of the next generation (Van Ijzendoorn, 1992) is found to be a complex phenomenon affected by many factors. This complex process requires a perspective that considers both psychological and sociological components. Bronfenbrenner's eco-systemic perspective (1979, 1986) fits well with this need.

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological View and the Intergenerational Value Transmission

This perspective organizes the environment into five layers: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem. The five layers of the environment

will be utilized to describe and organize the factors that have been shown to have an effect on the intergenerational value transmission process in families.

The Microsystem

This layer is closest to the child and contains relationships that a child has with her immediate surroundings such as family and school (Berk, 2000). The relationships at this level are bidirectional, where the child is influenced by his or her parents but at the same time has an influence on them (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004). Two important components of the microsystem that influence value transmission are: parenting strategies and the structure of the family. Authoritative parenting and warmth are found to facilitate the transmission process between the parents and the child both by making the child eager to be similar with the parents to please them (Grusec & Lytton, 1988) and by leading the parents to be more open to consider the opinions of the children and be influenced by them (Steinberg, 1999). Adaptability and cohesion in the family (White, 1996) and clear and consistent expression of values were also found to be associated with higher levels of parental influence on adolescents (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

The Mesosystem

This layer defines the relationships between microsystems. For example, a homogeneity of an attitude between the parents leads to more intense transmission of that attitude (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). The interaction between parents and peers or school is another component in this subsystem. As we know, “extrafamilial relationships work in conjunction with parent-adolescent relationship in predicting behavior” (Collins, Gleason, & Sesma, 1997, p.88), and thus, values that are important for both would have a higher chance to be transmitted. Also, the level of discrepancy between parental norms and peer norms create stress for the adolescent (Biddle, Bank, & Martin, 1980).

The Exosystem

These are the settings that the child is not in direct contact with but that still affect the transmission process, such as social class and education of the parents. For example, lower-class people have tended to value conformity, whereas middle-class people have tended to value self-determination (Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986). Similarly, parents with more education have allowed more autonomy and expected less obedience in their children (Campbell & Gilmore, 2007). In Turkey, families with higher socio-economic status more often questioned the Turkish traditions (Konrad, 1999) such as honor, obedience, and sensitivity to others' needs and adopted the values that were characteristics of western cultures such as independence, achievement (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007), autonomy, individuation and differentiation (İmamoğlu, 1987). Moreover, higher class parents emphasized interpersonal closeness (Fişek, 1991) and child focused directives such as rewarding (İmamoğlu, 1987).

The Macrosystem

This is the largest circle in which the other systems are embedded, such as culture. Two fundamental values that differentiate European American culture from most non-Western cultures are individualism and collectivism (Hofstede, 1980) and these are found to explain observed differences in behavior, relating to others, and how parents socialize their children (Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Turkish culture is at the collectivistic end of the continuum where familialism (strong identification and attachment with nuclear and extended family; Triandis, Marin, Betancourt, Lisansky, & Chang, 1982) is valued and an autonomous-related self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996) which is high in both relatedness and autonomy is developed. In this culture, interdependence, fluid boundaries, and cooperation rather than independence, clear boundaries, and competition (Eliram & Schwarzwald, 1987), modesty (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007) and socially engaged emotions such as guilt rather than socially disengaged emotions such as pride (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) are reinforced.

The Chronosystem

Bronfenbrenner (1986) proposed this final system to address how the person is influenced by external (social) and internal (developmental) changes over time in the environment. Social change often stems from historical and economic changes (Elder, 1994) that create the generational climate in a society: also called the *Zeitgeist*. Berry (1994) suggested that the rise of high density, large cities formed in post-industrial societies led to anonymity and the loss of community cohesion, therefore reduced the pressure toward compliance. Moreover, with more women working (Amato & Booth, 1997) and being single (Hulbert, 2003) they had less time with their children, and therefore put less effort into being strict to make the time spent with them as enjoyable as possible (Stearns, 2003) and preferred to talk and reason to shape their children's behavior (Martin, Halverson, Wampler, & Hollett-Wright, 1991). These social changes, together with the major historical events in the 20th century, seemed to have an effect on the rise of individualistic values in Western societies.

The impact of social change on families has been also visible in Turkey, a rapidly developing country with wide urban-rural differences where traditional and modern lifestyles coexist. With increased urbanization, westernization and industrialization (Esmer, 2008; İmamoğlu, 1987), and as the psychological value attached to children replaced their economic value (Value of Children study, Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982; Kağıtçıbaşı & Ataca, 2005), Turkish culture has shown a trend of change towards individual autonomy. Authoritarian control by the parents has been replaced by use of rewards, reasoning, and encouragement of emotional expression, while family relatedness has remained stable across time. Family model of psychological interdependence where there is independence in the material realm together with interdependence in the psychological realm was proposed to explain the pattern emerged with social change (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

Besides external changes, internal changes in time such as the family's developmental stage play a significant role in the value transmission process. Although recent researchers have been opposed to the description of adolescence as a period of crisis, they agreed that it is a transition period which changes the family structure (Preto, 1999). The "unilateral authority" from the parents to the children is replaced by mutuality between them (Youniss & Smoller, 1985, p. 13).

Purpose of Study

Bronfenbrenner's guideline shows that intergenerational value transmission is a highly complex and multi-layered phenomenon that affects family relationships. As family therapists, we need to understand how it affects families in specific contexts and what we can do to help them in negotiating what is transferred and what is left behind. Although this process is highly relevant for family therapy, there is a lack of studies with a systemic perspective that look into intergenerational value transmission.

This study aims to specifically understand how parents experience this transmission process in Istanbul, Turkey, the biggest city in a rapidly developing country where an intense transmission and therefore a challenge for parents of adolescents is expected. Upper-middle class families were selected as participants since their children's level of access to travel, a Westernized education and media may ameliorate intergenerational differences. Although there are studies looking at how Turkish families change with time, there is a dearth of studies looking specifically at intergenerational value transmission.

Considering the complexity of intergenerational value transmission and all the layers around it, a holistic and circular perspective would be more suitable. Qualitative research deals better with the complexity of systems theory (Steier, 1985) since they both emphasize social context, multiple perspectives, complexity, individual differences, circular causality, recursion and holism. Despite the complexity and relativity of each related concept, such as,

culture, values, transmission and relationship problems, there is a dearth of qualitative studies looking at value transmission. Given the exploratory nature of the research question and the study's purpose of holistically understanding a process of transmission, the researchers chose a qualitative research method.

There is a dearth of qualitative studies conducted on intergenerational value transmission. Existing qualitative studies on value transmission in families (e.g., Aliçlı-Mottram & Hortaçsu, 2005), have been unidirectional, mainly looking at similarities and differences between the two generations rather than at the experiences of the parents, and have focused on mother-adult daughter dyads only.

Considering the gap in the literature, we decided to focus this study on how upper-middle Turkish parents experienced bidirectional value transmission with their adolescent children in their changing world. Thus, we asked these research questions: (a) What are the experiences of Turkish, upper-middle class parents transmitting their values to their adolescent children? (b) How do these parents view the values of their children's generation? (c) What are the experiences of those parents negotiating different values with their children?

Method

We chose to investigate parents' experiences of intergenerational value transmission using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA: Smith & Osborn, 2003). IPA has been found effective in studying families because “it allows the researcher flexibility to shift in and out of multiple views and perspectives simultaneously” (Butt & Chesla, 2007, p. 573).

The Primary Investigator

I am a Turkish woman and a licensed Marriage and Family Therapist who lived in the U. S. for seven years where I worked with diverse families. As a result of my own parenting experiences and observations resulting from working with both American and Turkish families, I came to realize that parents and adolescents constantly negotiated their values and

that this interactive process affected the quality of their relationships. Upon moving back to Turkey, I wanted to gain an in-depth understanding about how parents and teens worked through their values differences.

Participants and Setting

Six parents were interviewed for the study. To obtain a homogeneous sample we used purposive, snowball sampling methods. Following the IRB approval, the primary investigator (PI, first author) announced the study by calling and e-mailing acquaintances and neighbors asking whether they knew anyone who might be interested in this research. When the PI had some names, she e-mailed them an invitation letter including the aims of the study and the inclusion criteria. The PI called the parents who accepted to be interviewed and fit the inclusion criteria to set a meeting date, time, and place. One interested parent did not fit the inclusion criteria, so the PI explained this to her. Some parents who were interested could not arrange a time that fit for both parents. The recruitment process ended when a considerable amount of data was gathered and repetitive themes were noted.

Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009) suggested that researchers should use small, homogeneous samples in order to focus on a particular experience, in a particular context, at a particular time. By using a homogeneous sample, it is possible to examine the convergence and divergence of experiences of the parents in detail. To describe the experiences of families who have the most contact with Westernization, we interviewed upper-middle class parents with a minimum of a college education, and ranged in ages from 42 to 55. Upper-middle class was a criterion of inclusion because those families are more exposed to Westernization since they have more access to Westernized media, schools, goods, and can travel to Western countries. Three couples had a daughter and three couples had a son between the ages of 13 and 19. These parents were all married, Turkish citizens and identified as non-practicing Muslim. All parents but one mother were currently employed.

Data Collection

After receiving each participant's informed consent, a demographic questionnaire was administered to each participant couple. Semi-structured interviews conducted by the PI took place in the families' homes and lasted approximately 1.5 hours. The interviews, conducted in parents' and PI's native language, Turkish, began when there was a consensus that both parents understood the research purpose, legal and ethical principles, and they had signed the consent forms. Interviews followed an outline to allow for detailed explanations about the topic (Patton, 2002). All interviews were audio and videotaped and later transcribed into a typed document. In order to capture the meanings shared by the couples (Chesla, 1995) and the synergism through their interactions (Racher, Kaufert, & Havens, 2000), they were interviewed together where the interviewer used a conversational tone to expand the dialogues and open up space for subjective experiences.

Data Analysis

The interviews were audio and video recorded and then transcribed verbatim. The interviews generated a considerable amount of data and, therefore, were imported into ATLAS-ti Software to facilitate organization. A triangulated investigator (TI), a Turkish clinician experienced in qualitative research, analyzed the data independently and assisted the primary investigator in coding and labeling the emergent themes to reduce the potential for researcher bias. They coded the interviews in English separately and achieved a consensus before coming up with themes. Coding started while data collection was ongoing to ensure data saturation before the termination of recruitment.

The PI analyzed transcripts following the steps outlined in Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Initially, in order to fully understand the experience of one couple, first interview transcript was read and re-read together with the

field-notes. Second, the PI took exploratory notes using the memos function of the software. These were descriptive (simple accounts of what is said), linguistic (pauses, laughter, tone, etc.) or conceptual (interpretations, reflections on the text) comments (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). Comments on the ways the couples interacted around the subject were also noted. The third step was developing emergent themes from the initial notes through investigating various comments and picking the most important ones. During the fourth step, the PI searched for connections across emergent themes and the triangulated investigator checked whether they could be linked back to the participants' experiences. These steps were followed for each couple and patterns across cases were identified. Finally, the themes were read by a peer debriefer who validated the relevance and consistency of each theme to help finalize thematic clusters.

Trustworthiness

In order to enhance the trustworthiness of the inquiry process, the researchers used various strategies (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). First, multiple methods of data collection were utilized, such as videotapes and field notes, to capture the information that was not gathered in the audiotapes. Second, the triangulated investigator participated throughout the entire data analysis process. The final results reflect complete agreement of both investigators. Third, a peer debriefer helped to clarify the interpretations, finalize the themes and to check that the themes could be linked back to the participants' experiences. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Fourth, reflexive journaling increased the researchers' awareness of how they perceived the research process and the audit trail was maintained to provide the opportunity to trace the final themes back to the original data. Finally, the researchers e-mailed each participant the emerging themes and asked them to confirm (or not) these themes as reflecting their perceptions of their generations' experiences of intergenerational value transmission (member checking). Only

one participant responded who approved that the themes reflected her generation's experience.

Results

Six themes emerged from the analysis of the interviews: Family connectedness, transfer strategies, transformations, a changing world, reflecting on parenting, and process between the parents (Table 1). Themes are not presented in a hierarchical arrangement, but they follow the course of most interviews. To provide clarity for the readers who want to follow specific parent's experiences, the quotes are labeled as M1, F3, etc., the letter identified Mother/ Father and the number identified the interview order (e.g., the mother who was interviewed first is M1).

Family Connectedness

Throughout the interviews the parents discussed important family values. Although they addressed education, being productive, working hard, and honesty, family connectedness captures the one value that stood out among all the others and was important for all the parents with no exception. Family connectedness involved support, respect, and openness in the family and the expectation of it being a choice versus a requirement for the family members.

Support. Many parents expressed that family has a unique role in providing long-term, unconditional support for its members. A father explained why teaching his children the value of family connectedness is important, "In the end, people close to you will stick there. When in trouble, you can only talk to your best friend and family members. If you have a problem, they are the ones who understand. It's an easy way of therapy!"(F3)

This aspect of family connectedness has become even more important for some parents as the children got older since friends started to challenge the unique role of the

family. One mother stated, “We do appreciate friendship but we want to teach the value of family even more. They should expect everything from them. Friends are different” (M4).

Respect. Almost all parents talked about respect in the family as an important aspect of family connectedness that they learned in their family of origin and wanted to transmit in their current families. For example, one parent said, “they need to respect the family members’ roles. Kids have a role, grandparents have a role and everybody should respect the other” (F3). However, some parents acknowledged that the meaning of respect has changed in their generation, “We teach them our take on respect, it might not be what our parents expect.” (M1)

Openness. The parents included in these interviews described being more flexible than their own parents in order to guarantee openness because it serves an important function: it prevents the risk of children getting disengaged, “what would happen if I said no when she wanted to go out? She would stay for that time but our communication would be blocked and I don’t have another way to reach her, to give or receive any information” (F5). By being open and connected with their children, parents felt they could protect them, “they need to tell us even when they slip up, we’ll do the best for them. I wrote her a letter when she was going abroad for studying. I want her to know that she needs to call us first” (M5).

Choice versus requirement. The parents further emphasized a shift in connectedness from being a requirement to being voluntary. One father explained, “We were always together, there was no other alternative. There was only one room with TV. If you went to your room, you studied. But now we share more; do things that we all enjoy.” (F1) This dimension of voluntariness in closeness was also stressed by another father who explained he expected his daughter to greet him at the door but not because it was a sign of respect (as in the previous generation), but because it showed the daughter’s intention to be close.

Transfer Strategies

Besides describing different aspects of family connectedness, parents talked about the strategies they used to transfer these values to their children. They mainly focused on creating a family atmosphere with close family ties in which the new generation has a positive experience. Modeling, sharing activities and being friends, and teaching emerged as the most significant strategies.

Modeling. Parents said the most effective way to transfer family connectedness and create a close family atmosphere is through modeling such things as calling and visiting extended family members. Parents explained they do not do these things intentionally to model for their children, but that's how they lived. One mother said, "If her aunt has a problem, she can come here at 10pm. They saw this and enjoyed it. Now they don't like it when people don't come" (M1). Another parent emphasized modeling connectedness in their parental union, "We respect each other. For 18 years, they never witnessed a bad fight between us"(F3).

Sharing activities and being friends. Most parents expressed a desire to share activities and be friends with their children. Family dinners were a significant experience to keep family connectedness; however, because of the changes in family life and challenges of busy schedules, they needed to adapt the ritual to children's interests. One mother said, "My mom prepared perfect dinners. Now the schedules have changed. If I could I would do the same. But now nobody eats anything." (M2) Another mother stated, "So, we eat watching a movie, we laugh together and eat popcorn. Sharing something with her is the important thing" (M5).

Balancing the friend role with being an authority is also very important for some parents. One father stated, "We can talk about things that used to be a taboo in our own family. Because we believe this is the right way, we decided to be like friends. But of course a parent authority is needed" (F3).

Teaching. Most parents expressed thinking that teaching values happens better when it is spontaneous and didactic methods are not very helpful. However, when faced with problems, they feel the need to talk about the values, “We talk to them when there is a problem. Other than that, talking about values didactically does not make sense” (F1).

Transformations

Many parents explained their transformations as a result of living with the new generation. They transformed as individuals by learning new ways of thinking and behaving, they transformed as parents to adapt to their children, and they transformed as families and differentiated from their family of origin.

Transforming as individuals. Many parents noticed that their appreciation for their children’s ways of being transformed them as individuals. Parents liked the way their children defend their rights and prioritize their own needs. Eventually, some have begun to assert their needs instead of living to please others as they had traditionally done as stated by this father:

In the end, everybody lives his own life and pursues a happy life. If they achieve that by being selfish, then that’s ok. You have to think about yourself, you can’t think about others’ all the time. You can’t make them do what they don’t want. This changes me too. I say “No, I don’t want to visit them. I will decide for myself.” (F1)

Another transformation was experienced in the use of technology. A mother who was not very technology friendly, had to transform after her children’s reactions, “I feel obliged to do things [related to technology] even if I don’t like it. They scold me ‘Why don’t you pick up the phone? Why you didn’t check your e-mails’” (M2)?

Transforming as parents. Many parents emphasized the need to adapt their parenting to their children’s needs. They educated themselves, reflected on their children’s reactions and became more flexible, like a mother stated, “A person who is not a parent can be self-centered but we have to control our behaviors, be productive, and be an example. I need to

think and read to be in a positive relationship with them” (M5). Similarly, her husband explained how they put effort into communicating with children unlike their own parents:

Now we try to chat with them and we can do that only if they want. We didn’t chat with my father. He asked questions and we had to answer. When I look at this new way, I don’t think it’s bad, it’s better. Is it just the kids who changed me? No, of course I changed too. But they took me to a further point. (F5)

Some parents needed to adjust how they disciplined their children in order not to lose communication with them. For example, one mother expected her daughters to greet her when she gets home but could not say that directly, so she tried different ways, “they don’t like to be told what to do. They react to it, pick up their phone and go to their room. They disengage” (M1). Another mother said, “we back off because he is so clear. We need to filter what we tell him. He taught us this” (M6).

Transforming as families. Parents reported an experience of change in their family structure. They had negative memories about growing up in a hierarchical family, so they changed it to a more democratic structure in their current families. One mother said, “We believe children need to be heard. As a child, I needed to be heard. Now I see my son expressing himself so good and he convinces us. Then I say, why would I force him, he is an individual too” (M6). A father said, “I could not even cross my legs in front of my father. Maybe I changed with the kids but no, society has changed too. I was not happy with their attitude so I did not bring it to my family. I want openness, love and communication” (F5).

A Changing World

The parents compared today’s world with the past and reported experiencing tremendous change. This cluster captures the major aspects of these changes that occur in the political environment, materialistic values, sense of responsibility, and the use of technology. They shared a perceived need to adjust their parenting considering these changes.

A changing political environment. The parents talked about value transformations that have occurred as a result of a changing political environment in Turkey. The values that were once important are being replaced by new ones because they fit the current political environment better. The parents grew up in Turkey when martial law was in effect. Now, the country is more liberal and democratic, which seems to increase their sense of safety, “They have self-confidence. I guess because we grew up in an unsafe social environment, anarchy and other things” (M3). The father said this difference even affects the way they react to social incidents, “We get scared when there is a social incident. The kids don’t care that much” (F3).

One father drew attention to how values have changed because of the economic status of the country. For him, with the increase in private businesses, people started to care about how to make a better living rather than about politics, “We were all concerned with how Turkey would be saved. Now, we are concerned with how we’ll be saved. So, the time has changed” (M1). This change did not only affect individuals’ values but also the way they parent their children, “Our parents were controlling and protecting but in order to survive in today’s world, we need to expand those rules” (M4).

Materialism taking over interest in world issues. Some parents reported a social change that made the children and even themselves less interested in politics. For example one father said, “Turkey’s structure has changed, we got apoliticized” (F1). He also emphasized the change in the physical space affecting the children not being exposed to adult conversations regarding world issues or politics, “They don’t get involved in the conversation. Because, they have a place they can go. We only had one room, maybe the warmest or the most social room. Our parents did not tell us to learn it but we learned it because we shared it” (F1).

Some parents felt helpless regarding motivating their children to care about world issues because the media reinforced having fun as the most important value. One mother said:

Pay TV, Friends or How I met Your Mother is on all the time. They have no morality. It's all about fun, superficial friendships, and fashion. Then they go to school and think everything is boring. It's like life's goal is to have fun, nothing else. (M1)

Although these parents seemed to be bothered with the materialism imposed by media and wanted to transfer appreciation and gratitude, they felt forced to adapt to the world by providing children with things. One mother used a striking metaphor for their adaptation, "We are all like sheep" (M1). For another parent, new norms seemed to win the fight:

I lost the fight against today's social teaching of 'you need to do everything for children's happiness.' I ended up like Don Quixote who fights against the windmills. When all his friends have iPhones, how much can I fight? Finally, I gave up. (F3)

Decreasing sense of responsibility. Parents perceived their children as lacking a sense of responsibility in the house and about the school work. However, they attribute this to the changing social norms. For example, although the parents wanted the children to be more helpful around the house, they could not enforce it as a rule since they had the housekeepers, who have become a norm for most affluent families in the last 20 years. A father stated, "My mom was a housewife and needed help. We took turns to set the table. But we don't expect the same from our children because we have the housekeeper" (F4). A mother stated that she wanted her daughters to be at least willing to help.

The second area that the parents felt the children lacked the sense of responsibility was the school work. They perceived other parents getting very involved in their children's education and although they criticized it, they felt pressured by the schools and other parents to do the same, "Her English teacher said she is failing and we need to teach her how to study.

I got so mad. The education system is so wrong” (M4). The level of involvement in children’s education was sometimes an issue between the parents. One father thought his wife put too much pressure on the child to get into a good high school but the mother defended herself talking about social change that competitiveness became a norm since good quality education has become harder to get: “It was not just her who was taking private lessons, everybody did. That was the system. I was not a big fan of it” (M5). However, some parents were aware that by being over involved, they may take the sense of responsibility from their children.

Increasing use of technology. Another recurrent aspect of change was the use of technology by the new generation, its effects on their development, and therefore the parent-child relationship. One mother said, “There’s so much input from outside: internet, twitter, computer, ipad, iphone. We did not have that. They are technology freaks. It’s not possible for them to say anything stupid. We were treated like kids and we were like kids” (M6). Although some parents found the new generation as addicted to electronics, they can also acknowledge them as having skills that they don’t have. One mother agreed with a school director’s observation, “She said, in the beginning, she had hard time in adapting to students’ use of phones. But then she noticed that while they were texting, they could still talk, make eye contact, and even answer her questions” (M1).

Reflecting on Parenting

During the interviews parents shared their reflections on their parenting frequently. They had different dilemmas regarding value transfer, needed a balance, they were concerned with their children but still content with the outcome.

Dilemmas. When they reflected on parenting, parents questioned whether they have been doing the right thing. They sometimes felt in between the two generations, pressured by the social norms and had hard time in figuring out where they should position themselves. They did not want to lose most of the values they received from their parents but they did not

want to be estranged by their social circles either. Mothers were the ones who expressed parenting insecurities more often. One mother questioned whether her reaction to her children's lying was appropriate, "I was slapped for lying but I did not do the same to my children. I'm not sure whether this is the right way, in a way I let them slip. Would they go out of control? Can I give the same value without slapping" (M2)?

These mothers seemed to need a point of reference to give them feedback about their parenting, sometimes it was other parents, "When I look at my self from outside I feel I am too controlling. I've become the mother who says no. Then I check myself. But I transfer what I got from my parents. Which one is the right way" (M3)? For another mother, the interviewer was the point of reference, "What would be the right reaction, you could answer this for me. Being a mother is a constant self-evaluation, whether I did the right thing or not" (M1).

Need for balance. Having a healthy family seemed to require a balance between responding to children's needs as well as their own:

In my family like other families, the life was around the parents. Children were not a priority. They took us to their gamenights and they did not ask whether we wanted to go. Now we consider their needs but they are not the boss like in other families. We try to balance everybody's needs. (F2)

Most parents wanted a balance between the limits their parents had and today's freedom. One mother said, "We are so much like friends, I'd like some hierarchy. Not to limit them but when I talk to them I think twice and they can say anything with no control" (M5)

Concern with children. Parents were generally content with what they see in their children. They felt they were able to transfer family connectedness for the most part,

however, they were concerned about not being able to transfer some values, such as gratefulness:

What the children are missing or what we could not give them is appreciation, being grateful for something. They want to go to Paris, the 3rd day, they get bored. When I buy them something, they don't even look at it...these are privileges but they don't get it, we could not develop that in them. (M1)

Focus on consumption and not appreciating what is given to them irritated the parents since they associated this attitude with a possible lack satisfaction and happiness in the future, "They are not happy. This will be the epidemy of this epoch. What will make them happy after a while? We get joy from little things but they don't. They consume quickly" (F1). Parents were also concerned about the children developing a conscience since they live in an environment where evil is normalized. "They are aware of many things. I feel they are hurt and exhausted. We were happy, we didn't have that. Their life is harder. I'm not sure if they develop a conscience. They see so many things, they get used to it" (M2). Another concern for the parents was their children getting influenced by other forces if by a certain age, they do not give them the values, such as religion: "She may gravitate toward one of those religious groups since she did not get her own value by now" (M1).

Content with the outcome. Despite the challenges and concerns, parents were generally happy with their children. Contentment was mostly expressed by the fathers who seemed to normalize the challenges and focused on the outcome which seemed to validate their parenting, "When it comes to whether we succeeded or not, I evaluate it in terms of the outcome. I look at whether they are characters that I like in the family? Yes, they both are" (F5). Another father emphasized the need to evaluate the outcome based on the norms, "General conscience level might be different than 30 years ago but what matters is where you

stand within the norm. Yes, they see sex and other stuff much earlier in movies and internet. They enter puberty earlier, 13 not 14. So what?” (F2)

Process Between the Parents

Value transference is a family process and parents were not only influenced by their parents and children but they were also influenced by each other. They adopted each other's values and tried to balance each other to find a middle ground.

Adopting each other's values. These couples have all been married for at least 15 years and have known each other for a longer time. Throughout these years, each partner's values have changed by being together. Therefore, they did not only transfer their original values but they also transferred what they liked in their partner or their partner's family, “I appreciate how they value family dinners in her family and that's what we do in this family” (F3). Another parent appreciated how her husband values eating healthy and she changed the way she prepared meals for the family. On the other hand, she influenced her husband to respond to children in a calmer way and he described this as “her biggest contribution” (F2).

Balancing each other. Although parents were not always in total harmony, several reported that they were able to balance each other to create a healthy environment for their children. Sometimes they took turns in enforcing a rule or a value to crystallize it and sometimes when one enforced a rule in a strict way, the other backed off so that the child is not overwhelmed, one father stated, “Maybe unconsciously we both feel that we should not go after him at the same time” (F6).

Some parents agreed that the mothers were more controlling and they attributed this to a division of roles. The fathers could be laid back because they trusted mothers' control. One mother stated, “This is the advantage of the fathers. He does not notice a mini skirt. Because if that passed from my filter, then that's ok. I wonder if you would start noticing if I wasn't

there” (M1). The father responded “We will never know” and he identified the mother as being responsible for the “internal affairs” (F2).

Parents came from different backgrounds and worldviews but they found a way to balance those differences and even used them as a “wealth for their children” (F2). For that, they needed to compromise and as a father said, “find the middle ground because we know that none of our parents’ ways were the best. Maybe it needs to be a synthesis of both of us.” (F4)

Discussion

Results of this study revealed six main themes that give considerable amount of information to answer the research questions. The first research question was: What are the experiences of Turkish, upper-middle class parents transmitting their values to their adolescent children? These parents were constantly balancing their needs to hold on to the values they adopted from their parents and transfer them to their children while adapting to the new generation’s values which were often in stark contrast to each other. This struggle seemed to cluster mainly around family togetherness on the one hand and autonomy on the other. This finding is in line with research showing that Turkey is a culture where autonomy and relatedness coexist (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007) and autonomy does not imply separateness (Nauck & Kohlman, 1999). Although previous studies revealed that higher education and social class were associated with more individualistic values (Kohn, 1983), the educated, upper-middle parents in this study valued transmitting family connectedness more than any other value. This finding is in line with family solidarity theories that emphasized the continuity of the family’s importance, despite changing life styles (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990) and mothers’ employment (Bengtson, Biblarz, & Roberts, 2002).

The second question was: How do these parents view the values of their children’s generation? Results showed that together with the inherited collectivistic values such as

familialism, these parents appreciated the individualistic values such as autonomy, independence, and self-fulfillment in the new generation. They also seemed to be aware of the need to prepare their children to adapt to the demands of today's world (Youniss, 1994). For the previous generation compliance and physical closeness was sought for since it was in an era of political turmoil and also children had economic value for their families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Now, with the rise of industrialization, capitalism and psychological value of children; autonomy, assertiveness and self-orientation have become more functional values.

Although the underlying values showed a significant resemblance with the older generation, the rising importance of autonomy changed the meaning of relatedness for the families: It is now a choice rather than a requirement as it was in the previous generation. Especially for this higher social status families, increasing physical distance between the parents and children with urbanization, larger homes, child-friendly bedrooms, easier access to peer socialization in and out of the house have all made the parent-child relationship more voluntary.

The third research question was: What are the experiences of those parents negotiating different values with their children? The need to balance different values was the most significant experience in negotiating differences between the generations. In order to keep their influence on their children despite social changes, parents needed to change their transfer strategies. They used strategies that highlighted mutuality and democracy rather than a unidirectional authority as the older generation. This priority of keeping a warm relationship was found to facilitate value transmission between the parents and the child by making the child eager to be similar to the parents and to please them (Grusec & Lytton, 1988). Instead of using didactic methods such as warning or telling how to behave, they used modeling and routines, such as family dinners (an effective socialization method, Goodnow, Miller, & Kessel, 1995), and non-intrusive ways such as text-messaging to create an environment for

their children to enjoy family togetherness and internalize it. Instead of having the last word as their parents had, they have negotiated to find the middle ground and become satisfied with partial compliance to balance relationship with autonomy (Hastings & Grusec, 1998).

Consistent with bidirectionality studies (Pinquart & Silbereisen, 2004), these parents did not only allow autonomy as a value for their children, but they were also transformed by it. They have learned to assert themselves and have started to make self-oriented decisions.

However, these parents were not free of concerns regarding their children. Since they realized that they could not physically constrain their children, they tried to be close to them so as to learn what they were exposed to from peers and media. By being open with each other and involved in their school work and social life, these parents felt they had a chance to keep an eye on them. Thus, although the hierarchical control has diminished, a protective and nurturant control is maintained (Fişek, 2003). It could further be speculated that parents who have lost their hierarchical power, have compensated by being nurturant and even over-protective as a way by which to keep their adolescents safe.

This transformation seemed to happen more and more as the child went up the ladder of the stages of adolescence. Since the adolescents became less receptive to influence with age (McGue, Elkins, Walden, & Iacono, 2005), parents felt the urge to step back and open-up space for them. These parents talked about a decrease in conflict in the later stages of adolescence as they adapted to each other's ways. They seemed to accept the change from unilateral authority to mutuality (Youniss & Smollar 1985) and redefined the family ties (Steinberg, 1990).

Participant parents held similar values in general. If one started to talk about a value, the other always confirmed its importance. In the literature, similarity of values between the parents has been found to lead to a more intense transmission of values (Cavalli-Sforza & Feldman, 1981). If a value is reinforced by both parents, it is more successfully transferred to

the child. Although these parents had some differences in the beginning, they had affected each others' values with time and achieved a synthesis. Parents who both emphasized family dinners were able to keep them as they experienced in their family of origin. However, when one parent was flexible with eating arrangements, children's schedules changed this routine. The relative importance of a value for one parent also affected whose value was more likely to be transmitted (Kucynski & Grusec, 1997). For example, a mother considered family dinners as the only time the family could feel close. So, the father who rarely had this routine in his family of origin, adapted to the mother's value and reinforced it for his children. Although it was not a research question in this study, the preference between mother's and the father's values may also depend on the power dynamics within the couple. Therefore, the dominant figure may have the last word in the value transmission.

Although the mothers and the fathers mostly agreed on their core values, there were some significant differences between their experiences of value transmission. Mothers, in general, were more concerned with what they could not transfer to their children, questioned their parenting and looked for confirmation from others. On the other hand, fathers normalized their parenting and children's differences acknowledging generational norms. In the end, the fathers emphasized the end result, whereas, the mothers were concerned with the process. This can be linked to Rossi's (1993) finding of women's greater investment in maintaining relationships with their children. Even in modern, women-working families in Turkey, where more democratic family structures are accepted, division of labor can still be distinct between husbands and wives (Fişek, 1993). The fathers have the luxury to be more like friends with their children and still keep their authority for an emergency. Mothers seemed happy that fathers had this felt authority since their lack of boundaries (yüzgöz olmak) with their children made it hard for them to enforce the rules in conflict situations.

Mothers' expressing more concerns regarding value transmission might also be related to the change in women's roles between their families of origin and their current families. These working mothers had mothers who had been housewives, which may make it difficult for them to switch their self-expectations and they may end up questioning what kind of a mother they really want to be. Another gender-related factor could be the tendency in traditional Turkish women to be modest and avoid talking proudly of their children and themselves. The participant mothers referenced other people when they said positive things about their children. Moreover, they may also have been protecting their children since talking positively about them might have attracted the evil eye (Çıblak, 2004). Fathers can talk about their appreciation for the children much more easily, which may be associated with their roles as representative of the family vis-a-vis the outside world (Sirman, 1990). Similar to low socio-economic status fathers (Fişek, 2001), they may deny family problems to maintain their family's honor to the outside world.

In conclusion, this study showed that the parents felt that they were able to transmit the most important values to their children, however, they did not copy what they internalized in their families of origin but they negotiated the content of those values with their children. For example, they had to adjust the meaning of connectedness as well as the means of transmitting it. As opposed to the previous generation, connectedness meant something voluntary rather than required, needed effort rather than being assumed, and was democratic rather than hierarchical. Parents were generally happy with their children's values, however, they were afraid that too much individualism might lead to being self-centered and materialistic.

Clinical Implications

Findings of this study shows that Westernization has created a clash of cultures for affluent Turkish families. The parents find themselves facing daily decisions about

prioritizing familial values and allowing their adolescents to be influenced by the new hybrid culture. They experience an internal struggle between freedom and dependence, separateness and togetherness, and nurturing and autonomy. These dilemmas may create a confusion and a sense of powerlessness for the parents who may resist to adapting to the new generation (negative feedback) which may escalate intergenerational or even parental conflict (Hoffman, 1981). On the other hand, these dilemmas have the potential to create a constructive tension that may result in a new synthesis (Fişek, 2002). Marriage and Family Therapists have a crucial role in assisting people in more successfully negotiating the social change (Aponte, 1985).

The results indicated that the therapists need to understand families' struggles considering the broader context that the families are embedded in their ecosystem. Therapists need to be aware of the cultural factors affecting the families that they work with. Knowing that the balance between autonomy and relatedness is associated with the well-being of Turkish adolescents (Aydın & Öztütüncü, 2001), and overstressing separation may harm a healthy family relationship (Fişek & Kağıtçıbaşı, 1999) especially when working with families in collectivist cultures, therapists need to respect and normalize these co-existing needs.

Therapists also need to know that intergenerational value transmission is a bidirectional process, especially when the child enters adolescence. While the parents try to find ways to influence their adolescent children, they are also open to be influenced by them. They try to find creative ways to be close to teens, adjust their expectations to those of the modern society, and make intentional decisions regarding what they want for their children. While exploring the incoming information about what to transfer and receive, the therapists need to assist the parents to find those ways that would satisfy each member in the family.

While balancing this bidirectionality, sometimes, parents feel they have become too child-focused and have lost their authority status and boundaries. They end up undertaking children's responsibilities such as schoolwork, arrange their lives around children's schedules, and provide them with anything they want. This makes the children irresponsible, self-centered, materialistic and careless for social issues and probably unsatisfied adults. Parents need to open up space for the adolescent's changing values and life choices but still maintain their boundaries (McGoldrick, Pearce, & Giordano, 1982). When the teen is brought to therapy for being irresponsible and only caring for self, the therapist may encourage the parents to look at whether their parenting strategies support what they expect from the teen.

This study suggested that some values in families are transferred less consciously. Parents expect their children to act in a certain way without knowing why. They say 'I was doing it, so why don't you?' When they reflect on their intentions, they sometimes realize these expectations do not refer back to a value but it is more like an automatic process. By understanding their hopes and purposes, parents can move on to identifying how these purposes reflect what is important to them (White, 2007). Thus, when they talk about problems with their adolescent children, they might point out how their concerns are related to a separation from a specific value. This awareness may give them personal agency and intentionality which may also make them more flexible to their children's alternative ways. For example, one parent in this study talked about how they could never make their son call his grandparents for holidays, but he enjoys calling them to watch a soccer game together. This family has found a way to maintain intergenerational cohesion that is meaningful for everyone.

Although these parents seemed to have achieved some kind of balance in value transmission, it might not be the case for others. Value gaps may result in unintentional polarization within the marital relationship. For example, a self-oriented father and an other-

oriented mother might push each other toward the two extremes and the father may insist on the child doing extracurricular activities all weekend and the mother may schedule family visits instead. If these differences are not negotiated, these parents may end up transferring to their child something that neither of them really values: internal struggle. Therefore, it is important for the parents to understand the values behind each other's behavior which who would then be more likely to support each other.

Finally, the therapists need to understand how these parents change as a result of socio-political developments in their environments. Discussions regarding how parenting strategies change to fit today's norms may explain discrepancies between generations which sometimes become a topic of criticism by the grandparents and thus, enhance parents' sense of self-efficacy. Considering the complexity of these intertwined processes, both the families and the therapist might benefit from the use of an ecomap where the family members identify the values of different systems in their lives and how they change with time. The therapist must be also aware of his or her own values entering as an important component in the family's ecosystem.

Limitations and Future Research

This qualitative study was designed to provide an understanding of intergenerational value transmission experiences of upper-middle parents in Istanbul, Turkey. The size and homogeneity of the sample is congruent with IPA promise of providing a detailed account of a particular group of people and their response to a specific situation. Thus, it is important to note that the findings in this study are rooted in time, culture and SES and are not generalizable in the traditional sense. While this study is an important step in understanding these parents' experiences, further research may add other groups of parents from different populations. Comparisons of parents between and within individualistic and collectivistic cultures, and different SES groups in Turkey would enrich the interpretations.

Adding a clinical population and studying the experiences of the families who come to therapy for their adolescent-parent relationship problems would give insight to therapists about how challenges regarding IVT affect these problems. Moreover, outcome studies may help to see whether IVT-related work helps families achieve greater understanding of the roots of their differences and how they negotiate them.

Following up with these parents and conducting another study with them when their children are themselves parents, would also add another layer of understanding about how they experience their children's launching with the values they were able or not able to transmit. Moreover, that would enable us to see how these parents' intentions change in regard to IVT with their grandchildren.

Future research considering adding the adolescents in the interviews would contribute understanding the whole family system and see how the families negotiate the transmission of important values. Also, besides interviewing the family members together, separate interviews may add more information regarding experiences that are not easily shared in the presence of other family members.

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Table 1

Summary of Themes

Themes	Subthemes	Ecosystemic Layer
Family Connectedness	support respect openness choice versus requirement	Microsystem
Transfer Strategies	modeling sharing activities and being friends teaching	Microsystem
Transformations	transforming as an individual transforming as a parent transforming as a family	Chronosystem
A Changing World	a changing political environment materialism taking over interest in world issues decreasing sense of responsibility increasing use of technology	Chronosystem
Reflecting on Parenting	dilemma need for balance concern with children content with the end result	Microsystem
Process Between the Parents	adopting each other's values balancing each other	Mesosystem

Chapter Four: Discussion

With this project, I attempted to address the complexity of intergenerational value transmission by picking a time in the history, a group and area in the world, and a stage in human development that is subject to an intense change. Turkey is an example for rapidly changing societies with very heterogeneous population in terms of SES, education, religious practices and political views. Istanbul, the biggest city in Turkey and having land in both Europe and Asia, is the meeting place for eastern and western values. Today's adolescents use technology professionally, but their parents did not have internet until they were adults. Parents try to adjust to the social changes by both staying loyal to their own parents' values and cultural traditions and today's more individualistic, independent and democratic value system.

The first article in this dissertation reviewed the literature on intergenerational value transmission, considering the interactions among culture, social change, and parent-adolescent relationships. The review showed how much adjustment the parents need to make in order to integrate the values from the past, present, and future. As immigrant families, families who can integrate the new generation's values with their own parents' are expected to function better. However, the review led to a need of better understanding of these complex processes from the perspectives of families.

The second article focused on describing the experiences of upper class Turkish parents in transmitting values with their adolescent children. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory was used to explain the factors that influence the intergenerational value transmission process. The data supported the parents' need to balance togetherness and autonomy in their families. Closeness was valued as much as the previous generation, however, the meaning of closeness has changed. Emotional closeness rather than physical closeness is highlighted for this generation which necessitates a new kind of parent-child relationship. To promote

closeness, the parents needed to find strategies that would make the children eager to be together with the family, respect their rights and privacy to prevent disengagement, and transform themselves to tune in with their children's interests. This transformation is not an easy process for the parents. They are in constant dilemma regarding which values to keep and which values to let go. They feel pressured from their social context, their parents, and the media to act in a certain way and their sense of adequacy as parents is threatened. Therefore, it can be concluded that, it is not only the adolescents who go through an identity crisis, but it is also the parents' of adolescents. There is too much information and too many options to choose from and the parents struggle with finding their own preferred ways. This article includes some ideas about how clinicians can help these families resolving their problems linked to generational differences.

Beyond the discussions regarding the negotiations of generational differences within a specific cultural context, there is a need to address global changes resulting from globalization and technology. Since cultures gravitate towards each other and a hybrid identity is developing, it would be worthwhile to study the characteristics of globally accepted values, the values that are predicted to dominate in the future, and the means of holding on to the local culture without being alienated from the global culture.

Appendix A



Online IRB Application Approved: Intergenerational Transmission of Values between Turkish Parents and Adolescents

yakyil@antioch.edu <yakyil@antioch.edu>

Tue, Sep 20, 2011 at 1:30 AM

To: yakyil@antioch.edu, klynness@antioch.edu

Dear Yudum Akyil ,

As Chair of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for 'Antioch University New England, I am letting you know that the committee has reviewed your Ethics Application. Based on the information presented in your Ethics Application, your study has been approved.

Your data collection is approved from 09/30/2011 to 11/30/2011. If your data collection should extend beyond this time period, you are required to submit a Request for Extension Application to the IRB. Any changes in the protocol(s) for this study must be formally requested by submitting a request for amendment from the IRB committee. Any adverse event, should one occur during this study, must be reported immediately to the IRB committee. Please review the IRB forms available for these exceptional circumstances.

Sincerely,

Kevin Lyness

Appendix B

Demographics

Age:	Mother:	Father:
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Education:	Mother:	Father:
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Occupation:	Mother:	Father:
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Monthly Income:	Mother:	Father:
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Children:

1- Sex:	Age:
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2- Sex:	Age:
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3- Sex:	Age:
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Appendix C

Interview Guide

Grand-tour Question: “The goal of the study is to investigate the experiences of parents in giving their values to their children and receiving values from them. Can you tell me what that experience has been like for you?”

Probing Questions:

- a. What are some of the values that you feel very important to pass on to your own children?
- b. Are there any values of your child that you appreciate?
- c. Are you comfortable with what values are transmitted in your family?
- d. How does this value transmission affect your relationship with your children?
- e. How does this value transmission affect your relationship with each other?
- f. Do you see any differences between the two of you in terms of the values you want to transfer to your children?

Closing Question: Anything you feel like important but not covered today?