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Parenting Patterns in Turkey: The associations with Academic Achievement and Self-Esteem

Hamide Gözü¹

¹ Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Education, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University, Çanakkale, Turkey

Corresponding Author: Hamide Gözü, hamidegozu@comu.edu.tr

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Türkiye'de Ebeveynlik Desenleri: Akademik Başarı ve Benlik Saygısı ile İlişkisi

Hamide Gözü¹

¹ Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü, Eğitim Fakültesi, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, Çanakkale, Türkiye

Sorumlu Yazar: Hamide Gözü, hamidegozu@comu.edu.tr

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Hamide Gözü¹

¹ Eğitim Bilimleri Bölümü, Eğitim Fakültesi, Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart Üniversitesi, Çanakkale, Türkiye ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2595-8296

Abstract

Family parenting patterns and child developmental outcomes have been examined in several studies in Western countries. Research shows mixed results on whether mothers and fathers under the same roof display congruent or incongruent parenting styles. Moreover, previous research shows that being raised by two authoritative parents is linked with the most positive outcomes. However, there is no study examining either family parenting patterns in non-Western cultures or whether such family parenting patterns would differ based on the child's gender. Thus, the current study aimed to identify family parenting patterns for daughters and sons in Turkey, as well as how these family parenting patterns were linked to academic achievement and self-esteem. The sample included 195 Turkish undergraduate students (95 male and 100 female). The participants reported perceived maternal and paternal parenting styles using Buri's Parental Authority Scale, their self-esteem using Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale, and academic achievement. Twostep cluster analysis revealed four different clusters; two clusters for females and two clusters for males. The clusters for females are congruent authoritative pattern and congruent authoritarian pattern while the clusters for males are congruent authoritative pattern and congruent permissive pattern. Two separate ANCOVAs showed that among same-gender groups, there was no significant difference either in college GPA or in selfesteem scores of participants. These findings suggest that authoritarian parenting might not be negatively associated with developmental outcome in Turkey. The current study's strengths and limitations and the implications for future research are discussed.

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Türkiye'de Ebeveynlik Desenleri: Akademik Başarı ve Benlik Saygısı ile İlişkisi

Öz

Aile ebeveynlik desenleri ve çocukların gelişimsel sonuçları Batı ülkelerinde yapılan çeşitli çalışmalarca incelenmiştir. Araştırmalar, aynı çatı altındaki annelerin ve babaların uyumlu veya uyumsuz ebeveynlik stilleri gösterip göstermediğine dair karışık sonuçlar göstermektedir. Dahası, önceki araştırmalar iki tutarlı ebeveynin çcouklar üzerinde en olumlu sonuçlarla bağlantılı olduğunu göstermektedir. Bununla birlikte, Batı dışındaki kültürlerde, aile ebeveynlik desenlerini ya da bu desenlerin çocuk-cinsiyetine göre farklılık gösterip göstermeyeceğini inceleyen bir calısma yoktur. Bu nedenle, bu calısma, Türkiye'deki kız ve erkek çocukları için aile ebeveynlik desenlerini tanımlamayı ve bu aile ebeveynlik desenlerinin akademik başarı ve benlik saygısı ile bağlantılı olup olmadığını belirlemeyi amaçlamıştır. Örneklem 195 Türk lisans öğrencisini (95 erkek ve 100 kadın) içermektedir. Katılımcılardan, onların anne ve baba ebeveyn tutumları ölçmek için Buri'nin Ebeveyn Otoritesi Ölçeği'ni ve benlik saygılarını ölçmek için ise Rosenberg Benlik Saygısı Ölçeği'ni cevaplamaları istenmiştir. Bunun yanısıra akademik başarılarını da belirtmeleri istenmiştir. İki aşamalı küme analizi, dört farklı kümenin varlığını ortaya çıkarmıştır; kadınlar için iki küme ve erkekler için iki küme. Kadınlar için kümeler, uyumlu otoriter ebeveyn deseni ve uyumlu demokratik ebeveyn desenidir. Erkekler için kümeler ise uyumlu otoriter ebeveyn deseni ve uyumlu izin verici ebeveyn desenidir. Yapılan Kovaryans Analizi, aynı cinsiyet grupları arasında, üniversite genel not ortalamasında veya katılımcıların benlik saygısı puanlarında anlamlı bir fark olmadığını göstermiştir. Bu bulgular, otoriter ebeveynliğin Türkiye'de çocukların gelişimsel sonuçlarıyla negatif iliskisi olmadığını düsündürmektedir. Mevcut calısmanın güçlü yönleri ve sınırlamaları ve gelecekteki araştırmalara etkileri tartışılmıştır.

Makale Bilgisi

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Ebeveynlik tutumları, Farklılaşmış ebeveynlik tutumları, Akademik başarı, Benlik saygısı

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Introduction

Studies on parenting practices had focused on mothers only for many years since child-rearing duties were seen as mothers' responsibility (Lamb & Tamis-Lemonda, 2004). Over the years, researchers have shifted their focus to examination of the association between both parents and offspring's developmental outcomes (Fletcher, Steinberg, & Sellers, 1999; Jones, Forehand, & Beach, 2000). Studies conducted in Western cultures revealed that mothers and fathers might display different parenting styles (Conrade & Ho, 2001; Russell et al., 1998) whereas others found congruency between mothers and fathers under the same roof (Fletcher et al., 1999; Simons & Conger, 2007). Furthermore, research revealed that being raised by two congruent authoritative parents is associated with optimal developmental outcomes (Milevsky, Schlecter, Klem, & Kehl 2008; Simons & Conger, 2007). On the other hand, there are mixed findings regarding the association between being raised by other types of congruent parenting or incongruent parenting patterns and developmental outcomes (Fletcher et al., 1999). In addition, child-gender has been found to be an important factor contributing to mother-father differences; mothers and fathers are perceived to display differential parenting styles towards daughters and sons (McKinney & Renk, 2008).

Although parenting styles of mothers and fathers under the same roof have been well documented in Western culture, the research on this topic in non-Western culture is very limited (Dwairy & Achoui, 2010; Shek, 2000; Sunar, 2009). Moreover, there is no study examining either family parenting patterns in non-Western culture or whether such family parenting patterns would differ based on child-gender. The purpose of this study was to fill this gap in the literature through investigating such family parenting patterns in terms of child-gender and their relations to child developmental outcomes in Turkey.

Literature Review

In this section, the literature on the following topics was discussed; child-gender differences in parenting styles, parenting patterns for mothers and fathers under the same roof, and the associations between family parenting patterns and developmental outcomes.

Child-Gender Differences in Parenting Styles

Previous research in Western countries revealed that mothers and fathers display differential parenting styles towards their daughters and sons (Conrade & Ho, 2001; McKinney & Renk, 2008; Russell et al., 1998; Varela et al., 2004). Russell and colleagues revealed that daughters were likely to receive more authoritative parenting whereas sons were likely to receive more authoritarian parenting and be given more corporal punishment. On the other hand, McKinney and Renk did not find any significant difference in either authoritative or authoritarian parenting styles in terms of child-gender. However, they found that parents tended to use permissive parenting towards their sons more than daughters. In another study, Dağlar, Melshuish, and Barnes (2011) revealed that Turkish parents of preschoolers, who lived in the UK and Turkey, reported displaying authoritarian parenting style towards daughters but authoritative parenting style towards sons.

When both parent-gender and child-gender are taken into consideration, the findings of studies in Western countries and Turkey draw a consistent pattern regarding the use of paternal authoritarian parenting towards sons whereas findings on which parenting styles mothers use towards their daughters and sons are inconsistent. Conrade and Ho (2001), Varela et al. (2004) as well as Sunar (2009) found that fathers were perceived to display authoritarian parenting styles towards their sons. Western mothers were perceived to display permissive parenting towards their sons and authoritative parenting towards their daughters (Conrade & Ho, 2001) whereas Turkish mothers were perceived to show similar amount of affection and discipline towards daughters and sons (Sunar, 2009).

Parenting Patterns of Mothers and Fathers

Whether a mother and a father under the same roof would display different or similar parenting styles has been examined by several studies in Western countries (Fletcher et al., 1999; McKinney & Renk, 2008; Milevsky et al., 2008; Simons & Conger, 2007). Some of these studies consistently found that the majority of mothers and fathers under the same roof were likely to exhibit similar parenting style (Fletcher et al., 1999; Simon & Conger, 2008) whereas others found only half of parents were likely to display similar parenting styles (McKinney & Renk, 2008; Milevsky et al., 2008). However, it should be noted that displaying similar style does not necessarily mean that mothers and fathers use the same degree of that particular parenting style.

Moreover, the most frequent family parenting style and the frequencies of other combinations of parenting styles were different in each study. For example, McKinney and Renk (2008) as well as Fletcher and her associates

(1999) found that the most frequent family parenting style was congruent authoritative parenting pattern. On the other hand, the most frequent family parenting style was congruent neglectful parenting pattern in the study conducted by Milevsky et al. (2008) and congruent indulgent parenting pattern in the study conducted by Simon and Conger (2007). One possible explanation of this inconsistency might be related to the fact that those studies used different instruments to measure parenting styles and applied different approaches to categorize mothers and fathers.

Although research discussed in the previous section found parental differential treatment towards daughters and sons, there is no study examining whether the family parenting pattern would be different for daughters and sons. Furthermore, there is no study on family parenting patterns in any non-Western country.

Associations between Family Parenting Patterns and Developmental Outcomes

Using a sample of high school students, Milevsky and his associates (2008) revealed that adolescents with two authoritative parents were likely to have the highest self-esteem and life-satisfaction but the least depression. Moreover, their research showed that having two authoritarian parents was associated with the lowest self-esteem and the highest depression. McKinney and Renk (2008) found a similar pattern for college students. Participants raised by two authoritarian parents reported the poorest emotional adjustment whereas participants raised by two authoritative parents reported the highest emotional adjustment.

In line with the findings of those studies reviewed above, Simons and Conger (2007) revealed that optimal outcomes were likely to be associated with being raised by two authoritative parents. Researchers found that adolescents raised by two authoritative parent were likely to display higher school commitment but lower delinquency and depression than with other types of parenting patterns. Moreover, their research showed that adolescents raised by two indulgent parents reported the poorest outcomes. In another study, Fletcher and her colleagues compared having one authoritative and one non-authoritative parent to having two congruent non-authoritative parents (both parents were any of three parenting styles, authoritarian, indifferent, or indulgent). They found that having one authoritative parent and one non-authoritative parent was associated with higher academic achievement but more internalized distress than consistent non-authoritative families. Ryan, Martin, and Brooks-Gunn (2006) examined the role of differential parenting patterns on young children's cognitive development. They revealed that children who had two supportive parents were likely to have the highest cognitive scores while children who had one supportive mother or father were likely to have higher cognitive scores than those who had none.

The Current Study

In conclusion, the literature shows that the mother/father-child dyadic relationships are different for daughters and sons whereas the research on family parenting patterns has mixed results. Those studies discussed in the previous section consistently point to benefits of having two authoritative parents and even one authoritative parent over other combinations of parenting patterns, apart from one inconsistent finding. However, it remains unclear whether the combination of parenting styles of a mother and a father under the same roof is different for daughters and sons (e.g. whether a daughter receives authoritarian parenting from both mother and father while a son receives authoritarian parenting from father and permissive parenting from mother, or other combinations of parenting patterns). Moreover, how such family parenting patterns would be associated with the offspring's developmental outcomes needed to be examined in a non-Western country. In this respect, the current study aimed (1) to identify perceived family parenting patterns for Turkish female and male undergraduate students and (2) to examine whether there were differences in students' college GPA and self-esteem among such family parenting patterns.

Method

Sample

The sample of the current study comprised 195 Turkish undergraduate students (95 males and 100 females). Their age ranged between 18 and 23. The majority of mothers (84%) and fathers (57%) held less than a high school diploma. The participants came from larger families (M = 3.5) and reported a similar frequency of contacts with their families, mostly every day.

Measures

Parenting Styles

The Buri Parent Authority Questionnaire (PAQ; Buri, 1991) was used to measure the students' perception of their mothers' and fathers' parenting styles. This questionnaire consists of 30 items encompassing three dimensions; authoritarian (10 items), authoritative/flexible (10 items), and permissive (10 items). Students were asked to rate each statement for their mothers and fathers separately based on a five-category Likert-type scale, ranging from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree." Responses were summarized using continuous scores on each parenting dimension. These scores could range from 10 to 50.

Validation research has indicated good reliability of this scale in studies (Ang, 2006; Buri, 1991). In the current study, for maternal parenting styles, the Cronbach's alpha values were .75 for the authoritarian scale, .76 for the authoritative scale, and .72 for the permissive scale. For paternal parenting styles, the Cronbach's alpha values were .79 for the authoritarian scale, .80 for the authoritative scale, and .74 for the permissive scale. The scale was translated into Turkish by bilingual judges, and back translation was used to verify each question's accuracy.

Self-Reported Academic Achievement

The students' academic achievement was measured through self-reports of college grade point average (GPA) expressed as seven categories. The categories were as follows: (1) 2.4 or below; (2) 2.5 - 2.74; (3) 2.75 - 2.99; (4) 3.00 - 3.24; (5) 3.25 - 3.49; (6) 3.50 - 3.74; (7) 3.75 - 4.00.

Self-esteem

Self-esteem was assessed with the Rosenberg Self-esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) consisting of 10 items. The participants were asked to indicate their agreement with statements about themselves on a 4-point response scale ranging from strongly agree (scored as 3) to strongly disagree (scored as zero). Total scores on the scale could range from 0 to 30. A higher overall score indicates higher self-esteem. An existing Turkish translation of the Rosenberg scale was used in this study.

This scale has been widely used in research, and satisfactory reliability and validity has been established. It has proven useful in research with Turkish respondents (Tunç & Tezer, 2006). Cronbach's alpha value of the scale for the current sample was .82.

Covariates

The students also provided information concerning their maternal and paternal educational attainment, family size, and the frequency of contacts with their families. All these variables were used as covariates because they could influence students' outcomes; college GPA and self-esteem scores.

Results

Parenting Patterns for Female and Male Students

A cluster analysis was conducted to identify homogeneous parenting patterns using information regarding undergraduates' gender and perceived maternal and paternal parenting styles. A two-step cluster analysis procedure with a log-likelihood distance measure was used since there were both categorical and continuous variables (Norusis, 2010). Cluster analysis conducted on standardized scores of the parenting styles revealed four family patterns of parenting; two clusters for female and two clusters for male students. In the scope of this research, the terms "higher level" indicates that participants rated their mothers and fathers as substantially higher on the specific parenting than the standardized mean of the sample whereas "lower level" indicates that participants rated their mothers and fathers as substantially lower on the specific parenting than the standardized mean of the sample. The term "moderate level" indicates that participants rated their mothers and fathers as close to the standardized mean of the sample, either slightly higher or lower than the standardized mean of the sample.

As seen in Figure 1, the first cluster (n = 34), labeled as *Authoritarian congruent_daughters*, represented female students perceiving similar styles of parenting, as characterized by higher levels of both maternal and paternal authoritarianism and lower levels of both maternal and paternal authoritativeness and permissiveness. The second cluster (n = 66), labeled as *Authoritative congruent_daughters*, represented female students perceiving similar styles of parenting, as characterized by higher levels of both maternal and paternal authoritativeness, moderate levels of both maternal and paternal permissiveness, and lower levels of both maternal and paternal authoritarianism. The third cluster (n = 55), labeled as *Authoritarian congruent_sons*, represented male students perceiving similar styles of

parenting, as characterized by moderate levels of both maternal and paternal authoritarianism and lower levels of both maternal and paternal authoritativeness and permissiveness. The final cluster (n = 40), labeled as *Permissive congruent_sons*, represented male students perceiving similar styles of parenting, as characterized by higher levels of both maternal and paternal permissiveness, moderate levels of maternal and paternal authoritativeness and authoritarianism (see Figure 1).

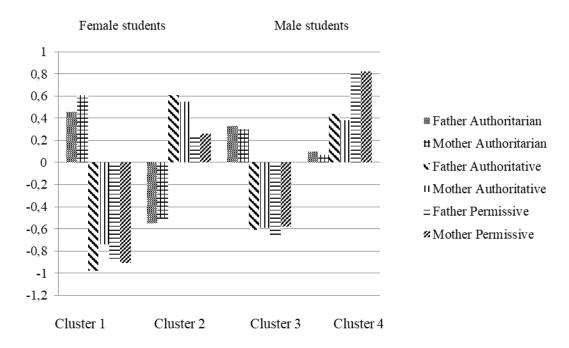


Figure 1 Family parenting pattern groups emerging from standardized mean scores of maternal and paternal parenting styles for female and male students

Family Parenting Pattern Differences on Students' College GPA and Self-Esteem

Two separate ANCOVAs were run to test the family parenting pattern differences on students' college GPA and self-esteem. Results revealed that after controlling maternal and paternal educational attainment, family size, and frequency of contacts with the family, there was a significant difference in students' college GPA among family parenting patterns for female and male students $[(F(3,183) = 14.86, p<.001, partial \eta^2 = .20)]$. Further analysis was performed to determine which family parenting pattern significantly differed according to students' college GPA, through least significant difference post hoc tests. Since female students' college GPAs were significantly higher than male students' college GPAs [t (193) = 8.04, p < .000], comparing parenting patterns of females with parenting patterns of males would be misleading. For that reason, only the comparison of two family parenting patterns of females and the comparison of two family parenting patterns of males were reported in this section. According to least significant difference post hoc tests, there was no significant difference in college GPAs between the participants in Cluster 1, labeled as *Authoritarian congruent_daughters* and the participants in Cluster 2, labeled as *Authoritative congruent_daughters*. Similarly, there was no significant difference in college GPAs between the participants in Cluster 3, labeled as *Permissive congruent_sons* (see Table 1 for adjusted mean scores of college GPA).

	College GPA		Self-esteem	
	M	SD	М	SD
Authoritarian congruent_daughters	3.65	.26	21.32	.90
Authoritative congruent_daughters	3.54	.19	22.71	.66
Authoritarian congruent_sons	2.03	.21	21.16	.74
Permissive congruent_sons	2.06	.24	23.15	.85

Note: College GPA scores ranges between 1 and 7. Self-esteem scores range between 0 and 30.

For self-esteem, after controlling maternal and paternal educational attainment, family size, and frequency of contacts with their families, there was no significant difference among parenting patterns of female and male students $[(F(3,175) = 1.61, p>.05, partial \eta^2 = .03)]$. As seen in Table 1, there was no significant difference in students' self-esteem among female and male groups.

Discussion

This study explored the perceived family parenting patterns for Turkish female and male students and their associations with students' college GPAs and self-esteem. The results showed that participants perceived congruency between their mothers and fathers. Turkish mothers and fathers were both perceived to use similar parenting styles. However, Turkish parents under the same roof were perceived to display different parenting styles towards their daughters and sons. Daughters were likely to receive either authoritative or authoritarian parenting styles whereas sons were likely to receive either authoritarian or permissive parenting styles. Finally, among same-gender groups, there was no significant difference either in college GPAs or in self-esteem scores of participants.

The statistical analyses showed, first, the inter-parental congruency between Turkish mothers and fathers under the same roof. Both mothers and fathers were perceived to display similar parenting styles such as authoritarian, authoritative, or permissive. However, it should be noted that this finding does not necessarily mean that mothers and fathers are likely to display the same degree of particular parenting. As seen in Figure 1, for example, mothers were more authoritarian than fathers towards daughters. Finding of the inter-parental congruency might be related to assortative mating process; individuals are likely to marry someone who has similar characteristics to their own (Guo, Wang, Liu, & Randall, 2014). For example, an individual who shows his/her affection towards other people but has trouble saying no and setting boundaries is likely to marry someone with similar characteristics, which results in two permissive parents under the same roof.

In the current study, distinct patterns of maternal and paternal style for daughters and sons were established among Turkish university students as well. Some female students reported perceiving authoritarian parenting from both mothers and fathers whereas others reported perceiving authoritative parenting from both mothers and fathers. This finding lends support to the study by Tunc and Tezer (2006). They found that the most common parenting styles reported by female adolescents were authoritative (31%) and authoritarian (30%) parenting styles. On the other hand, there is a slightly different pattern for male students in the current study. Some male students reported perceiving authoritarian parenting from both mothers and fathers while others reported perceiving permissive parenting from both mothers and fathers. This finding is also consistent with the findings of Tunc and Tezer's study. They revealed that the most common styles reported by male adolescents were neglectful (32%) and indulgence (28%). Overall, the current study shows that some Turkish parents were perceived to display authoritarian parenting styles for both daughters and sons. This finding might be explained by traditional Turkish family dynamics. Sunar (2002) suggests that mothers and fathers are the authority figures in traditional Turkish families and they try to control their children by using different techniques such as shame and physical punishment. Moreover, Sunar states that families are less likely to encourage their daughters to be independent than sons. Such differential treatment might explain why some male students were likely to perceive permissive parenting styles while all female students were likely to perceive some types of control (either authoritative or authoritarian control) from their parents in the current study.

Finally, the results of the current study showed that there was no significant difference either in college GPA or in self-esteem scores among female students raised by congruent authoritarian parents and authoritative parents. In a similar vein, there was no significant difference either in college GPA or in self-esteem scores among male students raised by congruent authoritarian parents and permissive parents. These findings suggest that authoritarian parenting

in a non-Western country might not be related to poor developmental outcomes. In fact, some studies (such as Leung, Lau, & Lam, 1998) show that authoritarian control is associated with favorable academic outcomes while such parenting is not negatively related to self-esteem in non-Western countries (Fung & Lau, 2012). Why authoritarian parenting might not be related to poor developmental outcomes in Turkey might be related to normativeness and a differential meaning of authoritarian parenting in non-Western countries. Parental control might be perceived as normal in a collectivist culture; thus, it might not reflect parental rejection (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996) and parenting styles may have different meanings in different cultures, such as demonstration of parental love or concern (Chao, 1994; Rudy & Grusec, 2006).

Limitations and Future Research

The current study was the first research study identifying the family parenting patterns in Turkey. It revealed differential parenting towards daughters and sons as well as cultural specific links between parenting and offspring's outcomes. However, there are some limitations that should be noted. First of all, the current study was a correlational study; thus, the findings do not determine causational link between parenting styles and developmental outcomes. Second, this study examined the family parenting patterns perceived by university students; for that reason, the findings of the current study might not be generalized to other age groups such as children or adolescents. Examining the family parenting patterns among other age groups might provide more information about family dynamics. Finally, the current study collected data of only one offspring. To understand the differential parenting patterns towards daughters and sons, future research should collect data of more than one offspring from the same family.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the current study revealed congruency between Turkish parents and differential parenting patterns for female and male offspring. Additionally, among same-gender groups, there was no significant difference in developmental outcomes of participants. These findings suggest that researchers should be aware that authoritarian parenting might not be universally associated with negative outcomes.

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