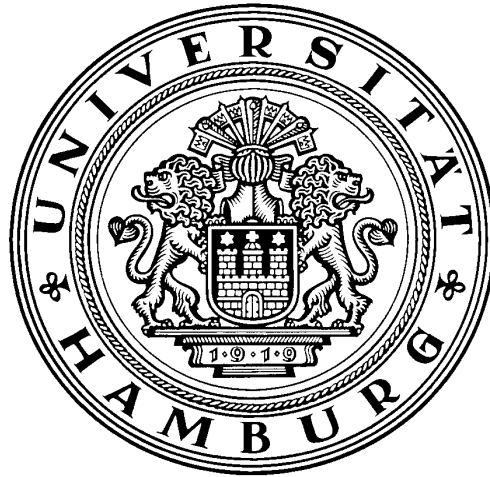


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**EXPOSURE TO A DIFFERENT CULTURE AND RELATED AUTONOMOUS SELF:
A COMPARISON OF REMIGRANT AND NONMIGRANT TURKISH LATE
ADOLESCENT GROUPS**

**Figen Karadayi
Cukurova University, Turkey**

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**Psychologisches Institut I der Universität Hamburg
Von-Melle-Park 6 20146 Hamburg**

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ABSTRACT

This is a comparative study of related autonomous self of nonmigrant and remigrant adolescents. In our previous studies, we have developed the Related Autonomy Scale which was trying to measure the degree of being autonomous and at the same time being related to family, friends, and social norms. This scale has been developed according to Turkish norms with consideration of universal evaluations. In this study we expected to achieve higher autonomy values for remigrant adolescents than nonmigrant adolescents since they had lived in an individualistic country, Germany. But contrary to our expectations, results of Related Autonomy Scale and its Subscales showed no significant differences between the two groups except for one measure. Only Conflicted Autonomy Subscale scores showed significantly higher values for remigrant group than nonmigrant group. Another significant result is, the duration of stay in a western culture does not seem to produce significant differences for remigrant group.

EXPOSURE TO A DIFFERENT CULTURE AND RELATED AUTONOMOUS SELF: A COMPARISON OF REMIGRANT AND NONMIGRANT TURKISH LATE ADOLESCENT GROUPS

This is a comparative study on Related Autonomous self of Remigrant and Nonmigrant Turkish late adolescents. Related Autonomy scale developed in our previous studies, tries to measure the degree of being autonomous from family, friends, social norms and at the same time being closely related to people. It was developed according to Turkish norms with consideration of universal evaluations. In the present study, we expected to achieve higher Autonomy values in the scales for the Remigrant group than the Nonmigrant one, because they have been exposed to an Individualistic Culture, Germany. The Related Autonomy Scale and Subscales, computed for the two groups did not provide significant differences, in the direction of our expectations, except one scale, Remigrant adolescents are more conflictedly independent. An interesting finding is that, Remigrant adolescents show significant gender differences in autonomy scales, in favor of males, while Nonmigrant

adolescents do not reveal any gender differences. Another important finding is that, duration of stay in a western country does not seem to bring about significant differences in Related Autonomy measures for those adolescents who have remigrated to the country of origin.

As it is generally reported, there are two millions of Turkish People in Germany now, and the trend of migration was first started in 1961, because of labor-short in Germany (White, 1997). They were mostly villagers, rural migrants with dreams of earning money and a secure life back in Turkey (White, 1997). Now their children are reaching to late adolescent and young adult years, to ages that their parents have migrated to a foreign land.

All over the world people have been moving and changing geographical and cultural locations. However such movements have never involved more impactful on individuals, regions and nations or been more multifaced than those occurred in the past decade (Nesdale, Rooney & Smith, 1997). Studies, conducted on migrant groups and those related to psychology, mostly concentrate on the problems of adjustment, readjustment, acculturation, ethnic identity, self-concept, psychological well-being and distress, intergenerative transmission and parent-adolescent relations (Boski, 1991; Boski, 1994; Georgas & Papastylianou, 1996; Hocoy, 1996; Nauck, 1995; Öner & Tosun, 1991; Phinney, Du Pont, Espinosa, Reville & Sanders, 1994; Schmitz, 1994; Schönplflug, Silbereisen & Schulz, 1990; Trommsdorff, 1995)

Migrants in a host country, are expected to experience a process of change called acculturation. Acculturation first identified by anthropologists and defined as a culture change resulting from contact between two autonomous cultural groups (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou & Mylonas, 1996). In principle change occurs in both groups, in practice however, more change occurs in the nondominant group than in the dominant

group. Acculturation, resulting from continuous, immediate contact between two cultural groups may bring changes in ethnic identity (Georgas & Papastylianou, 1996). Acculturation cannot be understood as a simple process of reaction to changes in cultural context but rather as an active dealing with challenges experienced by immigrants, when confronted with cultural changes (Schmitz, 1994). During this process many psychological characteristics, values become altered as individuals experience changes in sociocultural milieu (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou & Mylonas, 1996). Degree of sociopsychological change of migrant groups, besides other factors, depend on their relationship with the new culture.

Berry identifies four different strategies of acculturation, as Assimilation, Integration, Separation and Marginalization (Georgas & Papastylianou, 1996). Assimilation refers, relinquishing one's ethnic identity and identifying completely with the host culture. Integration refers to maintaining synchronously aspects of one's ethnic identity and the identity of the host culture. Separation refers to maintenance of one's ethnic identity and rejection of identification with the host culture. Marginalization refers to individual's simultaneous rejection of one's ethnic identity and the host culture identity, and is essentially an example of psychological withdrawal from groups.

Different immigrant groups have been found to show marked differences with acculturative behavior (Schmitz, 1994). Acculturation may proceed in a variety of ways, depending on a number of factors as nature of the host society, person's generational status, and content of the family values reflecting orientations in the country of origin. In some countries multiculturalism is guided by a policy of maintenance of immigrant's heritage culture and at the same time their full participation in large society (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou & Mylonas, 1996). In others, on the contrary, unitary national culture is the only option for newcomers. In Canada and U.S.A. it is claimed that family values will be

sustained more as compared to European countries because immigrants generally involved in voluntary relationships with the dominant society (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou & Mylonas, 1996; Boski, 1991).

Person's generational status is considered to be important in producing acculturative changes. Although first generation migrants (who have immigrated to the new society) are expected to change their values to a certain extent, second generation migrants (as a result of being raised in the new country) are expected to differ from traditional values to a greater extent (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou & Mylonas, 1996; Phinney, Du Pont, Espinosa, Revill & Sanders, 1994). However, depending on the other influential factors, relatively great degree of value maintenance in the second generation is also expected. There are some recent studies that generational effect is not much supported (Georgas, Berry, Shaw & Mylonas, 1996; Nauck, 1995).

Family values of the country of origin, parental control of children, husband's control of wife are all important influential factors in the process of cultural change (Nauck, 1995). But it is also claimed that the process of acculturation, is more related to the individual process of personality development, than to explanations which stress group or social processes in host country and culture of origin (Georgas & Papastylianou, 1996). Schmitz (1994), draws attention to basic personality and cognitive structures and coping strategies, besides a number of sociocultural factors, in explaining individual acculturative behavior and adjustment. Also self-concept is a subject that has received very little attention in Cross-Cultural Psychology (Verkuyten, 1991). Numerous studies have been carried out using standart psychological questionnaires, trying to get insight into self concept of people. Recent studies, combine personal and social factors under the research area of Individualism and Collectivism dimension, which is used as a criterion, for comparison of different

cultures, and use of multimethods were also suggested (Harry, McCusker & Hui, 1990). But, Individualism and Collectivism dimension have been criticized for their lack of explanatory power (Kagitcibasi, 1987; Singelis, 1994). Further more there is a need to explain mechanisms and intermediate variables through which cultural values are translated to individual behaviors. Bridging the gap between culture and individual behavior is important for understanding the meaning of culture and cultural change (Singelis, 1994). The use of culture as post hoc explanation of observed differences does little to help to understand the underlying causes of behavior (Singelis, 1994). In this respect, goals, type of communication, skills, contextual versus personal attributes, empathy versus expressiveness, non verbal and verbal preferences, roles, emotional display, ingroup out group mechanisms, rules, are only some of the important factors involved under the general topic of Individualism and Collectivism (Singelis, 1994).

In cross cultural studies, in order to understand the differences among different groups, mechanisms of social change, and acculturation, a contextual approach is important. Contextual approach considers the culture related aspects of parent child relations, socialization process and culture specific meanings and culture specific transition of adolescents into the adult role (Trommsdorff, 1995). Not only cultural differences but also within culture residential and socioeconomic differences are also important (Marshall, 1997; Taylor & Oskay, 1995; Watkins, 1996).

Only a few studies encountered, comparing Turkish migrant groups with other groups, in the country of origin or destination according to varying attributes (Nauck, 1995; Oner & Tosun, 1991; Verkuyten, 1991). Some research results, with respect to family decision making demonstrates small noticeable differences between Turkish and German samples (Schönflug, Silbereisen & Schulz, 1990). The small differences suggested that there is no

dramatic deviation from a basically egalitarian pattern of conjugal partner's influence in family decision making. However Turkish and German working-class parents also have somewhat different conventional patterns of decision making. The perceived authority structure in the familial decision making process in Turkish families may be characterized by role segregation and fathers dominance in the family domain, thus revealing traditional features. German workers also manifest segregation but only in one domain, the sphere of children's issues. Family financial and children domains were perceived more traditionally as regard to mother's position. However previous research on related matters claims that traditional husband and wife influences in decision making have still prevailed, in Turkey, more in rural, less so in urban and retained in migration (Schönplug, Silberreisen & Schultz, 1990). For several reasons Turkish migrant families are considered to be an extreme group among the other major immigrant groups in Germany (Nauck, 1995). They are the most recent immigrating nationality, have greater cultural distance to the receiving society and magnitude of this group has contributed to a higher level of ethnic segregation than other groups. Therefore one can expect Turkish families to experience greater conflict in the intergenerational relations between parents and their children due to immigration than other immigrants (Nauck, 1995). However research results suggest, a concordance between parent's and adolescent's generation in various matters instead of conflict (Nauck, 1995). These migrant adolescents anticipate and internalize normative expectations towards intergenerative relationships, constituted by mutual help and material support and not be reduced to mere affectivity and sentiments. But, family collectivism in migrant group, indicates an orientation towards nuclear family (Nauck, 1995). A study comparing Turkish migrant adolescents with Dutch adolescents, in the area of self-concept displays analogies, but also several differences (Verkuyten, 1991). The most important area of difference is ethnic identity. Turkish adolescents differed from Dutch adolescents mainly by giving more

importance to sexual, ethnic, religious identities than personal qualities, distinguishing features and competences (Verkuyten, 1991).

When second generation Remigrant adolescents in Turkey (children of migrant families from Germany) were compared with Turkish Nonmigrant adolescents, they were not found to experience readjustment difficulties (Öner & Tosun, 1991). They were not insecure, anxious, depressed, instead were optimistic and hopeful about their future, also they can attend academically oriented schools and can find better jobs because German language skill allows them to find better jobs in Turkey (Öner & Tosun, 1991). Although there are some changes, studies generally suggest Turkish migrant families protect their basic ethnic characteristics.

In the present study , since migrant and non migrant groups are compared in the area of individual autonomy, the concepts related to it and its cultural meaning and importance are explained below. An examination of the literature shows that the concept of autonomy at individual level, is generally explained as freedom, independence, self-regulation, separateness, individuation, self-governance, and self-directedness (Frank, Pirsch & Wright, 1990; Cadbury, 1991; Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Kagitcibasi, 1990; Osterweil & Nagano, 1991; Pardeck & Pardeck, 1990; Ryan & Lynch, 1989; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Although autonomy refers to determination of self boundaries and distinctiveness, it is not considered apart from relatedness. Human beings, because of their nature, have both a tendency towards being separate and at the same time being related to others, by combining the two different needs together. But the degree and the way of orientation towards the two differs culturally. Autonomy and relatedness are two basic human needs, that are not separable. Individual's autonomy is generally handled in different dimensions as, behavioral, emotional, and in values and attitudes (Rice, 1990; Schiamberg, 1988). Development of

autonomy is reported to be very closely associated to parenthood styles and socialization process in the family (Pardeck & Pardeck, 1990; Silverberg & Steinberg, 1987; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). Starting from the very beginning of life, individual autonomy develops in the process of individuation, and continues during adolescence years. A secure attachment and warm relationships with parents is considered to be essential for building up a mature and autonomous self in children (Ainsworth, 1989; Kenny & Donaldson, 1991). In this respect, authoritarian parents, discourage autonomy, by applying strict control, while authoritative parents encourage autonomy by supporting age specific freedom and responsibility (Baumrind, 1978; Shiamberg, 1988). Parents are important, not only with their behavior and attitudes but also with the type of model they present to their children. Although positive ties to parents and close relationships appear to be significant for the gains in autonomy, it does not guarantee it. Recent studies claim that it is important to balance gain in autonomy and sense of connectedness to parents (Frank, Pirsch & Wright, 1990). Besides the role of family, formation of personal autonomous self, is closely linked with the influence of friends, other groups and the way individual perceives. Further more, cultural values, norms, institutions as a whole, work on the individuation process. Therefore, autonomy and relatedness, may be considered as an important criterion for comparing western and eastern cultures, under Individualism Collectivism, (I-C) dimension investigated in Cross-Cultural Psychological studies. According to this dimension, western cultures are evaluated as being individualist, whereas eastern cultures are collectivist. I-C, refers to the degree to which a culture encourages, fosters and facilitates the needs, wishes, desires and values of an autonomous and unique self over those of group (Matsumoto & Weissman, 1997). Members of individualistic cultures, see themselves as separate and autonomous individuals, while members of collectivist cultures, evaluate themselves as fundamentally connected with others (Buda & Sayed, 1998; Matsumoto & Weissman, 1997).

In the field of Cross-Cultural studies, I-C dimension has taken a great deal of attention among researchers over the last decade (Hui, 1998; Freeman, 1997). According to the results, individualism is correlated with different attributes as, idiocentrism, self-reliance, emotional detachment from in-groups, separate self, superiority of individual goals, inner-directedness, independency. On the other hand, Collectivism is correlated with allocentrism, reliance on others emotional dependence on in-groups, related self, superiority of group goals, outer directedness, dependency and other attributes (Frijneman & Willemsen, 1996; Gire & Carment, 1993; Triandis, Betancourt, Iwao, Leung, Salazar, Setiadi, Sinha, Tozard & Zaleski, 1993; Yamaguchi & Kuhlman, 1995). As it is clear, Autonomy, may be considered as an attribute of Individualism, while Relatedness, is a characteristic of Collectivism. Generally I-C is believed to be the two poles of the same dimension. In the study area, it is generally accepted that cultures will move from collectivism to individualism direction, parallel to socioeconomic changes and development experienced in the country. However, recent research began to stress on the importance of cultural differences than revealing the trends predicted. Also the possibility of categorizing cultures into two poles and comparing them on a few dimensions, came into discussion, in recent years. Some worked on multimethod solutions, where as some researchers sought cultural specific ways. In this respect, Kagitcibasi (1990, 1996), offers a model of family for the changing societies like Turkey, and claims that the change might not be in the direction of gaining individualistic attributes in the expense of collectivist tendencies. Changing cultures may become individualistic while keeping their relatedness and collectivist tendencies at the same time.

Concept of Related Autonomy, accepted by the author, tries to formulate how keeping the both attributes together is possible for a changing culture, like Turkey in its natural trend. Related Autonomy as it is described by the author, refers to, being autonomous, having

separate self boundaries and functioning, and at the same time being related to family, friends and groups. This was investigated in several previous studies, by the author, in different Turkish adolescent groups as university and high school students and working adolescents (Karadayi,1998a, 1998b). Related Autonomy scales and subscales revealed rather high values for all university students, decreased at secondary school group and arrived to lowest values at working adolescents from families with limited economic means. Autonomy scores increased with age, socioeconomic level and decreased with parents authoritarianism and protectiveness. Relatedness increases with parents' democratic orientation. For all groups relatedness scores were higher than autonomy scores, as it is expected for a collectivist culture. Results of these studies in general terms, brought about that Autonomy and Relatedness are two different dimensions, that may both be present at the same time. However, the only problem is with the emotional autonomy. Similarly, all adolescent groups showed lowest values for emotional autonomy as compared to autonomy in attitudes and behavior, as a cultural tendency. Furthermore increase in emotional autonomy seemed to increase conflicted autonomy and decrease relatedness. Therefore if emotional dependencies in Turkish families may be transferred into emotional relations only, it seems possible that adolescents may reach to a level of independence that covers close emotional relationships. That is being autonomous and related at the same time. These findings are in the same line with some other reports in the related subject (Goregenli, 1997; Kagitcibasi, 1998).

In the present study the influence of being exposed to a western individualistic country on the development of Autonomous Related self, is investigated, by comparing a group of late adolescents of migrant and non migrant families, studying German and English respectively, in the Department of Foreign Languages, in Cukurova University. The Related Autonomy scale was developed previously according to culture specific values, attitudes and behaviors

valid for Turkish late adolescents. Here, we wanted to examine, how concepts of Related Autonomy fits to adolescents, who have spent a great deal of their life in a foreign individualistic country, being expoused to their way of thinking, behaving and values, during the process of acculturation and socialization, in their early ages. Since concepts and measures of Related Autonomy were developed according to general values, norms, relation and behaviors prevailing in Turkish culture, second generation German migrants were expected to show higher Related Autonomy scores. Living and being brought up in an individualistic culture was expected to increase the degree of autonomy from parents, friends and society .

The basic hypothesis was, the influence of migration on the second generation Remigrant adolescents would bring up significant increases in Autonomy scores, compared to Nonmigrant adolescents. Secondly the duration of stay in the host country was supposed to influence and increase the values of Autonomy scores. Thirdly, we wanted to inquire the effect of the psychodemographic factors on Related Autonomy for Remigrant group and compare it with the general influences in nonmigrant group. General aim of the study was to investigate the influence of acculturation process on Turkish migrant group, using a culture sepecific measure, and at the same time questioning the Related Autonomy measure as an indicator of Individualism and Collectivism. Since living in an individualistic culture is expected to influence and draw the individual towards individualism pole of the I-C continuum, the autonomy scores were expected to be higher than the relatedness scores, which is considered to be the indication of collectivism pole of the same dimension. Migration to a western country may also be considered as a change towards a higher socioeconomic status. Adolescents from higher socioeconomic level were known to have higher Related Autonomy Scores in our previous studies (Karadayi, 1998a). Since

Remigrant group was experiencing an increase in socioeconomic status by migration, they were expected to show higher Related Autonomy values.

METHOD

SAMPLE

According to the purposes of the study two groups of Turkish adolescents were identified: The children of families who have migrated to Germany (Remigrant group), and the children of families who have never lived in a foreign country (Nonmigrant group). Both groups were undergraduates, in the departments of German and English Languages, at the Faculty of Education in Cukurova University, Turkey, 1998. Total number of subjects in Remigrant group was 112, of whom 41.0 % was male and in Nonmigrant group, number of subjects was 100, of whom 42.9% was male. Remigrant group was approximately 2 years older (mean age 21.54, standart deviation .22) than Nonmigrant group (mean age 23.22, standart deviation 2.22). For each sample group, one random class from each of the four different grades was selected.

PROCEDURE

Students in the two groups, German and English Languages, received questionnaires and psychometric scales during class sessions and completed them in the presence of the researcher. A brief general description of purpose of the study was given to increase motivation of the group for voluntary participation and to stress that responses will be confidential. Completion of the questionnaire with this procedure, increased the responsiveness. For each Language group, four sessions were arranged, each, a different

grade, from the first to the fourth. Altogether, the application was conducted in eight different classes in a standart way.

INSTRUMENT

A psychodemographic, a migration questionnaire, and the Related Autonomy Scale (RAS), were the instruments used for the purposes of this study. Psychodemographic questionnaire, included attributes as, age, sex, grade, number of siblings, rural-urban residence living with or away from parents, parents' educational status, work experience, parents' authoritarian, democratic and permissive attitudes, and protectiveness. Migration questionnaire was forwarded only to the Remigrant group, consisted of questions about migration history of the parents, duration of stay in Germany, developmental and educational periods spent in Germany.

The Related Autonomy Scale was developed by the author with three original studies conducted on three different groups, university students (n=441), high school students (n=187), and working group adolescents (n=177) (Karadayi, 1998a, 1998b). Thus we could examine variations in related autonomy in three different subcultural groups. Related Autonomy Scale (RAS), was designed to measure the degree of being independent in behaviors, attitudes, values and emotions, self regulation, and at the same time being related to family, and friends (Karadayi, 1998a, 1998b). Items were prepared, according to Turkish culture specific values and ways of how people behave, think and feel, in practicing their personal autonomy and relatedness. Items involved were, half positive, half negative order, totally 153 in number and were prepared for late adolescent groups. A 4 point Likert-type scale was used to score each item, 4 indicating strongly agree and 1 indicating strongly disagree. Middle degree was excluded because of the tendency of the group, preferring

middle choices, revealed in our previous experiences. Items under relatedness try to measure relatedness without being dependent. That is being in good, positive, warm relations with the family and friends, but at the same time being independent in self regulation, drawing self boundaries firmly and self confidently. Higher scores on the scales mean higher values in Autonomy and Relatedness measures. For each scale a mean score ranging from 1, to 4, averaging all the related items were calculated. **Related Autonomy Scale (RAS)**, was first theoretically developed with 7 subscales called **Separation (SEP)**, **Self Confidence (SC)**, **Behavioral Autonomy (BEH)**, **Emotional Autonomy (EMO)**, **Autonomy in Attitudes and Values (ATT)**, **Unconflicted Autonomy (UNC)** and **Relatedness (REL)**, and a general combined score of **Related Autonomy Scale (RAS)**. Each subscale was developed after a detailed investigation in the subject of autonomy and relatedness both through other studies, scales and observations in daily cultural practices, over a time span. First nine subscale were accepted to be appropriate under the concept of autonomy and relatedness and offered for Judges' evaluation. At the end, they were rearranged and reduced into seven subscales. Explanations about subscales, are given below, with some item examples from each, either in positive or negative direction.

Separation (SEP); Drawing self boundaries distinctively as a separate individual. "Even in close relationships, every individual must protect his/her own specific characteristics".

Self Confidence (SC); Believing in his/her sufficiency, skills, and having a positive self evaluation. "I believe that I can give appropriate decisions almost in any subject".

Behavioral Autonomy (BEH); Being able to take independent decisions and follow them. Behaving independently from family, friends and culture. "No matter who ever I counsel, at the end I do what I decide to do".

Emotional Autonomy (EMO); Having desire for not to be under the protection of family, friends and other groups. Not feeling him/her self under the emotional pressure and control of family and friends. Not feeling a continuous need for social support. "It is an anxious situation not being approved by significant others". "In order to make my parents happy, I can do something or go somewhere that I would never like to do or go"

Autonomy in Attitudes and Values (ATT); Having his/her own rights and wrongs, values, evaluations, and opinions independent from family, friends and cultural norms and standing against environmental pressures. "Being close friends, means changing attitudes and evaluations in many subjects according to each other".

Unconflicted Autonomy (UNC); Having lower degree of detachment and feelings of guiltiness, anger, and anxiety in expressing autonomy, not being loaded with extreme feelings of responsibility. "I don't care what my parents say, I do what ever I want, they cannot interfere me". "In order to be away from my parents' pressure, I try to stay away from them".

Relatedness (REL); Being in good terms with family, and friends, to be sensitive and trust in family and friends, to accept family and friends as they are, positive evaluation, ego elasticity, being transparent and persuasive, "My relations with my parents is as good as my relations with my friends". "If I perceive that I am wrong in interpersonal relations I do accept this openly".

After the application of factor analysis two factors were identified, first factor was called Autonomy (AUT), combining SEP, SC, BEH, EMO, ATT subscales, while Second one, was Unconflicted Relatedness (UNR), combining Unconflicted Autonomy (UNC) and Relatedness (REL). Each of the 7 subscales, a general scale and 2 subscales resulted after factor analysis were analysed separately for reliability and validity in

our previous studies (Karadayi, 1998a, 1998b). Cronbach's Alpha values ranged from .68 to .92. Test retest results were changing from .71 to .92.

RESULTS

MIGRATION ATTRIBUTES OF REMIGRANT GROUP

Migration questionnaire revealed that, only 10.7 % of the remigrant adolescents lived in Germany less than 4 years, a great majority of the group 70.6 %, have stayed in Germany more than 10 years. For more than half of the parents 56.3 %, duration of stay in Germany is more than 10 years, but only 6.3 % of families' residence in Germany is less than 4 years. Almost all the adolescents have spent their pre elementary school years in Germany, 73.4 % have attended to kinder garden schools. Primary school attendance in Germany is also high, 75.9 % while it drops to 45.5 % in secondary school level. Parent's migration history have revealed that 91.8 % of mothers and 93.7 % of fathers have outmigrated during their adult years. Around 9 % have reported that first their grand parents have migrate, 14.3% of migrant parents are still leaving in Germany.

COMPARISON OF PSYCHODEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF REMIGRANT AND NONMIGRANT GROUP

Nonmigrant adolescence are coming basicly from urban areas (75 % city, 15 % town, 6 % rural areas). Percentage of families with 1-2 children in the Remigrant and Nonmigrant groups do not differ much (18 %, 19 %). However, percentage of 3-4 children in the families is more in Remigrant group (60%), than Nonmigrant group (50%). Coming to father's education, Remigrant group does not have illiterates, while it is 6.1 % for Nonmigrant

group. Literate only, and elementary school graduates are more (56.7 %) for Remigrant group, than Nonmigrant group (39.4 %). On the contrary percentage of secondary and higher education is lower for the Remigrant group (43.3 %) than the Nonmigrant group (60.6 %). Remigrants are less illiterate, but at the same time have lower percentages of secondary and higher education, which indicates lower educational status as expected. But also, Remigrant fathers are more homogeneous, concentrating on the middle education groups elementary or secondary and having little or none from the upper and lower groups. On the other hand Nonmigrant fathers are heterogeneous, starting from illiterate group to university level, concentrating around secondary education, towards the higher end of the education ladder. Mother's education shows similar trends but with smaller differences. Percentages illiterate, for Remigrant and Nonmigrant mothers are 10.7 %, and 14.0 %; secondary and higher education are 36.0 %, 22.3 % respectively.

Remigrant adolescents perceived their mothers more permissive (36.8 %), than the Nonmigrant group (22.1 %), whereas for the fathers, it is on the contrary. Remigrant group perceived their fathers as authoritarian with a little higher percentage (30.5%), than the nonmigrant group (25.6 %). In both groups parents were perceived as concerning with their children and protective with a little higher percentages in favor of mothers. Parents in both groups were reported as being highly concerned with their children, with higher percentages for mothers and Nonmigrant group. Percentage of adolescents living with their parents is higher for Nonmigrant group (50 %), than Remigrant group (37 %). Remigrant adolescents have more work experience than Nonmigrants. 27.5 % of migrant mothers have never worked in their life, while it increases to 73.5 % for Nonmigrant mothers. Remigrant adolescents report themselves as working with higher percentages (72.0 %), than the Non migrant group (43.8 %).

COMPARISONS OF RELATED AUTONOMY MEASURES IN REMIGRANT AND NONMIGRANT GROUPS

Data from the two groups with total 212 subjects who completed all the items were analysed. Descriptive statistics, internal consistency and cronbach alpha values, for Related Autonomy Scale and subscales for the Remigrant and Nonmigrant adolescents are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

As it is seen from the table Related Autonomy Scale and Subscales have acceptable levels of validity for both groups. All the means of Related Autonomy and Subscales have a tendency towards higher end of the scale continuum, ranging from 1 to 4. Both groups seem to have higher values of Related Autonomy. In both groups Emotional Autonomy has the lowest value, while Unconflicted Autonomy shows the highest means. For comparing Remigrant and Nonmigrant groups on these Related Autonomy Scale and Subscales, t tests were computed. However, comparisons did not yield results in line with our expectation, except for the Unconflicted Autonomy Scale. All pairs of comparisons conducted, resulted in nonsignificant differences of the means between the two groups. But Remigrant and Nonmigrant group means differed significantly only in case of Unconflicted Autonomy scale. Remigrant adolescents showed significantly less Unconflicted Autonomy values than Nonmigrant groups, $t(208)=2.34$, $p < .05$; Remigrant $M=3.31$, $SD=.38$; Nonmigrant $M=3.42$, $SD=.30$. This implies that Remigrant adolescents are more conflictedly autonomous from parents, friends and cultural values, compared to the Nonmigrant group.

DURATION OF STAY IN RECEIVING COUNTRY AND RELATED AUTONOMY

ANOVA analysis were conducted, inquiring variations in Related Autonomy measures, with duration of stay and generational status. Contrary to our expectations, duration of stay in the host country, Germany, did not bring about significant differentiations in Related Autonomy scales. Only emotional Autonomy scale differentiated significantly between the second and third generation Remigrants, $F(1,110)=4.90, p<.05$. However contrary to the expectations, third generation adolescents yielded lower measures of Emotional Autonomy. Similar insignificant border results appeared with the measures of Autonomy in Attitudes and Values, in the same direction. However since the number of third generation adolescents were small, results are reported here as some clues for further inquiries.

CORRELATES OF RELATED AUTONOMY FOR REMIGRANT AND MIGRANT ADOLESCENTS

MANOVA analysis included some sociodemographic correlates of Related Autonomy and Remigrant - Nonmigrant adolescent groups, as independent variables, and Related autonomy measures as dependent variables. Controlling for sociodemographic variables did not alter the results obtained in t test analysis. According to the results, only Unconflicted Autonomy scores significantly differentiated with Remigrant-Non migrant group variable, $F(1,209)=5.20, p<.05$. Similar to t test results, age of adolescent, number of siblings, parents education did not yield significant differentiations in Autonomy measures. However, gender of adolescent brought about significant variations in Autonomy Scale, $F(1,204)=3.74, p<.05$; in Separation Scale, $F(1,208)=4.26, p<.05$; in Behavioral Autonomy Scale, $F(1,208)=3.88, p<.05$; and Emotional Autonomy Scale, $F(1,209)=11.85, p<.001$; in favor of males. But when variations of Related Autonomy measures with gender was searched separately for Remigrant-Nonmigrant groups, analysis of variance showed significant differences with

gender only for the Remigrant group, in Autonomy Scale, $F(1,110)=7.48$, $p<.01$; Related Autonomy Scale, $F(1,110)=3.85$, $p<.05$. For the Nonmigrant group, no significant differences were obtained between males and females in achieving Related Autonomy. This is an interesting finding of the study.

COMPARISON OF CORRELATES OF RELATED AUTONOMY SCALES AND SUBSCALES IN TWO GROUPS

Mothers's education of adolescent did not play significant role on the measures of Autonomy, separately for each group. Father's education showed significant influence on Relatedness, $F(4,107)=4.30$, $p<.01$; general measure of Unconflicted Relatedness, $F(5,106)=3.78$, $p<.01$; and general measure of Related Autonomy, $F(5,106)=2.82$, $p<.05$; for the Remigrant group. For Nonmigrant group however, father's education provided only nearly significant differences in Separation and Self Confidence Scales.

In both groups mother's and father's authoritarian, democratic, and permissive attitudes exerted significant changes in various Autonomy scales for both groups. Mother's attitude, shows significant variations in Emotional Autonomy, $F(2,109)=3.73$, $p<.05$; Unconflicted Autonomy, $F(2,109)=4.06$, $p<.01$; Relatedness, $F(2,109)=3.47$, $p<.05$; Unconflicted Relatedness, $F(2,109)=4.06$, $p<.05$; Sheffe analysis resulted in significant differences between authoritarian and democratic mothers. For Nonmigrant group mother's child rearing attitudes brought significant effects on Self Confidence, $F(2,97)=4.88$, $p<.01$; Unconflicted Autonomy, $F(2,97)=3.06$, $p<.05$; Related Autonomy, $F(2,97)=2.94$, $p<.05$. Differentiations in Emotional Autonomy showed insignificant border values. Democratically perceived mothers showed highest mean values on the above measures, whereas authoritarian mothers had the lowest values and the permissive ones took place in the middle.

Father's attitude resulted in significant variations of Relatedness, $F(2,109)=10.70$, $p<.0001$; Unconflicted Relatedness, $F(2,109)=7.56$, $p<.001$ for Remigrant group. For the Nonmigrant group father's attitude showed significant effects on Self Confidence, $F(2,97)=4.37$, $p<.01$; Unconflicted Autonomy, $F(2,97)=3.17$, $p<.05$.

Mother's concern yielded nonsignificant results, because the proportion of mothers with high concern was very high in both groups. The number of mothers with low concern was very small. However, father's concern produced significant differences in both groups. In Remigrant group, father's concern seems to be significant for variations in the measures of Unconflicted Relatedness, $F(2,109)=9.39$, $p<.005$. Similarly, father's concern resulted in significant differences in Unconflicted Relatedness, $F(2,97)=3.92$, $p<.05$; and Unconflicted Autonomy, $F(2,97)=5.89$, $p<.05$, for the Nonmigrant group.

While for the Remigrant group father's protectiveness plays important role, For the Nonmigrant group, mother's protectiveness becomes more influential. Father's protectiveness had significant effects on Separation, $F(2,109)=4.42$, $p<.01$; Behavioral Autonomy, $F(2,109)=5.16$, $p<.01$; Autonomy in Attitudes and Values, $F(5,92)$; $p<.01$; Autonomy, $F(2,109)=6.86$, $p<.001$, for the Remigrant group. The mean scale values decreased with increasing father's protectiveness. Mother's protectiveness did not bring about significant results. For Nonmigrant group, protectiveness of mother produced significant decreases in the measures of Behavioral Autonomy, $F(2,97)=7.65$, $p<.01$; Emotional Autonomy, $F(2,97)=5.13$, $p<.05$.

Living with the family exerted significant effects on Emotional Autonomy, $F(2,109)=5.52$, $p<.05$, showing lowest values for those living with the family, and highest for those living at the dormitories, for the Remigrant group only.

Adolescent who have worked frequently showed significantly higher values in Separation, $F(2,109)=6.94$, $p<.001$; Self Confidence, $F(2,109)=3.14$, $p<.05$; Behavioral Autonomy, $F(2,109)=8.27$, $p<.001$; Emotional Autonomy, $F(2,109)=3.13$, $p<.05$; Autonomy in Attitudes

and Values, $F(2,109)=4.79$, $p<.01$; Autonomy, $F(2,109)=7.58$, $p<.001$; and Related Autonomy, $F(2,109)=3.45$, $p <.05$ compared to those who have never worked, for the Remigrant group. Nonmigrant group showed similar but nonsignificant tendencies.

Mother's working position had significant influences on Separation, $F(2,109)=6.94$, $p<.0001$; Self Confidence, $F(2,109)=3.14$, $p<.05$; Emotional Autonomy, $F(2,109)=3.13$, $p<.05$; Autonomy in Attitudes and Values, $F(2,109)=4.79$, $p<.01$; Autonomy, $F(2,109)=7.57$, $p<.0001$; Related Autonomy, $F(2,109)=3.45$, $p<.05$, for Remigrant group. Working position of Nonmigrant group, seems to have similar increasing effects on autonomy measures, however they are not enough for creating significant results.

DISCUSSION

Importance of individual development for societal development has been perceived and increasingly emphasized in recent studies (Kagitcibasi, 1996). Gaining independence and autonomy has a special place for individual development, especially for the countries, identified as being near to the collectivist pole of the Individualism-Collectivism (I-C) continuum, which is an important dimension broadly studied in cross-cultural research. According to modernization theory collectivist cultures were claimed to show collectivist characteristics both at individual and macro level. With increasing socioeconomic development, cultures were supposed to approach towards individualistic end and achieve attributes defined for that pole. Kagitcibasi (1990) has proposed a model of change for family development, for developing countries, like Turkey. In that model of development families in collectivist cultures, were claimed to move from an interdependence model, towards an emotional interdependence model, instead of reaching to an independent family model as it is in western countries.

In our previous work, we have developed a model of Related Autonomy and measures appropriate for variations and changes observed in Turkish Culture at different socioeconomic levels and at different cultural historical periods (Karadayi, 1998a; 1998b). The Related Autonomy Scale was planned to combine both universally prevalent concepts that can be covered under the subject and also culture specific values, emotions attitudes and behaviors in relation to individual autonomy. How achieving autonomy and being autonomous and simultaneously preserving close relations to family, friends and society in Turkish culture might be possible, was imagined as a model. Then, items were prepared to be able to fulfill the cultural ways, practices and in the direction of changes historically realized in the past. The possible attitudes, behaviors, emotions and values that may be identified as a target for achievement of Related Autonomy appropriate for Turkish norms, considering the changes and tendencies experienced in different subgroups, in cultural history were described. Item preparation was highly influenced from everyday practices of adolescents and their parents within their daily family relations. Autonomy was defined as, self separation, self-governance, being independent from family, friends and cultural values in behavior, attitudes and emotions, but also having warm close relations without being tied.

Related Autonomy measures studied in our previous work, for different adolescent groups, as university students, high school students, and working, low educated youth, showed both cultural unchanging characteristics and subcultural differences at the same time (Karadayi, 1998a). It was found that adolescents in our research groups have shown lower Emotional Autonomy values as a cultural characteristic. However all the values were increasing with increasing age and socioeconomic level of the groups. Another important finding of this study was that, Remigrant group did not reach to higher values for general Autonomy scale (AUT), as compared to general scale of Unconflicted Relatedness (UCR). That may be

interpreted as Remigrant adolescents who have spend a considerable amount of time in an individualistic culture, had not increased Autonomy Dimension more than the Relatedness dimension. Both groups are indicating higher values for relatedness than for autonomy pole of the Individualism-Collectivism continuum.

In this study our basic purpose was to inquire, how Related Autonomy measures vary by being exposed to a western country, which may be classified at the individualistic end of the Individualism-Collectivism (I-C) continuum. However our findings did not support our expectations, in the direction of obtaining higher values of autonomy for the Remigrant group, compared to Nonmigrant group. The main result of this research is that, Remigrant and Nonmigrant adolescent groups did not differ significantly in relation to various Related Autonomy measures, except one, that is Unconflicted Autonomy, which demonstrated lower values for the Remigrant group. In other words this means, that children of migrant families have more conflicted autonomous relations with their families, friends and environment. That looks as an interesting finding, contrary to a previous study (Nauck,1995), which found concordance instead of conflict between parents and adolescents generations in various matters. However their expectation was in the direction of conflict. In our study, even though adolescents seem to have rather high autonomy values, they have relatively lower values for Unconflicted Autonomy. This may imply implicit negative relations with parents hidden in pressure of normative good inter generational relations. It is well known for Turkish families that family ties are important, and acting and talking against it is something unacceptable by norms. Negative expressions about the family relations, to others, is something devalued by social norms. Therefore adolescents may feel themselves guilty if they express something negative about their family on any subject. Living in a foreign country may bring more conflictual relations with parents and friends, but collectivist cultural norms do not let them to be expressed freely. No matter, how much conflictual

relations they may have, relatedness to family and friends preserves its importance as a cultural collectivist tendency.

Parallel to our previous findings and similar to findings for Nonmigrant groups, Emotional Autonomy again appeared to show lowest value for Remigrant group, compared to other areas of Related Autonomy measure. Achievement of emotional autonomy from parents, friends and social norms seems to be taking place very slowly, as a similar tendency in all other adolescent groups studied, in Turkey in our previous studies.

Another important finding for the Remigrant group was the significant differential role of the sex of adolescent on Autonomy measures but not on Relatedness. For Remigrant adolescents, development of Behavioral Autonomy, Emotional Autonomy, and general Related Autonomy values demonstrated significant differences between males and females. Male adolescents in Remigrant group showed significantly higher values of Behavioral and Emotional Autonomy and nonsignificant higher values for some other measures. However for Nonmigrant group, gender was not an important variable creating differences in autonomy measures. Also, in our previous studies on other adolescent groups in Turkey have not revealed significant sexual differences, except for the Separation Scale for university students, which resulted in significantly higher values for females. That may imply that parents of Remigrant adolescents apply more pronounced differential attitudes towards their daughters and sons compared to parents of Nonmigrant adolescents. Living in a western culture, might have influenced parents to apply more normative control on their daughters.

Contrary to our expectations, another important result of this study, is that, duration of stay of family in the host country does not seem to create significant increase in any measure of Related Autonomy. Living in an individualistic culture, does not appear to produce

significant changes in the level of Autonomy, only with a life span length of stay for the Remigrant group. However comparison of a small group of third generation adolescents with the second generation appears to have slight promising indications of changes in the measures of autonomy. However the change was in the direction of lower Emotional Autonomy for the third generation Remigrants. They seem to carry even stronger cultural tendency of emotional dependencies between adolescents and their families and friends. Another study, with German immigrant families also reveals nonsignificant results in collectivist value orientation with length of residence (Silbereisen, Rodermund, 1995). Some studies in the field of migration, comparisons of migrant and nonmigrant groups, have supported these results, by bringing up nonsignificant findings in relation to other areas of inquiry like ethnic identity (Dettenbon, Boehnke & Horstmann, 1994; White, 1997; Nauck, 1995).

Immigrant German families did not differ in all variables in relation to autonomy studied (Nauck, 1995). However carrying ethnic characteristics, cultural specific ways or practices is reported to be providing a higher identity which in turn increases adaptation in the new culture (White, 1997). Further more, it is also reported that second generation migrants are more acculturated compared to their parents, the first generation (Silbereisen & Rodermund, 1995). Other studies support this finding by reporting higher level of assimilation for the second generation (Nauck, 1995). Another important point lies in the process of acculturation. Assimilation, Integration, Separation, Marginalization were identified as four modes of acculturation process. Different groups of migrants prefer different modes of acculturation, depending on the policies in receiving country and characteristics in both cultures. Turkish migrant groups in Germany were described as more preferring segregation modes of acculturation (White, 1997). Also in general, Turkish families are identified with close, warm relationships, protective and authoritarian child

rearing practices. That indicates that traditional family characteristics have prevailed among German migrant families (Nauck, 1995). But family relationship contracts and, focuses more on nucleus family instead of extended family ties. Intergenerational transmission was found to be higher for Turkish groups (Nauck, 1995). Also the relationships between father's and adolescent's generation were reported to be positive. All these results imply that traditional Turkish family ties continue in Germany, even more strongly, in nuclear family relations and, cultural values are being transmitted to the next generations. Increasing conflictual relationships between adolescents and their families and friends do not change cultural tendencies, at least for the short term and for the Remigrant group.

Group differences revealed some gender differences in favor of autonomy of male adolescents which may indicate that living in a foreign country have strengthened the cultural values. Families might have exerted more pressure on their daughters compared to their sons. Which is a very clearly known tendency in rural Turkey. However same level Nonmigrant adolescents do not show significant sexual differences, which is also in concordance with urban higher educated groups. Gender differences in Remigrant group might have appeared due to the rural origin of the migrant families, who also have more pronounced gender differences in Turkey. But findings do not mean that migrant groups are close to all types of changes. Only family and culture related matters seems to be preserved. Other studies are necessary to identify what sorts of behaviors and attitudes are experiencing change.

We have arrived at some other findings by comparing correlates of Related Autonomy for Remigrant and Nonmigrant groups. In both groups parent's attitude, concern, protectiveness and, education seemed to exert more or less, but some influence on the measures of Related Autonomy. However in Remigrant group father's influence besides mother's influence

seems to be more important to mention. In case of Remigrant families, fathers are promising to be involved in family matters more. This might be due to a change in the expected direction, but might also be evaluated as an interference in family matters with the purpose of protection and, preserving cultural values and practices. In some studies Turkish fathers and sons were reported to be the less changing dyad (Nauck, 1995). In Nonmigrant group adolescent's working status and mother's working status, seems to exert influences on the differences in the values of Related Autonomy. Changes and trends in the measures of parent's authoritarianism, democracy and, permisiveness and, level of education have revealed similar results for both groups and also parallel to the findings of our previous studies for various adolescent groups (Karadayi, 1998a). Another noticeable result is in the area of working status. Adolescents and mothers with work history has more pronounced influences on measures of autonomy for the Remigrant group. This may refer that adolescents may achieve autonomy from family easier when they start work life in the Remigrant group. Since, contrary to our expectation, this study did not produce radical differences between the two groups, Remigrant group in fact may not be evaluated to be a good representative sample of an individualistically oriented group to show significant differences in the measures of Related Autonomy. Our previous studies within different subcultural groups, have brought about even more significant differences. Therefore maybe another study comparing second and third or fourth generations might be promising greater differences. In general results suggest that culturally important characteristics of migrant families prevail no matter how long they stay in the host country, only for the second generation and for those who remigrated back to Turkey.

What is aimed in this study was, starting from an emic measure developed for collectivist side, to search how it may be appropriate for more individualistic groups. But similar results and trends in the two groups suggest that, this inquiry might be investigated in other

adolescent groups with higher individualistic tendencies. It may be interesting to research on migrant adolescents who have stayed in Germany or those who have parents from both cultures or German adolescents. But for only German group, measures may not be appropriate because of their culture specific characteristics. In order to understand difficulties of measuring and comparing across cultures, it appears to be important to reverse the procedure. That is starting from an emic measure processed in a collectivist culture and forwarding it to be used in individualistic ones.

Results of this study and, other studies on migrant groups might imply that cultural influences experienced in a host country do not reveal great changes in family and cultural matters in a relatively short period of time. Acculturation is apparently a long gradual process that may not be pronounced clearly in a few generations. Another important explanatory point might be that ethnic identity in a foreign country might have been strengthened by living in a foreign culture as a minority group. Also some studies even claim a revival of their ethnic identity with the third generation migrants (Boski, 1994). Even though, for the moment Turkish migrants seem to be segregated and preserving their cultural characteristics, and their ethnic identity may contribute to their integration process much better in the future. Several studies on migrants also emphasize the importance of keeping ethnic identity for integration of the migrant group to the receiving society (Boski, 1994; Georgas & Papastylianou, 1996; Nesdale, Rooney & Smith, 1997). The present study has shown that at least for the second generation Remigrant Turkish adolescents, Related Autonomy measures do not reveal significantly different results compared to the Nonmigrant group in general. Two groups presented similarities more than differences, with respect to the field of individual autonomy. Being exposed to an individualistic culture for a considerable time does not seem to be influential in changing culture specific ways in relation to family, close relations and, cultural ways in daily practices. However studies

measuring more concrete areas of change as socioeconomic status, education, income, living standards, motivations, achievement might result in greater changes for the Remigrant group compared to the country of origin. However family matters are expected to be the most resistant area of change. The measures of Related Autonomy, might be revealing larger differences for other culturally different groups or, it might be inappropriate at all, for individualistic groups, since it is a culture specific measure. However that remains as a question for further inquiries. Results of this study must be evaluated with its limitation to adolescents from migrant families, but back migrated to Turkey. It might be interesting to search Related Autonomy among Turkish adolescents who have stayed in Germany, and also compare second and third generations with a greater sample

TABLE 1. Descriptive Statistics for the Related Autonomy Scale and Subscales and, alpha values for Remigrant and Nonmigrant Groups

Scales	Remigrant			Nonmigrant		
	Adolescents			Adolescents		
	Mean	SD	Alpha	Mean	SD	Alpha
SEP	3.24	.31	.63	3.21	.32	.67
SC	3.22	.39	.86	3.27	.37	.86
BEH	3.27	.33	.79	3.24	.30	.76
EMO	2.44	.37	.75	2.49	.38	.78
ATT	3.09	.35	.72	3.06	.38	.78
UNC	3.31	.38	.80	3.42	.30	.75
REL	3.17	.36	.79	3.17	.41	.83
AUT	3.07	.28	.90	3.05	.27	.91
UCR	3.24	.32	.84	3.29	.31	.85
RAS	3.16	.23	.89	3.17	.23	.88

SEP=Separation, SC=Self Confidence, BEH=Behavioral Autonomy, EMO=Emotional Autonomy, ATT=Autonomy in Attitudes and Values, UNC=Unconflicted Autonomy, REL=Relatedness, AUT=Autonomy, UCR=Unconflicted Relatedness, RAS=Related Autonomy

AUT=SEP+SC+BEH+EMO+ATT

UCR=UNC+REL

RAS=SEP+SC+BEH+EMO+ATT+UNC+REL

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