

Attachment in a Cultural Framework

Thesis submitted to the  
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences  
in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
in  
Psychology

by  
Sibel  
Halfon

Boğaziçi University  
2006

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to start by expressing my deepest gratitude to my thesis advisor, Prof. Dr. Güler Fişek, whose wisdom, insight, support and inspiration made this thesis possible. She has been more than a teacher and an advisor in my graduate studies and contributed immensely to my personal and professional growth.

I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Hamit Fişek and Assist. Prof. Serra Müderrisoğlu whose valuable contributions enriched this study. Prof. Dr. Hamit Fişek tolerated my naivety towards statistics and guided me through the data analyses. Assist. Prof. Serra Müderrisoğlu helped clarifying the attachment related constructs in the study and led me towards a more coherent framework.

The symbiotic relationship I shared with five very valuable people was one of the most extraordinary and meaningful parts of my graduate education. Işıl Aracı, Nihan Sefer, Serap Serbest, Evrem Tilki and Yeşim Yaşa have been major sources of happiness along with support and encouragement. I cannot thank them enough for their sensitivity and attunement to my conflicted inner world.

I dedicate this work to my mother. She has always been a secure base I can turn to for support, comfort and encouragement. She is the embodiment of Bowlby's secure attachment figure who helped me become the person I am right now.

## **ABSTRACT**

Attachment in a Cultural Framework

by

Sibel Halfon

The present study examined the indigenous behavioral expressions of attachment security. In the Turkish culture, attachment security was expected to be associated deference, obedience and respect (structural hierarchy/proper demeanor) along with emotional interdependence, empathy and receptivity (symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement) instead of encouragement of autonomy. An expanding self construal was expected to moderate the relationship between attachment security and its behavioral expressions.

116 female and 94 male Boğaziçi University undergraduate students filled out the Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment Short Form (IPPA), Expanding Self Scale and Personal Style Inventory (PSI) (Autonomy and Sociotropy subscales) along with Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor and Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement Scales developed by the researcher.

Correlational analyses revealed that as attachment security increased, autonomy decreased, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity positive engagement increased. No relationship was found between attachment security and sociotropy. Multiple regression analyses indicated that an expanding self served to decrease the effect of maternal attachment security on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement while it did not

effect the relationship between attachment security and other behavioral consequences tested. High and low score combinations of expanding self and security were created to develop some theoretical speculations for further research. The cultural differences found in the expression of attachment security were discussed in terms of the development of self in different cultures and neurobiological findings.

## ÖZET

Kültürel bir Çerçeve içerisinde Bağlanma Davranışları

Sibel Halfon

Bu araştırmada kültüre özgü bağlanma davranışlarının ortaya çıkışı incelenmiştir. Türk kültüründe bağlanma güvenliğinin, bireyselliğin teşviki yerine, itaat ve saygı (yapısal hiyerarşi/düzgün tavır) ve karşılıklı bağlılık, empati ve karşılıklı anlayış (birliktelik karşılıklılık/olumlu bağlanma) ile ilişkili olacağı beklenmiştir. Ayrıca genişleyen benlik yapısının bağlanma güvenliği ve bağlanma davranışları arasındaki ilişkiyi etkileyebileceği beklenmiştir.

Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nde lisans yapan 116 kadın ve 94 erkek öğrenci, Ebeveyn ve Arkadaşlara Bağlanma Envanteri Kısa Formu, Genişleyen Benlik Ölçeği ve Kişisel Stil Envanteri (Otonomi ve Sosyotropi alt ölçekleri) ile birlikte araştırmacı tarafından geliştirilen Yapısal Hiyerarşi/Düzgün Tavır Envanteri ve Birliktelik Karşılıklılık/Olumlu Bağlanma Envanterleri'ni doldurmuşlardır.

Korelasyon analizleri, bağlanma güvenliği arttıkça otonominin azaldığını ancak hiyerarşi/düzgün tavır ve birliktelik karşılıklılık/olumlu bağlanma değişkenlerinin arttığını göstermiştir. Bağlanma güvenliği ve sosyotropi arasında bir ilişki görülmemiştir. Regresyon analizleri sonucu, genişleyen benlik yapısının oluşumu ile birlikte bağlanma güvenliğinin, birliktelik karşılıklılık/olumlu bağlanma üzerindeki etkisinin azaldığı görülmüştür. Genişleyen benlik yapısının, bağlanma güvenliği ve araştırılan diğer bağlanma davranışları arasındaki

ilişkiyi etkilemediği görülmüştür. Bazı teorik çıkarımlar yapabilmek için yüksek ve düşük bağlanma güvenliği ve genişleyen benlik kombinasyonları oluşturulmuştur. Bağlanma davranışlarının ortaya çıkışındaki kültürel farklar, değişik kültürlerdeki kişilik gelişimi ve nörobiyolojik bulgular ışığında tartışılmıştır.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE	i
APPROVAL	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	v
ÖZET	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	ix
LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
INTRODUCTION	1
Attachment Theory: An Overview	2
Controversies in Adult Attachment Measures	12
The Father as an Attachment Figure	14
Attachment and Culture	16
A Review of Cross-Cultural Attachment Studies using an Etic Approach	17
A Critique on the Universality of Sensitivity, Competence and Secure Base Hypotheses	20
Paths of Development in US and Japan: Individuation vs. Accommodation	22
An Emic Approach to the Study of Attachment	29
Attachment and the Turkish Context	32
The Present Study	42
HYPOTHESES	47
METHOD	48
Sample	48

Materials	48
Procedure	52
RESULTS	53
DISCUSSION	69
REFERENCES	90
APPENDICES	97
Appendix A	98
Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (Short Form)	
Appendix B	101
Expanding Self Scale	
Appendix C	104
Personal Style Inventory	
Appendix D	109
Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement Scale	
Appendix E	111
Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor Scale	
Appendix F	114
Informed Consent Form	

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of all the variables in the study	53
Table 2. Correlations between Expanding Self, Maternal and Paternal Attachment Security and Sociotropy, Autonomy, Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor and Symbiosis Reciprocity/ Positive Engagement	55
Table 3. The means and standard deviations of high maternal security and low maternal security and high paternal security and low paternal security groups	61
Table 4. The means and standard deviations of expanding self and traditional self groups	61
Table 5. The means and standard deviations of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement in terms of LMS&TS, LMS&ES, HMS&TS, HMS&ES groups	62
Table 6. The means and standard deviations of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement in terms of LPS&TS, LPS&ES, HPS&TS, HPS&ES	65

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Attachment styles as a continuum ranging from an exaggerated preoccupation with relatedness to an exaggerated occupation with individuation	25
Figure 2. Different paths of development in individualistic and collectivistic cultures	27
Figure 3. Interaction of independence and relatedness representing different attachment patterns for Anglo mothers	30
Figure 4. Interaction of proper demeanor and positive engagement representing different attachment patterns for Puerto Rican mothers	31
Figure 5. Hypothesized expression of attachment behaviors in the Turkish culture	39
Figure 6. The development and expression of attachment behavior for people with expanding vs traditional selves	41
Figure 7. Different levels of sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement demonstrated by people with different levels of expanding self and attachment security	46
Figure 8. Distributions of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement scores for LMS&TS, LMS&ES, HMS&TS, HMS&ES groups	64
Figure 9. Distributions of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement scores for LPS&TS, LPS&ES, HPS&TS, HPS&ES groups	66
Figure 10. Attachment patterns distinguished by structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement	73

Figure 11. Different levels of sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement demonstrated by LMS&TS, HMS&TS, LMS&ES and HMS&ES groups 78

Figure 12. Different levels of sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement demonstrated by LPS&TS, HPS&TS, LPS&ES and HPS&ES groups 78

## INTRODUCTION

In the past two decades, attachment theory has emerged as a major field of study. The theory addresses issues from a variety of perspectives including physiological, developmental, cognitive and emotional domains.

The present study aims to focus on one aspect of attachment that has received considerable research and debate in the past few years: the role of culture. In the past few years, many cross-cultural psychologists suggested that even though a universal range of attachment behaviors exist among infants across cultures, these behaviors are shaped and influenced by dominant cultural values (Bretherton and Waters, 1985, van Ijzendoorn, 1990, cited in Harwood, Miller and Irizarry, 1995). This study attempts to explore how indigenous cultural dynamics affect the expression of attachment behaviors.

In order to study attachment from a cultural perspective, first of all an overview of attachment theory will be provided, and major controversies in the attachment literature will be discussed. Afterwards, a literature review on cross-cultural studies on attachment will be presented. First, research that supports the cross-cultural validity of attachment will be discussed followed by a criticism of this research. This criticism is based on the different paths of development in individualistic and collectivistic cultures leading to different behavioral patterns. Then, Harwood, Miller and Irizarry's (1995) study that explores cultural meanings of attachment will be presented. Afterwards, attachment studies conducted with Turkish samples will be discussed followed by a brief presentation of the Turkish culture, Turkish family and Turkish self. Finally expectations formed on the basis of this literature review will be presented.

## Attachment Theory: An Overview

The theory of attachment was originally developed by John Bowlby (1907 - 1990), a British psychoanalyst who was attempting to understand the intense distress experienced by infants who had been separated from their parents. Bowlby (1982) observed that infants separated from their mothers would either try to prevent separation or to reestablish proximity to a missing parent. Bowlby noted that such expressions are common to a wide variety of mammalian species, and speculated that these behaviors may serve an evolutionary function. Drawing on ethological theory, Bowlby (1982) postulated that these attachment behaviors, such as crying and searching, were adaptive responses to separation from a primary attachment figure, who provides support, protection, and care. Bowlby (1982) argued that, over the course of evolutionary history, infants who were able to maintain proximity to an attachment figure (i.e., by looking cute or by expressing attachment behaviors) would be more likely to survive to a reproductive age. According to Bowlby (1988), a motivational-control system, what he called the attachment behavioral system, was designed by natural selection to regulate proximity to an attachment figure. When the attachment figure is close and responsive, this promotes safety, security and confidence encouraging the child to engage in exploratory behavior. In case of a threat, the child experiences anxiety and fear which leads him to seek attention and support from the attachment figure.

Bowlby (1982) defined attachment in terms of four distinct but interrelated classes of behavior which are proximity maintenance, safe haven, separation distress and secure base. These behaviors are observable between normal one year old infants and their mothers. The infant continuously searches the whereabouts of the mother and makes any adjustments necessary to obtain the desired degree of proximity, retreats to her as a haven of safety in case of a threat, is resistant to and distressed by separations and uses her as a secure base to explore his environment. What is important is that the selective orientation of all these behaviors

toward a specific and noninterchangeable individual defines attachment (Bowlby, 1982). Even though Bowlby (1982) believed that the basic dynamics described above delineate the core points of attachment theory, he recognized that there are individual differences in the way children appraise the accessibility of the attachment figure and how they regulate their attachment behavior in response to a threat.

### *The Strange Situation*

Mary Ainsworth (1978, cited in Cassidy and Shaver, 1999) developed a technique called strange situation that systematically studied individual differences in infant-parent attachments. In the strange situation, 12-month-old infants and their parents are brought to the laboratory and are systematically separated and reunited. 60% of the children become upset when the parent leaves the room, but, when he or she returns, they actively seek the parent and are easily comforted by him or her. Children who exhibit this pattern of behavior are called secure. Other children (about 20% or less) become extremely distressed upon separation and are hard to conciliate when reunited with their parents. They often exhibit conflicting behaviors that suggest they want to be comforted, but that they also want to punish the parent for leaving. These children are called anxious-resistant. The third pattern of attachment that Ainsworth and her colleagues documented is called avoidant. Avoidant children (about 20%) don't appear too distressed by the separation, and, upon reunion, actively avoid seeking contact with their parent, sometimes turning their attention to play objects on the laboratory floor (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters and Wall, 1978, cited in, Cassidy and Shaver, 1999). Ainsworth et al. (1978 cited in, Cassidy and Shaver, 1999) also demonstrated that these individual differences were correlated with infant-parent interactions at home during the first year of life. Children who appear secure in the strange situation tend to have parents who are responsive to their needs. Children who appear insecure in the strange

situation (i.e., anxious-resistant or avoidant) often have parents who are insensitive to their needs, or inconsistent or rejecting in the care they provide.

Even though the strange situation has become a standard tool for measuring infant attachment, it has certain limitations. First, the strange situation has been criticized for relying exclusively on exploratory behavior and ignoring the quality of maternal support in other respects. By contrast, several assessments of childhood attachment have been validated and the most prominent is the Attachment Q-Sort (AQS, Waters and Diane, 1985, cited in Thompson, 1999), a ninety item observer report that incorporates a broader range of behavioral criteria and attachment security in a many-sided way (Thompson, 1999).

Second, there is current controversy concerning the stability of the classifications obtained in the strange situation. While early studies confirmed that the strange situation classifications met the criteria of stability, more recent investigations were not that conclusive (Fonagy, 2001). For example, Belsky, Spritz and Crnic (1996, cited in Fonagy, 2001) reported that less than fifty percent of infants were given the same category upon a retest three months later. On the whole, stability appears to be low in high-risk samples where major changes in family function are common (Solomon and George, 1999, cited in Fonagy, 2001).

Another limitation of the strange situation is that it relies on brief separations and reunions holding the same meaning for all children, although in some cultures children are rarely separated from their mother at this age (Rutter, 1995, cited in Brown and Wright, 2001). This point will be explained extensively when the role of culture on attachment is discussed.

### *Internal Working Models*

Bowlby (1979) proposed that behavioral strategies employed beyond infancy are governed by “internal working models” which are mental representations of actual

interactions with attachment figures stored in memory. Working models include two complementary components, one referring to the attachment figure and the other referring to the self. The former characterizes whether the caregiver will be available, sensitive and responsive when needed and the latter characterizes the self as either worthy or unworthy of love and care (Bowlby, 1973). In early childhood, working models appear to be relatively open to change, if the quality of care giving changes. However, with a consistent pattern of care giving throughout childhood and adolescence, these working models become solidified and result in abstract representations of oneself and the social world. These representations are likely to operate automatically and unconsciously, thereby making them resistant to change (Bowlby, 1979). Thus, working models of self and others become core features of personality in adulthood where they continue to shape social perception and behavior in close relationships (Bowlby, 1973).

### *Adult Attachment*

Working models of self and others were viewed by Bowlby (1973) as the main source of continuity between early attachment experiences and cognitions, feelings, and behaviors in later relationships. Much of adult attachment research has been based on the assumption that there are parallels between infant and adult patterns of attachment and representations (e.g., Hazan and Shaver, 1987; Main, Kaplan and Cassidy, 1985, cited in Cassidy and Shaver, 1999).

Main (1995, cited in Allen, Stein, Fonagy, Fultz, Target, 2005) demonstrated that the core patterns of attachment that Ainsworth et al. (1978, cited in Cassidy and Shaver, 1999) observed in infancy have direct counterparts in adulthood. In order to assess adult attachment and especially internal working models with respect to attachment, Main, Kaplan and Cassidy (1985, cited in Cassidy and Shaver, 1999) developed the Adult Attachment Interview (AAI).

Main and Goldwyn (1992, cited in Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn, 1993) hypothesized that parents' mental representations of their childhood experiences with attachment figures affect their sensitivity towards their infants' attachment needs and determines the infants' own internal working models of attachment

The AAI is a semi-structured interview that probes for general descriptions of childhood relationships with parents, specific supportive or contradicting memories and descriptions of current relationships with parents. Adults are asked to retrieve attachment related autobiographical memories and evaluate them with respect to their current perspective (Main and Goldwyn, 1992, cited in Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn, 1993). AAI transcripts are rated for security of attachment primarily based on the thoughtfulness and coherence with which the adult is able to recount his childhood experiences and its effects rather than the actual events that are reported. Therefore, the interview does not assess the actual security of childhood attachments but the current state of mind with respect to attachment in general (Main, 1994). The coding of AAI leads to adult attachment classifications in three main categories that parallel the Strange Situation attachment classifications for infants (Ainsworth et al., 1978, cited in Cassidy and Shaver, 1999).

Individuals classified as secure/autonomous describe diverse childhood experiences, maintain a balanced view of early relationships, value attachment relationships, and view attachment-related experiences as influential in development. Adults classified as insecure on the basis of incoherency fail to integrate memories of experience with assessments of the meaning of experience. Adults classified as insecure/dismissing deny or devalue the impact of early attachment relationships, have difficulty with recall of specific events, often idealize experiences, and usually describe an early history of rejection. Adults classified as insecure/preoccupied display confusion about past experiences, and current relationships with parents are marked by active anger or with passivity (Main, 1994). Another main category

exists in addition to this major classification. Individuals classified as unresolved/disorganized/disoriented present mental disorganization and disorientation occurring specifically during discussions of potentially traumatic events such as loss of important people or physical or sexual abuse (Main, 1994).

AAI stability has been demonstrated in a number of studies (Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn, 1993; Benoit and Parker, 1994; Crowell and Treboux, 1991 cited in Crowell and Treboux, 1995), and there are no gender differences in the distribution of classifications (van IJzendoorn and Bakermans-Kranenburg, 1993). Discriminant validity of the AAI has been demonstrated with respect to intelligence, memory, cognitive complexity, social desirability, and overall social adjustment (Bakermans-Kranenburg and van IJzendoorn, 1993).

#### *Adult Romantic Attachment*

Bowlby (1988) maintained a general vision that intimacy between adults is related to attachment dynamics, however early attachment theorists did not work on the relationship between the core concepts of attachment theory and adult intimate or romantic relationships. Hazan and Shaver (1987) were two of the first researchers to explore Bowlby's ideas in the context of romantic relationships. According to Hazan and Shaver (1987), the emotional bond that develops between adult romantic partners is partly a function of the attachment behavioral system that gives rise to the emotional bond between infants and their caregivers. Hazan and Shaver (1987) developed a questionnaire measure of adult attachment styles, where they asked subjects to read three paragraphs and indicate which paragraph best characterized the way they think, feel, and behave in close relationships: One paragraph was about difficulties with closeness, needs of dependence and trust with intimates, characterizing the avoidant attachment style, another paragraph described comfort with closeness and

dependence as well as the absence of fear of abandonment in close relationships, characterizing the secure attachment style and the final paragraph consisted of fears of rejection and abandonment and the need to be close to others to such an extent that it may push others away, defining the anxious-resistant attachment style. Based on this three category measure, Hazan and Shaver (1987) found that the distribution of categories was similar to that observed in infancy. In other words, about 60% of adults classified themselves as secure, about 20% described themselves as avoidant, and about 20% described themselves as anxious-resistant.

Bartholomew (1990, cited in Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991) developed a model that postulates four types of attachment patterns rather than the tripartite attachment typology proposed by Hazan and Shaver (1987). This conceptualization was derived from Bowlby's (1980) description of internal working models of attachment patterns in terms of the representation of the self and representation of the other. The "model of self" is based on whether the individual has a positive self-worth or negative self-worth internally. The "model of other" is based on the reflections of others in the person in terms of whether the person believes in their availability and responsiveness or whether others are viewed as rejecting, uncaring and distant. According to that model, secure adults hold positive beliefs about the self, and availability and responsiveness of close others. Preoccupied adults are anxious concerning their close relationships as they feel that others are not as committed to them as they are. Fearful-avoidant adults have negative views of self-worth and view others as unsupportive and unavailable. Dismissing-avoidant adults deny the importance of close relationships and have a strong commitment to independence and self-reliance. Although this measure served as a useful way to study the association between attachment styles and relationship functioning, it didn't allow a full test of the hypothesis that the same kinds of individual differences observed in infants might be manifest among adults. Based on this

classification system, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) devised the Relationship Questionnaire (RQ).

Brennan, Clark and Shaver (1998) conceptualized adult romantic attachment in two main dimensions. One critical variable has been labeled attachment-related anxiety. People who score high on this variable tend to worry whether their partner is available, responsive, attentive, etc. People who score on the low end of this variable are more secure in the perceived responsiveness of their partners. The other critical variable is called attachment-related avoidance. People on the high end of this dimension prefer not to rely on others or open up to others. People on the low end of this dimension are more comfortable being intimate with others and are more secure depending upon and having others depend upon them. A prototypical secure adult is low on both of these dimensions. Based on these two orthogonal dimensions of attachment Brennan, Clark and Shaver (1998) created the Experiences in Close Relationships Scale (ECR) which has been used in many studies (Shaver and Mikulincer, 2002, cited in Shaver and Mikulincer, 2004).

#### *A Line of Research Separate from Ainsworth's Attachment Classification Scheme*

The adult attachment research discussed so far capture the attachment patterns delineated by Ainsworth et al. (1978) in their work with the Strange Situation. Studies based on AAI repeatedly showed that AAI classifications of parents can predict the Strange Situation classifications of their children (Main and Goldwyn, 1992, Main, 1994, Van Ijzendoorn, 1995). Similarly, romantic attachment research demonstrated the applicability of both attachment theory and especially Ainsworth's infant classification scheme to the study of feelings and behaviors in adolescent and adult attachment research (Hazan and Shaver, 1987; Brennan, Clark and Shaver, 1988; Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991) .

However, beginning in the early 1980s, certain measures such as the Parental Bonding Instrument (PBI, Parker, Tupling and Brown, 1979, cited in Crowell et al., 1999), Attachment History Questionnaire (Pottharst and Kessler, 1990, cited in Crowell et al. 1999), Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA, Armsden and Greenberg, 1987) and Parental Attachment Questionnaire (PAQ, Kenny, 1987, cited in Crowell et al., 1999) were developed, that aimed to assess attachment history, parental relationship quality and feelings of security in relationships with parents. What was common to these measures was that they were not designed to tap the attachment patterns observed in infants and children by Ainsworth et al. (1978). This line of research drew heavily on Bowlby's (1973) conceptualization of attachment as a unique relationship with another individual who is perceived as available and responsive and who is to receive emotional and instrumental support. In general, these scales measured the extent to which parents acted as available, responsive and reliable attachment figures.

Among these measures, one of the most commonly used scales is IPPA that is developed to assess adolescents' perceptions of their relationships with parents and close friends. Armsden and Greenberg (1987) argue that the internal working models of adolescents may be assessed by the experience of trust in the accessibility and responsiveness of attachment figures and the experience of anger or hopelessness resulting from inconsistent responsiveness or unresponsiveness of the attachment figure. Accordingly, IPPA is comprised of three subscales, namely the degree of mutual trust that reflects mutual understanding and respect, the quality of communication that reveals the amount of constructive involvement in the relationship and the degree of alienation that taps feelings of anger and interpersonal isolation. These dimensions yield a composite score of security with respect to parents and peers.

IPPA subscales show high reliability estimates such that three week test-retest estimates and Cronbach alphas are approximately .90. The IPPA parent attachment scores have been found to correlate significantly with reported levels of family support, conflict and cohesiveness and with the tendency to seek out parents in times of need. IPPA parent and peer attachment scores are also significant predictors of self-esteem, life satisfaction, depression, anxiety, resentment and alienation (Armsden and Greenberg, 1987).

Günaydın, Selçuk, Sümer and Uysal (2005) assessed the psychometric quality of the short form of the IPPA (Raja, McGee and Stanton 1992, cited in Günaydın et al., 2005) on a Turkish sample. It was found that mother and father subscales each had high internal consistency and reliability. The validity of the scale has been partially demonstrated by correlations between maternal and paternal attachment and self-esteem, and also paternal attachment and fear of disapproval. However, contrary to their expectations, no significant relationship was found between parental attachment and fear of separation, pleasing others and enjoying solitude. Moreover, the trust, communication and alienation factors did not emerge for the Turkish sample. The authors argue that in order to conclude that the scale has construct validity, it should be conducted with adolescents of different ages in order to understand the age ranges the IPPA is best applicable for. Moreover, the relationship between the IPPA and constructs, such as coping with stress and depression, that are known to be related to parental attachment, have to be assessed.

#### Controversies in the Attachment Literature

There are major arguments in the attachment literature regarding the measurement of individual differences in adult attachment, attachment towards multiple caregivers and the role of culture on attachment.

### Controversies in Adult Attachment Measures

As explained above, in the mid 1980s several lines of research that examine adult attachment emerged. George et al. (1984, cited in Crowell et al., 1999) created the AAI to assess adults' representations of attachment based on their discussion of childhood experiences with their parents. At about the time AAI was developed, Pottharst and Kesler (1990, cited in Crowell et al., 1999) created the AHQ to assess adults' memories of attachment related experiences in childhood. In a separate research effort, Armsden and Greenberg developed the IPPA to assess security or perceived quality of adolescents relationships with parents and peers. Also about this time, Hazan and Shaver (1987) began to consider the application of Ainsworth's infant classification scheme to adult romantic attachment. All these lines of research developed in different ways and inspired the development of a variety of measures. Therefore, today there are many different measures of adolescent and adult attachment and many questions arise about what these scales actually measure and how they are related to each other (Crowell et al., 1999). Two main questions in the measurement literature will be reviewed here. First whether these different measures can be substituted for one another will be discussed, and whether adult attachment patterns are best conceptualized and measured as dimensions or categories will be analyzed.

Even though there is evidence of a relationship between the lines of research and measurement explained above, many theorists argue that different domains are being measured (de Haas, Bakersman-Kranenburg and van Ijzendoorn, 1994, Jacobvitz, Kurran and Moller, 2002, cited in Shaver and Mikulincer, 2004). First, there is debate concerning whether attachment patterns are best assessed with self-report or interview methodologies. It is argued that self-report measures cannot assess implicit and unconscious aspects of functioning (Crowell and Treboux, 1995, Hesse, 1999, cited in Shaver and Mikulincer, 2004). Another criticism is that self-report measures cannot assess dismissing and preoccupied states of mind

with respect to attachment because there are weak correlations between scores of the AAI and self-report scales on these dimensions (Bernier and Dozier, 2002, cited in Shaver and Mikulincer, 2004). A different criticism of self-report measures is that romantic attachment measures cannot activate the attachment system (George and West, 1999) and a basic premise of attachment theory is that attachment behavior can only be observed under conditions (i.e. distress, anxiety) that activate the attachment system (Bowlby, 1982). In response to these arguments, Crowell et al. (1999) state that most adults have sufficient experience in close relationships to account for how they behave in those relationships. Moreover, studies show that even though self-report methods are not as reliable as interview measures in activating and accessing the attachment system, when used in conjunction with other kinds of measures such as behavioral observations, psycho-physiological assessments and implicit priming techniques, they can validly assess the dynamic of the attachment behavioral system (Crowell et al., 1999).

As to the convergence of interview and self-report measures, the studies show that because these two techniques differ in terms of their classification systems, domain of interest and methodology, they hardly unite. Treboux (1993, cited in Stein et al., 1998) and De Haas, Bakermans-Kranenburg and van Ijzendoorn (1994, cited in Stein et al., 1998) found self-report measures to be inconsistent with interview-based classifications using the Adult Attachment Interview. Bartholomew and Shaver (1998, cited in Stein et al., 1998) compared Bartholomew's Attachment Interviews (family, peer and significant other) (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991, cited in Stein et al., 1998) to Bartholomew's Relationship Questionnaire (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991, cited in Stein et al., 1998). Convergence was weakest when both method and content differed, such as when Family Attachment Interview classifications are compared with Relationship Questionnaire classifications (Stein et al., 1998).

There are also debates about the convergence of measures that are not methodologically different, such as whether all self-report measures can be used interchangeably. Crowell et al. (1999) reviewed studies that included more than one self-report measure of attachment. They found that subscale scores across measures were similar to the extent that measures approached attachment from the perspective of romantic relationships rather than relationships with parents or peers. Moreover, correlations between subscales that measure attachment across four categories of relationships ( e.g., Bartholomew and Horowitz's (1991) relationship questionnaire), and that measure attachment across three categories of relationships ( Hazan and Shaver's (1987) ASQ) were lower. Convergence increased when subjects classified b Bartholomew's system as fearful were eliminated.

These findings show that even though measures that are conceptually and methodologically similar and probe the same domains produce similar results, when measures focus on different aspects of attachment or use different methods to activate the attachment system, their relationships decrease significantly (Stein et al., 1998). Concomitantly, Crowell et al. (1999) suggest that researchers need to adopt assessment techniques that are specific to the relationships that they study. Researchers should take into consideration the developmental purpose of each instrument as well as the assumptions underlying each technique. Moreover, the domain of study, parent, peer or romantic attachment should be taken into consideration.

#### The Father as an Attachment Figure

Another emerging issue in attachment literature is attachment towards multiple caregivers. In his early writings, Bowlby (1969, 1982) proposed that a child develops a hierarchy of attachment relationships, first to the mother as the primary caregiver and then to others, specifically the father. Ainsworth (1967, cited in Howes, 1999) observed that all the

infants in her sample who became attached to their mothers also became attached to the father or some other familiar figure. Although recognition of attachment towards the father has been part of attachment theory since its development, attachment research has largely been conducted on the mother-child attachment relationship.

As the roles of men and women in family life have changed, with the mother gaining other social roles in the work area and a more equal distribution of labor between men and women within the domestic area beginning to take place, most children started to be regularly cared for also by their fathers (Howes, 1999). Therefore, some attachment theorists turned their attention to the father-infant relationship. It was seen that when fathers take on caregiving activities, there are few differences between child mother and child father relationships (Parke and Asher, 1983, cited in Howes, 1999). An early study by Lamb (1977, cited in Howes, 1999) showed that when mothers, fathers and infants are all present during observation, infants directed attachment behaviors to both mothers and fathers. A more recent study by Steele, Steele and Fonagy (1995, cited in Howes, 1999) confirmed these findings.

When it was established that the child develops attachment behaviors towards both the mother and the father, the question of how the child organizes multiple attachment relationships within his internal working models emerged. Several different possibilities are suggested and there is no consensus on which possibility is more salient (Howes, 1999). Brethton (1985, cited in Howes, 1999) put forward a model of hierarchical organization where the child's representation with the most prominent caregiver, usually the mother, influences other attachment relationships and thus the paternal attachment has to be concordant with the maternal attachment.

Two other models explaining the organization of multiple attachments, namely the model of integrative organization and the model of independent organization, both assume that the quality of each attachment relationship is independent of each other and depends on

the relationship between the child and the attachment figure (Van Ijzendoorn, Sagi, Lambermon, 1992, Suess, Grossmann and Sroufe, 1992, cited in Howes, 1999). These two models diverge in explaining how different attachment relationships affect overall functioning. The integrative organization model assumes that the child integrates all his attachment relationships into a single representation and the developmental consequences of attachment relationships can best be predicted by considering the quality of all attachment relationships that the child constructs (Van Ijzendoorn, Sagi, Lambermon, 1992, cited in Howes, 1999). In contrast, the independent organization model posits that different attachment relationship representations are influential in different developmental domains. Thus, for example, child-father attachment representations may influence affect regulation whereas child- mother attachment representation may influence competence (Suess, Grossmann and Sroufe, 1992, cited in Howes, 1999).

Fox, Kimmerly and Schaffer (1991, cited in Howes, 1999) conducted a meta-analysis of 11 studies that examined the concordance of infant-mother and infant-father attachment security. It was found that mother and father attachment relationships were modestly concordant, as long as parents share child-rearing values and behaviors. However, when the parents are dissimilar, so is the relationship quality. These results provide partial support for the first assumption of integrative and independent organization theories.

### Attachment and Culture

Given the implications of attachment theory for socio-emotional development, researchers began to question the cross cultural validity of attachment theory (e.g. Sagi, van Ijzendoorn, Aviezer, Donnell and Mayseless, 1994, Kermoian and Leiderman, 1986, Takahashi, 1982, cited in van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999). Preliminary findings indicated that secure, anxious-ambivalent and avoidant attachment classifications occurred in somewhat

different proportions in other countries and cultures compared to U.S. culture. In particular, whereas the secure attachment classifications were observed to be dominant in most cultural groups studied, avoidant attachment classifications were relatively more prevalent in Western European countries and the anxious-ambivalent classifications were found to be more common in Israel and Japan (van Ijzendoorn and Kroonenberg, 1988). These findings led some researchers to reevaluate the normative aspects of attachment theory (e.g. Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake and Morelli, 2000; Harwood et al., 1995).

It is possible to identify two major approaches to the cross-cultural study of attachment behavior taken by researchers thus far (van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999). In cross-cultural research, the “etic” approach leads to an emphasis on theories and assessments that have been developed in a specific culture that is often a western, industrialized society. These theories are then applied in other cultures to test whether the construct under analysis is cross-culturally valid rather than culture specific. In contrast, the “emic” approach focuses on social and behavioral aspects and developmental paths that are specific to the culture and it tries to understand this culture within its own frame of reference (Belsky, 1969, cited in Harwood et al., 1995).

#### A Review of Cross-Cultural Attachment Studies using an Etic Approach

The etic approach is more dominant in cross-cultural attachment research because in many cases Bowlby’s conceptualization of attachment and Ainsworth’s operationalization of attachment has been applied to various non-Western cultures (van Ijzendoorn, 1990). In 1999, van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999) published a review of fourteen cross-cultural attachment studies using an etic approach. These studies were attachment studies conducted in non-European and non-Anglo-Saxon societies such as various African cultures, China, Israel and Japan. In order to analyze the cross-cultural validity of attachment theory, they specifically

examined these studies based on the core hypotheses of attachment theory, which are the universality, normativity, sensitivity and competence hypotheses (Bowlby, 1969/1982). The universality hypothesis of attachment states that all infants become attached to at least one primary caregiver (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters and Wall, 1978, cited in van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999). Infants and young children may become attached to more than one person such as fathers and regular caregivers but not to many figures (Sagi, van Ijzendoorn and Aviezer, 1995, cited in van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999). The normativity hypothesis states that the secure pattern of attachment is, with very few exceptions, the most frequent pattern in many cultures. Ainsworth proposed that the secure pattern is to be considered as normative and the optimal adaptive developmental outcome for human infants (Ainsworth et al., 1978, cited in van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999). The sensitivity hypothesis states that primary caregiver's sensitive responsiveness to children's signals is a major determinant of attachment security and exploratory behavior (Ainsworth et al., 1978, cited in van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999). Finally, the competence hypothesis states that competence, defined in terms of behaviors associated with exploration, autonomy, efficacy, self-expression, affect regulation and positive peer relationships (Feeny, 1999 cited in van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999), is a consequence of the security of infant's attachment relationships with their caregivers (Main, 1990, cited in, van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999).

Van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999) found the strongest support for the universality hypothesis. In no cross-cultural study were there reports of children who did not show attachment behavior in stressful situations. They also viewed that not only the attachment behavior itself but different types of attachment were present in every culture and differentiation between secure and insecure attachment could be made.

Van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999) found rather strong evidence also for the normativity hypothesis. In all cross-cultural studies that they examined, the majority of children were

classified as securely attached. Grossman and Grossman (2004) reported that only two exceptions from this norm have been published: In a North German sample the insecure-avoidant pattern was found to be dominant (Grossmann, Grossmann, Spangler, Suess, and Unzner, 1985, cited in Grossman and Grossman, 2004), and in an Israeli sample of infants with out-of-home sleeping arrangements, the insecure-ambivalent pattern and even disorganized attachment behaviors were dominant (Sagi, van IJzendoorn, Aviezer, Donnell, and Mayseless, 1994).

Van IJzendoorn and Sagi (1999) found less support for the sensitivity and competence hypotheses. The most striking disconfirming data came from Japan where Nagawaka, Lamb and Miyake (1992, cited in van IJzendoorn and Sagi, 1999) who videotaped home interactions of 30 families four months and eight months after birth and also conducted 8 month laboratory observations in order to assess maternal accessibility, acceptance, cooperation and sensitivity. They found no association between attachment security and maternal interactive behavior. Van IJzendoorn and Sagi (1999) suggest that these results may be due to the self-conscious nature of Japanese behavior rendering the ratings of maternal behavior less valid and the small sample size of the study. Of the 14 studies they analyzed, van IJzendoorn and Sagi (1999) found support in only half of the studies for the sensitivity hypothesis.

As for the competence hypothesis, they concluded that the cross-cultural support is still insufficient. In a Gusii study, Kermoian and Leiderman (1986, cited in van IJzendoorn and Sagi, 1999) found that the nutritional status of the secure infants were better than that of the insecure infants and this outcome has been replicated in a Chilean study of undernourished children (Valenzuela, 1990, cited in van IJzendoorn and Sagi, 1999). Van IJzendoorn and Sagi (1999) state that even though there is a remarkable connection between health status and attachment, it is still not clear whether the attachment security serves as the only cause.

On the basis of these findings, van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999) state that the cross-cultural studies are consistent with attachment theory, especially in terms of universality and normativity. They conclude that attachment theory may therefore claim cross-cultural validity.

### A Critique on the Universality of Sensitivity, Competence and Secure Base

#### Hypotheses

Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake and Morelli (2000) criticize Bowlby (1973), Main (1990) and especially van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999) who assume that the three core hypotheses of attachment theory (sensitivity, competence and secure base hypotheses which will be explained below) are universal and instead propose that the core tenets of the attachment theory are rooted in Western thought and require fundamental change when applied to other cultures or minority groups. Although most attachment theorists recognize the role of culture, they claim that only certain behaviors are affected by culture but the core of attachment is immune to cultural influences (Ainsworth et al., 1978; Main, 1990; Cassidy and Shaver, 1999; van Ijzendoorn and Sagi, 1999).

Rothbaum et al. (2000) disagree with the position of these theorists. Even though Rothbaum et al. (2000) do not deny the biological and evolutionary predispositions that underlie attachment, they claim that biology and culture are inseparable aspects of the system in which a person develops. Rothbaum et al. (2000) question the universality and cross-cultural validity of three hypotheses concerning the antecedents (sensitivity), consequences (competence) and nature of attachment (secure base) of attachment and compare the relevance of these hypotheses for the American and the Japanese culture. The sensitivity and competence hypotheses were explained above. The secure base hypothesis refers to the exploratory behavior of the infant when he feels sufficiently protected and comforted by his mother's presence (Bowlby, 1982).

In assessing sensitivity, Rothbaum et al. (2000) state that there are fundamental differences in the way American vs. Japanese mothers view and express sensitivity. The objective of maternal sensitivity is to promote dependence and social engagement in Japan whereas in the US, it is to promote autonomy and independence. In this regard, Japanese maternal speech is focused on emotions rather than on information as in the US; Japanese mothers prefer prolonged physical contact whereas American mothers use distal eye contact and Japanese mothers direct their children's attention to social objects and particularly themselves rather than to physical objects as American mothers prefer (Bornstein, Azuma, Tamis-LeMonda, Ogino, 1990, cited in Rothbaum et al., 2000). Moreover, sensitivity for Japanese mothers has more to do with emotional closeness and regulating the child's emotional states whereas for American mothers, responsiveness has more to do with helping the child to assert his personal desires and respecting his autonomous efforts to satisfy his own needs (Keller, Voelker and Zach, 1997 cited in Rothbaum et al., 2000). Rothbaum et al. (2000) conclude that the different expressions of sensitivity and responsivity reflect the indigenous values and goals which are apt to change from one culture to the next.

Similarly, what counts as competence differs from one culture to the next. According to the competence hypothesis, there are indices of social competence common to all children and adults and it comes as a result of secure attachment (Main, 1990). Attachment theorists define social competence largely in terms of western values and thus they emphasize exploration, autonomy, willingness to discuss strong affect and to disagree with partners, sociability with peers and unfamiliar others and a positive view of self (Grossman, Grossman, Zimmerman, 1999, Cassidy, 1988, Allen and Land, 1999, Hazan and Shaver, 1994, cited in Rothbaum et al., 2000). There is evidence that all these aspects of social competence are seen more negatively by Japanese, who would define a "competent" person possessing the qualities above as immature and uncultivated (Fiske, Kitayama, Markus and Nisbett, 1998, cited in

Rothbaum et al., 2000). In Japan where social harmony is valued over individual expressions, social competence often entails emotional restraint, indirect expression of feelings, self-criticism and decency (Kitayama, Markus, Masumoto, Norasakkunkit, 1997).

Rothbaum et al. (2000) claim that the conception and expression of the secure base depends on the community examined. They focus on the link between attachment and exploration which is used by the majority of attachment researchers to refer to the secure base (e.g. Cassidy, 1999, Kobak, 1999, cited in Rothbaum et al., 2000). These attachment theorists claim that infants who are sufficiently protected and comforted by the presence of their caregivers will use their caregivers as a secure base to explore the environment. Rothbaum et al. (2000) state that the conceptualization of the secure base reflects Western cultural values emphasizing individuation and the belief that exploration leads to individuation which is viewed as an adaptive outcome. However, in other cultures where social harmony is valued over individuation, it was seen that exploratory behavior is not a primary outcome of secure attachment (e.g. Gaskins, 1996, McGillicuddy-De Lisi and Subramanian, 1996, cited in Rothbaum et al., 2000). For example, it was observed that Japanese babies engage in less exploratory behavior activity compared to U.S. babies, and Japanese babies are more oriented towards their mothers in circumstances involving positive emotions whereas the U.S. babies are more oriented to the environment in those circumstances (Bornstein, Azuma, Tamis-LeMonda and Ogino, 1990, cited in Rothbaum et al., 2000).

#### Paths of Development in US and Japan: Individuation vs. Accommodation

Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake and Weisz (2000) state that the cultural differences in the core tenets of attachment explained by Rothbaum, Weisz et al. (2000) are due to different paths of development in different cultures. They compare the different paths of development in U.S. and Japan and construe that biological predispositions for relatedness

take on different forms according to the values emphasized in the culture in which they develop. According to Rothbaum, Pott et al. (2000), there are many aspects of relatedness such as proximity seeking, contact maintaining, separation protest and safe haven that are biological dispositions universal in every culture (Bowlby, 1982). In the U.S., these predispositions pass through the lens of individuation which encompasses autonomy, expressiveness and exploration (Harwood, Miller and Irizarry, 1995), whereas in Japan they pass through the lens accommodation, which includes empathy, compliance and propriety (Azuma, 1986, cited in Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000) leading to distinct paths of development. In Japan, biological predispositions of relatedness are shaped through the path of symbiotic harmony characterized by an emphasis on union and fulfilling other's needs and expectations. In contrast, the path of generative tension emphasized in the US is characterized by a continual pull between the desire for proximity towards the attachment figures on the one hand and a desire for exploration and autonomy on the other (Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000).

#### *The Path of Symbiotic Harmony*

An example for the path of symbiotic harmony comes from the study of *amae* in Japan, a concept that refers to relationships involving both attachment and dependence (Doi, 1989, cited in Rothbaum, Weisz et al., 2000). According to Doi, *amae* signifies strong indulgence and dependency feelings where the child desires to be passively loved and is reluctant to be separated from his mother (Doi, 1992). The concept of attachment covers the same area as *amae* but the bond with the parent inevitably implies dependence which is denied in attachment theory (Doi, 1992). The parallels between attachment and *amae* have been documented extensively: Attachment and *amae* both become fully developed around the end of the first year of life and take on different forms throughout the lifespan (Doi, 1989, cited in Rothbaum, Weisz et al., 2000), both are fostered by caregiver responsiveness and

empathy (Emde 1992, cited in Rothbaum, Weisz et al., 2000), both lead to emotional competence such as affect regulation (Emde 1992, cited in Rothbaum, Weisz et al., 2000) and secure and insecure types of both concepts have been identified (Okonogi, 1992, cited in Rothbaum, Weisz et al., 2000).

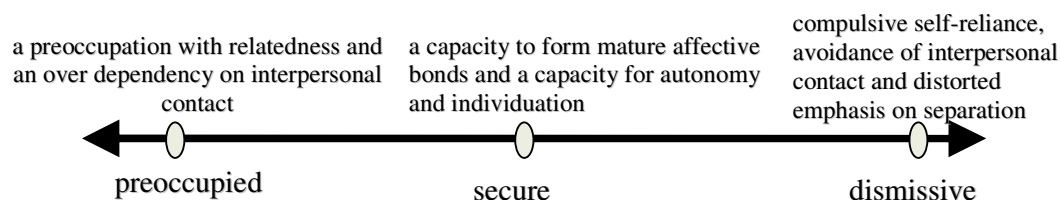
### *The Path of Generative Tension*

The path of generative tension is characterized by the US infants needs for proximity towards the caregiver and desire to gain autonomy and independence (Bowlby, 1973). In fact, within the path of generative tension, there are two developmental lines which are relatedness and individuality (separation and attachment) that both evolve concomitantly. The evolving capacities for autonomy, initiative, and industry in the individuality developmental line develop in parallel with the development of a capacity for relatedness encompassing feelings of mutuality, intimacy, and reciprocity in a mature intimate relationship. Even though these developmental lines interact throughout the life cycle, they remain relatively independent of each other through the early developmental years and in order to acquire a healthy and comprehensive self-identity, the developmental task during adolescence is to integrate these two developmental lines (Blatt, 1990).

In this respect, Blatt (1990) conceptualizes attachment styles as a continuum ranging from exaggerated preoccupation with individuation to exaggerated preoccupation with relatedness. Whereas secure attachment involves both a capacity to form mature affective bonds and a capacity for autonomy and individuation as expressed in the development of the capacity both to love and to work, insecure attachment results either in either a preoccupation with relatedness and an over dependency on interpersonal contact (anxious ambivalent insecure attachment) or in compulsive self-reliance, avoidance of interpersonal contact and

distorted emphasis on separation (avoidant insecure attachment) (Hazan and Shaver, 1990, cited in Blatt, 1990). Figure 1 represents the continuum that Blatt (1990) talks about.

**Figure 1. Attachment styles as a continuum ranging from an exaggerated preoccupation with relatedness to an exaggerated occupation with individuation**



Similarly, Martin and Stewart (1990, cited in Kretchmar and Jacobvitz, 2002) note the similarities between the relationship patterns, namely disengagement, balance and entanglement, described by system theorists and the secure, resistant and avoidant attachment patterns. Just as disengaged relationships are characterized by distant, under involved and sometimes hostile interactions, avoidant attachments are also described by ignoring behavior and displaced anger. Likewise, both entangled relationships and resistant attachments are characterized by over involved, intrusive and ambivalent behavior patterns. Finally, balanced relationships are reflected by mutual sensitivity and open communication, which are qualities that facilitate the independence of each member in the relationship. Similarly, secure attachments are demonstrated by infants who can rely on their caregivers as sources of comfort and security from which to explore the relationship.

Blatt and Zuroff (1992) name four instruments that measure the extent to which an individual puts emphasis on individuation and relatedness. Blatt and Zuroff identify psychometric problems with three of these measures: The Depressive Experiences Questionnaire (DEQ, Blatt, D’Affliti and Quinlan, 1978, cited in Blatt and Zuroff, 1992) that measures concerns of abandonment, wishes to be close to others, needs of dependence on one

dimension and feelings of disapproval towards the self for failing to actualize self-expectations and standards; the Sociotropy-Autonomy Scale (SAS, Beck, Epstein, Harrison and Emery, 1983, cited in Blatt and Zuroff, 1992) that measures concerns about disapproval, attachment and pleasing others on one dimension and achievement, freedom from control and preference for solitude on another dimension; the Dysfunctional Attitude Scale (DAS, Weisman and Beck, 1978, cited in Blatt and Zuroff, 1992) also yielding two dimensions, concerns about a need of approval by others vs. concerns of self-worth and perfectionism. Blatt and Zuroff (1992) state that DEQ includes too many items that tap state depression, SAS autonomy scale's convergent validity is questionable and DAS subscales are too correlated with each other.

In response to these problems, Robins and Luten (1991) developed a new instrument named the Personal Style Inventory (PSI) that has two dimensions: The Autonomy subscale measures the constructs of perfectionism, self-criticism, need for control and defensive separation and the Sociotropy subscale measures aspects of relatedness including concern about what others think, dependency, and pleasing others. PSI has good construct definition, internal consistency, and convergent and divergent validity (Blatt and Zuroff, 1992).

To sum up, the Japanese and U.S. paths of development start with the same manifestation of biological predispositions but take on different forms according to the different values emphasized in each culture: Individuation vs. accommodation. Throughout development, these cultural values continue to affect close relationships (Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000). Figure 2 represents the different paths of development that biological predispositions follow and the different behavioral expressions of these dispositions.

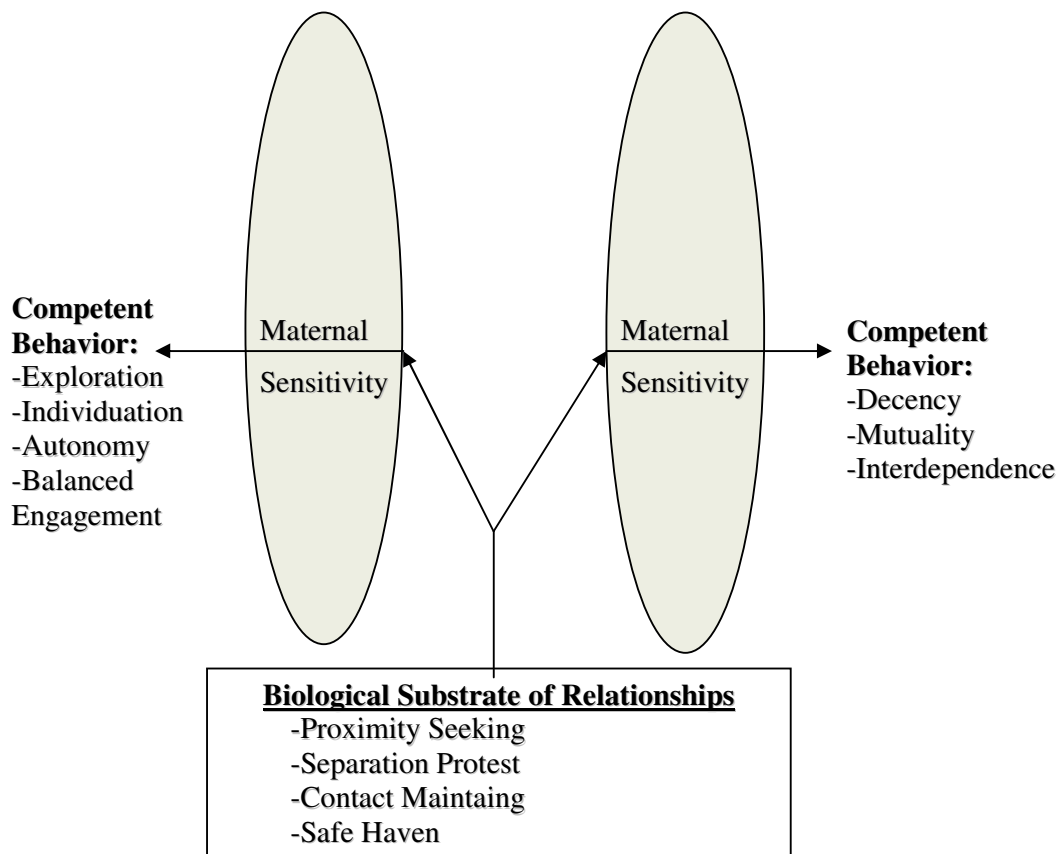
**Figure 2. Different paths of development in individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000)**

**Lens of Individuation:**

Emphasis on autonomy, expressiveness and exploration

**Lens of Accomodation:**

Emphasis on empathy, compliance, propriety and social harmony



### A Summary of the Findings about the Role of Culture on Attachment

Up to this point, it seems that all infants, regardless of the culture they live in, become attached to at least one of their primary caregivers and the secure pattern of attachment is, with very few exceptions, the most frequent pattern in many cultures. Therefore, the universality and normativity hypotheses seem to be cross-culturally valid. The effect of culture on attachment can first be seen in the attainment of security so that the maternal sensitivity that leads to secure attachment is affected by indigenous cultural values and goals. For example, in Japan the objective of maternal sensitivity is to promote dependence and social engagement whereas in the US, it is to promote autonomy and independence. These different objectives lead to different expressions of sensitivity: Japanese mothers prefer prolonged physical contact whereas American mothers use distal eye contact. Secondly, cultural values affect the expression of secure attachment behavior. In individualistic cultures, the competent behaviors that secure attachment entails are exploration, autonomy, willingness to discuss strong affect and to disagree with partners, sociability with peers and unfamiliar others and a positive view of self whereas in Japan where social harmony is valued over individual expressions, social competence often entails emotional restraint, indirect expression of feelings, self-criticism and decency. Therefore, indigenous cultural values affect the consequences of security. To sum up, there is no question about the dominance of secure attachment in different cultures, the cultural discrepancy occurs in the antecedents (sensitivity hypothesis) and consequences (competence hypothesis) of secure attachment.

Based on these findings, Rothbaum, Weisz et al. (2000) call for indigenous theories of attachment. Reliance on measures designed by Western investigators reflect the assumptions of western thought and do not totally apply to cultures such as Japan where the underlying values fostering development are thoroughly different (Rothbaum, Weisz et al., 2000).

An Emic Approach to the Study of Attachment: Harwood, Miller and Irizarry (1995)

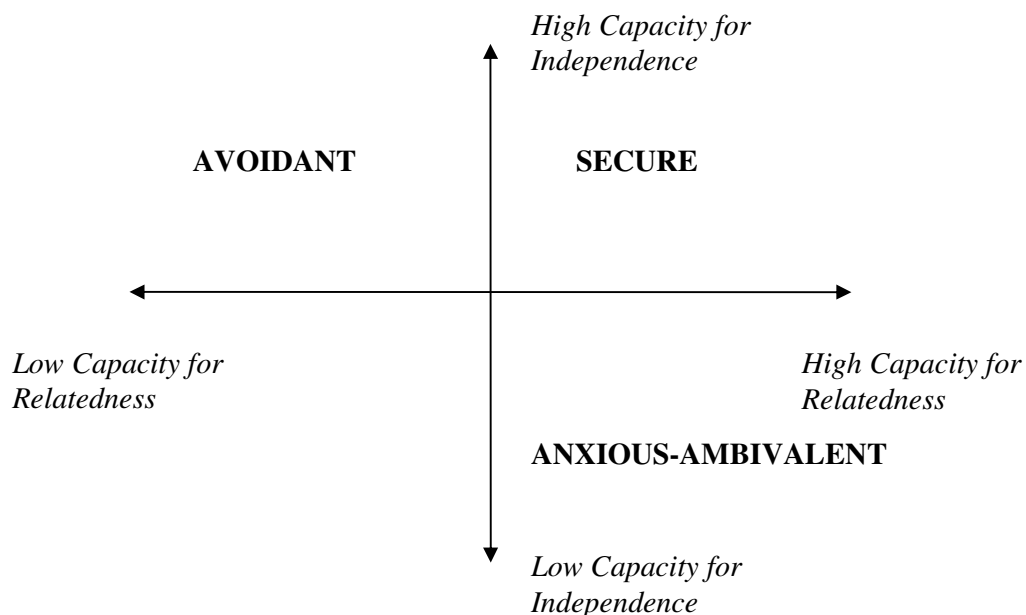
Harwood, Miller and Irizarry (1995) agree with Rothbaum, Weisz et al. (2000) and state that attachment behavior can be considered part of culturally constructed meanings regarding the relationship of self to other. Therefore, they too emphasize the need for a careful study of the contextualized meanings of attachment behavior, its antecedents and its consequences.

Harwood et al. (1995) examined perceptions of attachment behavior using a symbolic approach which points to the importance of the meaning systems one constructs regarding relationships with parents and social expectations from which all understandings and behaviors are formed (Gumperz and Hymes, 1986, cited in Harwood et al., 1995). With this approach, they examined socio-cultural differences in the meanings given to desirable and undesirable attachment behavior among Anglo and Puerto Rican mothers. The term “Anglo” was chosen to describe the white American women of non-Hispanic European ancestry who participated in this study. It was expected that Anglo mothers would reflect the mainstream culture, emphasizing a more individualistic view of the person and of interpersonal relationships, which has shaped the attitudes towards child development in U.S. whereas the Puerto Rican mothers would demonstrate a different cultural meaning system that emphasize a more sociocentric view (Harwood et al., 1995). During the study, the mothers answered open ended questions about the qualities they would like their child to possess and would not like their child to possess and also were also given vignettes depicting hypothetical secure, avoidant and ambivalent children’s behaviors during the strange situation and were asked what they liked and did not like about the behaviors of these children.

It was found that the Anglo mothers placed a lot of emphasis on self-maximization defined as the capacity to become self-confident and independent and developing one’s talents and abilities as an individual. Therefore, they found active secure and avoidant infants

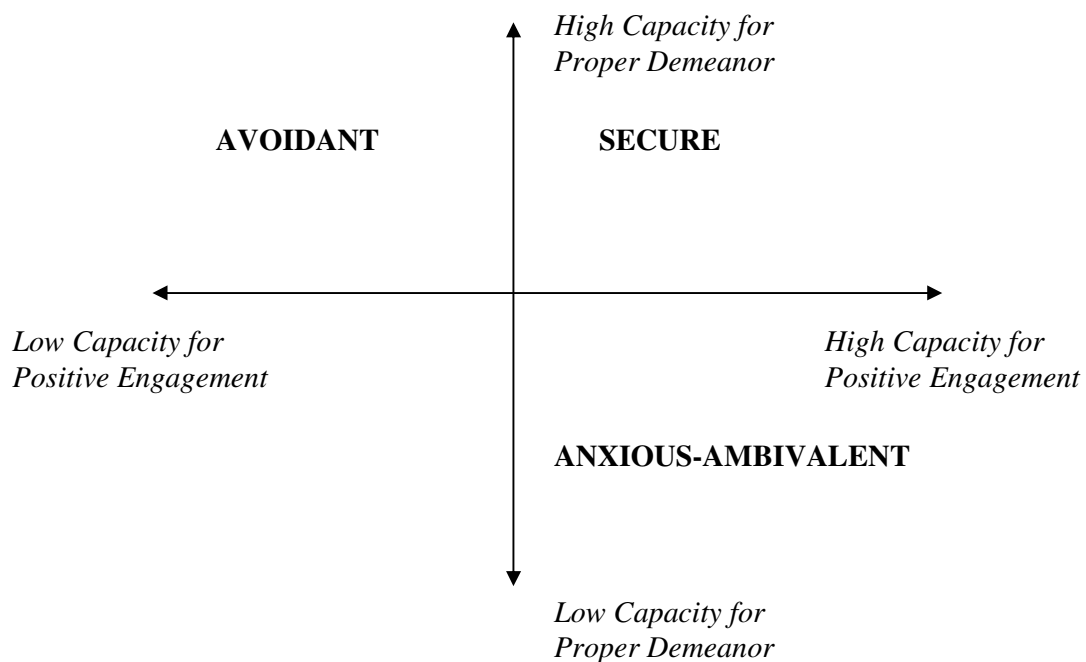
to be significantly more desirable than did Puerto Rican mothers and described what they liked and didn't like about the hypothetical toddlers in the strange situation in terms of presence or absence of self-maximizing qualities. Despite their emphasis on self-maximization, Anglo mothers were aware of the fact that an excess of individualism can be problematic. Accordingly, they expressed the belief that a balance between self-maximization and the ability to relate to others was optimal. Moreover, the ability to appropriately express and modulate tendencies towards aggression, selfishness and egotism emerged as another aspect of self-maximization. Concomitantly, the secure toddler was liked most because he possessed a healthy balance of independence and relatedness; the avoidant toddler was liked for his independence but was criticized for emotional detachment and the ambivalent toddler was disapproved due to a lack of control over negative emotional tendencies (Harwood et al., 1995). In sum, Anglo mothers saw competent attachment behavior as an interaction of capacity for relatedness and capacity for independence. Figure 3 represents the way Anglo mothers conceptualized different attachment patterns.

**Figure 3. Interaction of independence and relatedness representing different attachment patterns for Anglo mothers**



On the other hand, the Puerto Rican mothers emphasized the importance of proper demeanor in interpersonal relationships. A child who possesses proper demeanor is respectful, obedient, calm, attentive to the needs of others, kind, worthy of trust and useful to society. In addition to proper demeanor, Puerto Rican mothers emphasized the importance of positive engagement characterized by warmth, affection and trust as well as the ability to know which level of relatedness is appropriate in which context. The Puerto Rican mothers thus liked secure infants for their ability to combine a calm and respectful demeanor with warmth and affection and they criticized avoidant toddlers for their lack of positive engagement. They also criticized the ambivalent toddlers for lack of proper demeanor because they were noisy, disruptive and angry (Harwood, et al.,1995). In sum, Puerto Rican mothers saw competent attachment behavior as an interaction of the capacity for proper demeanor and capacity for positive engagement. Figure 4 represents the way Puerto Rican mothers conceptualized different attachment patterns.

**Figure 4. Interaction of proper demeanor and positive engagement representing different attachment patterns for Puerto Rican mothers**



This study shows that even though secure attachment is the desirable outcome for both Puerto-Rican and Anglo mothers, the behaviors that they expect from secure children vary as a result of cultural values. Whereas Anglo mothers emphasize the importance of self-maximization, Puerto-Rican mothers expect interdependence and proper demeanor. In this sense, the expression and consequences of security change as a function of cultural goals.

### Attachment and the Turkish Context

#### *Attachment Research in Turkey*

There have not been many studies in Turkey that assess the appropriateness of adult attachment theory and measures for the Turkish culture. The most extensive study has been conducted by Sümer and Güngör (1999) who compared Turkish and American university students' attachment styles by the Relationship Questionnaire (RQ) which consists of four short paragraphs each describing one of the four romantic attachment styles (Bartholomew and Horowitz, 1991) and by the Relationship Scales Questionnaire (RSQ) which is a multi-item measure of attachment styles (Griffin and Bartholomew, 1994). They found that in the Turkish population, the secure attachment style is predominant. However, the findings regarding insecure attachment styles confirmed cross-cultural discrepancies in attachment style distributions and also pointed to difficulties that the present attachment measures generate in classifying individuals into attachment prototypes (Sümer and Güngör, 1999).

First of all, while in western countries people have higher scores on the dismissive attachment style, Turkish people in the study scored higher on the preoccupied dimension (Sümer and Güngör, 1999). Similar findings were reported by Kuşçu Orhan (1998) who used the AAS to classify the participants in her study. Sümer and Güngör (1999) suggest that this discrepancy may be due to the collectivistic nature of the Turkish culture that engenders an interdependent self inclined towards a preoccupied attachment style.

Moreover, problems emerged in terms of the classification of insecure attachment patterns in the Turkish sample, especially the dismissive style. It was observed that the participants were reluctant to agree with the dismissive style that may imply breaking away from or rejecting others. Sümer and Güngör (1999) suggest that in the Turkish culture where close relationships are valued, the dismissive style cannot be totally identified in the Turkish sample because it is hard to objectively answer a measure that is based upon separation and individuation.

Another problem that Sümer and Güngör (1999) found in the classification of the insecure attachment styles was the weak correlations between the dismissive and preoccupied styles. Even though these two factors were in opposite directions as expected, there is a weak relationship between preoccupied and dismissive styles in the Turkish sample which did not occur in the American sample. Even though the scales can reliably distinguish secure from insecure attachment styles in the Turkish sample, they could not distinguish the insecure attachment types very clearly. A similar problem was reported by Kuşçu Orhan (1998) who found that avoidant scores on the AAS correlated positively with ambivalent scores on the AAS and also with preoccupied scores on the RQ even though a negative association is expected between these two scores. Bekiroğlu (1996) had serious problems classifying insecure attachment styles by the AAS and as a result could only classify his data in terms of secure vs. insecure attachment.

Moreover, Arıkoğlu (2003) who used the anxiety and avoidance dimensions of the RQ in order to study individual differences could not find any significant difference between attachment categories in the avoidance dimension. She suggest that these results cast some doubt on the effectiveness of the RQ in assessing the attachment styles of Turkish individuals.

On the basis of these results, Sümer and Güngör (1999) call for new attachment measures that are more reliable and more applicable to Turkish culture and to other similar cultures.

#### *Parent-Child Relationships in Turkey*

At this point, a review of basic cultural norms that affect the parent-child relationship in Turkey will be provided in order to evaluate how indigenous cultural values may affect the development and expression of attachment. Turkish society is rapidly transforming from a rural, traditional society to a modern, urban and industrial one. However, even though economics change fast, interpersonal relations and family dynamics are still highly influenced by cultural values. In this context, the culture can still be defined as traditional, authoritarian and patriarchal (Sunar and Fişek, 2005).

Traditional family relationships are characterized by both emotional and material interdependence, along with obedience and respect towards the authority of the elders. The authority of the father is strongly emphasized and obedience is a must in father-child relationships. Children feel responsibility, loyalty and gratitude towards their families and put the needs of their family in front of their own interests and ambitions. In order to maintain harmony within the interdependent familial structure, obedience, dependence, conformity and quietness are emphasized whereas autonomy, initiative, activity and curiosity are discouraged because they can endanger emotional relatedness (Fişek, 1993). These findings reflect a strong generational and gender hierarchy in traditional families as reported by Fişek (1991, 1993, 1995).

Along with structural hierarchy, there is an emphasis on proximity and interpersonal connectedness within the traditional family expressed in the level of sharing and permeability of interpersonal boundaries (Fişek, 1991) and children are reared in an atmosphere of mutual

emotional attachment and loyalty. Good communication, emotional expressiveness such as being affectionate, sympathetic, attentive and sensitive to the needs of others, and dependency are encouraged (Sunar and Fişek, 2005).

The educated urban family also encourages emotional intimacy, closeness and sensitivity to the needs of others and the importance of the family over the individual is emphasized (Sunar, 2002). While there are important areas of continuity between traditional and more westernized families, there is a greater encouragement of independence in the child and the child's individual success and achievement is higher compared to traditional families (Sunar, 2002).

There are differences in the way Turkish mothers and fathers approach their children. Mothers express their affection openly, both verbally and through physical means like hugging and kissing the child, and they also encourage the child to reciprocate (Kağıtçıbaşı, Sunar, & Bekman, 1988). The fathers are open and affectionate towards the children when they are small however as they grow up, a barrier of authority and respect takes place in the father-child relationship. Recent research showed that adolescents feel emotionally closer to their mothers than to their fathers (Hortaçsu, Gencöz, & Oral, 1995) and also communicated more with their mothers than with their fathers (Hortaçsu, 1989). Moreover, the types of interactions between mother-infant and father-infant dyads differ in the sense that the children prefer to share information about self and decisions with their fathers but emotional sharing and physical contact is more prominent with the mother (Fişek, 1995).

Parent child interactions also differ depending on the sex of the child. While the father daughter relationship may be characterized by affection and tolerance (Kandiyoti, 1977; Sunar, 2002), the father son relationship is more formal and authoritarian (Kiray, 1976). The daughter is like a companion for the mother (Ataca and Sunar, 1999) and the mother son relationship is especially close (Kandiyoti, 1977). One reason for this closeness is the distance

between the wife and the husband that leads the mother to seek intimacy from her children, especially her more valuable son (Fişek, 1993).

As for the qualities Turkish mothers want to see in their children, it was found in 1975 that minding parents and being obedient had the highest importance together with being a good person, and independence was one of the least important qualities (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982). However, with the changes brought about by socioeconomic development and modernization, the importance of obedience as a desirable quality diminished. Of utmost importance is that the child to be a good person, followed by success at school whereas popularity, minding parents (being obedient), and independence are also desired (Ataca and Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005).

In summary, the emphasis on obedience, respect and parental authority along with the encouragement of emotional expressiveness are important characteristics of the Turkish family. These findings reveal that the parent-child matrix within the Turkish culture can be better explained in terms of positive engagement and proper demeanor rather than an emphasis on the values of autonomy and relatedness.

#### *Construction of Self in the Turkish Context*

It is important to consider the development of self in a context of strong hierarchy and proximity. According to Fişek (2002) the clear distinction in hierarchical roles and responsibilities leads to a separation between individuals. In a context where personal boundaries are blurred due to strong emotional connection and mutuality in interpersonal relationships, an interpersonal distance is acquired through obedience and respect. Self development is a function of the interaction between hierarchy and proximity where the individual gains knowledge of self through mirroring in close relationships and separates through hierarchical role distinctions.

In this sense, Roland's (1988) "familial self", "structural hierarchy" and "expanding self" concepts provide a good framework in understanding the Turkish self. The familial self is the basic psychological organization that enables people to function well within the hierarchical intimacy relations of the extended family, community and other groups. According to Roland (1988) symbiosis reciprocity is the affective part of the familial self characterized by high levels of emotional interdependency, high levels of empathy and receptivity towards the needs of the others. Seçkin (1996) investigated the concept of self in Turkish culture according to Roland's (1988) theoretical approach. She found that symbiosis-reciprocity emerged as the strongest dimension of the familial self which was displayed in terms of love, care, support, soothing and comfort received from parents, especially the mother.

A psychosocial dimension of the familial self is structural hierarchy and its main premise is to preserve harmony and emotional connectedness in the family at all costs. In hierarchical relationships, deference, loyalty, obedience and receptivity are the expectations of the superior (i.e. father) from the subordinate (i.e. child). Superiors are expected to be in an emotionally involved relationship with subordinates and this relationship entails being nurturant, giving advice and direction to the subordinate while criticizing the subordinate's mistakes (Roland, 1988). Akhondzadeh (2002) analyzed the dynamics of structural hierarchy between Turkish mother-child and father-child units and found that the father-child relationship fits perfectly with Roland's structural hierarchy concept whereas the mother-child relationship is more compatible with a symbiosis-reciprocity picture.

Along with familial self, another conceptualization of the self that Roland talks about is the expanding self which takes into account how sociohistorical, social and economic changes affect the self structure. As a product of western influences and modernization, the eastern self goes into a gradual individuation which may result in the construction of an

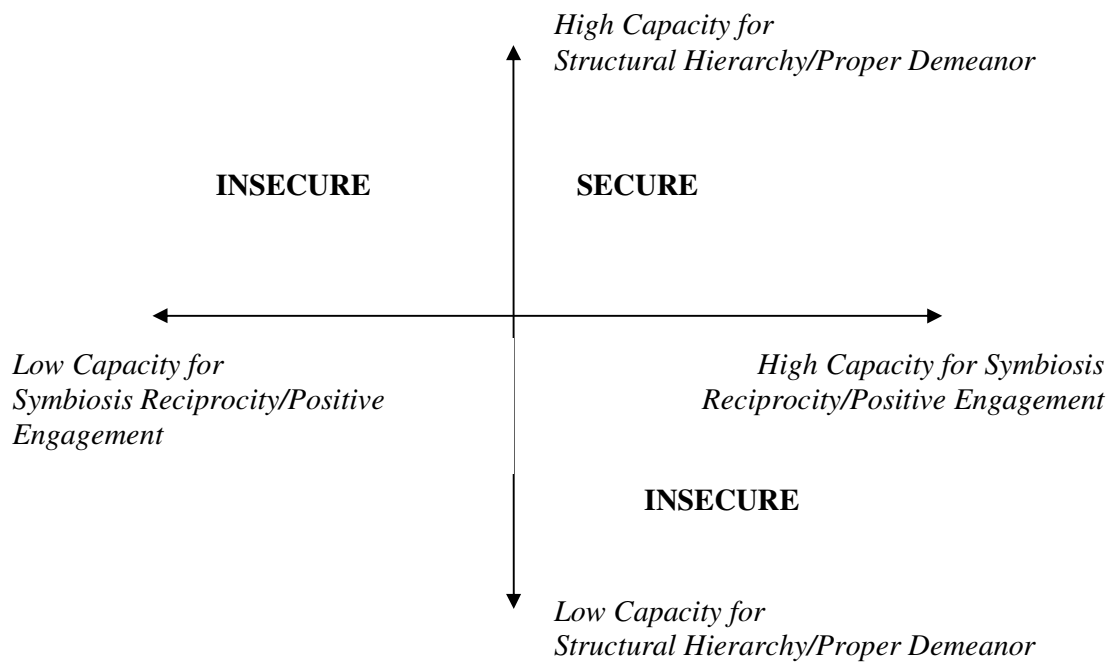
expanding self where one reforms his own culture by incorporating western influences into a new synthesis. Thus, encountering a radically different life-style, mainly through education, leads to gradual internalization of another culture's characteristics while protecting the basic qualities of the indigenous culture, resulting in the formation a bicultural or expanding self. In Turkey, where the rapid changes brought about by socioeconomic development and modernization affect the cultural values and the self, the expanding self is a very relevant concept. Tokgöz (1999) found that Roland's expanding self construal was valid for Turkish undergraduates exposed to westernization through education. She found that exposure to westernization through education facilitated the formation of an expanding self in Turkey, and that this construal was more evident when exposure started in high school and continued in university. Tokgöz (1999) constructed an Expanding Self Scale consisting of western and non-western statements concerning cross-gender intimacy, relationships with family, friends, relatives and neighbors, future plans, future roles as parents and achievement motives.

In summary, in a culture where emotional interconnectedness and mutuality are emphasized along with qualities that maintain the harmony within the interdependent familial structure such as obedience, dependence, conformity and quietness, the resulting self structure is an interaction between symbiosis-reciprocity and structural hierarchy. These concepts overlap with the desirable qualities that Puerto Rican mother's wanted their children to acquire in Harwood et al.'s (1995) study. Symbiosis-reciprocity is related with positive engagement because both of these qualities emphasize the importance of mutuality, warmth and affection in interpersonal relationships along with the ability to be sensitive to the needs of others. Similarly, the Puerto Rican proper demeanor is related with structural hierarchy as both of these constructs underline the importance of respect, obedience towards superiors along with knowing the level of decorum required in a given situation with respect to others' age, sex and social status. Consequently, the Turkish self can be defined on two orthogonal

dimensions, one showing the level of positive engagement/symbiosis reciprocity on the other showing the level of structural hierarchy/proper demeanor.

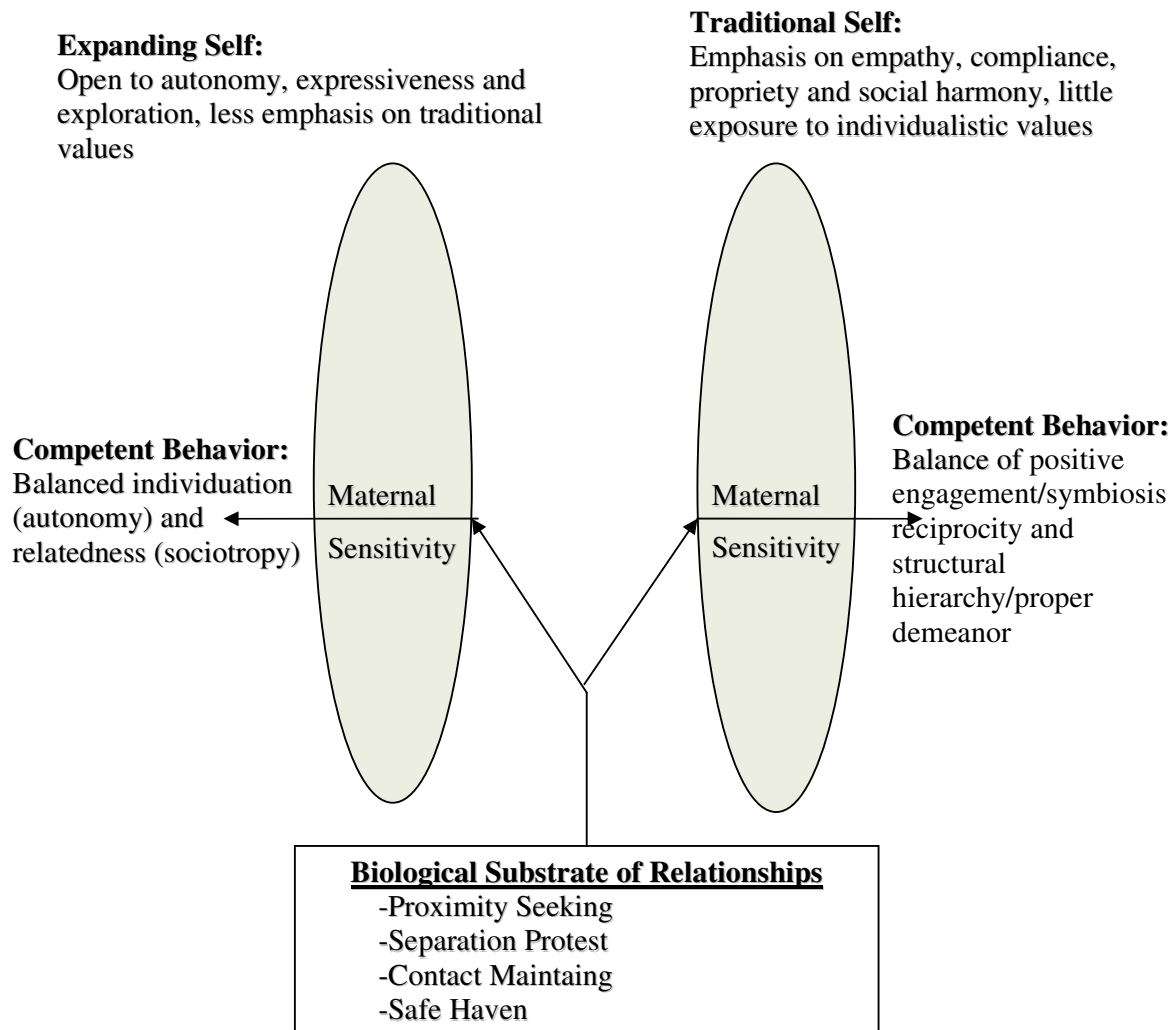
Based on the dominant cultures values that shape the Turkish self, a conceptualization similar to the one made by Harwood et al. (1994) can be formulated about the values that shape attachment behaviors in Turkey. Since the Turkish family and the Turkish self are shaped through cultural values that emphasize the importance of positive engagement/symbiosis reciprocity and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, the biological predispositions underlying attachment behavior will also be shaped by these values. Concomitantly, in Turkey, attachment behavior may express itself as an interaction of positive engagement/symbiosis reciprocity and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. Figure 5 demonstrates hypothesized the expression of attachment behavior in the Turkish culture.

**Figure 5. Hypothesized expression of attachment behaviors in the Turkish culture**



At this point, it is important to consider the effect of an expanding self on attachment behaviors. Individuals with traditional selves are modestly affected by westernization and modernization which brings about values such as autonomy, individuation and independence. These individuals' attachment behaviors may resemble Figure 5 because they represent the traditional Turkish culture where mutuality, interdependence and obedience are praised and values such as independence and autonomy are not dominant. However, individuals with expanding selves are expected to be open to the effects of western culture and thus will incorporate values such as autonomy and individuation into their self structure. Therefore, it is possible that their attachment behaviors reflect more individualistic values such as an interaction of independence and relatedness, similar to the Anglo mothers in Harwood et al.'s (1994) study. Therefore, being open to western influences through family and education vs. encountering a strictly traditional environment may affect the development and consequences of attachment behavior in different ways. Figure 6 demonstrates the hypothesized development and expression of attachment behavior for people with expanding selves and for people with traditional selves.

**Figure 6. The development and expression of attachment behavior for people with expanding vs traditional selves**



### The Present Study

Up to this point, cross-cultural attachment research has been reviewed and it was seen that even though secure attachment is the norm in most cultures, the antecedents (sensitivity of the caregiver) and the consequences (competence) of attachment vary in different cultures. The core discrepancy seems to lie in the dominant constructs that individualistic and collectivistic cultures emphasize. Individualistic cultures stress the importance of self-maximization and autonomy and a healthy level of relatedness. On the other hand, in collectivistic cultures, mutuality, emotional interdependence and proper demeanor are valued. Therefore, the mother's sensitivity towards the child and the competent behaviors a secure child manifest are diverge on the basis hyper-recognized values in different cultures.

The present study aimed to investigate attachment in a cultural framework. In this regard, the consequences of the attachment system, namely how attachment behavior is expressed in this culture was explored. The consequences of attachment styles in Turkish sample were first analyzed with regard to both western and nonwestern expectations; first, based on the values emphasized in individualistic cultures, namely autonomy and relatedness and secondly on the basis of values emphasized in collectivistic cultures namely symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. The extent to which attachment security predicted these values were explored.

In the present study, the IPPA was used to measure attachment security. Attachment research conducted in Turkey shows that the three or four category adult attachment classification systems do not totally apply to the Turkish culture. As explained above, the IPPA was not designed to tap the attachment patterns observed in infants and children by Ainsworth et al. (1978), instead it is a measure of general security experienced in attachment relationships. Moreover, because the domain of the present study is parental attachment, the IPPA's maternal and paternal attachment security subscales were relevant.

In the present study, attachment security towards the mother and the father were explored. As explained above, the relationships of the child with both parents influence the internal working models of the child. Moreover, the independent organization theory proposes that if the characteristics of the mother and the father differ in the way that they relate and take care of the child, the attachment relationship of the child towards the mother and the father may not be concordant. In the Turkish family, where the roles of the father and the mother are different and where the relationship of the child towards the father is characterized by authority and respect whereas the relationship with the mother is based upon emotional exchanges, it is likely that the attachment of the Turkish child towards the mother and the father would differ.

The extent to which attachment security predicts behaviors associated with autonomy and relatedness were explored by the Autonomy and Sociotropy subscales of Robins and Luten's (1991) Personal Style Inventory (PSI). In individualistic cultures, attachment styles are seen on a continuum ranging from excessive autonomy towards excessive relatedness such that the dismissing style is seen as excessively self-reliant, the secure style is viewed as having achieved the necessary relatedness that promotes self-sufficiency and the preoccupied style is defined to be excessively dependent (Harwood et al., 1995). However, in the Turkish culture, where relatedness is highly valued and autonomy is discouraged, it is harder to place different attachment styles on such a perfect continuum of autonomy and relatedness. Instead, it was expected that attachment security would lead to higher scores on relatedness (sociotropy) and lower scores on autonomy.

Moreover, the present study explored the extent to which attachment security predicted behaviors associated with symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. It was expected that as attachment security increased, behaviors

related to symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor would become manifest.

It was also expected that expanding self would moderate the relationship between attachment security and autonomy, sociotropy, symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. As explained in figure 6, in the case of people with expanding selves, security would better predict sociotropy and autonomy, whereas in the case of people with traditional selves, security would better predict symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor.

Although not formally expressed as a hypothesis, the relationships between high and low levels of security, and traditional and expanding selves were expected to be as follows: People with traditional or expanding selves with different levels of security would demonstrate behaviors associated with autonomy, sociotropy, symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor to different degrees.

First, it was expected that people with expanding selves and high attachment security would show high autonomy because as people become more open to individualistic values, security becomes associated with autonomy. They would show moderate sociotropy (less than people with traditional selves) and moderate symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement (less than people with traditional selves and high security), as secure people are open to relationships but not to the extent that they are dependent on others and moreover as people develop expanding selves the reliance on values associated with dependence and mutuality decreases. They would show low structural hierarchy/proper demeanor as for people open to individualistic values, proper demeanor is not a behavioral expression of security.

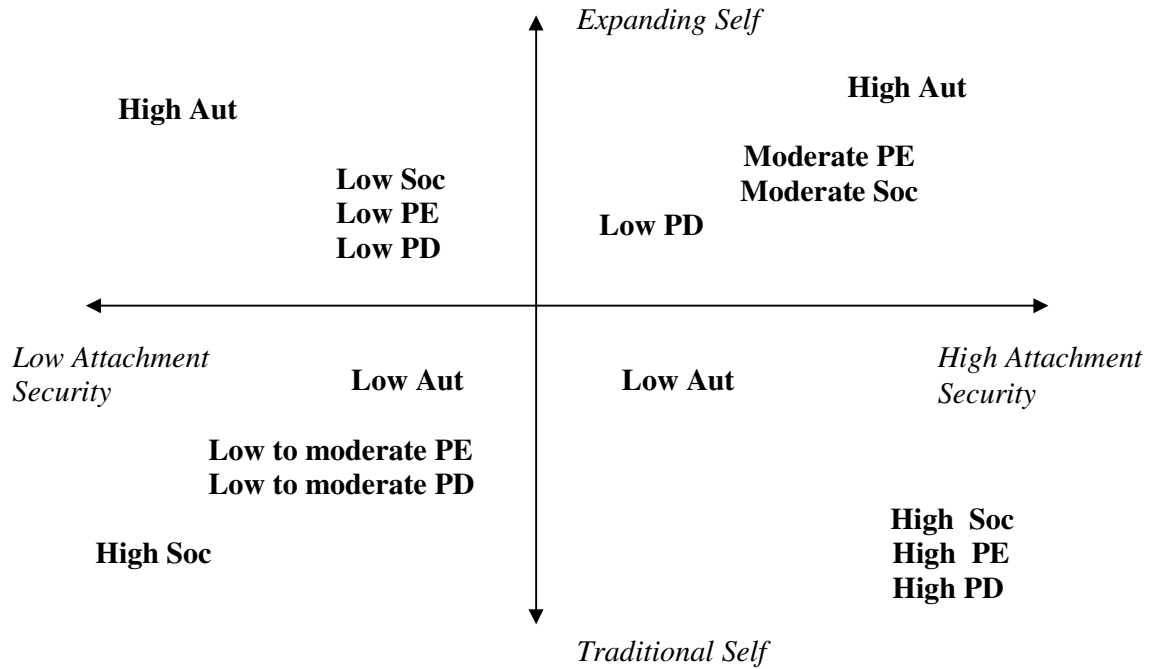
Second, it is expected that people with expanding selves and low attachment security may show the highest degree of autonomy as a product of defensive self-reliance and avoidance of personal contact. They would show low sociotropy as they are less open to

relationships compared to secure people and less open to values associated with dependence and concern for other's thoughts than people with traditional selves. They would show low structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and low positive engagement as these are values associated with security in traditional people.

Third, it was expected that people with traditional selves and high attachment security would show the highest amount of structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement as these are values associated with the expression of security in traditional Turkish culture. They were also expected to show higher sociotropy and lower autonomy than people with expanding selves.

Finally, it was expected that people with traditional selves and low attachment security would show low to moderate degree of structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement because they are less likely to show behaviors associated with security however they may score higher on these constructs compared to people with expanding selves and low security as these are constructs that define traditional Turkish self. They would show low autonomy and high sociotropy and they may show more sociotropy than traditional secure people sociotropy due to fear of separation and abandonment. These predictions are demonstrated in figure 7.

**Figure 7. Different levels of sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement demonstrated by people having expanding selves with high or low attachment security and traditional selves with high or low attachment security**



Aut: Autonomy  
 Soc: Sociotropy  
 PE: Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement  
 PD: Structural Hierarchy /Proper Demeanor

### Hypotheses

- 1) Maternal and paternal attachment security scores will differ significantly.
- 2) Maternal and paternal attachment security will be positively correlated with sociotropy, negatively correlated with autonomy, positively correlated with structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, and symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement.
- 3) Expanding self will affect the relationships between maternal and paternal attachment security, and autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, and symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement.

## METHOD

### Sample

210 (116 female, 94 male) undergraduate Bogazici University students within the ages of 18-20 took part in this study for extra course credit.

### Materials

#### The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment

The Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA), developed by Armsden and Greenberg, based on Bowlby's attachment theory (1982) is designed to assess affective and cognitive dimensions of relationships and the quality of attachment to parents and peers. In this study the 12-item short form of the original 53-item scale developed by Raja, McGee and Stanton (1992) was used. The short form of IPPA consists of three subscales, namely trust (e.g., "My mother/father respects my feelings"), communication (e.g., "When I have a problem, I tell this to my mother/father") and alienation (e.g. "I am angry at my mother/father"), each made up of four items. Participants rate each item for both their mothers and their fathers on a seven-point scale ranging from 1 (never) to 7 (always). In this way, a separate attachment score for the mother and the father can be calculated by adding the scores participants receive on the subscales.

The short form of the IPPA (See Appendix A) was translated by Günaydın et al. (2005) by the standard translation- back translation procedure. Internal consistency estimates are .88 for the mother scale and .90 for the father scale with test-retest reliabilities of .87 for the mother form and .88 for the father form. Validity of the scale has been partially demonstrated by correlations between maternal and paternal attachment and self-esteem, and also paternal attachment and fear of disapproval. However, further work is needed to establish construct validity.

### Expanding Self Scale (ESS)

The Expanding Self Scale developed by Tokgöz (1999) aims to measure an expanding self construal including attitudes, preferences and self-appraisals oriented towards an independent (western) versus interdependent (non-western) direction. The scale consists of 17 “western” and 17 “non-western” items about social life and relations. Half of the scale contains statements concerning cross-gender intimacy, relationships with family, friends, relatives and neighbors, future plans, future roles as parents and the other half is related to the individual’s present life style. The original scale has a True/False forced choice answer format. In the present study, instead of the forced choice format, participants rated each item on a 5 point scale ranging from 1 (not true) to 5 (strongly true).

For the construction of the scale, Tokgöz created items based on Roland’s theoretical framework about self structure in various societies and Seçkin’s (1996) research interview protocols. Two clinical psychologists familiar with the theory were asked to rate the extent to which each item measured the given operational definitions of an expanding self construal. In light of their views, Tokgöz constructed the final version of the scale (See Appendix B)

The scale has an internal reliability of .79 and Tokgöz (1999) reported that EES has a significant correlation with the Individualism-Collectivism Scale, supporting the scale’s construct validity.

### Personal Style Inventory (PSI)

The Personal Style Inventory (PSI, Robins and Luten, 1991) measures concerns about interpersonal relationships and autonomous achievement. It has two subscales: Autonomy and Sociotropy (See Appendix C).

The Autonomy subscale measures the constructs of perfectionism/self-criticism (e.g., “It bothers me when I feel that I am only average and ordinary”), need for control (e.g., “I am

easily bothered by other people making demands of me”) and defensive separation (e.g., “I tend to keep other people at a distance”). Participants rate each of the 24 Autonomy subscale items on a six-point scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree). A total Autonomy score is derived by summing each response score across the 24 items, yielding scores ranging from 0-144. Higher scores reflect greater feelings of positive autonomous achievement. The translation of this subscale was carried out by the researcher and a back translation was made. On the basis of the responses of 30 undergraduate students, a reliability analysis was conducted and one item from this scale was removed. The Cronbach’s Alpha score for the subscale was acceptable (0.78).

A second subscale of the PSI (Robins and Luten, 1991) called Sociotropy, measures aspects of relatedness including concern about what others think ( e.g., “I am very sensitive to criticism by others”, dependency (e.g., “I find it difficult to be separated from people I love”), and pleasing others (e.g., "I often put other people's needs before my own”). Participants rate each of the 24 Sociotropy subscale items on a six-point scale ranging from 1 (Strongly Disagree) to 6 (Strongly Agree). A total Sociotropy score is derived by summing each response score across the 24 items, yielding scores ranging from 0-144. Higher scores reflect greater concerns about interpersonal relationships. The translation of this subscale was carried out by the researcher, a back translation was made and the Cronbach’s Alpha score was acceptable (0.83).

#### Symbiosis-Reciprocity/Positive Engagement Scale

The researcher constructed a Symbiosis-Reciprocity/Positive Engagement Scale (see Appendix D) based on Roland’s (1988) definition of symbiosis reciprocity and Harwood et al’s (1995) definition of positive engagement. The scale aims to measure the capacity for strong empathy, affection and intimacy, ability to maintain close affective bonds and

relationship quality with intimates and a capacity for mutuality and emotional interdependence. Five clinical psychology master students were asked to rate the extent to which each item measured the given operational definition of symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and the items which the judges agreed fit the definition were chosen for the scale.

The scale contains 15 items that the respondents rate on a scale of 1(Not True) to 5 (Strongly True). Reliability analysis conducted on the responses of 30 undergraduate students revealed a Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.94.

#### Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor Scale

The researcher constructed a Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor Scale (see Appendix E) based on Roland's (1988) definition of structural hierarchy and Harwood et al's (1995) definition of proper demeanor. The scale aims to measure the extent to which the participants actualized the expectations of their parents regarding the constructs of respect, obedience, ability to take responsibility for the consequence of one's actions, the capacity to feel shame as a result of wrong doing, trust worthiness and usefulness towards society. Five clinical psychology master students were asked to rate the extent to which each item measured the given operational definition of structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and the items which the judges agreed fit the definition were chosen for the scale. The scale contains 18 items that the respondents rate on a scale of 1 (Not True) to 5 (Strongly True). Reliability analysis conducted on the responses of 30 undergraduate students revealed a Cronbach's Alpha value of 0.76.

## Procedure

Before starting the experiment, the participants were asked to fill out an informed consent form (see Appendix F) containing general information about the research and contact information of the researcher. Then the participants were given a package containing the scales used in the present study. The participants were asked not to put their names on these questionnaires and instead they were given a three digit code for identification. It took about 30 minutes for each subject to complete the questionnaire set.

## RESULTS

The means and standard deviations of maternal attachment security, paternal attachment security, expanding self, autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/ positive engagement are presented in Table 1.

**Table 1. Means and Standard Deviations of all the variables in the study**

		Males N = 94	Females N =116	Total N = 210	Possible Range
Maternal Attachment Security	M	62.37	65.69	64.20	31-82
	SD	9.18	11.78	10.79	
Paternal Attachment Security	M	57.65	58.21	57.96	15-84
	SD	12.59	15.33	14.14	
Expanding Self	M	90.71	94.91	93.03	54-148
	SD	18.81	17.38	18.11	
Sociotropy	M	98.48	98.81	98.66	55-136
	SD	16.25	16.20	16.19	
Autonomy	M	87.73	87.01	87.33	55-120
	SD	11.79	13.99	13.02	
Structural Hierarchy/ Proper Demeanor	M	68.43	69.28	68.90	30-90
	SD	8.97	9.73	9.38	
Symbiosis Reciprocity/ Positive Engagement	M	52.09	54.57	53.46	26-70
	SD	7.22	8.39	7.97	

In order to test whether the levels of maternal and paternal attachment security differ, a paired-samples *t* test was conducted. The results indicated that the mean for maternal

attachment security was significantly greater than the mean for paternal attachment security,  $t(210) = 7.45, p = .000$ . Therefore, this hypothesis was supported.

A one-way analysis of variance was conducted to evaluate the effect of gender on maternal and paternal attachment security. Starting with the relationship between gender and maternal attachment security, the test of homogeneity of variance was found to be significant,  $p = .030$ , therefore an outlier analysis using Cook's distance was conducted and 4 outliers were discarded. A significant difference was found between the means of females and males in terms of maternal attachment security,  $F(1, 195) = 17.78, p = .000$ , indicating that females were more securely attached towards their mothers compared to males. No significant difference was found between males and females in terms of paternal attachment security,  $p = .694$ .

#### *Correlations:*

In order to test the second hypothesis, correlation coefficients were computed between Expanding Self, Maternal and Paternal Attachment Security and Sociotropy, Autonomy, Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor and Symbiosis Reciprocity/ Positive Engagement. The results are presented in Table 2.

The results show that maternal attachment security was significantly and negatively correlated with autonomy,  $r(209) = -.22, p = .001$  and positively correlated with structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $r(209) = .36, p = .000$  and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement,  $r(209) = .19, p = .005$ .

Similar results were found for paternal attachment security, which was significantly and negatively correlated with autonomy,  $r(209) = -.20, p = .003$ , and positively correlated with structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $r(209) = .18, p = .009$ , and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement,  $r(209) = .23, p = .001$ .

**Table 2. Correlations between Expanding Self, Maternal and Paternal Attachment Security and Sociotropy, Autonomy, Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor and Symbiosis Reciprocity/ Positive Engagement**

N = 210	Paternal Attachment Security	Expanding Self	Sociotropy	Autonomy	Structural Hierarchy/ Proper Demeanor	Symbiosis Reciprocity/ Positive Engagement
<b>Maternal Attachment Security</b>	.55(**)	-.36(**)	-.07	-.23(**)	.36(**)	.19(**)
<b>Paternal Attachment Security</b>		-.25(**)	-.10	-.20(**)	.18(**)	.23(**)
<b>Expanding Self</b>			-.32(**)	.23(**)	-.49(**)	-.17(*)
<b>Sociotropy</b>				.18(**)	.27(**)	.20(**)
<b>Autonomy</b>					.02	-.27(**)
<b>Structural Hierarchy/ Proper Demeanor</b>						.13

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level.

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level.

The correlations between sociotropy and maternal attachment security ( $p = .304$ ) and paternal attachment security ( $p = .151$ ) were lower and not significant. A significant correlation was found between gender and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement,  $r(209) = .16$ ,  $p = 0.024$ , indicating that females had higher scores on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement compared to males. In general, the results suggest that if people are secure, they display less autonomy and behave more according to structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement.

### *Regression Analyses:*

A series of regression analyses were conducted to test the relationship between the predictors, which are expanding self and attachment security, and the dependent variables, which are autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/ positive engagement and to evaluate whether an expanding self construal affects the relationship between attachment security and the dependent variables. In the first set of regression analyses maternal attachment security was used as a predictor and in the second set of analyses paternal attachment security took its place.

First, four separate multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between maternal attachment security, expanding self, their interaction, gender, and the dependent variables. The three-way interaction between maternal attachment security, expanding self and gender and the two-way interactions between security and gender and between gender and expanding self were not significant for any of the dependent variables, therefore they were not included in the regression models.

*Sociotropy:* The interaction between maternal attachment security and expanding self ( $p = .129$ ), and the effect of gender ( $p = .251$ ) were not significant, therefore they were excluded from the model. The main effects of maternal attachment security and expanding self were significantly related to sociotropy,  $R^2 = .138$ ,  $F(2, 207) = 16.63$ ,  $p = .000$  and both attachment,  $t(207) = -2.26$ ,  $p = 0.025$ , and expanding self,  $t(207) = -2.39$ ,  $p = 0.018$ , significantly and negatively predicted sociotropy. These results suggest that as maternal attachment security and expanding self increase, sociotropy decreases.

*Autonomy:* The interaction between maternal attachment security and expanding self ( $p = .776$ ), and the effect of gender ( $p = .741$ ) were not significant, therefore they were

excluded from the model. The main effects of maternal attachment security and expanding self were significantly related to autonomy,  $R^2 = .075$ ,  $F(2, 207) = 8.41$ ,  $p = .000$ . Attachment significantly and negatively predicted autonomy,  $t(207) = -2.26$ ,  $p = 0.025$ , and expanding self had a positive significant effect,  $t(207) = 2.40$ ,  $p = 0.018$ . These results suggest that as maternal attachment security increases, autonomy decreases and as expanding self increases, autonomy increases.

*Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor:* The interaction between maternal attachment security and expanding self ( $p = .935$ ), and the effect of gender ( $p = .302$ ) were not significant, therefore they were excluded from the model. The main effects of maternal attachment security and expanding self were significantly related to structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $R^2 = .28$ ,  $F(2, 207) = 39.59$ ,  $p = .000$ . Expanding self significantly and negatively predicted structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $t(207) = -6.54$ ,  $p = .000$  and attachment security had a positive significant effect,  $t(207) = 3.31$ ,  $p = 0.01$ . These results suggest that as maternal attachment security increases, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor increases and as expanding self increases, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor decreases.

*Symbiosis-Reciprocity/Positive Engagement:* The effect of gender ( $p = .086$ ) was not significant, therefore it was excluded from the model. The main effects of maternal attachment security and expanding self and their interaction were significantly related to symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement,  $R^2 = .095$ ,  $F(3, 206) = 7.17$ ,  $p = .000$ . Expanding self significantly and negatively predicted structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $t(206) = -2.86$ ,  $p = .005$ , attachment security had a positive significant effect,  $t(206) = 3.63$ ,  $p = .000$ , and the interaction between security and expanding self had a negative significant effect,  $t$

(206) = -3.25,  $p = 0.01$ . These results suggest expanding self moderates the relationship between attachment security and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement such that as expanding self increases, the positive effect of security on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement decreases.

Secondly, four separate multiple regression analyses were conducted to examine the relationship between paternal attachment security, expanding self, their interaction, gender, and the dependent variables. The three-way interaction between paternal attachment security, expanding self and gender and the two-way interactions between security and gender and between gender and expanding self were not significant for any of the dependent variables, therefore they were not included in the regression models.

*Sociotropy*: The interaction between paternal attachment security and expanding self ( $p = .620$ ), and the effect of gender ( $p = .365$ ) were not significant, therefore they were excluded from the model. Paternal attachment security and expanding self were significantly related to sociotropy,  $R^2 = .133$ ,  $F(2, 207) = 15.86$ ,  $p = .000$  and both attachment security,  $t(207) = -2.81$ ,  $p = 0.005$ , and expanding self,  $t(207) = -5.42$ ,  $p = 0.018$ , significantly and negatively predicted sociotropy. These results suggest that as paternal attachment security and expanding self increase, sociotropy decreases.

*Autonomy*: The interaction between paternal attachment security and expanding self ( $p = .944$ ), and the effect of gender ( $p = .482$ ) were not significant, therefore they were excluded from the model. Paternal attachment security and expanding self were significantly related to autonomy,  $R^2 = .075$ ,  $F(2, 207) = 8.43$ ,  $p = .000$ . Attachment security significantly and negatively predicted autonomy,  $t(207) = -2.27$ ,  $p = 0.024$  and expanding self had positive

significant effect,  $t(207) = 2.77$ ,  $p = 0.006$ . These results suggest that as paternal attachment security increases, autonomy decreases and as expanding self increases, autonomy increases.

*Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor:* The interaction between paternal attachment security and expanding self ( $p = .369$ ), and the effect of gender ( $p = .118$ ) were not significant, therefore they were excluded from the model. An outlier analysis using Cook's distance was conducted and 23 outliers were discarded. Paternal attachment security and expanding self were significantly related to structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $R^2 = .265$ ,  $F(2, 184) = 39.59$ ,  $p = .000$ . Expanding self significantly and negatively predicted structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $t(184) = -7.17$ ,  $p = .000$ , and attachment security had a positive significant effect,  $t(207) = 2.13$ ,  $p = 0.035$ . These results suggest that as paternal attachment security increases structural hierarchy/proper demeanor increases and as expanding self increases structural hierarchy/proper demeanor decreases.

*Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement:* The interaction between paternal attachment security and expanding self was not significant ( $p = .857$ ), therefore it was excluded from the model. Paternal attachment security and expanding self and gender were significantly related to symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement,  $R^2 = .095$ ,  $F(3, 206) = 7.18$ ,  $p = .000$ . Attachment security,  $t(206) = 2.818$ ,  $p = 0.005$ , and gender,  $t(206) = 2.51$ ,  $p = 0.013$ , significantly and positively predicted symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and expanding self had negative significant effect,  $t(206) = -2.06$ ,  $p = 0.041$ . These results suggest that as paternal attachment security increases, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement increases, and as expanding self increases, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement decreases. Moreover, females score higher on symbiosis reciprocity, compared to males.

*Additional Analyses:*

While the regression analyses did not show an interaction between security and expanding self, high and low score combinations of expanding self and security were created to try to develop some theoretical speculations for further research.

In order to examine the effect of the different levels of attachment security and expanding self on the dependent variables, a series of Multivariate Analyses of Variance (MANOVA) were conducted. Before starting the analyses, maternal and paternal attachment security and expanding self were transformed into categorical variables as follows.

In order to examine individual differences in attachment across the dependent variables, Armsden and Greenberg's (1987) categorization system was used. First, the score distribution of each IPPA subscale (Trust, Communication, Alienation) was divided into lowest, middle and highest third. Each subject was then given a rating of "low," "medium" or "high" for each of the three subscales according to where her/his score fell. Accordingly, individuals were assigned to the "High Security" (HS) group if their Alienation scores were not high, and if their Trust or Communication scores were at least medium level. Because of the theoretical importance given by Bowlby to the element of trust in the attachment relationship, in cases where Trust scores were only medium level but Alienation scores were also medium level, a high security group assignment was not made. Individuals were assigned to the "Low Security" (LS) group if their Trust and Communication scores were both low, and if their Alienation scores were medium or high level. In cases where the Trust or Communication score was medium level but the other was low, a low security group placement was made if the Alienation score was high. The means and standard deviations of high security and low security groups are given in Table 3.

**Table 3. The means and standard deviations of high maternal security and low maternal security and high paternal security and low paternal security groups**

	Attachment Security											
	Maternal						Paternal					
	Low			High			Low			High		
	M N=31	F N=33	Total N=64	M N=28	F N=65	Total N=83	M N=31	F N=33	Total N=64	M N=28	F N=65	Total N=83
M	53.03	51.94	52.47	71.07	74.47	73.32	43.24	37.84	39.98	71.23	71.37	71.30
SD	7.61	10.09	8.92	4.57	4.96	5.07	7.97	9.94	9.51	5.33	5.01	5.13

In order to categorize subjects according to the level of expanding self, the median (91.5) of expanding self scores was used as a cut-off point. Accordingly, people scoring higher than the median were assigned to the Expanding Self (ES) group and people scoring lower than the median formed the so called Traditional Self (TS) group. The means and standard deviations of these two groups are given in Table 4.

**Table 4. The means and standard deviations of expanding self and traditional self groups**

	Traditional Self			Expanding Self		
	Male N=39	Female N=42	Total N=81	Male N=20	Female N=46	Total N=66
M	76.92	79.81	78.42	109.00	105.93	106.86
SD	9.31	8.32	8.89	10.25	11.95	11.47

In order to explore the possible composite effect of expanding self and attachment security on the dependent variables, four separate subgroups for maternal and paternal scores were created: Participants with low maternal security and traditional self (LMS&TS), participants with high maternal security and traditional self (HMS&TS), participants with low maternal security and expanding self (LMS&ES) and participants high maternal security, expanding self (HMS&ES), participants with low paternal security and traditional self

(LPS&TS), participants with high paternal security and traditional (MPS&TS), participants with low paternal security and expanding self (HPS&ES) and participants with high paternal security and expanding self (HPS&ES).

A one way multiple analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine the effect of four different levels of expanding self and maternal attachment security on the four dependent variables, sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. Box's test of equality of covariances was significant ( $p = .031$ ), therefore an outlier analysis using Cook's distance was conducted and 13 outliers were discarded. Significant differences were found among the four groups on the dependent measures,  $F(12,336) = 6.64$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $E^2 = .171$ . Table 5 contains the means and standard deviations on the dependent variables for the four groups.

**Table 5. The means and standard deviations of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement in terms of LMS&TS, LMS&ES, HMS&TS, HMS&ES groups**

		Traditional Self		Expanding Self	
		Low Maternal Security N=22	High Maternal Security N=54	Low Maternal Security N=36	High Maternal Security N=24
Autonomy	M	86.28	83.56	91.47	93.46
	SD	11.29	10.96	11.76	14.01
Sociotropy	M	100.14	100.59	95.44	95.67
	SD	15.57	14.25	15.98	19.13
Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor	M	68.04	74.50	63.97	66.67
	SD	6.20	8.16	8.94	7.76
Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement	M	50.14	56.59	51.41	55.83
	SD	8.07	6.11	7.07	7.35

Looking at the combined effect of security and expanding self on each dependent variable, the ANOVA on sociotropy was not significant,  $F(3,130) = 1.06$ ,  $p = .367$ ,  $E^2 = .02$ ,

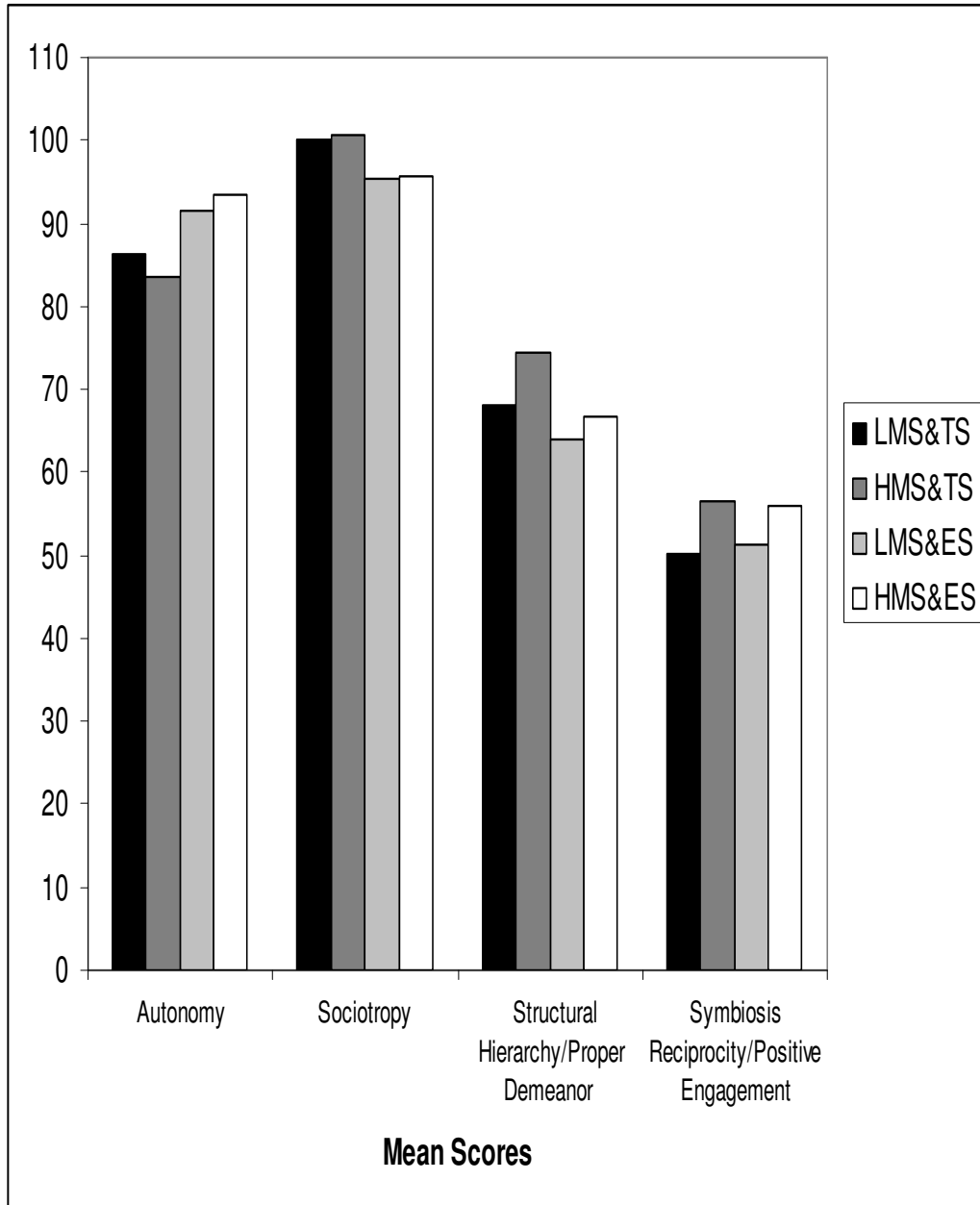
power = .28, and the rest were significant as follows: for autonomy,  $F(3,130) = 5.38$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $E^2 = .11$ , for structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $F(3,130) = 13.73$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $E^2 = .24$ , and for symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement,  $F(3,130) = 6.94$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $E^2 = .14$ .

Tukey post-hoc comparisons on autonomy revealed that the HMS&ES group ( $p = .005$ ), and the LMS&ES group ( $p = .014$ ) scored significantly higher compared to the HMS&TS group. Tukey post-hoc comparisons on structural hierarchy/proper demeanor revealed that the HMS&TS group scored significantly higher compared to LMS&TS group ( $p = .009$ ), LMS&ES group ( $p = .000$ ), and HMS&ES group ( $p = .001$ ). Tukey post hoc comparisons on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement revealed that the HMS&TS group scored significantly higher compared to LMS&TS group ( $p = .002$ ), and LMS&ES group ( $p = .005$ ). Moreover, the HMS&ES group scored significantly higher on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement compared to LMS&TS ( $p = .031$ ). Figure 8 represents these results.

A one way analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted to determine the effect of four different levels of expanding self and paternal attachment security combination on the four dependent variables, sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. Significant differences were found among the four groups on the dependent measures,  $F(12,346) = 5.702$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $E^2 = .147$ . Table 6 contains the means and standard deviations on the dependent variables for the four groups.

The combined effect of security and expanding self on each dependent variable was significant as follows: For autonomy,  $F(3,134) = 4.24$ ,  $p = .007$ ,  $E^2 = .087$ , for sociotropy,  $F(3,134) = 6.56$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $E^2 = .128$ , for structural hierarchy/proper demeanor,  $F(3,134) = 8.79$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $E^2 = .164$ , and for symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement,  $F(3,134) = 6.51$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $E^2 = .127$ .

**Figure 8. Distributions of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement scores for LMS&TS, LMS&ES, HMS&TS, HMS&ES groups**

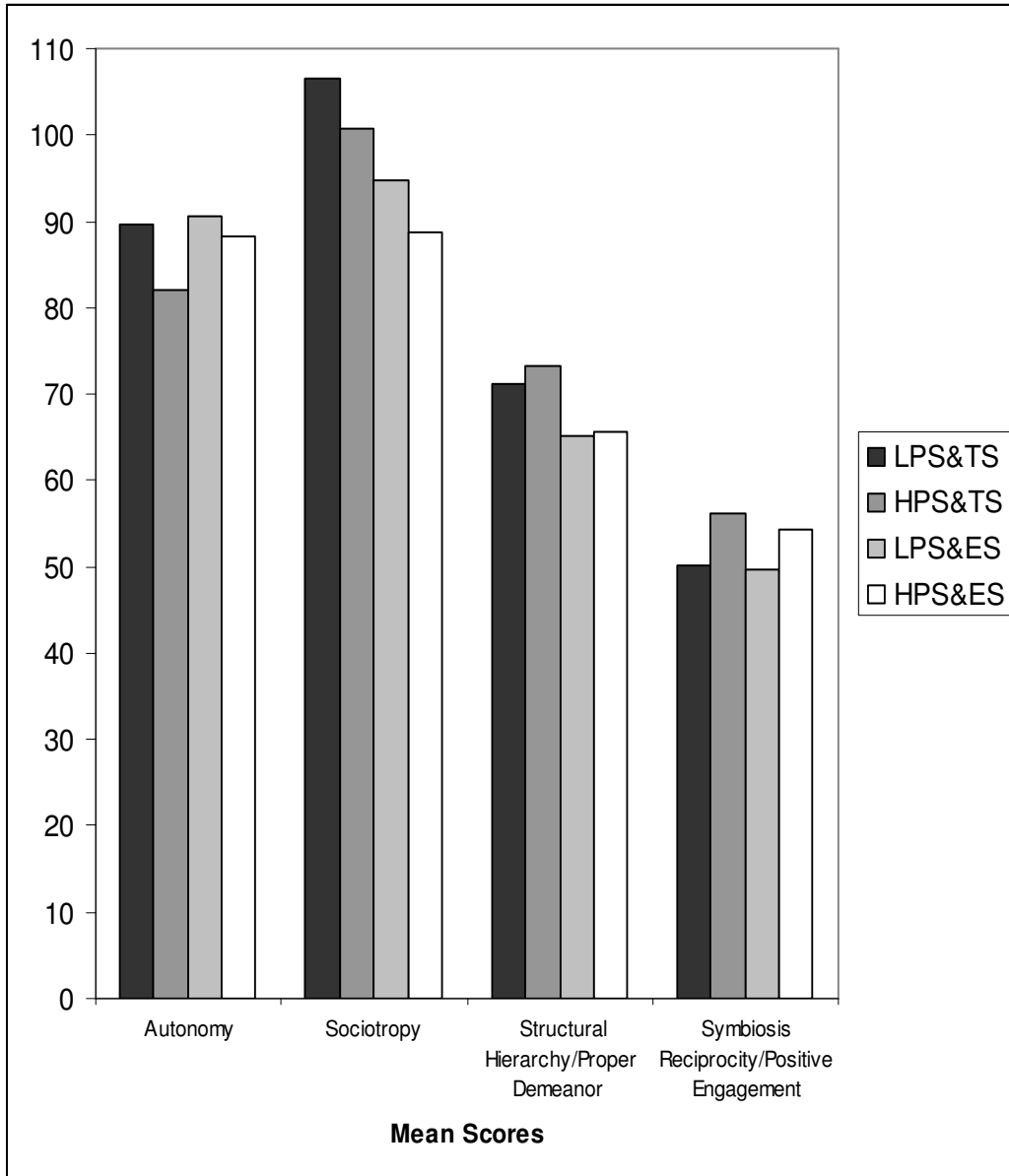


**Table 6. The means and standard deviations of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement in terms of LPS&TS, LPS&ES, HPS&TS, HPS&ES**

		Traditional Self		Expanding Self	
		Low Paternal Security N=21	High Paternal Security N=51	Low Paternal Security N=39	High Paternal Security N=27
Autonomy	M	89.62	82.14	90.62	88.30
	SD	12.18	10.47	13.22	12.67
Sociotropy	M	106.52	100.86	94.79	88.67
	SD	14.93	13.22	16.11	18.42
Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor	M	71.14	73.25	65.10	65.59
	SD	9.29	7.53	9.25	8.67
Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement	M	50.24	56.27	49.64	54.41
	SD	8.07	6.36	7.96	9.78

Tukey post hoc comparisons on sociotropy revealed that the LPS&TS group scored significantly higher compared to LPS&ES group ( $p = .029$ ) and HPS&ES ( $p = .001$ ). Moreover, the HPS&TS group scored significantly higher on sociotropy compared to HPS&ES group ( $p = .006$ ). Tukey post-hoc comparisons on autonomy revealed that the LPS&ES scored significantly higher compared to HPS&TS ( $p = .008$ ). Tukey post-hoc comparisons on structural hierarchy/proper demeanor revealed that the HPS&TS group scored significantly higher compared to LPS&ES group ( $p = .001$ ), and HPS&ES group ( $p = .001$ ). Moreover, the LPS&TS group scored significantly higher on structural hierarchy/proper demeanor compared to LPS&ES group ( $p = .048$ ). Tukey post hoc comparisons on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement revealed that the HPS&TS group scored significantly higher compared to LPS&TS group ( $p = .018$ ), and LPS&ES group ( $p = .001$ ). The differences among the groups are represented in Figure 9.

**Figure 9. Distributions of autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement scores for LPS&TS, LPS&ES, HPS&TS, HPS&ES groups**



## Summary of the Results

Hypothesis 1 stating that the level of attachment security towards the mother vs. the father would differ was supported. Individuals reported a more secure attachment towards their mothers. Moreover, females were more securely attached towards their mothers compared to males.

Hypothesis 2 was supported except for the relationship between attachment security and sociotropy. Maternal and paternal attachment security were found to be significantly and negatively correlated with autonomy and positively correlated with structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. Contrary to expectations, no significant relationship was found between sociotropy and maternal and paternal attachment security.

Hypothesis 3 was partially supported. Expanding self was found to correlate positively with autonomy and negatively with attachment security, sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. Contrary to expectations, the interaction between attachment security and expanding self had no significant effect on autonomy, sociotropy and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. The interaction between maternal attachment security and expanding self had a negative significant effect on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. This suggests that expanding self moderates the relationship between maternal attachment security and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement such that as expanding self increases, the effect of security on structural hierarchy/proper demeanor decreases.

Coming to the additional analyses, no significant difference was found between the combined maternal security and expanding self groups for sociotropy. Comparisons between combined paternal security and expanding self groups on sociotropy showed that traditional self groups generally scored higher compared to expanding self groups on sociotropy.

Regarding autonomy, comparisons between combined maternal security and expanding self groups showed that expanding self groups generally scored higher on autonomy compared to traditional self groups. Comparisons between combined paternal security and expanding self showed that the the insecure expanding self group scored significantly higher compared to secure traditional self group.

Regarding structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, comparisons between combined maternal security and expanding self groups showed secure traditional self group scored significantly higher on structural hierarchy/proper demeanor compared to all other groups. Comparisons between combined paternal security and expanding self groups revealed that traditional self groups generally scored higher than expanding self groups.

Regarding, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement, comparisons between combined maternal security and expanding self groups revealed that secure groups generally scored higher than insecure groups. Comparisons between combined paternal security and expanding self groups showed that the secure traditional self group scored significantly higher than low security groups.

## DISCUSSION

This study highlights the importance of studying contextualized meanings of attachment behavior. The results show that the behavioral expressions of security vary according to indigenous cultural values.

### Comparisons between Maternal and Paternal Attachment Security Scores

The findings showed that the level of attachment security towards the mother vs. the father differed and individuals reported a more secure attachment towards their mothers. The findings are in agreement with research that has found the mother to be the preferred attachment figure in Western cultures (Lamb, 1981, Lytton, 1980, cited in Haigler, Day and Marshall, 1995). Moreover, in the Turkish culture where the roles of the mother and the father differ in the family, this finding makes sense. A more secure attachment style reported towards the mother may be due to the fact that mothers are highly involved in the care and supervision of their children whereas fathers take a more distant and authoritative role. Mothers' primary role in the family is to provide emotional support, love, affection, understanding and trust where as the father-child relationship is characterized by authority, respect and hierarchy (Sunar and Fişek, 2005). Adolescents feel emotionally closer to their mothers than to their fathers (Hortaçsu, Gencöz, & Oral, 1995) and also communicate more with their mothers than with their fathers (Hortaçsu, 1989). These aspects of mother-child and father-child relationship show that children turn to mother for security, care and emotional sharing whereas they turn to their father for more instrumental aspects of their lives such as decision making in the Turkish culture (Fişek, 1993).

It was also found that females were more securely attached towards their mothers compared to males. No significant difference was found between males and females in terms of paternal attachment security. These findings may be due to the special relationship between

mothers and daughters. Roland (1988) states that in Eastern cultures the relationship with mother is more important for girls, since they intensely internalize family customs, culture and tradition, and fear hurting their mothers in particular and the family in general. Seçkin's (1996) findings were in line with Roland's ideas in that girls were found to be more involved with their mothers compared to males in the Turkish culture. Akhondzadeh (2002) found that in the Turkish culture, there are gender differences in terms of self-esteem enhancement needs, which can be seen as a branch of attachment security, such that females expected more from their mothers. Sinan (1998) also found that symbiosis-reciprocity, which is an extension of mother daughter attachment (Fişek, 2002), is stronger in female same-sex relationships.

#### The relationship between Attachment Security and Sociotropy, Autonomy, Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor and Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement

The results indicated that as maternal and paternal attachment security increases, autonomy decreases, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement increases. Consistent with Rothbaum, Weisz et al. (2000), Rothbaum, Pott et al. (2000) and Harwood et al. (1995), in a culture such as Turkey, where emotional connection, mutuality and propriety are emphasized over individuation and self-sufficiency, the resultant attachment behaviors are shaped through the dominant cultural values. Concomitantly, the results show that in Turkey attachment security expresses itself in terms of structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement.

The results point to a negative relationship between attachment security and autonomy. This is a striking difference compared to the expression of attachment in individualistic cultures where securely attached individuals have greater comfort with autonomy and value it more, consequently attachment theorists refer to securely attached individuals as "autonomous". Attachment security leads to a sense of safety in engaging with

the world, a secure base from which the child can explore the world, separate from the mother and individuate (Bowlby, 1979; Ainsworth et al., 1978, cited in Cassidy and Shaver, 1999). However in Turkish culture, seeking acceptance and commitment and desire for union are more common and more associated with security. Thus it can be said that in this culture, security is not expressed through autonomy and individuation but through mutuality and interdependence.

Contrary to expectations, no relationship was found between attachment security and sociotropy. One reason accounting for this finding may be that the constructs sociotropy aims to measure, namely concern for what others think, dependency and pleasing others are dominant values in the Turkish culture that do not vary with different levels of security. In fact the means of LMS&TS group ( $M = 100.14$ ) and HMS&TS group ( $M = 100.59$ ) are slightly above overall mean and very similar to each other, and the means of LMS&ES group ( $M = 95.44$ ) and HMS&ES group ( $M = 95.67$ ) are slightly below the overall mean and again very similar to each other. Therefore, sociotropy does not differentiate among attachment patterns in this culture.

It is important to note that even though both sociotropy and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement are measures of relatedness, the former is not related to security whereas the latter is. This may be due to the differences in the definitions of these constructs in that sociotropy measures a propensity towards relatedness, such as valuing emotional closeness, appealing to others for support, help and advice, seeking to be loved and valued by others, giving importance to affection and a penchant for dependency (Blatt and Zuroff, 1992). Based on this definition, sociotropy seems to reflect intrapsychic needs of an individual in terms of being loved, cared for and protected. In contrast, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement is an interpersonal as well as an intrapsychic construct in that it is defined by high levels of emotional interdependency, high levels of empathy and

receptivity towards the needs of the others (Roland, 1988). Therefore, rather than solely focusing on the intrapsychic needs of an individual, it defines a capacity for dyadic, interdependent relationships. In this sense, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement is a better predictor of security in this culture that emphasizes interdependence, mutuality and reciprocity and thus the interpersonal domain over intrapsychic needs.

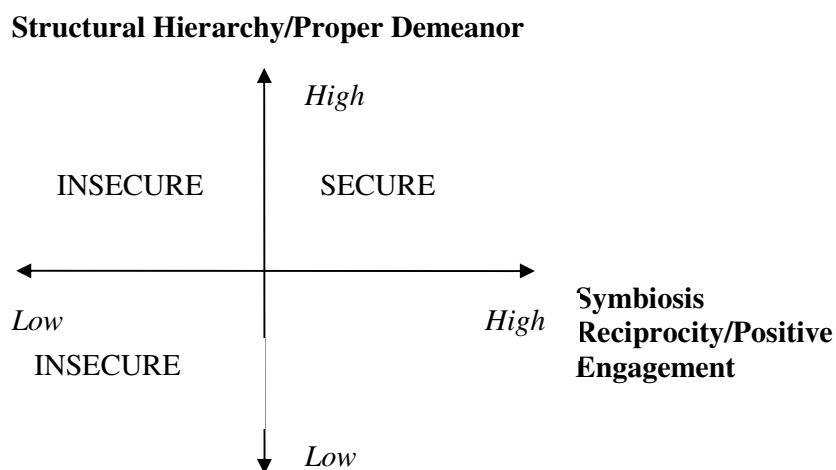
The findings on autonomy and sociotropy indicate that in the Turkish culture, it is not possible to create a continuum ranging from excessive autonomy towards excessive relatedness like the one that identifies the attachment patterns in individualistic cultures (Blatt, 1990). Instead it would seem that the attachment patterns in the Turkish culture cluster around relatedness. It would be important to explore the meanings attributed to the concepts of autonomy and sociotropy in this culture, indeed they may differ in meaning and valence from western conceptions.

These results show that in the Turkish culture, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement are more meaningful dimensions with which to classify attachment patterns compared to sociotropy and autonomy. Based on these findings some comparisons can be made regarding parental provisions of security in individualistic and collectivistic cultures. In individualistic cultures, security implies parental provision of relatedness and encouragement of exploration (autonomy). In the Turkish case, security implies the provision of relatedness through symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and differentiation through structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. The prototypical parent child relationship in the Turkish culture is characterized by emotional interdependency, high levels of empathy and receptivity (Fişek, 1991; Fişek, 2002). Parent child interactions that are enmeshed and undifferentiated in terms of emotional relatedness become differentiated as a consequence of strict role expectations, hierarchical rights and responsibilities entailed by structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. Therefore, it is through structural hierarchy that one

differentiates and separates from the parents (Fişek, 2002). It should also be noted that qualities of relatedness (symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement) and differentiation (structural hierarchy/proper demeanor) are not individual/personal attributes so much as relational and interactional attributes. They are interpersonal as much as intrapsychic attributes (Roland, 1988).

Previous research on the Turkish family has shown that generational hierarchy and interpersonal proximity are two independent dimensions which are necessary to describe the Turkish family structure (Fişek, 1991) in contrast to models that use single bipolar constructs (e.g. disengagement-enmeshment, Minuchin, 1974; relatedness-individuation, Blatt, 1990). Just as in the case of hierarchy and proximity, structural hierarchy/ proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/ positive engagement can be represented as orthogonal dimensions as seen in Figure 10. The placement of secure and insecure attachment patterns in the various quadrants reflects the findings discussed earlier.

**Figure 10. Attachment patterns distinguished by structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement**



The Relationship between Expanding Self and Attachment Security, Sociotropy, Autonomy, Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor and Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement

Expanding self is found to have a positive relationship with autonomy and negative relationships with sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. These findings are meaningful in that as the degree of exposure to individualistic values such as independence, individuation and self-expression increases, the relevance of constructs such as autonomy increases, whereas the relevance of constructs such as sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement that tap dependence, mutuality, importance of relationships over self, propriety and obedience, which define traditional cultural values, decreases.

It was also found that as expanding self increases, attachment security decreases. This finding is hard to explain because felt security, that is basic, unconscious and implicit, should not vary from one culture to the next. Some tentative explanations can be made regarding this finding however this point clearly warrants further research.

This finding may be associated with the characteristics of the instrument that was used to measure attachment security in the present study, namely IPPA, which measures current perceptions and expressions of security (Armsden and Greenberg, 1987). IPPA does not tap the basic, implicit security that is formed within the first couple of years of life through moment to moment parent infant transactions. Therefore, it may be said that expanding self affects the perception or expression of felt security.

Seçkin (1996) found that the love, care, support, soothing and comfort received from the parents, namely felt security, was basically experienced as self enhancing and empowering. It was the current perceptions of this felt security that lead to conflict because the affective bond between the parent and the infant was found to be so strong at times that

participants felt restrained and suffocated. However, going against the parents or distancing the self from the parents in order to transcend this parent-child matrix that is suffocating at times, brought intense feelings of guilt, anger towards self and conflict because parental values, beliefs and expectations were strongly internalized. Moreover, this internalization did not come about through scolding, scaring or punishment but through an intense emotional attachment with parents, which enhances feelings of guilt. Moreover, a strong feeling of gratitude towards the parents also causes anxiety and conflict when one attempts to distance from the parents.

Feelings of guilt, anxiety and conflict are intensified when one develops an expanding self as one discovers an individuated mode of being but at the same time tries to deal with his/her strong ties based upon emotional relatedness with the parents. Seçkin's (1996) qualitative interviews revealed that the intense emotional attachment towards the parents juxtaposed against an expanding self construal resulted in a state of inner tension that the participants tolerated. Similarly, Tokgöz (1999) found that an expanding self brings about a discrepancy between internalized cultural values and acquaintance with a new life-style and difficulty relating to familial norms and expectations resulting in higher levels of conflict, identity confusion and instability. Therefore, the intensified conflict, experienced in many aspect of life as well as with parents, accompanying expanding self may lead to a decrease in the perception and experience of felt security.

The Effect of Expanding Self on the Relationship between Attachment Security and Sociotropy, Autonomy, Structural Hierarchy/Proper Demeanor and Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement

Expanding self was found to moderate the relationship between maternal attachment security and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement such that as expanding self increases,

the effect of security on symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement decreases. As explained above the symbiosis-reciprocity displayed in the form of love, support and care from the parents especially from the mother provides a highly treasured sense of comfort and well-being for the child. However, especially with the development of an expanding self, this highly emotional context is felt as intrusive and overwhelming (Roland, 1988, Seçkin, 1996). Therefore, as expanding self increases, even though people still continue to feel secure towards their mothers, they may try to express their security in less interdependent/dependent ways in order to escape from the pressure symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement creates.

Contrary to expectations, expanding self had no effect on the relationships between maternal and paternal attachment security, and autonomy, sociotropy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. One possible explanation for this finding is that as Roland (1988) states, as an expanding self construal is juxtaposed on a matrix of familial self, it does not change the current self structure but creates more and different ways of being resulting in multiple ways of being. Therefore, expanding self may not totally change behavioral expressions but can add additional ways of looking at relationships that are dependent on contextual factors. It is possible that because the very basis of the cultural lens is a lot stronger than later multicultural exposures, such as expanding self, indigenous cultural ways of relating and expressing one's self are more dominant however as situational or contextual factors vary, so can the behavioral expressions of security.

### Speculative Explorations

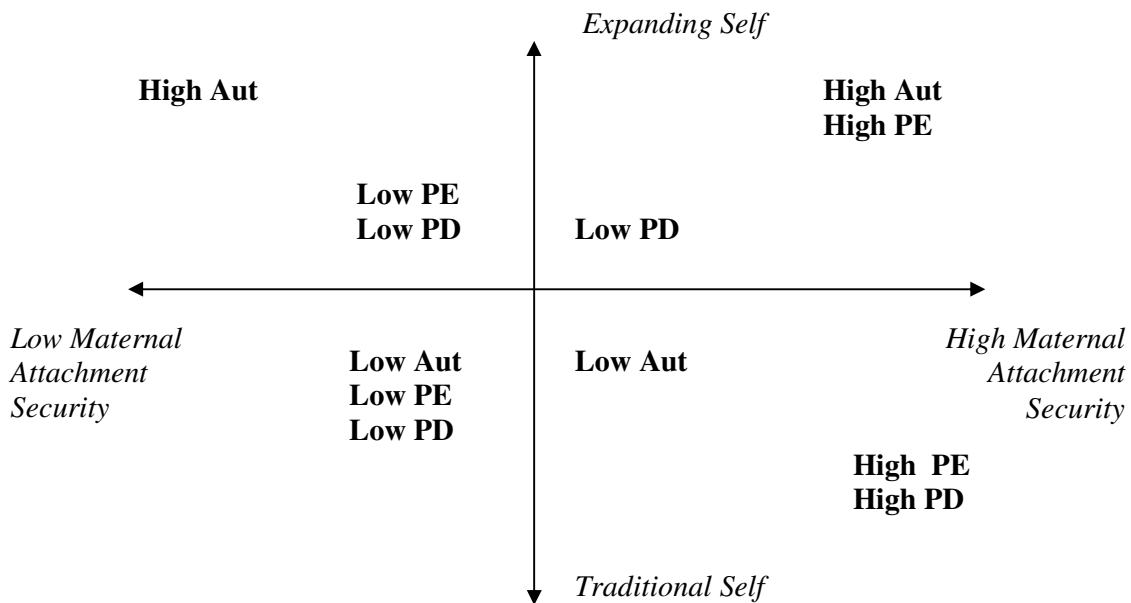
Some theoretical speculations were developed for further research based on the different degrees of autonomy, sociotropy, symbiosis-reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor demonstrated by the combinations of low and high attachment security and expanding and traditional self (LS&TS, HS&TS, LS&ES and

HS&ES) groups. In order to simplify and demonstrate the findings more clearly, the scores that the groups received on the dependent variables were categorized such that the scores above the mean were identified as “high”, and the scores that were below the mean were identified as “low”. The simplified findings are shown in figure 11 and 12 for maternal and paternal attachment security consecutively.

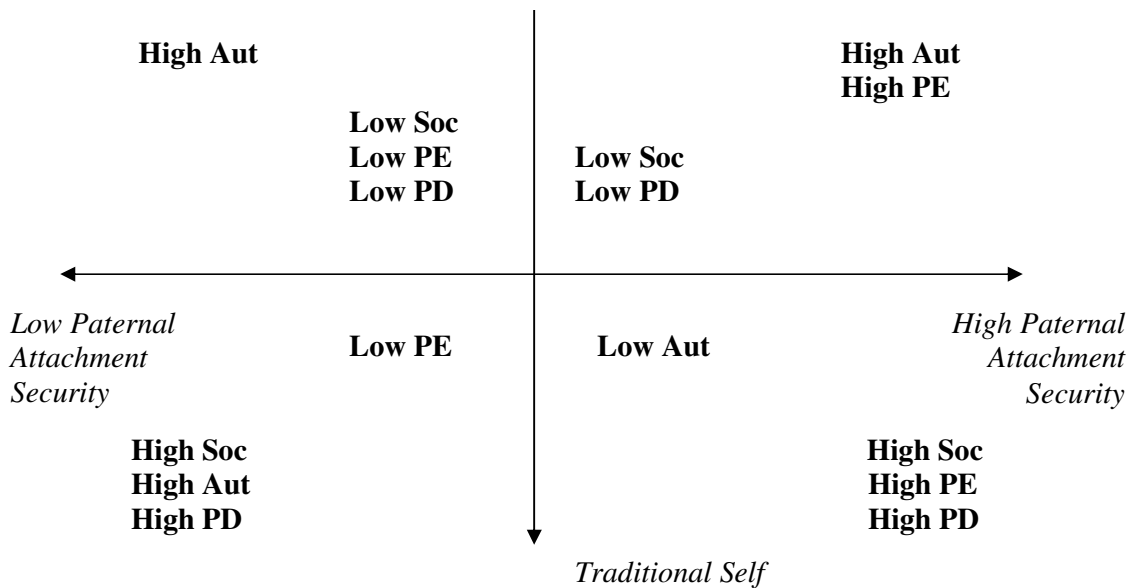
No significant difference was found between any of the maternal attachment security groups for sociotropy. As explained above, sociotropy does not differentiate between secure and insecure groups.

As expected, the HMS&ES group showed high symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and low structural hierarchy /proper demeanor and high autonomy. It is interesting to note that even though autonomy seems to have taken the place of structural hierarchy/proper demeanor in creating a separation and individuation for the HMS&ES group, relatedness is still defined in terms of symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement even though this is a traditional concept. This finding can be explained by micro level and macro level representations that Fişek (2002) talks about. Rules of conduct that are explicitly taught in family relations such as proper demeanor are macro level representations in that the child consciously internalizes these constructs but can question these later on. In contrast, micro level representations form from momentary interactions, that develop very early around certain affective interactions between the mother and the child. These representations start forming right after birth, therefore they are mostly nonverbal and implicit. Micro level representations cannot be questioned and changed easily. Symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement is a product of momentary parent-child interactions that start from birth (Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000) and is therefore closer to micro level interactions. Fişek (2002) explains that when one encounters another culture’s life style and characteristics, macro level representations can transform and expand however, micro level representations may never change.

**Figure 11. Different levels of sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement demonstrated by LMS&TS, HMS&TS, LMS&ES and HMS&ES groups**



**Figure 12. Different levels of sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement demonstrated by LPS&TS, HPS&TS, LPS&ES and HPS&ES groups**



Aut: Autonomy  
 Soc: Sociotropy  
 PE: Symbiosis Reciprocity/Positive Engagement  
 PD: Structural Hierarchy /Proper Demeanor

Therefore, it makes sense that secure people with expanding selves can replace structural hierarchy/proper demeanor by autonomy, however, it is much harder to modify symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and create a different way of relating to others.

As expected, LMS&ES group shows low structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, low symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and high autonomy. This group resembles the dismissive attachment pattern as they seem to shun relatedness and instead rely excessively on their selves, forming a defensive separation.

As expected, HMS&TS group shows high structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and high symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and low autonomy. These people represent Roland's (1988) familial self that encompasses intense mutual dependence, emotional exchange, empathy along with a sensitivity to propriety, fulfilling the role expectations within the family and society. This implies that traditional Turkish people feel secure with a familial "we-self". Separation and individuation that is an essential part of attachment security comes through structural hierarchy as explained above, however what is different from the western case is that in this culture separation comes through relationships (hierarchical role divisions and expectations in relationships enhance individuation) whereas in the western case, separation and individuation comes from conflict and aggression that puts the parent-infant relationship in a secondary place, prioritizing the individuated self.

LMS&TS group shows low structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, low symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and low autonomy. Low structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, low symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement imply a disengagement from relationships both emotionally and in terms of the expectations and proper rules of conduct. When this picture is coupled with lack of autonomy, this implies a self diffusion and lack of boundaries where the self is almost nonexistent. Therefore, for people with traditional selves, maternal security seems to provide a safety to enter intense emotional engagements and an

adaptation towards societal expectations and lack of security may lead to a lack of engagement and self-definition.

The paternal attachment security and expanding self groups mostly showed a similar distribution in terms of autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. Contrary to maternal attachment security, paternal attachment security and expanding self had a significant effect on sociotropy. This may be due to the differences in the way Turkish mothers and fathers approach their children. Mothers' primary role is to provide emotional support, love, affection, understanding and trust (Sunar and Fişek, 2005) which may incline the self towards relatedness and dependence and thus minimum variance in sociotropy, however, fathers tend to play the role of distant authority, without much verbal expression of emotions and disclosure (Sunar, 2002), therefore paternal attachment may lead to more fluctuation in sociotropy.

The HPS&ES group shows low sociotropy and high autonomy, low structural hierarchy proper demeanor and high symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. Like the HMS&ES group, autonomy replaces structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, however symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement remains as a balanced way of engaging with others.

The LPS&ES group shows low sociotropy and high autonomy, low symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and low structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. Like the LMS&ES group, this group resembles the dismissing attachment pattern.

The HPS&TS group shows the high structural hierarchy/proper demeanor, high symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement, low autonomy and high sociotropy. Like the HMS&TS group, they have a familial self that brings security.

The LPS&TS group shows high autonomy, high sociotropy, high structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and low symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. High structural

hierarchy/ proper demeanor and low symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement point to a lack of genuine emotional engagement where relationships are dictated by rules and role divisions leading to a solitary and inflexible inner world (Fişek, 2002). It is interesting to note that these people demonstrate high autonomy which may be a reflection of the above mentioned lack of genuine engagement and the consequent aloneness, rather than independence. The fact that these people also demonstrate high sociotropy, i.e. dependence and neediness would seem to support this speculation. Thus these people would seem to express a false/defensive autonomy along with a combination of dependency and lack of relatedness. Overall, it seems that paternal attachment security gives one the opportunity to engage in authentic and genuine emotional interactions within a context of strict role divisions and expectations of propriety.

Comparing the self structures of LMS&TS and LPS&TS groups, it would seem that maternal and paternal security do not manifest themselves in the same way. The findings in literature are inconclusive as to whether maternal attachment is more influential than paternal attachment, whether maternal and paternal attachment affect each other, whether maternal and paternal attachment lead to different developmental outcomes (Howes et al., 1999). Further research is needed to explicate whether maternal and paternal attachment styles lead to the expression of different self structures.

### Implications

#### *Culture and Attachment Behaviors*

The present study has implications for the cultural study of attachment. The study shows that the parent-infant interactions that contribute to the formation of internal working models and the consequent attachment behaviors are themselves influenced by dominant cultural values. Therefore, starting from birth, the parent-infant interactions are affected and

shaped by not only parental idiosyncrasies but also by indigenous cultural constructs that affect parental conducts and goals and the ensuing attachment behaviors.

For example, the biological predispositions that underlie attachment take on different forms according to indigenous values emphasized in this culture. As Rothbaum, Pott et al. (2000) explain, in more collectivistic cultures such as the Turkish culture, these predispositions pass through the lens of accommodation, which includes empathy, compliance and propriety, affecting the maternal sensitivity and the attachment behaviors that are expressed. Mothers use affect oriented speech that focuses on relationships with infants, they are physically more present and have more body contact with their infants and direct the infant's attention towards themselves rather than the outside world. These behaviors reinforce parent-infant union and a self construction that is defined by symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement. Moreover, the lens of accommodation includes a concern with obligation and other's expectations, which is more emphasized in collectivistic cultures such as Turkey. Therefore children are less encouraged to assert their personal preferences, and instead an emphasis is given to compliance and proper behavior. The second part of the ensuing self structure resulting from these expectations is structural hierarchy/proper demeanor.

Therefore, parental sensitivity that is affected by indigenous cultural values start shaping the biological predispositions underlying attachment and as the present study shows the resulting attachment behaviors are affected and reflect the dominant cultural values, in the Turkish case, symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor. Values that represent individualistic cultures, such as autonomy, and tension between relatedness and individuation, are less emphasized in attachment behaviors expressed in the Turkish culture.

Recent neurobiological research supports the claim that maternal sensitivity and culture affect the infant's self structure starting from birth. It is now accepted that during early

postnatal development the child's genetic potential is shaped by experiences and specific gene-environment interactions occur throughout development (Kendler, Eaves, 1986, McClearn, 1970, cited in Schore, 1994). Schaffer (1984, cited in Schore, 1994) stresses the importance of maternal presence in the social environment. He describes that the mother is the most frequent stimulus the infant meets and the child's encounters with the rest of the environment are largely mediated by the mother. In this sense, the socioaffective stimulation resulting from the transactions between the mother and the child is vital in gene expression and experience dependent brain growth (Schore, 1994). Therefore, the idiosyncrasies in the parent-infant interactions have a critical importance in the unique development of the child. In fact Plomin, Rende and Rutter (1991, cited in Schore, 1994) found that different children of the same mother experience unique early interactions with her. Lichenstein (1961, cited in Schore, 1994) refers to this phenomenon as "the infant becoming the child of his particular mother." This means that differences in maternal behavior lead to different neurobiological structures and self development in different children. Clearly, if the maternal behaviors, emotional expressions and perceptions are shaped through different cultural mechanisms, the parent-child transactions will differ from one culture to the next, leading to differences in development.

According to Siegel (1999) attachment at its core is based on parental sensitivity and responsivity to the child's signals, which allows for collaborative parent-child communication. This involves alignment of states of mind between the child and caregiver during which affect is communicated nonverbally through facial expressions, vocalizations, body gestures and eye contact. This emotional attunement is the essence of healthy, secure attachment. At this point, it is important to emphasize the cultural differences in sensitive and responsive care giving. For example, in times of stress, a sensitive caregiver, from either an individualistic or a collectivistic culture, is aware of the child's anxiety, and thus is attuned to

the child's mental state. However, the sensitive and responsive soothing strategies may differ according to cultural values and goals. For example, the Japanese parents exhibit more prolonged proximity and contact, for example, in co-sleeping, or skin to skin contact during breastfeeding that is prolonged well beyond feeding per se (Caudill and Weinstein, 1974, cited in Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000) or bathing with the babies (Barratt, Negayama and Minami, 1993, cited in Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000). In the case of American parents, sensitive parenting is expressed in increased distal contact such as eye contact (Barratt et al., 1993) or information-oriented speech (Caudill and Weinstein, 1974, cited in Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000). Japanese mothers are more likely to pick up their babies and hold them longer than American parents (Ujiie and Miyake, cited in Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000). Therefore, even though both American and Japanese parents are attuned to their babies mental states, and even though they are both sensitive and responsive caregivers encouraging security; sensitivity and responsivity are expressed in different ways. This does not mean that different ways of expressing sensitivity that varies from one culture to the next leads to healthy babies in one culture and unhealthy babies in another, instead, the expression of healthiness (security) varies from one culture to the next.

The value systems within one's brain and one's interactional history leads to a self-development affected by cultural constructs. Siegel (1999) explains that value systems within the brain filter out stimuli from the outside world by labeling the stimuli as useful, neutral or harmful. Value systems in the brain function by modulating states of arousal. At the most basic level, stimuli appraised as good, will arouse elements of cognitive and behavioral approach whereas stimuli appraised as bad, will arouse withdrawal patterns of neural circuitry activation. Some aspects of the value system are inborn such as seeking proximity to a caregiver. Others are learned from experience. For example, a child will naturally make eye contact with a parent as "good" interaction however if the eye contact results in being

overwhelmed or intruded by the parent, it gains a negative value meaning that it should be avoided. The brain learns that eye contact is bad and uses this information in future interactions forming a specific self organization (Siegel, 1999). The effect of culture can be accounted for at this point, in that if the mother's idiosyncratic mirroring and response to the child's initial behaviors are influential in forming the value system, and if the mother's responses are mostly contingent on cultural values and goals, then the child's value system will be influenced by cultural constructs.

These findings show that starting from birth, the effect of culture infuses into the development of self. One of the ways culture continues to affect the self is through autobiographical memory that creates a continuity between past and present and contributes to the maintenance of a coherent self structure. Wang and Brockmeier (2002) view autobiographical remembering as a cultural practice. Autobiographical memory is the outcome of narrative constructions that emerge and develop in early childhood through interactions with caregivers which are affected by socially constructed meaning systems and culture. Evidence for this view comes from comparative studies that examine different cultural ways of remembering one's past. For example, Wang (2001, cited in Wang and Brockmeier, 2002) compared the earliest childhood memories of Caucasian-American and native Chinese students and found that early memories reported by Americans tended to be voluminous, specific, self-focused and concerned with autonomy and self appraisal. In contrast, memories by Chinese were skeletal, routine-related, centered on relationships and sensitive to others involved. In another study, Wang and Leichtman (2000, cited in Wang and Brockmeier, 2002) asked American and Chinese kindergartners to recount episodes where they felt, happy, sad, frightened or angry. Compared to Americans, Chinese infants showed a greater tendency to introduce social interactions and positive interpersonal relationships, a greater concern for moral correctness, propriety and authority, less concern for expressing

individual judgments, opinions or self-determination. These findings show that depending on whether a culture views the self as individuated and emphasizes the importance of personally focused memories in constructing one's identity or whether a culture emphasizes relatedness, social interconnection and propriety over self, autobiographical remembering varies in content, form and style even before the onset of formal schooling.

The early narrative environment of the family plays a central role in creating culturally appropriate forms of thinking, remembering, feeling and behaving. It is found that American familial interactions serve to build individuality and construct a unique autobiographical self whereas family discussions about shared past in many Asian cultures serve to establish a sense of connectedness and proper behavioral conduct in children. In this sense the conversational styles of families from different cultures differ in terms of amount of elaboration, amount of causal explanations, focus personal attributes vs. moral rules and personal expectations and collective activities depending on cultural values and goals (Wang and Brockmeier, 2002).

All these findings show that the effect of culture is present from birth. Culture mediates the expression of genes, affects the development of brain structures and memory. With all these findings on the effect of culture on self, it is hard to talk about universals of expression.

Coming to the focus of the present study, on the effect of culture on attachment, as Rothbaum, Pott et al (2000) state certain biological predispositions that form the self are universal such as proximity seeking, safe haven, contact maintaining and separation protest. These are the core tenets of attachment theory. However, these biological predispositions are moderated by maternal behaviors on the micro level and cultural goals, values and practices on the macro level. Therefore, the antecedents of attachment, namely maternal sensitivity and responsivity, and the consequences of attachment, namely behavioral expression of security

vary from one culture to the next. This study provides empirical evidence that attachment behaviors differ according to indigenous cultural values.

### *Measurement*

The present study points to cultural differences in attachment categories. It was found that in the Turkish culture, where the emphasis on social hierarchy and interpersonal harmony gives rise to an interdependent self structure, security cannot be assessed in terms of a healthy capacity for individuation and autonomy, instead in this culture as security increases, autonomy decreases. Conceptualizing attachment patterns as a continuum ranging from exaggerated autonomy towards an exaggerated preoccupation with relatedness (Blatt, 1990) and relying on measures that are based on this type of categorization will lead to conflictual results and misinterpretations in cultures where the self is defined in a relational network. Studies show that measures such as the strange situation or romantic attachment questionnaires that rely on the importance of autonomy and individuation point to a greater percentage of insecure-ambivalent infants or preoccupied adults which may lead to a misunderstanding such that people in collectivistic cultures are seen as less healthy or competent (Rothbaum, Weisz et al., 2000). Similarly, Sümer and Güngör (1999) and Kuşçu Orhan (1998) found that Turkish people scored higher on the preoccupied dimension compared to Americans. The cultural goals and values in the Turkish culture engenders an interdependent self conceptualized in the west as a preoccupied attachment style, which may interpreted as unhealthy in individualistic cultures, however in the Turkish culture, this is a natural outcome of the culture and self interaction. Therefore, attachment measures used in non-western cultures need to be altered so that the meaning of security can be understood in more diverse and more context-relevant ways. Perhaps, in the Turkish culture and in collectivistic cultures, measures that tap structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis

reciprocity/positive engagement could lead to more culture sensitive ways of conceptualizing individual differences in attachment.

### Limitations and Further Research

The IPPA, that was used to measure attachment security in the present study, has good internal and test-retest reliability, however some problems have been reported about its construct validity in a Turkish sample (Günaydın et al, 2005). Moreover, the IPPA focuses on parental attachment of adolescents and late adolescents which comprised the sample of the present study. In late adolescence where the transfer of attachment processes from parents to significant others starts to get faster, it may be more appropriate to use romantic attachment measures. Finally, because IPPA is a self report measure, it does not tap the unconscious cognitive processes underlying the attachment system (Crowell and Treboux, 1995). Therefore, in future studies, other measures such as narrative assessments that focus on the link between adult attachment and cognition as identified by Bowlby, could be used.

Moreover, the self structures associated with sociotropy, autonomy, structural hierarchy/proper demeanor and symbiosis reciprocity/positive engagement are known to begin developing in the first years of life, before verbal development (Rothbaum, Pott et al., 2000). Therefore, self-report measures can only tap current perceptions of these constructs rather than unconscious, preverbal mechanisms. Future research can use longitudinal data, projective tests, behavioral observations and interview methods in order to grasp the complex meanings underlying these constructs.

The present study aimed to specifically study the attachment processes within the cultural context it is embedded in and found that the behavioral consequences of attachment theory do not totally apply to this culture. Future attachment research in Turkey should identify other aspects of attachment theory that are operative in this culture along with

processes important to this culture that the theory has overlooked. In this way, more culture specific forms of attachment theory can be generated, and the definition of security can vary according to indigenous cultural constructs.

## REFERENCES

- Armsden, G. C., & Greenberg, M. T. (1987). The inventory of parent and peer attachment: Individual differences and their relationship to psychological well-being in adolescence. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 16 (5), 427-454,
- Akhondzadeh, M. (2002). Enhancement of self-esteem in hierarchical relationships. Unpublished master thesis. Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey.
- Allen J. G., Stein, H., Fonagy, P., Fultz, J., & Target, M. (2005). Rethinking adult attachment: A study of expert consensus. *Bulletin of Menninger Clinic*, 69 (1), 59-80.
- Arikoğlu, A. P. (2003). Attachment styles and socio-emotional adjustments in Turkish college students. Unpublished master thesis. Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey.
- Ataca, B., Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç., & Diri, A. (2005). The Turkish family and the value of children: Trends over time. In G. Trommsdorff & B. Nauck (Eds.), *Value of Children* (pp. 67-91). Stuttgart: Enke.
- Ataca, B., & Sunar, D. (1999). Continuity and change in Turkish urban family life. *Psychology and Developing Societies*, 11, 77-90.
- Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & van Ijzendoorn, M. H. (1993). A psychometric study of Adult Attachment Interview: Reliability and discriminant validity. *Developmental Psychology*, 29, 870-879.
- Bartholomew, K., & Horowitz, L. M. (1991). Attachment styles among young adults: A test of a four-category model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 61 (2), 226-244.
- Benoit, D., & Parker K. (1994). Stability and transmission of attachment across three generations. *Child Development*, 64, 1444-1456.
- Bekiroğlu, B. (1996). Attachment style, family environment, depression and anxiety. Unpublished master thesis. Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey.

Blatt, S. J. (1990). Representational structures in psychopathology. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Rapaport-Klein Study Group.

Blatt, S. J., & Zuroff, D. C. (1992). Interpersonal relatedness and self-definition: Two prototypes for depression. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 12, 527-562.

Bowlby, J. (1969/1982). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 1. Attachment*. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1973). *Attachment and loss: Vol. 2. Separation*. New York: Basic Books.

Bowlby, J. (1979). *The making and breaking of affectional bonds*. London: Tavistock

Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base*. New York: Basic Books.

Brennan, K. A., Clark, C. L., & Shaver, P. R. (1998). Self-report measurement of adult attachment: An integrative overview. In J. A. Simpson & W.S. Rholes (Eds.), *Attachment theory and close relationships* (pp. 46-76). New York: Guilford Press.

Brown L. S., & Wright, J. (2001). Attachment theory in adolescence and its relevance to developmental psychology. *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, 8, 15-32.

Crowell, J. A., Fraley, R. C., & Shaver, P. R. (1999). Measurement of individual differences in adolescent and adult attachment. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research and clinical applications* (pp.434-465). New York: The Guilford Press.

Crowell, J. A., & Treboux, D. (1995). A review of adult attachment measures: Implications for theory and research. *Social Development*, 4, 294-327.

Doi, T. (1992). On the concept of amae. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 13, 7-11

Fişek, G. O. (1991). A cross-cultural examination of proximity and hierarchy as dimensions of family structure. *Family Process*, 30, 121-133.

Fişek, G. O. (1993). Life in Turkey. In L. L. Adler (Ed.), *International handbook of gender roles* (pp. 438-451). Westport: Greenwood Press.

Fişek, G. O. (1995). Gender hierarchy: Is it a useful concept in describing family structure?. In J. van Lewick & M. Sanders (Eds.), *Family, gender and beyond* (pp. 63-72). Heemstede: LS Books.

Fişek, G. O. (2002). Bende bir ben var ailemden içeri: Türkiye’de ailevi benlik arařtırmaları. Paper presented at the XII. National Psychology Congress of Psychology. Ankara, Turkey. September 11-13.

Fonagy, P. (2001). *Attachment theory and psychoanalysis*. USA: Other Press.

Fraley, R. C., & Spieker, S. J. (2003). Are infant attachment patterns continuously or categorically distributed? A taxometric analysis of strange situation behavior. *Developmental Psychology*, 39 (3), 387-404.

George, C., & West, M. (1999). Developmental and social personality models of adult attachment and mental ill health. *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, 72, 285-303.

Griffin, D. W., & Bartholomew, K. (1994). Models of the self and other: Fundamental dimensions underlying measures of adult attachment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 67, 430-445.

Grossman, K., & Grossman, K. (2004). Universality of human social attachment as an adaptive process. Paper presented at the Psychological Institute in Germany.

Grossmann, K., Grossmann K., & Zimmermann P. (1999). A wider view of attachment and exploration: Stability and change during the years of immaturity. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research and clinical applications* (pp. 760-787). New York: The Guilford Press.

Günaydın G., Selçuk, E., Sümer, N., & Uysal, A. (2005). The psychometric evaluation of the short form of Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment. *Turkish Psychological Articles*, 8 (16), 13-23.

Haigler, W. F., Day, H. D., & Marshall, D. D. (1995). Parental attachment and gender role identity. *Sex Roles*, 33 (3/4), 203-220.

Harwood, R. L., Miller, J. G., & Irizarry, N. L. (1995). *Culture and attachment: Perceptions of the child in context*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Hazan, C., & Shaver, P. (1987). Romantic love conceptualized as an attachment process. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52 (3), 511-524.

Hortaçsu, N. (1989). Targets of communication during adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence*, 12, 253-263.

Hortaçsu, N., Gencoz, T., & Oral, A. (1995). Perceived functions of family and friends during childhood, adolescence, and youth: Developmental theories of two Turkish groups. *International Journal of Psychology*, 30, 591-606.

Howes, C. (1999). Attachment relationships in the context of multiple caregivers. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research and clinical applications* (pp. 671-688). New York: The Guilford Press.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1982). *The changing value of children in Turkey*. Honolulu, HI: East-West Center.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1996). *Family and human development across cultures: A view from the other side*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç., & Ataca, B. (2005). Value of children and family change: A three decade portrait from Turkey. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 54 (3), 317-337.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç., Sunar, D., & Bekman, S. (1988). *Comprehensive preschool educational project: Final report*. Ottawa: International Development Research Center, Manuscript Report 209e.

Kandiyoti, D. (1977). Sex roles and social change: A comparative appraisal of Turkish women. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 3, 57-73.

Kıray, M. (1976). Changing roles of mothers: Changing intra-family relations in a Turkish town. In J. G. Peristiany (Ed.), *Mediterranean family structures* (pp. 261-271). London: Cambridge University Press.

Kretchmar, M., & Jacobvitz, D. B. (2002). Observing mother-child relationships across generations: Boundary patterns, attachment and the transmission of caregiving. *Family Process*, 41 (3), 351-376.

Kuşçu Orhan, Ş. (1998). Prediction of prolonged separation anxiety in preschoolers from maternal and child related variables. Unpublished master thesis. Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey.

Main, M. (1994). A move to the level of representations in the study of attachment organization: Implications for psychoanalysis. Paper presented Annual Research Lecture to the British Psycho-Analytical Society.

Minuchin, S. (1974). *Families and family therapy*. Cambridge: Harvard U. Press

Robins, C. J., & Luten, A. G. (1991). Sociotropy and autonomy: Differential patterns of clinical presentation in unipolar depression. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 100, 74-77

Roland, A. (1988). *In search of self in India and Japan*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Rothbaum, F., Pott, M., Azuma, H., Miyake K., & Weisz, J. (2000). The development of close relationships in Japan and US: Paths of symbiotic harmony and generative tension. *Child Development*, 71 (5), 1121-1142.

Rothbaum F., Weisz, J., Pott, M., Miyake K., & Morelli, G. (2000). Attachment and culture: Security in the United States and Japan. *American Psychologist*, 55 (10), 1093-1104.

Siegel, D. J. (1999). *The developing mind: How relationships and the brain interact to shape who we are*. New York: The Guilford Press

Schore, A. N. (1994). *Affect regulation and the origin of the self*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Seçkin, K. B. (1996). A narrative analysis of the construction of self in a group of Turkish university undergraduates: A self amidst tradition and change. Unpublished master thesis. Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey.

Shaver, P. R & Mikulincer, M. (2004). What do self-report attachment measures assess?. In W.S. Rholes & J. A. Simpson (Eds.), *Adult attachment: Theory, research and clinical implications* (pp.17-55). New York: The Guilford Press.

Stein, H., Jacobs N. J., Ferguson, K. S., Allen, J. G. & Fonagy, P. (1998). What do adult attachment scales measure?. *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic*, 62 (1), 33-81.

Stein, H., Koontz, A. D., Fonagy, P., Allen, J. G., Fultz, J, Brethour, J. R, Allen, D., & Evans, R. B. (2002). Adult attachment: What are the underlying dimensions?. *Psychology and Psychotherapy*, 75 (1), 77-92.

Sunar, D. (2002). Change and continuity in the Turkish middle class family. In E. Ozdalga & R. Liljestrom (Eds.), *Autonomy and dependence in family: Turkey and Sweden in critical perspective* (pp. 217-237). Istanbul: Swedish Research Institute.

Sunar, D., & Fisek, G. (2005). Contemporary Turkish families. In U. Gielen & J. Roopnarine (Eds.), *Families in global perspective* (pp. 169-184). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Sümer, N., & Güngör, D. (1999). Psychometric evaluation of adult attachment measures on Turkish samples and a cross-cultural comparison. *Turkish Psychology Journal*, 14 (43), 71-106.

Thompson, R. A. (1999). Early attachment and later development. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research and clinical applications* (pp.265-287). New York: The Guilford Press.

Tokgöz, T. (1999). Conflict in cross-gender intimate relationships: The effect of westernization on the “Expanding Self” of Turkish undergraduates. Unpublished master thesis. Boğaziçi University, İstanbul, Turkey.

Van Ijzendoorn, M. H. (1990). Adult attachment representations, parental responsiveness and infant attachment. *Psychological Bulletin*, 117 (3), 387-405.

Van Ijzendoorn, M. H., & Kroonenberg, P. M. (1988). Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: A meta-analysis of the strange situation. *Child Development*, 59, 147-156.

Van Ijzendoorn, M. H., & Sagi, A. (1999). Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: Universal and contextual dimensions. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research and clinical applications* (pp. 713-735). New York: The Guilford Press.

Wang, Q., & Brockmeier, J. (2002). Autobiographical remembering as a cultural practice: Understanding the interplay between memory, self and culture. *Culture & Psychology*, 8 (1), 45-64.

## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INVENTORY OF PARENT AND PEER ATTACHMENT  
(SHORT FORM)

Annenizle Őu anki iliŐkinizi dŐŐunerek, aŐaĐıdaki cŐmlelere ne kadar katıldıĐınızı 1'den 7'e bir sayıyı daire iŐine alarak belirtiniz.

LŐtfen boŐ bırakmayınız ve yalnızca bir sayıyı iŐaretleyiniz.

**1 = Asla      2      3      4      5      6      7= Daima**

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1-Annem duygularıma sayĐı gŐsterir.....  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 2-Annem baŐka biri olsun isterdim.....   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 3-Annem beni olduĐum gibi kabul eder.....  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 4-Sorunlarım hakkında annemle konuŐtuĐumda kendimden utanırım ya da kendimi kŐtŐ hissederim. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 5-Evde kolayca keyfim kaŐar.....   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 6-Annemin kendi problemleri olduĐundan onu bir de benimkilerle sıklamak istemem.             | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 7-Kim olduĐumu daha iyi anlamamda annem bana yol gŐsterir.....                               | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 8-Bir sorunum olduĐunda ya da baŐım sıkıŐtıĐında bunu anneme anlatırım.                      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 9-Anneme kızzınlık duyuyorum.....  | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 10-Annemden pek ilgi gŐrmüyorum.....   | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 11-Kızzın olduĐunda annem anlayıŐlı olmaya ŐalıŐır.....                                      | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 12-Annem bir Őeyin beni rahatsız ettiĐini hissederse, bana nedenini sorar...                 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

Babanızla Őu anki iliŐkinizi dŐŐunerek, aŐaĐıdaki cŐmlelere ne kadar katıldıĐınızı 1'den 7'e bir sayıyı daire iŐine alarak belirtiniz.

LŐtfen boŐ bırakmayınız ve yalnızca bir sayıyı iŐaretleyiniz.

**1 = Asla      2      3      4      5      6      7=Daima**

13-Babam duygularıma saygı gŐsterir.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14-Babam baŐka biri olsun isterdim.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15-Babam beni olduĐum gibi kabul eder. ....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16-Sorunlarım hakkında babamla konuŐtuĐumda kendimden utanırım ya da kendimi kŐtŐ hissederim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17-Evde kolayca keyfim kaŐar.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18-Babamın kendi problemleri olduĐundan onu bir de benimkilerle sıkımkak istemem.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19-Kim olduĐumu daha iyi anlamamda babam bana yol gŐsterir.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20-Bir sorunum olduĐunda ya da baŐım sıkıŐtıĐında bunu babama anlatırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21-Babama kızzınlık duyuyorum.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22-Babamdan pek ilgi gŐrmŐyorum. ....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23-Kızzınlık olduĐumda babam anlayıŐlı olmaya ŐalıŐır.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24-Babam bir Őeyin beni rahatsız ettiĐini hissederse, bana nedenini sorar...	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX B

EXPANDING SELF SCALE

Aşağıda sosyal yaşam ve ilişkilerle ilgili bazı ifadeler yer almaktadır. Lütfen bu ifadelerin **sizin şu anki yaşamınızda** geçerli olup olmadığını ya da ne derece geçerli olduğunu bir sayıyı işaretleyerek belirtiniz. Lütfen boş bırakmayınız ve yalnızca bir sayıyı işaretleyiniz.

<b>Benim için; Hiç Geçerli Değil</b>	<b>Biraz Geçerli</b>	<b>Orta Derecede Geçerli</b>	<b>Oldukça Geçerli</b>	<b>Tamamen Geçerli</b>					
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>					
1) Sevdiğim insanlar için her şeyi göze almıyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
2) Kadın-erkek ilişkilerinde, ilişkiyi başlatan tarafın kadın olmasını tercih etmiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
3) Evleninceye kadar ailemle birlikte yaşamak istemiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
4) Özgür olmak pahasına yakın ilişkilerimden vazgeçmeyi istemiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
5) İleride aileme layık ve onların gurur duyacağı bir insan olmayı istiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
6) İleride aileme layık ve onların gurur duyacağı bir insan olmayı istiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
7) Komşularla çok içli dışlı olmayı tercih etmiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
8) Hayatımla ilgili önemli kararlar alırken ailem beni yönlendiriyor.				1	2	3	4	5	
9) Başarıya ulaşmak için, daha az fedakarlık yapmayı ve daha bencil düşünmeyi tercih ediyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
10) Çocuklarım olduğunda, büyükler konuşurken lafa karışmalarını istemiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
11) Evlenince, aileme yakın oturmayı istemiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
12) Evleneceğim insanı seçerken ailemin de görüşünü alacağım.				1	2	3	4	5	
13) Çocuklarım olduğunda, 18 yaşını doldurduklarında, bizden ayrı oturmalarını sağlayacağım.				1	2	3	4	5	
14) Arkadaşlarımın ailemden önce gelmesini tercih etmiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
15) Çalışma hayatına girdikten sonra, ailemle birlikte oturmayacağım.				1	2	3	4	5	
16) Sevgimi, hareketlerimle belli etmeyi tercih ediyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
17) Evlendiğimde, ailemden ayrılmakta zorlanmayacağım.				1	2	3	4	5	
18) Yaşlandıklarında anne ve babama bakmayı istiyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	
19) Kızların namusunun bekaretle ölçülmesinden rahatsızlık duyuyorum.				1	2	3	4	5	

20) Eski Türk adetlerinin kaybolmasını istemiyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
21) İleride, torunlarımın yetiştirilişinde söz hakkına sahip olmayı istiyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
22) Özel günlerde akrabaları ziyaret etmek beni kendi işimden alıkoymuyor.	1	2	3	4	5
23) Annemin temel görevlerinin, ev işleri yapmak ve bizimle ilgilenmek olduğunu düşünmüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
24) İleride çocuğum olduğunda, onun bana layık olmasını ve onunla gurur duymayı istiyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
25) Bayram tatillerini, akraba ziyaretleri yapmaktansa, arkadaşlarımla geçirmek istiyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
26) Bireyselleştikçe, çıkarların ön plana çıktığını düşünmüyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
27) Benden daha büyük ve tecrübeli insanlara saygı duyuyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
28) Evlendiğimde, eşimin de benim de, birbirimize kendi hayatlarımızı yaşayabilme özgürlüğünü vermemizi istiyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
29) İleride kendi hayatımı kurduğum zaman, yakın akrabalarımla olan ilişkilerimi sürdürmeye çalışmayacağım.	1	2	3	4	5
30) İleride evlendiğimde, erkeğin baskın olmasını önlemeye çalışacağım.	1	2	3	4	5
31) Çocuğum olduğunda, onun, herhangi bir karar verirken, bana ve eşime de danışmasını isteyeceğim.	1	2	3	4	5
32) Geleneksel aile yapısının ve kadın-erkek ilişkilerinin değişmesini istiyorum.	1	2	3	4	5
33) Çocuklarımın, evlenmeden birisiyle oturmalarına izin vermeyeceğim.	1	2	3	4	5
34) Çocuklarım olduğunda, dışarı eğlenmeye gittikleri zaman, onlara zaman sınırlaması koymayacağım.	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX C

PERSONAL STYLE INVENTORY

Aşağıda kişisel özelliklerinizle ilgili cümleler bulunmaktadır. Lütfen her cümleyi dikkatlice okuyun ve katılıp katılmadığınızı ya da ne derece katıldığınızı bir sayıyı işaretleyerek belirtin. Lütfen boş bırakayınız ve yalnızca bir sayıyı işaretleyiniz.

<b>Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum</b>	<b>Katılmıyorum</b>	<b>Biraz Katılmıyorum</b>	<b>Biraz Katılıyorum</b>	<b>Katılıyorum</b>	<b>Kesinlikle Katılıyorum</b>			
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>			
1) Çoğunlukla başka insanların ihtiyaçlarını kendi ihtiyaçlarımın önüne koyarım.			1	2	3	4	5	6
2) Başka insanlara mesafeli dururum.			1	2	3	4	5	6
3) Sevdiğim insanlardan ayrılmak bana zor gelir.			1	2	3	4	5	6
4) İnsanların benden bir şeyler beklemelerinden kolaylıkla rahatsız olurum.			1	2	3	4	5	6
5) Başka insanların hisleri üzerinde bıraktığım etkiye çok duyarlıyım.			1	2	3	4	5	6
6) Başkalarından yardım beklemeyi sevmem.			1	2	3	4	5	6
7) Başkaları tarafından yöneltilen eleştirilere çok duyarlıyım.			1	2	3	4	5	6
8) Ortalama ve sıradan olduğumu hissetmek beni rahatsız eder.			1	2	3	4	5	6
9) Başka insanları kırmak ya da gücendirmek beni çok kaygılandırır.			1	2	3	4	5	6
10) Beni mutsuz ettiği halde bir ilişkiyi bitirmekte zorlanırım.			1	2	3	4	5	6
11) İlişkilerde insanlar birbirlerinden çoğunlukla çok fazla şey talep ediyorlar.			1	2	3	4	5	6
12) Başkaları beni kolayca ikna edebilir.			1	2	3	4	5	6

13) Genellikle performansımı ya büyük bir başarı ya da bir büyük bir başarısızlık olarak görürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
14) Fazlasıyla başkalarını memnun etmeye çalışırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
15) İnsanların özel hayatımı işgal etmesi hoşuma gitmez.	1	2	3	4	5	6
16) Bütün gün yalnız başıma olmak bana zor gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
17) Benim üzerimde otoritesi olan insanlardan talimat almak bana zor gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
18) Genellikle insanların sorunlarını çözmek konusunda kendimi sorumlu hissedirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
19) Genellikle büyük kararları başkalarına söylemeden alırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
20) Bir ilişki bittiğinde oluşan kayıp duygusunu aşmakta çok zorlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
21) Birinin bana bağlı olması bana zor gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
22) Başkaları tarafından sevilme ya da beğenilmek benim için çok önemlidir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
23) Aktif bir şekilde bir şeyler gerçekleştirmediğim zaman kendimi kötü hissedirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
24) Başkalarına iyi davranmak zorunda hissediyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6
25) Beğeni ya da şefkat göstermek bana zor gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
26) Başıma tatsız bir olay geldiğinde yakın hissettiğim birini arayabileceğimden emin olmak isterim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
27) Uzun süreli bir ilişkiye bağlanmak bana zor gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
28) İnsanlardan fazlasıyla özür diliyorum.	1	2	3	4	5	6

29) Kişisel konular ve hislerim hakkında açılmak ve konuşmak bana zor gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
30) İnsanlardan aldığım tepki beni fazlasıyla ilgilendirir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
31) Potansiyelimi sonuna kadar kullanmadığım zaman kendimi affetmekte zorlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
32) Birinin beni sevip sevmediğinden emin değilsem çok rahatsız olurum.	1	2	3	4	5	6
33) Önemli bir karar alırken başkalarından gelen önerilerin işime karıştığını düşünürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
34) Başkalarının isteklerine hayır demek bana zor gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
35) İnsanların davranışlarımı ya da faaliyetlerimi yönlendirmeye çalışmasına gücenirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
36) Başıma bir şey geldiğinde etrafımda konuşacak biri olmazsa üzülürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
37) Kişisel sorular özel hayatıma işgal gibi gelir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
38) Kendimi en rahat hissettiğim zaman davranışlarımın başkalarının beklentilerine uygun olduğunu bildiğimdedir.	1	2	3	4	5	6
39) Başka insanlar ya da durumların planlarımla çatışması beni çok üzer.	1	2	3	4	5	6
40) İnsanların çoğunlukla benden yararlanmasına izin veririm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
41) Önemli bir karar alırken başkalarının tavsiyelerine nadiren güvenirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6
42) Bir arkadaşım beraber dışarı çıkma planımızı iptal eder ya da beni aramayı unutursa çok üzülürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6

43) Özgürlüğüm ve bağımsızlığım kısıtlandığında bir çok insandan daha fazla üzülürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
44) Kendimi insanların benim hakkımdaki hislerine dayanarak değerlendiririm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
45) Başkaları bir sorun ile ilgili düşüncelerimi etkilemeye çalışınca çok üzülürüm.	1	2	3	4	5	6
46) İnsanlara kızdığımda bunu onlara belli etmekte çok zorlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5	6
47) Başkaları planlarımla ilgili fikirlerini söylediklerinde kontrol edilmiş hissedirim.	1	2	3	4	5	6

## APPENDIX D

### SYMBIOSIS RECIPROCITY/POSITIVE ENGAGEMENT SCALE

Aşağıda yakınlarınızla ilişkileriniz hakkında bazı cümleler bulunmaktadır. Burada “yakınlarınız”dan kasıt aile fertleriniz, akrabalarınız, dostlarınız ya da kız/erkek arkadaşınız olabilir. Lütfen her cümleyi dikkatlice okuyunuz ve sizin için ne derece geçerli olduğunu işaretleyiniz. Lütfen boş bırakmayınız ve yalnızca bir sayıyı işaretleyiniz.

<b>Hiç Geçerli Değil</b> 1	<b>Biraz Geçerli</b> 2	<b>Orta Derecede Geçerli</b> 3	<b>Oldukça Geçerli</b> 4	<b>Çok Geçerli</b> 5	
1) Yakınlarımla birbirimizin hayatındaki olayların içinde yer alır, bu olaylarla ilgilenir, yorum yaparız.	1	2	3	4	5
2) Yakınlarımla dile getirmeseler bile nasıl hissettiklerini bilirim.	1	2	3	4	5
3) Yakınlarımla fazla içli dışlı olmayı sevmem.	1	2	3	4	5
4) Yakınlarımla sorunları beni de ilgilendirir.	1	2	3	4	5
5) Yakınlarımla benim hakkımdaki hisleri ve düşünceleri beni etkilemez.	1	2	3	4	5
6) Yakınlarımla ihtiyaçlarımı tahmin eder, ona göre davranırım.	1	2	3	4	5
7) Yakınlarımla özel hayatımı ve hislerimi paylaşmaktan hoşlanmam.	1	2	3	4	5
8) Yakınlarımla birbirimize karşı özel bir bağlılık hissederiz.	1	2	3	4	5
9) Yakınlarıma güvenmekte zorlanırım.	1	2	3	4	5
10) Yakınlarımla ruh halinden (üzgün, neşeli, mutsuz olduğundan) etkilenirim.	1	2	3	4	5
11) Yakınlarımla kişisel sorunlarımı benimle paylaşması beni rahatsız eder.	1	2	3	4	5
12) Yakınlarımla yoğun bir duygu alışverişi içindeyiz.	1	2	3	4	5
13) Kendi ihtiyaçlarımı yakınlarımla ihtiyaçlarının önüne koyarım.	1	2	3	4	5
14) Yakınlarımla karşılıklı ve kişisel paylaşımlar içinde olmak benim için önemlidir.	1	2	3	4	5

## APPENDIX E

### STRUCTURAL HIERARCHY/PROPER DEMEANOR SCALE

Aşağıdaki cümlelerde ebeveynlerinizin sizden bekleyebileceği bazı kişisel özellikler ve davranışlar bulunmaktadır. **Bu beklentilerin ne kadarını gerçekleştirdiğinizi** işaretleyiniz.

Lütfen boş bırakmayınız ve yalnızca bir sayıyı işaretleyiniz.

**Hiç**                      **Az**                      **Orta**                      **Oldukça**                      **Çok**  
**1**                      **2**                      **Derecede**                      **3**                      **4**                      **5**

	Siz ne kadarını yaparsınız?				
1) Ebeveynlerim onların yanında saygıda kusur etmememi beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
2) Ebeveynlerim onlara karşı terbiyeli olmamı beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
3) Yumuşak huylu ve sakin olmamı beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
4) Davranışlarımın sonuçları konusunda sorumluluk almamı beklerler	1	2	3	4	5
5) Dürüst ve güvenilir bir insan olmamı beklerler	1	2	3	4	5
6) Toplum içinde görgülü olmamı beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
7) Tasvip etmedikleri davranışları yapmamamı beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
8) Büyüklerime ve yaşlılarıma saygılı davranmamı beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
9) Aileme layık bir insan olmamı beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
10) Hatalı davranışlarımın hem beni hem de ebeveynlerimi utandıracaklarını bilmememi beklerler.	1	2	3	4	5
	1	2	3	4	5

11) Başkaları ile ilişkilerimde nazik ve ince davranmamı beklerler.

Siz ne kadarını yaparsınız?

12) Toplumla yaralı bir insan olmamı beklerler.

1 2 3 4 5

13) Ebeveynlerim benden hoşnut değillerse hareketlerime çeki düzen vermemi beklerler.

1 2 3 4 5

14) Toplum içinde saygıda kusur etmemi beklerler.

1 2 3 4 5

15) Ahlaklı, iyiyi ve kötüyü ayırt edebilen bir insan olmamı beklerler.

1 2 3 4 5

16) Toplum tarafından takdir edilen bir insan olmamı beklerler.

1 2 3 4 5

17) Benden büyüklerin otoritesine karşı çıkmamamı beklerler.

1 2 3 4 5

18) Yaptığım bir saygısızlığın beni toplumda küçük düşüreceğini bilmememi beklerler.

1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX F  
INFORMED CONSENT FORM

ID NUMBER:

Bilgilendirilmiş Olur Formu

Bu çalışma ebeveynleriniz ile ilişkileriniz üzerine bir arařtırmadır. Arařtırmaya katılmadan evvel sizlere bu çalışma hakkında bilgi vermek istiyoruz. Ařađıdaki bilgileri okuduktan sonra arařtırmaya katılmak istiyorsanız lütfen bu formu imzalayınız.

Bu çalışmada 5 adet anket doldurmanız istenecektir. Çalışmanın toplam süresi yaklaşık olarak yarım saattir. Bu çalışmaya katılarak PSY 101 ya da PSY 242 derslerinden 0.5 kredi alacaksınız.

Size ait kişisel bilgiler (isim-soyad, yaş, e-mail) gizli tutulacaktır. Elde edilen verilerin tüm grup için ortalama deđerleri kullanılacaktır.

Arařtırmanın sağlıklı devam edebilmesi için bu çalışmanın içeriđinden daha sonra çalışmaya katılacak arkadaşlarınıza bahsetmemenizi rica ediyoruz.

Çalışma bittikten sonra çalışmayla ilgili sormak istediđiniz tüm sorular için ařađıdaki e-mail adresinden arařtırmacıya ulaşabilirsiniz.

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve bu çalışmaya katılmaya karar verdim.

Katılımcı

Adı Soyadı:

Tarih:

E-mail:

İmza:

Arařtırmacı

Sibel Halfon  
[sibelh@hotmail.com](mailto:sibelh@hotmail.com)

Danışman Öğretim Üyesi

Prof. Dr. Güler Fişek