

## When Fairness Clashes with Personal Autonomy and Parental Authority: A Comparison of Daughters' and Mothers' Reasoning in Two Cultural Contexts in Turkey

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### ABSTRACT

The author examined religious and secular daughters' and mothers' reasoning about personal autonomy, maternal authority, and moral concepts in family decision-making situations in urban Turkey. Sixty-eight daughters and 34 mothers were individually interviewed about decision-making autonomy in general issues and hypothetical daughter–mother conflicts. Results indicated participants regardless of their family status and religious background assigned more decision-making autonomy to mothers when evaluating general issues. Analysis of controversial issues as hypothetical conflicts indicated that daughters and mothers do not hold unitary social judgments about the social world that were always consistent with the norms of their community and family status. There were some religious background differences in evaluations of some conflict stories as a function of whether they evaluated the choices as moral, conventional, personal, and prudential matters. Although secular and religious participants conceptualized daughters and mothers in relational terms rather than characterizing the relations and social issues by harmony, obedience to authority, and acceptance of norms findings suggested that secular women evaluated the hypothetical adolescent–mother conflicts more consistently when the issue entails violation of a moral principle such as justice, fairness, and well-being of the other.

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Few would disagree with the statement that our everyday lives are complex and multifaceted. Some of the time there is harmony, cooperation, helping, and sharing. Some of the time there is conflict, disagreement, and unfair treatment. How do adolescents and adults think about fairness, personal autonomy, and authority when these concepts are in conflict with each other or with other components of everyday life? Do cultural and religious backgrounds play a role in people's understanding of the adolescent–parent conflicts? Do daughters and mothers have a different perspective? By investigating these questions I aimed to deepen the understanding of concepts of fairness, personal autonomy, and parental authority among secular and religious women in Turkish urban context. I intended to extend the understanding of how social-cultural contexts, religious commitments, and roles in the family can play a role in social and moral judgments. More specifically, the reasoning was examined in religious and secular daughter–mother dyads in the light of two conflicting features: personal choice against maternal authority and social norms. Its objective was to ascertain if young and adult women who endorse decision-making autonomy would also disapprove of maternal authority and social norms and under what conditions they do so.

This study took a structural-developmental perspective documenting that social knowledge and reasoning develop within conceptually different domains of thought through qualitatively different social interactions (Turiel, 2002). Domain refers to subsystems of mind that organize knowledge and allows us to understand the complex nature of the social world. Research conducted over the last three decades in the United States and in other cultural settings has indicated that people form domains of social knowledge: moral, social-conventional, personal, and prudential. Issues are categorized as moral if they are impersonal, generalizable, obligatory, and independent from authority dictates. Assessments of criterion determination include questions of whether an action would be wrong in the absence of a rule if the act would be all right if permitted by an authority figure, and if the act would be all right if there is general agreement on its acceptability. Research findings consistently show that moral transgressions, such as hitting and stealing, are evaluated independent of the existence of rules, authority permission, or acceptance by society. In contrast, social conventional issues are evaluated as context dependent, and the wrongness of acts is judged as contingent upon punishment, authority dictates, and social sanctions. The criteria for conventions include rule contingency, contextualism, relativism, hierarchy, and authority jurisdiction. The personal domain includes preferences and choices (e.g., choice of clothes, hairstyle) that are considered to be outside the jurisdiction of social conventions and morality (Nucci, 1996). Research on the personal domain has provided evidence for some form of conceptions of personal jurisdiction and choice in diverse cultures (Milnitsky-Sapiro, Turiel, & Nucci, 2006; Turiel & Wainryb, 1998; Yau & Smetana, 2003). For example, research on social development in Benin, West Africa (Conry-Murray, 2009); Mysore, India (Neff, 2001); and a Druze-Arab community in Israel (Wainryb & Turiel, 1994), examined concepts of personal entitlements, freedoms, rights, duties, and interdependence in different types of social arrangements. These studies provided evidence that women in non-Western contexts are concerned with fairness and personal entitlements as well as with power differences in hierarchical arrangements. Finally, issues related with harm to self, safety, and health are defined as prudential (Tisak & Turiel, 1984).

Research from the social-domain framework suggested that adolescent–parent relationships are not a direct outcome of cultural orientations. Rather, they are multifaceted. Conflicts between adolescents and parents shift across personal and conventional domains and according to the developmental needs of the adolescents (Smetana, 1995; Turiel, 2005). Two findings of Smetana’s research program (Smetana, 2011) have been demonstrated to be robust: First, both adolescents and parents made domain distinctions in their judgments about daily life disputes. Issues pertaining to other’s welfare, fairness, or rights were treated more seriously. Thus, there was less conflict between adolescents and parents over moral issues. Adolescents and parents usually agreed about decisions that bore on issues of justice, welfare, and harm. Second, not all events or situations could be clearly distinguished as moral, conventional, and personal. Many events and situations in the sphere of the family, called multifaceted or mixed domain events (Smetana, 1983), entailed overlapping concerns with morality, social conventions, pragmatics, and personal issues. For example, cleaning one’s room, when to start dating, and hanging out with friends whom one’s parents dislike were considered multifaceted issues. The meaning of conflicts over multifaceted everyday issues was examined in a series of studies (Smetana, 1995; Smetana & Anquith, 1994; Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003) obtaining adolescents’ and parents’ evaluations and justifications. Results of these studies indicated both adolescents and parents agreed that parents treated multifaceted issues as more contingent on parental authority, giving conventional, prudential, and psychological reasons. Adolescents perceived these issues to be under personal jurisdiction based on personal concerns.

An important question is the extent to which these patterns of adolescent–parent relations found in Western societies can be found in non-Western contexts or in immigrant families with non-Western ethnic backgrounds (Darling, Cumsille, & Martinez, 2007; Fuligni, 1998; Miller, 2005). Although it has been argued that the demand for autonomy, the negation of parental authority, and conflicts between adolescents and their parents are specific to Western cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Miller, 2005), studies of judgments about adolescent–parent relations in Japan (Hasebe, Nucci, & Nucci, 2004), Brazil (Milnitsky-Sapiro, Turiel, & Nucci, 2006), and China (Yau & Smetana, 2003) and among Iraqi, Syrian, and Palestinian refugees (Smetana, Ahmad, & Wray-Lake, 2015) have shown that non-Western adolescents also assert their autonomy and disagree with their

parents. This assertion of autonomy, particularly over personal issues, has been one of the major reasons for adolescent–parent conflict across ethnicities, social classes, and nations (Fuligni, 1998; Helwig, 2006; Smetana, Daddis, & Chuang, 2003; Yau & Smetana, 2003). Findings in this new emerging body of cross-cultural research also have suggested that conceptions of personal jurisdictions and choices can be found across cultures (e.g., Assadi, Smetana, Shahmansouri, & Mohammadi, 2011; Chen-Gardini, 2012; Milnistky-Sapiro, Turiel, & Nucci, 2006; Yau & Smetana, 2003).

## The present study

The goal of this study was to investigate three questions. The first question was whether daughters and mothers take a unitary orientation to the social environment and decision making in everyday life by focusing on two historically conflicted groups within the same ethnicity and national culture. The assumption guiding the research was that both daughters and mothers from religious and secular backgrounds would assert certain personal entitlements along with acceptance of maternal authority and community norms (Conry-Murray, 2009; Neff, 2001). The second question was how daughters and mothers reason about multifaceted social issues (i.e., gendered division of labor and interfaith relations) in a non-Western context with the members of the same family. It was expected that participants would endorse protagonists' decisions in the hypothetical stories depending on their own family status and religious background. I aimed to examine whether and how moral concerns and personal choices are subordinated to social norms and maternal authority in a family context when reasoning about socially controversial issues in urban Turkey. The final question investigated the daughters' and mothers' perspectives on ideal conflict resolution strategies for the hypothetical conflicts.

## Method

### Research settings

Participants were selected from two different schools located in two demographically distinct neighborhoods in Istanbul. School 1 was a public religious vocational high school with a strong emphasis on Sunni-Islam teaching, along with positive sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology, and mathematics. It was categorized as an *Anatolian Imam-Hatip* (Prayer-Preacher) high school. It was located in a low socioeconomic status urban neighborhood with a population mainly of rural origins, Muslim lifestyle, and Islamic dress. The main objective of school was to train religious service providers and prayers (imams) for mosques. Its graduates could continue their higher education at Divinity Colleges or take the National University Entrance Exam and study whatever specialty they liked. It was a mixed-gender high school and drew its students from the top 5% according to the results of the national high school entrance exam. School 2 was a private high school located in an upper middle-class urban neighborhood in Istanbul. According to the Turkish National Education Ministry's classification, School 2 was a foreign college. In the Turkish context, *college* means a private high school with a strictly secular curriculum under the control of the Turkish Ministry of Education. Based on the National High School Entrance Exam results, School 2 accepted students from the first percentile. Approximately 35–40% of its graduates were accepted to liberal art colleges and universities in the United States and the United Kingdom each year. The rest of its graduates mostly continued their higher education at prestigious private and public universities in Turkey. School 2 had mixed-education classes with equal numbers of female and male students.

### Participants

This study included 102 female participants, 68 daughters and 34 mothers. Daughters and mothers were from the same family. Thirty-six daughters ( $M = 16.7$  years,  $SD = 0.79$  years, age range 16–18 years) and 18 mothers ( $M = 39.3$  years,  $SD = 4.2$  years, age range 34–55 years) were from the religious Imam-Hatip High School. All participants from the religious school wore a headscarf. Thirty-two daughters ( $M = 16.6$  years,  $SD = 0.55$  years, age range 16–18) and 16 mothers ( $M = 44.5$  years,  $SD = 3.85$  years,

age range 39–52) were from the secular private high school. The mean number of children within the religious participants' households ( $M = 3.06$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ ) and the secular participants' households ( $M = 1.72$ ,  $SD = 0.51$ ) were also significantly different,  $t(65) = -7.43$ ,  $p = .00$ ,  $d = .10$ .

None of the religious mothers had a college degree. Forty-four percent of the religious mothers were elementary school graduates, 22% were middle school graduates, 25% were high school graduates, and 8% of them did not receive any formal education. The majority of the religious mothers (94%,) were housewives, while 6% of them were blue-collar workers. However, 84% of the secular mothers had a four-year college degree or more, while 13% were high school graduates. Only 3% of the secular mothers had no more than an elementary school education. Only 25% of secular mothers were housewives. Seventy-five percent were white-collar workers and professionals (mostly teachers and doctors). Similar to the mothers' educational backgrounds, religious fathers had less education than secular fathers did; 25% of religious fathers had a college degree, 31% were high school graduates, and 44% had a middle school diploma or less. In contrast, 90% of the secular fathers had a college degree or greater. Fifty percent of religious fathers had blue-collar jobs (e.g., artisans, drivers, mechanics) and 17% were owners of small-scale businesses. On the other hand, 78% of secular fathers had white-collar positions and 16% were self-employed.

### **Procedure**

I introduced the study to all 10th- and 11th-grade students in both schools during their homeroom hours. Female students who were interested in participating were interviewed individually in their free hours or during their lunch breaks on school grounds. The participation rate was approximately 40% in each classroom. Interested participants' mothers were contacted first through email or by phone. If they agreed to participate, the interviews were arranged at their convenience. Mothers' participation rate was 50%. The participants responded to questions in a semistructured interview format for about 30.45 min. All interviews were conducted in Turkish, electronically recorded and transcribed for analysis. I am native Turkish-speaking woman.

### **Design and assessment**

First participants were asked who they think should make decisions about house chores and choice of friends. Then they were presented with a series of conflict situations in adolescent daughter–mother dyads about socially controversial issues within the previously mentioned two areas. In Format 1 daughter protagonists were portrayed as choosing and desiring an activity opposed by her mother. Conflicts involving the two areas were presented in two conditions. In Condition 1, the protagonist daughter made a decision that was presumably consistent with the social norms of the secular participants' community but opposed by the protagonist's mother. In Condition 2, the protagonist daughter made a decision presumably consistent with the social norms of the religious participants' community but opposed by the protagonist's mother (see [Appendix A](#)). In Format 2, the mother protagonists were portrayed as choosing and desiring an activity that was opposed by her daughters. For example, the protagonist mother wanted to boys do house chores because she thought men are also responsible for house chores, but her adolescent daughter opposed this decision by voicing her opinion that boys should not help. Similar to Format 1, all stories are presented in two conditions.

Each participant was presented with four stories (2 areas of conflict by 2 types of conditions; see [Appendix A](#)). After being presented with each story, participants were asked to evaluate three questions: (a) Do you think what the protagonist decides in this situation is ok or not ok? Why? (b) Do you think it is OK or not OK that her mother/daughter objects? Why? and (c) What is your ideal resolution for this conflict? Why?

### **Coding and reliability**

Four coding systems were developed based on previous research (Conry-Murray, 2009; Milnitsky-Sapiro, Turiel, & Nucci, 2006; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994) and modified using 33% of the interviews. First, the responses to the query "Who should decide?" were coded within three categories: person, both (joint),

**Table 1.** Justification categories.

Domain	Criteria
1. Moral	Fairness; justice; equality Harm, welfare of the other. Rights
2. Religious	Religious orders/religious sanctions/punishments
3. Social-conventional	Respect to maternal authority with reference to the culture and traditions or role-related competence Social customs/traditions/norms in community/negative consequences for social order/community pressure/gender norms Harmony in family/appeal to togetherness of the family; negative social consequences for the person and affective interpersonal relations
4. Personal	Personal autonomy: autonomy seeking, individuation, identity exploration, self-sufficiency Personal preferences/choices
5. Prudential-pragmatics	Caution to danger and risks: intervention to one's ability to govern one's own welfare under certain circumstances, especially as caution to danger and risk Future orientation/best interest Greater good

or the other person should decide. The second coding system was for participants' evaluations of the permissibility of the protagonists' decision and the permissibility of the objection by the other. Responses were coded on an OK–maybe–not OK scale. The third coding system was for coding participants' justifications. Fifteen justification categories were developed based on the interview protocols. For statistical analysis, justification categories were collapsed into five categories. The moral category included responses related to justice, rights, concerns related to the welfare of the other, equality, and reciprocity between family members. The religious category includes responses related to God's words and religious rules. The social-conventional category included responses that referred to social norms, hierarchy, and role-related competencies. Responses referring to the individual's personal autonomy, choices, desires, needs, and priorities were grouped as personal. Responses concerning the safety of the self and pragmatics of the act were grouped as prudential pragmatics (See Table 1). Each justification category was applied either to positive (OK), negative (not OK), or mixed (maybe) responses to evaluation questions. The fourth coding system ordered participants' ideal resolution strategies as "daughter's opinion should prevail," "mother's opinion should prevail," and "middle way." I transcribed coded the Turkish interviews. For interrater agreement, 16% of the interviews were coded by another native Turkish speaker. The interjudge agreements based on Cohen's kappa were as follows: in the coding for evaluations  $\kappa = .86$ ; in the coding for justifications  $\kappa = .77$ ; and in the coding for conflict resolution  $\kappa = .77$ .

## Results

The statistical analyses focused on comparisons of judgments and justifications of who should decide, protagonist's decision, the other person's objection, and the ideal conflict resolution for each story with normative and reverse conditions between daughters and mothers from religious and secular backgrounds. Log-linear analyses were conducted on responses. The aim of this statistical analysis was to find the main effects of religious background and family status and all interactions as participants evaluated distinct hypothetical daughter–mother conflicts entailing normative and reverse contents from both daughters' and mothers' points of view (Serlin & Seaman, 2010). Within-subject component of the data aimed to further explore the consistency and inconsistency of judgments and justifications. However, the nature of the measurement did not allow for making any statistical comparisons between Format 1 (daughter as the agent of the conflict) and Format 2 (mother as the agent of the conflict).

### *Judgments of decision-making autonomy in the family context*

With regard to the "who should decide about what an adolescent daughter should do in terms of house chores" question the majority of the participants thought that it should be a joint decision or the mother's decision and gave moral and social conventional justifications (see Figure 1). The follow-up

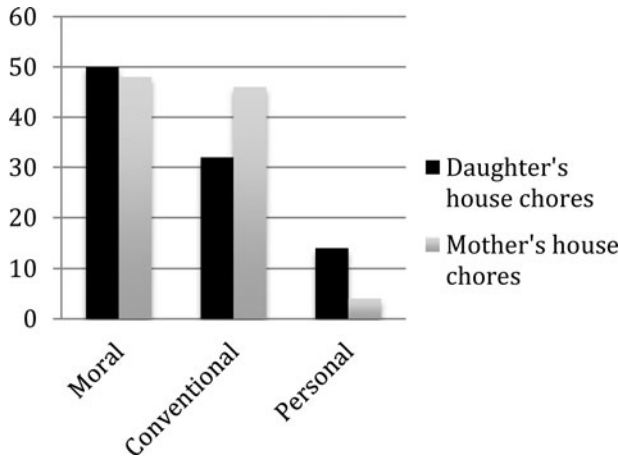


Figure 1. Justification categories (in percentages) for who should decide for house chores?

chi-square analysis showed a main effect for family status, with daughters more likely than mothers to say that mothers and daughters should make the decision together,  $\chi^2(2) = 11.68, p < .001$ . Consistent with their judgments daughters were more likely to use moral justifications,  $\chi^2(2) = 11.93, p < .001$ , whereas most of the mothers used conventional justifications. Participants gave more entitlement to mothers when the question asked who should decide what a mother does in terms house chores with social-conventional justifications (see Figure 1). Further analysis showed a main effect for religious background, with religious daughters (67%) and religious mothers (75%) more likely to say that mothers should make the decision about the house chores,  $\chi^2(2) = 11.03, p < .001$ , than were secular daughters (20%) and secular mothers (38%). Religious participants were more likely to use conventional justifications, whereas secular participants were more likely to use moral reasons,  $\chi^2(3) = 7.73, p < .001$ .

There was a significant main effect of religious background on participants' evaluations of the question regarding who should decide about an adolescent daughter's friends,  $\chi^2(2) = 13.41, p < .001$ , with religious participants more likely to respond that it should be a joint decision or the mother should decide whereas secular participants were more likely to endorse daughters' personal choices. Participants used three different justifications for the question of who should decide about an adolescent daughter's friend and mother's friend: personal, conventional, and prudential (See Figure 2). The follow-up chi-square analyses revealed a significant main effect of the religious background,  $\chi^2(3) = 9.46, p < .001$ , and a marginally significant interaction between religious background and family status,  $\chi^2(3) = 5.53, p =$

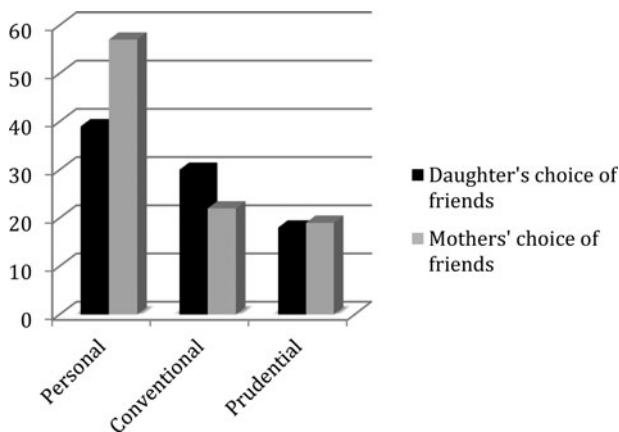


Figure 2. Justification categories (in percentages) for who should decide for choice of friends?



**Table 2.** Positive judgments (percentages) of the protagonist's daughter decision and her mothers' objection across two conflict stories with two conditions in Format 1 (daughter as agent).

	<i>Is it ok that the daughter decides "...?"</i>				<i>Is it ok that that her mother objects ".....?"</i>			
	SD	SM	RD	RM	SD	SM	RD	RM
Boys should help	88	100	67	89	0	22	6	22
Boys should not help	0	0	22	11	81	100	78	79
Choose a non-Muslim friend	100	100	78	56	6	0	50	50
Not to befriend a non-Muslim	6	0	17	40	94	100	83	90

Note. RD = religious daughters; RM = religious mothers; SD = secular daughters; SM = secular mothers.

.07, in justifications. Secular daughters (76%) were more likely to use personal justifications and religious mothers (78%) were more likely to use conventional justifications. Furthermore, secular mothers and religious daughters tended to use more prudential justifications.

There was no significant association between participants' background, family status, and their evaluations of the question "who should decide" about the mother's choice of friends. Most of the participants evaluated this question as the mother should decide. However, when compared justifications, most of the religious participants tended to use personal domain justifications when evaluating who should decide about a mother's choice of friends whereas secular participants were more likely to bring prudential concerns,  $\chi^2(3) = 9.73, p < .001$ .

## Hypothetical conflict stories

### *Judgments and justifications about the protagonists' decisions*

The protagonist daughter's request that boys should do house chores as well elicited no significant religious background and family status difference. As shown in Table 2 majority of the participants evaluated this request positively. They also evaluated the protagonist daughter's request that boys should not do house chores negatively without statistical differences in background and family status. Similarly, participants evaluated the protagonist mother's request that boys should do house chores as well positively and that boys should not do house chores negatively. There were no significant differences in participants' evaluations with respect to the religious background and family status. As displayed in the cross-tabulations in detail (see Table 3), the conflict stories about house chores elicited moral justifications from all participants. No significant association among participants' background, family status, and justifications was found.

The resulting model for the friendship conflict story (see Table 2) indicated a significant main effect of the religious background for the legitimacy of the daughter's decision to choose a non-Muslim friend,  $\chi^2(2) = 8.57, p < .001$ . Religious daughters (78%) and religious mothers (56%) evaluated the daughter's choice of a non-Muslim friend less positively than secular daughters (100%) and secular mothers (100%).

**Table 3.** Justifications (percentages) for conflict stories.

	Daughter as agent				Mother as agent			
	SD	SM	RD	RM	SD	SM	RD	RM
<i>Is it ok that x requests that boys should help?</i>								
Conventional	18	10	39	11	7	0	28	12
Prudential/pragmatics	12	0	6	33	20	12	17	38
Moral	71	90	56	56	73	88	56	50
<i>Is it ok that x chooses a non-Muslim friend</i>								
Conventional	6	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Moral	65	80	44	33	73	62	39	38
Personal	29	10	39	11	27	38	22	12
Religious	0	0	17	56	0	0	39	50

Note. RD = religious daughters; RM = religious mothers; SD = secular daughters; SM = secular mothers.

As shown in Table 3 religious participants' justifications tended to be more related to religious scripts and social-conventional domain whereas secular participants were more likely to use moral justifications,  $\chi^2(2) = 16.31, p < .001$ . There was no significant main effect of religious background and family status on participants' evaluations of the protagonist daughter's choice of not befriending a non-Muslim friend. Most of the participants evaluated this decision as not OK (See Table 2). Regardless of their background and family status, most of the participants tended to justify wrongness of not befriending a non-Muslim by using moral reasons.

There was a significant main effect for religious background in evaluations of the mother's choice of a non-Muslim friend, with secular women evaluated the choice more positively than the religious women,  $\chi^2(2) = 11.52, p < .001$ . There were no significant background and family status differences in participants' evaluations of the protagonist mother's choice of not befriending a non-Muslim, with that most of the participants tended to evaluate the mother's decision negatively. Justifications for the mother's choice of a non-Muslim friend differed by participants' religious background. Secular participants were more likely to use moral justifications while evaluating the mother's choice of a non-Muslim friend than were religious participants,  $\chi^2(3) = 16.80, p < .001$ . There were no significant group differences in participants' justifications for the protagonist's mother's choice not to befriend a non-Muslim peer. Most participants evaluated exclusion of a non-Muslim friend as wrong by using moral justifications.

### Judgments and justifications about objections

Results revealed no significant group differences in evaluations of objections to the house chore stories. As displayed in Table 2 most of the participants tended to evaluate mothers' objection to the daughter's request positively in the context where daughter requested that boys should not do house chores. Most of the participants evaluated the mother's objection to the daughter's request that boys should do house chores negatively. With regard to the daughters' objections to the protagonist mother's decisions about the same issue, there were also no group differences. The daughters' objection to the mother's request that boys should do house chores was evaluated negatively whereas the daughter's objection to the mother's request that boys should not do house chores was evaluated positively by most of the participants.

The follow-up analysis for the friendship conflict story indicated a significant main effect of religious background for the legitimacy of the mother's objection to the daughter's choice of a non-Muslim friend,  $\chi^2(2) = 16.28, p < .001$ , with religious daughters (50%) and mothers (50%) were more likely to evaluate the mother's objection positively than were secular daughters and mothers (See Table 4). Religious participants were significantly more likely to use religious justifications while evaluating the mother's objection to her daughter's choice of friend,  $\chi^2(3) = 21.94, p < .001$ , whereas secular participants were more likely to use moral justifications (See Table 3). No significant group differences were found in participants' evaluations of the mother's objection to the protagonist daughter's choice not to befriend a non-Muslim. There was a significant association between the participants' religious background and their responses to the daughters' objection to the mother's choice of a non-Muslim friend,  $\chi^2(2) = 18.40, p < .001$ , with religious participants were more likely to evaluate the daughter's objection to her mother's choice positively than were their secular counterparts by using significantly more religious justifications  $\chi^2(3) =$

**Table 4.** Positive judgments (percentages) of the protagonist mother's decision and her daughter' objection across two conflict stories with two conditions in Format 2 (mother as agent).

	<i>Is it ok that the mother decides "...?"</i>				<i>Is it ok that that her daughter objects?</i>			
	SD	SM	RD	RM	SD	SM	RD	RM
Boys should help	93	100	67	89	0	0	17	0
Boys should not help	0	0	11	0	86	100	72	50
Choose a non-Muslim friend	100	100	72	62	7	12	61	38
Not to befriend a non-Muslim	7	12	44	38	93	100	83	75

Note. RD = religious daughters; RM = religious mothers; SD = secular daughters; SM = secular mothers.



25.22,  $p < .001$ . However, the daughter's objection to the mother's choice not to befriend a non-Muslim was evaluated positively by most of the participants with moral justifications.

### **Participants' ideal conflict resolutions**

There was a main effect of religious background for conflict resolutions of boys should help,  $\chi^2(3) = 23.53$ ,  $p < .001$ , and boys should not help,  $\chi^2(3) = 33.51$ ,  $p < .001$ , with religious participants more likely to endorse a middle way as the ideal resolution. However, secular participants were more likely to endorse the daughter's opinion if the protagonist daughter requested that boys should do house chores. Format 2 (mother-as-agent version) also revealed a main effect of religious background in house chore stories. Secular participants were more likely to endorse mother's opinion if she requested that boys should help house chores,  $\chi^2(3) = 26.14$ ,  $p < .001$ , whereas religious women tended to suggest the middle way as the ideal resolution. Parallel to that, religious daughters and mothers were less likely to offer that the daughter's opinion should prevail as the ideal conflict resolution than were the secular participants,  $\chi^2(3) = 24.52$ ,  $p < .001$ , if the protagonist mother request boys should not help.

Participants' responses with regard to the friendship story, where the protagonist daughter decided not to befriend a non-Muslim differed by their religious backgrounds as well. Secular participants were more likely to endorse the mother's opinion as the ideal resolution whereas religious mothers (78%) tended to endorse the daughter's opinion,  $\chi^2(3) = 7.82$ ,  $p = .05$ , in this situation. There were no significant religious background and family status differences in participants' ideal resolutions for the mother's choice of a non-Muslim friend. Most of the participants tended to offer that the mother's opinion should prevail in this situation. Participants' ideal resolution suggestions with regard to the protagonist mother's choice not to befriend of a non-Muslim differed by their religious backgrounds,  $\chi^2(3) = 8.08$ ,  $p < .05$ . Secular participants were more likely to endorse the daughter's opinion as the ideal resolution than religious participants.

### **Discussion**

Findings of this study revealed that young and adult women in Turkey did not make unitary forms of social judgments since they made various distinctions in their judgments by taking the agent of the choices (daughter or mother) and the content of the choices (house chore and friendship) into account. This was found in response to general questions, as well as with regard to the controversial issues. These nuanced evaluations and justifications were parallel to the findings about judgments about rights (Helwig, 1995). Furthermore, the present results were overall consistent with previous research in non-Western settings, revealing that young and adult women have a sense of autonomy and personal entitlements along with concerns for social-conventional regulations and moral norms (Conry-Murray, 2009; Neff, 2001; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994).

The first set of findings, coming from responses to the general question of who should decide about an adolescent daughter's choices indicated that religious backgrounds and family status could be the basis of either commonalities or differences depending on the content of the question. For example, daughters were more likely to respond that daughters and mothers should make the decision about house chores together for moral reasons, raising concerns about fairness and justice in the division of labor. However, mothers judged that the decision should be made by mothers with conventional reasons. They mentioned role-related competence of mothers and assigned the responsibility to mothers. These findings might suggest that younger generations in Turkey are more concerned with the equal distribution of labor among members of the family than their mothers. Responses to the questions of who should decide about what a mother should do in terms of house chores revealed a religious background difference in participants' judgments. Religious participants claimed more authority for mothers in the areas of household chores than secular participants. Secular women were more likely think that what a mother should do in terms of household chores must be a joint decision in order to make the division of labor fair for her and for the other members of the family. However, religious women said that the mother

should decide about the division of household chores since it is the mother's responsibility and area of expertise.

With regard to the question of who should decide about an adolescent daughter's friend, it was found that religious daughters and mothers endorsed less decision-making autonomy for daughters in their choice of friends than did secular daughters and secular mothers. Religious participants were more likely to say that the choice of an adolescent daughter's friend should be either a joint decision or the mother's decision with conventional and prudential concerns. For the religious participants, whether the daughter's friend is acceptable in the community or whether the friend has bad habits (e.g., smoking, spending too much time on streets and shopping malls, not observing religious rules well enough) played an important role why they think the friend should be approved by the mother. In other words, for religious participants, a shared belief in the legitimacy of the friend's habits was a concern. However, secular participants were more likely to evaluate the choice of the friend as a personal issue and attributed more decision-making power to daughters. This finding from secular women is consistent with some of the research findings in the Western context where friendship was defined as a personal choice (Smetana, 2011; Smetana & Anquith, 1994). Furthermore, religious participants responses showed similar patterns to findings in non-Western context (Lins-Dyer & Nucci, 2007; Milnitsky-Sapiro, Turiel, & Nucci, 2006; Yau & Smetana, 2003) that identified choice of friendship as a multifaceted issue having personal, conventional, and prudential components. The generic question of who should decide about mothers' friends was more likely to be viewed in the realm of maternal jurisdiction by all participants. Their reasoning revolved around concerns with individual choice, taste, desire, and needs. In line with the previous research findings in non-Western contexts (Conry-Murray, 2009; Wainryb & Turiel, 1994), the present findings of the who should decide question indicate that adolescent and adult women endorsed personal entitlement and thought themselves as the ultimate decision-making authority on certain issues. This tendency in the present study was more evident when participants judged the who should decide about a mother's friend question than when they judged who should decide about an adolescent daughter's friend question.

The results regarding controversial hypothetical conflicts demonstrated that religious and secular participants made distinctive judgments and justifications while evaluating a disagreement between a daughter and a mother. Similar to prior research on adolescent-parent relations (Smetana, 2011) some generational and cultural background differences in judgments of multifaceted issues were also documented. For example, if religious women evaluated the mother's decision as unfair, they viewed objection to mother's authority all right because it entailed a risk or went against the fairness principle. Participants also expressed approval of parental objection if the directives were evaluated as legitimately within parents' socialization role (Darling, Cumsille, & Martinez, 2007; Lins-Dyer & Nucci, 2007; Milnitsky-Sapiro, Turiel, & Nucci, 2006). In the context of house chores, whether the daughter or mother made the request or whether the request was consistent with the presumed community norms did not have a significant effect. Most women evaluated the idea that boys should also do house chores positively. This finding was in contrast to previous research about religious women in Turkey (Hortacsu, 2000; Sevim, 2006; Tasdemir & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2010), indicating that they were more likely to accept traditional gender roles without question. Lack of a significant difference between daughters' and mothers' judgments about gender equity was also in contrast to cultural models of morality (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 2003), which propose that adherence to traditional gender norms increases with age. Yet, it does not mean that some religious participants did not bring stereotypical gender expectations in relation to the division of labor in a family context when they evaluated the objections by mentioning that women have more responsibility for household chores than men. Similar to previous research findings (Neff, 2001 in India; Conry-Murray, 2009 in Benin, West Africa), Turkish women suggested the alterable aspects of gender roles by focusing on the future. However, participants did not agree about when this change should begin. In that respect, there was a significant religious background difference in the ideal resolution strategies offered for this conflict. Secular women were more likely to endorse the opinion of the protagonist who is promoting gender equality. Religious women, however, believed the conflicting daughter-mother dyad must find a middle way. Some of the older religious women did not believe that the men of her generation could change, but they were hopeful about the next generations. This excerpt

from the interviews revealed the gap between their ideal resolution strategies and projections about real life might reflect men's resistance to sharing house chores.

Well, I can also relate with the mother because she is coming from a different background and she thinks she has a legitimate reason because this is the how men are treated in our society. And she is afraid if she asks for help from her son, the boy might be perceived as "soft" by others. But I don't think it's right; it is not logical. (religious daughter, 17 years old)

In the context of friendship, choosing a non-Muslim friend and excluding a non-Muslim after figuring out the religious differences were evaluated differently by participants. The protagonist daughter's and mother's choices of a non-Muslim friend were judged more positively by secular participants with moral justifications, whereas religious participants were more hesitant about this choice by referring to religious scripts, personal needs, and tastes. Consistent with prior research findings religious participants coming from low socioeconomic status were found to be more controlling over adolescents personal choices in the area of friendship (Asadi, Smetana, Shahmansouri, & Mohammedi, 2011; Lins-Dyer & Nucci, 2007). There was no significant group difference between religious and secular participants in their evaluations of the exclusion of a non-Muslim friend. Both groups evaluated exclusion only for religious differences as negative and gave moral justifications. However, religious participants were more likely to reject the other's objection and approve the protagonist choice of not befriending a non-Muslim when compared to secular counterparts. Religious participants argued that friendship with a non-Muslim might harm the religious community and were more conflicted with their initial evaluations of exclusion with moral concerns such as harming the friend's feelings. Secular participants judged the same situations more consistently and found exclusion to be less acceptable because it could hurt the non-Muslim friend's feelings. The following excerpt showed how universal principle of not harming and religious and social norms are in conflict in religious women's judgments.

Exclusion is wrong, you can't just discriminate against people based on religion. You should greet them, say hi, and ask how they are doing. But friendship is different. Your friends have to feel the same way, you have to think the same way, worship the same way. I don't think I would have anything in common with a non-Muslim. But at the same time, if I put myself into the non-Muslim friend's shoes, I think I would be terribly heartbroken. (religious girl, 18 years old)

The most striking aspect of their justifications, in general, was the definition of friendship. As their conflict resolution strategies indicated, religious participants were more likely to define friendship based on similarities in faith and emphasized psychological comfort and mutual acceptance of each other's identity in their justifications. Although they evaluated exclusion as wrong for moral reasons, they thought that the decision of whether to continue or not continue a friendship with a non-Muslim peer should ultimately be up to the agent. Similarly, a few of the secular daughters also mentioned that the mother's authority might not be able to convince her daughter to either to keep a friend in real life if the daughter is religious as described in the hypothetical story. In line with the other research (Akpinar, 2007; Turkish Economic and Social Science Foundation, 2004) about Imam-Hatip School students and their parents, this finding suggests that maternal approval of a friendship is crucial for religious participants. Secular participants suggested that the daughter's opinion should prevail if the daughter chose a non-Muslim friend even if her mother objected to this choice. However, religious participants were more likely to endorse the mother's opinion or a compromise position as the ideal resolution when the daughter's choice of a friend was in conflict with her mother. One important proposition of social developmental perspectives (Turiel, 2002) is that people make inferences based on their social experiences. Therefore, a lack of diversity in their immediate religious community might play an important role in why religious women are more ambivalent about interfaith interactions despite the fact that they see the moral component. The findings of this study were consistent with previous results (Killen, Kelly, Richardson, Crystal, & Ruck, 2010; Killen, Lee-Kim, McGlothlin, Stangor, & Helwig, 2002) suggesting that children and adolescents evaluate the exclusion of someone from a friendship on the basis of race alone as unfair but that they also characterized it as a personal choice. However, secular participants were found to be more accepting of the differences in friend relations and evaluated the exclusion of a friend based on religion negatively for moral reasons. An interesting finding was that religious participants were more likely to disapprove the mother's choice of the non-Muslim friend by referring to the

reasoning that the differences in religion would impede their friendship and were more likely to approve the daughter's objection for the same reason.

In all, this study indicated that Turkish daughters and mothers from both backgrounds tried to balance their urge for personal autonomy with many other concerns such as fairness, personal autonomy, maternal authority, and community and religious norms.

In line with the other research findings (Chen-Gaddini, 2012; Yau & Smetana, 2003), participants' responses show that reasoning about adolescent–parent conflicts was not a direct outcome of the cultural and religious orientations. Yet, the way that participants thought about how conflicts should be resolved and negotiated was related to their definitions of the issue such as friendship in their immediate community. Furthermore, it suggests the importance of social interactions in a so-called polarized society. Conflicts written for this research were about ongoing public debates related to women's choices in contemporary Turkey. The nature of hypothetical conflicts between a daughter and her mother led many participants to tell their personal stories and experiences related to the hypothetical conflict. The most interesting part of the study was when participants evaluated a conflict that is not pertinent to their life. For example, most of the religious women had no experience with a non-Muslim because they live in a very isolated community, but they were clearly able to put themselves into the shoes of the protagonist. However, it is important to note that the factors leading participants to identify secular and religious and the polarization between secular and religious communities are issues beyond the scope of this study (for reviews, see Arat, 2010; Navaro-Yasin, 2002). However, the findings of this study have implications for the development of personal autonomy in non-Western contexts. The judgments and justifications given by Turkish women indicate that personal autonomy, family regulations, and community rules need to be considered from the perspective of individuals.

Finally, the findings suggested daughter–mother relationships entail renegotiation of boundaries between authority and autonomy and reflect the tension between the individual and society. There is much to learn about specific contexts within cultures, interactions of domains of thought, and different perspectives about power and roles in the social system.

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## Appendix A

	Format 1 (daughter as agent)	Format 2 (mother as agent)
House chore	Yasemin is a high school senior. She requests that her brothers (similar age) should also do house chores as well. Her mother objects her daughter's request because she thinks boys should not help.	Yildiz Hanim is the mother of a daughter and two boys (similar age). She requests that her sons should also help house chores. Her daughter objects her mother's request because she thinks boys should not help.
	Emine is a high school senior. She requests that her brothers (similar age) should not help house chores. Her mother objects her daughter's request because she thinks boys should help.	Rana Hanim is the mother of a daughter and two boys (similar age). She requests her sons should not help house chores. Her daughter objects her mother's request because she thinks boys should help.
Friendship	Serra is a high school senior and friend with Melissa who is a non-Muslim. They are really getting along and enjoying spending time together. Serra's mother objects this friendship because she believes a Muslim girl should not have a non-Muslim friend. But, Serra wants to keep Melissa as her friend.	Nermin Hanim is the mother of a high school senior and friend with Ethel Hanim who is a non-Muslim. They are really getting along and enjoying spending time together. Nermin Hanim's daughter objects this friendship because she believes a Muslim woman should not have a non-Muslim friend. But, Nermin Hanim wants to keep Ethel as her friend.
	Hande is a high school senior and friend with Selin, who is a non-Muslim, but Hande doesn't know her friend's religious background. They are really getting along and enjoying spending time together. One day Selin told Hande that she is a Non-Muslim. Hande decides not to be friend with Selin because	Sevgi Hanim is a friend with Seyla Hanim, who is a non-Muslim, but Sevgi Hanim doesn't know her friend's religious background. They are really getting along and enjoying spending time together. One day Seyla Hanim told Sevgi Hanim that she is a non-Muslim. Sevgi Hanim decides not to be



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