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Parenting processes and aggression: The role of self-control among Turkish adolescents

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ABSTRACT

Keywords: Parenting processes Self-control Aggression Adolescents The present study examined the direct and indirect relationships between parenting processes (parental closeness, parental monitoring, and parental peer approval), low self-control, and aggression. Participants were 546 adolescents aged 14–18 attending state high schools in Turkey. Participants completed a questionnaire that included measures of parenting processes, self-control, and aggression. Findings provided evidence of both direct and indirect effects of maternal and paternal parenting processes on aggression through low self-control. Specifically, results showed that maternal closeness, paternal peer approval and both maternal and paternal monitoring were positively and directly related to low self-control, and indirectly related to aggression through low self-control. Together, parenting processes and low self-control explained 21% of the variance in aggression. Implications for self-control theory and directions for future research are discussed.

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Introduction

A large body of research provides evidence for the role of aggression in negative child outcomes. Aggressive children are more likely to experience peer rejection, depression, negative self-perceptions, and are more likely to drop out of school (Crick & Grotpeter, 1995; Grotpeter & Crick, 1996; Rys & Bear, 1997). Several factors have been investigated as the antecedents of aggression; parenting processes has been identified as one of the most salient predictors (McDowell, Parke, & Spitzer, 2002; Paterson & Sanson, 1999). Also, past research has identified links among low self-control and deviance (Hay, 2001; Vazsonyi, 2003), and aggression (Krueger, Caspi, Moffitt, White, & Stouthammer-Loeber, 1996). Several studies indicate direct influences of parenting on adolescent deviance (Hay, 2001; Pratt, Turner, & Piquero, 2004; Vazsonyi & Belliston, 2007); others have found that parenting processes impact deviance, including aggression, through low self-control (Gibbs, Giever, & Martin, 1998; Hope & Chapple, 2005), indicating that ineffective parenting might result in low levels of self-control in children which in turn leads to the development of both deviant and aggressive behaviors. One influential theory that addresses these links is "Self-Control Theory" (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). It suggests that self-control mediates the relationship between parenting processes and adolescent aggressive behaviors. To our knowledge, few studies have specifically examined the relationship between low self-control and aggression (cf., De Kemp et al., 2009; Kim & Brody, 2005) or the links among

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parenting processes, low self-control, and violent behavior (Hay, 2001; Vazsonyi & Belliston, 2007; Vazsonyi & Klanjsek, 2008). We are unaware of previous work that has focused on the relationships among parenting processes, low self-control, and aggression. In addition, while empirical studies provided considerable support for self-control theory (see Pratt & Cullen, 2000), the theory was tested only in a few studies across different cultural groups (e.g., Cheung & Cheung, 2008; Miller, Jennings, Alvarez-Rivera, & Lanza-Kaduce, 2009; Tittle & Botchkovar, 2005; Vazsonyi, Pickering, Junger, & Hessing, 2001; Vazsonyi, Wittekind, Belliston, & Van Loh, 2004). So, related to the applicability of self-control theory, with some notable exceptions, most work has been conducted on Western youth, and it remains unknown to what extend propositions generalize to non-Western cultures, such as Turkey (Scarpate, Vazsonyi, Burcu, Torrente & Sheu, 2008). If the hypothesized links among parenting processes, self-control and aggression find empirical support, this would provide further evidence of the replicability of the theory in non-Western developmental contexts. Thus, the main purpose of the present study was to examine the relations between parenting processes (parental closeness, parental monitoring, and parental peer approval) and aggression, as well as the mediating role of low self-control in the links between parenting processes and aggression among Turkish youth.

Why Turkish youth

In Turkey, violent behavior has not received adequate theoretical and empirical attention (Özbay & Özcan, 2006). However, statistics have indicated a dramatic increase in the number of youth who were convicted of a crime from 1999 to 2003 (Yentürk, 2007). Statistics of Foundation About Life/YADA (2008) have shown that 27% of Turkish youth have been exposed to crime in their environment, and 20% of youth reported having friends that are in possession of a gun or that have used drugs. These statistics however, underscore the higher rates of violence and deviance, particularly among youth between the ages of 16–18. Underlying violence, and to some extent deviance, are aggressive behaviors directed at others. For instance, Kepenekçi and Çınkır (2006) examined bullying behaviors among Turkish adolescents and found that of the 692 students, 35.3% were bullied verbally, 35.5% were bullied physically, 28% were bullied emotionally, and 15.6% were bullied sexually at least once during the previous year.

The present study examined the generalizability of self-control theory in a different cultural context, namely Turkey which has distinct cultural values, practices, and parental socialization values (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007) in comparison to Western societies. Traditionally, emotional relatedness and conformity are hallmarks for adolescent behaviors toward their parents and elders more generally; in fact, these characteristics and behaviors are simply expected of children and youth (e.g., Sunar & Fisek, 2005). Research has shown that families ascribe greater importance to dependence, emotional closeness and parental control than to independence (Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992). These close relationships encourage adolescents "to be a good son or daughter" (Mocan-Aydin, 2000) and to behave according to both cultural expectations, but also the ones of their families. Moreover, in collectivistic cultures, the perception of how one is viewed by others is important, which itself might be a preventive factor of problem behaviors, including aggression (Jessor et al., 2003). Turkish culture is notably different from Western ones in this respect. At the same time socioeconomic changes and urbanization has led to value changes in Turkish culture and supporting the autonomy of the child has gained much importance (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Recent studies have shown that both autonomy and relatedness are the important socialization goals of Turkish parents of today (Yağmurlu, Cıtlak, Dost, & Leyendecker, 2009).

Based on these discussions, it is simply not clear to what extent theories which focus on socialization processes can account for variability in aggression, for instance, or for differences in the links between known predictors, such as parental closeness or self-control. Since self-control is affected by parenting processes and these are culturally driven constructs to some extent (Ciairano, Kliewer, Bonino, & Bosma, 2008), we in fact might expect that observed relationships based on Western samples would not be empirically supported in data from non-Western cultures. Conversely, according to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), self-control theory should find applicability and empirical support across different cultural groups within the United States, but also across different groups of youth across nations (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). In fact, this theoretical prediction has generally found empirical support in work completed to date (e.g., in Japan, Vazsonyi et al., 2004), although almost none has been completed on Turkish adolescents (e.g., Özbay, 2008; Scarpate et al., 2008). In the following sections, both theoretical issues as well as relevant empirical findings are presented and reviewed.

Self-control theory

In the last two decades, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory on low self-control has gained considerable attention from scholars because of its clarity and testability. The main proposition of the theory is that low self-control explains all types of violent behavior (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990) and analogous behaviors (Benda, 2005) in both males and females. Low self-control is defined by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) as behaving impulsively, enjoying risk taking, preferring physical activities to mental ones, choosing simple tasks over complex ones, and being self-centered and short-tempered. Thus behaviors of individuals low in self-control are governed by immediate gratification and short-term goals (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1993). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) proposed ineffective parenting as the main cause of low self-control. Specifically, a lack of parental supervision and discipline for misbehavior in effect fosters low self-control. In other words, when parents do not monitor their child's behavior, do not recognize their child's problem behavior, and do not deal with this

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