

**Turkish Immigrant Families in the US: Parenting, Parent-Adolescent Relationships and
Adolescent Wellbeing**

BY

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DISSERTATION

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To my parents...

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
A. Background.....	1
B. Rationale and Significance of the Study.....	3
C. Research Questions.....	5
A. Introduction.....	7
B. Theoretical Models on Immigration Experience.....	7
1. Assimilation theories.....	8
2. Critique of segmented assimilation theory.....	11
3. Acculturation theory.....	12
4. Critique of Acculturation Theory.....	15
C. Immigrant Adolescents' Well-being	16
1. Definition of well-being in the empirical research.....	16
2. Factors that affect immigrant adolescent well-being and adaptation	17
3. Immigration, identity, and well-being	22
D. Immigrant Family Environment, Parenting, and Adolescent Well-being/Identity.....	27
1. The effect of immigration on parenting.....	27
2. Family as a protective factor	29
3. Family as a risk factor	31
E. Immigrant Muslim Families, Parents, and Adolescent Well-Being in U.S.	33
1. Adaptation and well-being of Muslim adolescents	33
2. Parenting and family values	35
F. Turkish Immigrant Adolescents and Families	37
1. Acculturation, identity, and well-being of immigrant Turkish adolescents	37
2. Family environment and parenting.....	42
G. Conclusion	44
III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK.....	47
A. Critical Acculturation Psychology	47
B. Ecological Perspective	49
1. Are critical acculturation psychology and ecological perspective compatible?	51

C.	Theoretical Sensitivity.....	52
IV.	RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	55
A.	Research Design and the Method of Investigation.....	55
B.	Sampling.....	57
1.	Selection criteria.....	57
2.	Sample size and rationale.....	58
3.	Recruitment method	62
C.	Data Collection	66
1.	Data collection procedures	66
2.	Training of the second interviewer and the second coder.....	68
3.	Human subject protections	68
4.	Trustworthiness and transferability.....	71
D.	Data Analysis	73
1.	Analysis style	73
2.	Levels of analysis	75
V.	RESULTS	77
A.	Introduction	77
B.	Parent Perspectives on Parenting in America	77
2.	Perception Level Factors and Parenting.....	87
3.	Parenting practices and parent-child relationships.....	131
C.	Parent Perspectives on Parenting-Adolescent Well-being Relationship.....	164
1.	Children in fishbowl? Overprotectiveness as negative side of parental monitoring....	164
2.	Supporting adolescent self-confidence and well-being.....	167
3.	Extended family in Turkey and adolescent well-being.....	171
D.	Adolescent Perspectives on Parenting in America	174
1.	Awareness of immigrant parenting	175
E.	Adolescent Perspectives on Parenting-Adolescent Well-being Relationship.....	184
1.	Responses to parents' cultural concerns and exposures.....	184
F.	Member Checking Survey Results.....	233
G.	Common and Distinctive Themes across Families.....	234
1.	Research question 1	235

2. Research question 2.....	241
VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION.....	249
A. Parent and Adolescent Perspectives on the Research Questions	249
1. The effects of immigration on parenting.....	249
2. The effects of parenting on adolescent well-being.....	255
3. Families in comparison	261
B. Conceptual Frameworks Revisited.....	263
1. Ecological perspective.....	263
2. Critical acculturation psychology.....	268
C. Study Limitations	270
D. Implications.....	272
1. Implications for social work practice and policy	272
2. Implications for social work education	277
3. Recommendations for future research.....	278
CITED LITERATURE	280
APPENDICES.....	290
APPENDIX A: Parent Interview Guide and Family Demographics Questions	291
APPENDIX B: Adolescent Interview Guide (First or 1.5 Generation)	296
APPENDIX C: Adolescent Interview Guide (Second Generation)	298
APPENDIX D: Parent Consent and Permission Form for Participation in Research.....	300
APPENDIX E: Adolescent Consent Form for Participation in Research	308
APPENDIX F: Assent to Participate in Research.....	313
APPENDIX G: Email Announcement	316
APPENDIX H: Phone Recruitment Script for Parents	317
APPENDIX I: Phone Response Script for Parents	320
APPENDIX J: Email Recruitment Script for Parents	323
APPENDIX K: Email Response Script for Parents	326
APPENDIX L: Initial Adolescent Phone/Face-to-face Contact Script.....	329
APPENDIX M: Initial Adolescent Email Contact Script	332
APPENDIX N: Follow-up Interview Invitation Scripts	334
APPENDIX O: Snowball Sampling Information Script (For Participants).....	336

APPENDIX P: Member Check Invitation Script (Email).....	338
APPENDIX Q: Family Eligibility Screening, Contact Information, and Tracking Form	339
APPENDIX R: Study Flyer	344
APPENDIX S: Study Flyer (Turkish).....	346
APPENDIX T: YOUTH AND FAMILY RESOURCES IN CHICAGO	348
APPENDIX U: YOUTH AND FAMILY RESOURCES IN INDIANAPOLIS AREA.....	358
APPENDIX V: TURKISH CONSULATE GENERAL LETTER OF COMMITMENT	365
VITA.....	366

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	PAGE
I: PARENT AND ADOLESCENT DEMOGRAPHICS.....	60

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	PAGE
Figure 1. Factors that affect Turkish parents' parenting in America.	78
Figure 2. Factors that influence Turkish parents' parenting in America.	236
Figure 3. Sources of parenting stress.	238
Figure 4. Religion and parental stress.	240
Figure 5. Turkish culture, parenting, and adolescent well-being.	242
Figure 6. American culture, parenting, and adolescent well-being.	244
Figure 7. Religion, parenting, and adolescent well-being.	246
Figure 8. Parental monitoring styles and adolescent well-being.	248
Figure 9. Factors that affect parenting and adolescent well-being outcomes.	254
Figure 10. The adolescents' experiences of having immigrant parents.	260

SUMMARY

There are a very limited number of studies on Turkish immigrant population in the U.S. The present study provides perspectives of Turkish immigrants to the literature on parenting and adolescent well-being. The purpose of the study was to explore the way living as immigrants influenced parenting practices and the family environment and to understand how these two factors affected adolescent well-being in Turkish immigrant families.

In this qualitative study, in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 14 mothers, one father, and 13 (7 male, 6 female) adolescents in 14 Turkish families in and around the Chicago area. Critical acculturation psychology and ecological perspective guided the design of the study and constructivist grounded theory guided the analysis. The following research questions were explored: (1) How does the immigration experience influence parenting practices, parent-adolescent relationships and the family environment for Turkish immigrant families in the U.S.? (2) How do parent-adolescent relationships and family environments affect Turkish adolescents' well-being?

Parent and adolescent perspectives were presented with respect to the two research questions. Parents identified several factors influencing their parenting practices, their parenting related concerns, and the strategies they used to balance their parenting related concerns. Adolescents participants provided their views on how they thought being immigrants influenced their parents' parenting practices and what it meant to have Turkish immigrant parents with respect to their well-being. Parents' cultural and religious choices, academic expectations, parental monitoring, financial instability, and transnational ties were identified to influence adolescent well-being both in positive and negative ways. In addition, an overall analysis of the

participant families displayed commonalities and differences with regard to the ways their cultural and religious perceptions and parent-adolescent relationship dynamics shaped their experiences.

The results of this study are expected to guide social work practitioners, policy makers, researchers, and educators on how to address the unmet needs of Turkish immigrant families in the U.S., develop policies, shape social work education agendas, and design future research studies.

Turkish Immigrant Families in the United States: Parenting, Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Children's Well-being

I. INTRODUCTION

This study explores Turkish immigrant parents' and their adolescent children's experiences in the United States. Specifically, it focuses on parenting experiences and the relationship between parenting and the well-being of the adolescents. In order to understand how living as immigrants affects parenting and how parenting affects immigrant adolescents' well-being, parent and adolescent perspectives are presented. In addition, the experiences of the participant Turkish families are discussed in comparison to one another.

A. Background

Adolescence is a key period for identity development and socialization (Erikson, 1968). Young people 10 to 22 years of age are "in the midst of a process of restructuring social relationships, of finding their place in society, and of making important choices for their future lives" (Beyers & Cok, 2008). Furthermore, identity development is a person-context interaction and multiple contexts including family environment, school and larger society should be taken into consideration in the analysis of adolescents' identity development (Beyers & Cok, 2008). For adolescent immigrants, the perceptions of the larger society about their immigrant community also play a critical role in their well-being.

Although context is important for the formation of a coherent and healthy identity, it can also function as a barrier to healthy identity formation (Erikson, 1968). This is especially the case for immigrant adolescents, who face the challenging task of negotiating multiple, sometimes

conflicting environments to develop their identities. For example, first and second generation adolescents face the challenge of establishing an identity that is compatible with the values and beliefs of their “natal culture” and American culture (Farver, Xu, Bhadha, Narang, & Lieber, 2007).

Among the systemic factors, family has a critical role in mediating how adolescents relate to the society at large. Adolescents are influenced by the experiences of their parents and siblings as immigrants and by how their families relate to the dominant, mainstream culture. As the literature suggests, there is a relationship between family environment, family socialization, parents’ child-rearing practices; and adolescents’ identity development, well-being and functioning (Farver et al., 2008; Sabatier, 2008). In a study of second generation immigrant adolescents in France, the researchers analyzed the effects of the school context, peer relationships, the perception of discrimination, and family environment on ethnic and national (French) identity of Turkish and Moroccan adolescents (Sabatier, 2008). The results showed that adolescents’ positive relationships with parents and their parents’ ethnic culture had the strongest influence on how adolescents related to ethnic and national cultures. In the context of immigration, adolescent identity development was a family matter to a great extent.

Immigration also affects parenting practices and the family environment, which have a substantial influence on adolescents’ well-being. Parents may encounter unique challenges for raising children in a new country: they may have a negative perception of American culture (Baptiste, 2005), have fear of “losing their children to American society (Stodolska, 2008), have demanding cultural expectations for their children, or be concerned about discrimination in society (Ashbourne, Baobaid, & Azizova, 2012; Portes & Zady, 2002). Furthermore, the

difference between parents' adaptation level to American society and that of adolescents may result in parent-child conflicts and parenting challenges (Chapman & Perreira, 2005).

B. Rationale and Significance of the Study

There is an extensive literature on the experiences of immigrant adolescents in the United States. However, there are only three studies on Turkish children and their families (Atmaca Suslu, 2014; Isik-Ercan, 2009; Poyrazli, Arbona, Bullington, & Pisecco, 2001). One of the studies (Isik-Ercan, 2009) focuses on Turkish children aged 7-13 and their parents, so most of the participating children are not adolescents. One of the other two studies (Atmaca Suslu, 2014) is on middle and high school age Turkish immigrant children and the other one (Poyrazli et al., 2001) is on the acculturation of Turkish college students. There is also limited literature on Turkish immigrant adolescents and their families from European countries such as Germany, the Netherlands, and France (Oort, 2006; Phaet & Schonpflug, 2001; Kroeh-Sommer, 1996). This literature often focuses on acculturation problems or problem behaviors of the adolescents and uses a deficit perspective.

There is a growing Turkish-American population in the U.S. The estimates range between 165,000 and 350,000, depending on the source and it is estimated that 4,000 Turkish immigrants enter the country each year (Akcapar, 2009). Most of the Turkish immigrants live in the Washington DC area, New York City, Texas, Chicago, and California. To meet the needs of this growing population, there is extensive community organizing within the Turkish community in each of these densely populated areas. In 2008, there were more than 200 Turkish-American associations around the country (Akcapar, 2009). In Chicago, there are three associations established by immigrants from Turkey.

Although these associations have programs that target young children within the community, there are very few programs for adolescents. A significant proportion of Turkish immigrants have young children, who will become adolescents in a few years. Through my personal interactions, I witness that these young parents talk about their experiences of raising children in the U.S., but they do not have enough knowledge of what their children will experience in American society as they grow older.

The Turkish-American community is divided along ideological, religious, and ethnic lines. The existence of three different cultural associations is a reflection of this ideological diversity. As Akcapar (2009) puts forward, immigrants bring their homeland politics to the countries in which they settle. While TCCI¹ was established by Turkish people who came to the United States by the second immigration wave in 1968, TCCII² was established by Turkish immigrants most of whom came with the third wave (1980s onwards).

Considering that a segment of Turkish immigrants have religious orientations, some Turkish adolescents' Muslim identity may pose unique challenges for them, particularly within the context of post 9/11 America. The research shows that the post 9/11 environment led to the emergence of "Muslim-American identity" as a new phenomenon and resulted in a hostile environment for Muslim youth (Sirin, Bikmen, Mir, Fine, Zaal, & Katsiaficas, 2007). The emergence of ISIS in the Middle East and its violent acts in different parts of the world exacerbated the negative connotations around Islam and Muslim identity. This context might complicate Turkish-Muslim adolescents' identity negotiation processes even further and

¹ I will use TCCI (Turkish Cultural Center I) for one of the community centers established by the immigrants coming from Turkey.

² I will use TCCII (Turkish Cultural Center II) for the other community center established by the immigrants coming from Turkey.

influence their psychological states. Research also reveals that Muslim youth face unique barriers in their educational settings (Ross-Sheriff, Tirmazi, & Walsh, 2007). For example, the secular values that dominate public school systems, Islamic dress codes and practices, and beliefs about sex may pose unique barriers for them.

Religious orientations may also influence parenting styles. Muslim parents may be engaged in efforts to raise their children in accordance with the principles of Islam and encourage socialization practices that increase their children's contact with family and community members (Ross-Sheriff et al., 2007). Religion may also facilitate immigrant families' and youth's adaptation to American society, or may provide them with additional support systems (Warner, 2007; Cao, 2005). Because religious identity is important at least for some Turkish families, the present study may also contribute to the literature on Muslim American families.

The proposed study is qualitative. Individual, semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore the adolescents' and their parents' experiences. Interviews were conducted with the adolescent(s), who were between ages 12 and 19, and their first generation immigrant parents. There were three units of analysis in the study: the parents, the adolescents, and the families. The study addresses a knowledge gap, in that there are only two studies on Turkish American families living in U.S.

C. Research Questions

This study explores the following research questions:

- (1) How does the immigration experience influence parenting practices, parent-adolescent relationships and the family environment for Turkish immigrant families in U.S.?

(2) How do parent-adolescent relationships and family environments affect Turkish adolescents' well-being?

II. REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

A. Introduction

Five bodies of literature provide the foundation for this study: (1) theories on immigrant adolescent acculturation, assimilation, adaptation, and well-being, and research on (2) immigrant adolescent identity and well-being, (3) family and parenting within the context of immigration, (4) Muslim immigrant parents and adolescents in the United States and other Western countries, and (5) Turkish immigrant parents and adolescents in Western countries.

First, major psychological and sociological theories on immigrant acculturation and assimilation are critically reviewed. Then, a critical review of the empirical studies on four key areas is presented. These areas include immigrant adolescent well-being and adaptation, the relationship between ethnic identity and well-being, the ways immigration influences parenting and how parenting may affect adolescent well-being in different ways, adaptation and well-being of Muslim adolescents in the U.S., and Turkish immigrant adolescents' and parents' experiences in countries other than U.S. I conclude the review with a summary of the findings and point to the need for a qualitative study on Turkish families in the U.S.

B. Theoretical Models on Immigration Experience

In this section, I first present a descriptive review of the sociological assimilation theories and the major critiques of these theories, primarily focusing on segmented assimilation theory. Then, I review psychological theories of acculturation and the major critiques of these theories.

1. Assimilation theories

The concept of assimilation developed within the discipline of sociology. While it was first conceptualized in 1920s, Milton Gordon formulated a systematic assimilation framework in 1964 (Alba & Nee, 1997). In this framework, assimilation was seen as the final stage of the acculturation process, the point at which the minority group enters into the institutions of the core society. All other types of assimilation were supposed to follow this structural assimilation with the eventual waning of the separate minority identity (Alba & Nee, 1997). In the 1970s, this model was criticized for being linear and too static. As a response, scholars argued that assimilation would be realized gradually; each new generation would represent a new stage of adjustment to American society and achieve higher social and economic status (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). The ultimate step was still seen as complete assimilation. The classical assimilation tradition in sociology also assumed that assimilation was a necessary part of the process of upward social mobility for immigrant groups (Greenman & Xie, 2008).

Today, sociologists commonly argue that the classical assimilation theories developed as a response to the experiences of late nineteenth and earlier twentieth century immigrants and these theories are not applicable to the immigrants of today (Xie & Greenman, 2005). Therefore, there are competing views of assimilation. For example, the “Hispanic challenge view” proposes that certain groups resist learning English and adopting the culture of the United States and do not assimilate (Portes & Rivas, 2011). Others argue that American society is still a melting-pot and assimilation is inevitable for immigrants although this may not always mean upward mobility (Alba & Nee, 1997). As a middle ground, Portes and his colleagues (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Zhou, 1997; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Portes, 1994) developed segmented assimilation theory to understand the experiences of today’s immigrants in the United States. Putting race and

physical appearance at the center of their theory, these authors describe three paths to assimilation today: *linear assimilation*, *selective assimilation*, and *downward assimilation* (Portes & Zhou, 1993). *Linear assimilation* is in line with the classical assimilation theory: the immigrant group is socially, culturally and politically integrated into the middle class. This model is claimed to be followed by white European immigrants. For Asian, Black, and mestizo children, two models are presented: *selective assimilation* and *downward assimilation*. In the path of *selective assimilation or acculturation*, immigrants usually live in ethnic enclaves, deliberately preserve their heritage culture and values, and at the same time, economically become part of the middle class. In this second model, immigrants are supposed to have the agency to choose which cultural values to preserve and which new values to adopt. In this model, the preservation of ethnic culture and parental monitoring of youth's lives in a way serve as protective factors against negative experiences such as discrimination. The third assimilation model, which is defined as *downward assimilation*, appears as a result of the hostile environments that surround some of today's immigrants. This model is proposed primarily for Black immigrants. Having limited opportunities for upward economic mobility and being surrounded by discriminatory mainstream society, some second generation Black immigrant youth adopt what Portes and Rumbaut (2001) refer to as the oppositional culture of American inner cities.

Segmented assimilation theory has implications for the adaptation and well-being of immigrant youth. Portes and his colleagues (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1994, 1993) use their theory to understand the social adaptation process of today's immigrant second-generation. They define the new immigrants as those who arrived after the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act and the "new second generation" as their children. They draw attention to the

changing socioeconomic context of American society and the different characteristics of immigrant groups to understand these immigrant children's experiences. Most of these children (77%) are either Asian, Black, or Hispanic; are easily distinguishable from white Americans with their physical appearances and commonly encounter racial discrimination. Furthermore, due to deindustrialization, they lack the opportunities of well-paid blue color jobs that were available to previous immigrant generations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993). As a result, socio-historical and economic conditions of today's America may force these children to remain at the bottom of the economic ladder. To exemplify this argument, Portes and Zhou (1994) present the example of Haitian youth in South Florida. Haitian immigrant children have to cope with social prejudice and lack a strong receiving ethnic community. They are Black, in close contact with marginalized native youth, and there are few opportunities for their upward economic mobility. Once they come to the United States, the newcomer Haitian youth contact the subculture that had been developed by earlier Haitian immigrant youth. Consequently, the new generation's aspirations of upward mobility are blocked. On the other hand, Portes and Zhou (1994) argue that the children of Punjabi Sikhs in northern California exemplify *selective assimilation*. These children's parents are farm workers, factory workers, or orchard owners. Punjabi children encounter the hostility and discrimination of white children due to their different look and language. As a response, their parents encourage their children to ignore racist behaviors, study hard, and preserve Punjabi culture at the same time. As a result, their children follow the selective assimilation path, achieve academic success and protect their ethnic culture.

Segmented assimilation theory's perspective is crucial for research on immigrant youth and their families in that it helps us to situate their experiences within the context of larger structural forces including unemployment, poverty, and even global economic transformations.

The theory also acknowledges that assimilation may have differential effects on youth and their families depending on the context: characteristics of the receiving local ethnic and host communities or available government resources (Greenman & Xie, 2008). In addition, the theory may be instrumental in exploring how parent-child relationships and family dynamics may serve as protective factors against hostilities in some social settings. For example, the gap between parents' and youth's acculturation levels (dissonant acculturation) may pose a risk for children's well-being or similar levels of acculturation (consonant acculturation) may be a protective factor (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Segmented assimilation theory highlights a multiplicity of immigrant experiences. It underlines the fact that different immigrant groups encounter different faces of America and all immigrant groups do not come into contact with a homogeneous, mainstream American culture. As a result, immigrants' views of America and American culture may differ based on these different experiences. The acculturation process will partly be shaped by the settlement location, the ethnic and class composition of the communities in which immigrants settle, and whether or not they are surrounded by co-ethnics or are more isolated from their ethnic culture (Gibson, 2001).

2. Critique of segmented assimilation theory

Segmented assimilation theory connects assimilation paths with outcomes. However, positive outcomes are generally associated with economic success or economic integration into the American middle class. For youth, success is often equated with academic achievement (Aldous, 2006), which is supposed to result in upward economic mobility, while failure is associated with failure to become successful academically (Portes & Zhou, 1994). Furthermore,

this view essentializes urban Black culture through equating it with marginalization and opposition. Critics argue that the causal relationship between assimilation into the underclass, the development of oppositional cultures and downward mobility is problematic, because earlier second generation European immigrants achieved upward mobility despite second generation rebellion (Xie & Greenman, 2005). The idea that contact of immigrant youth with inner-city Blacks leads to downward assimilation, hence to failure, portrays inner-city Black communities in a negative way and disregards protective factors within these communities (Alba & Nee, 2003). Segmented assimilation theory also assumes that upward economic mobility and middle class economic position is the best condition in which to live. This perspective may not necessarily reflect immigrants' vision of success and well-being and needs further exploration. Furthermore, segmented assimilation theory makes generalizations for non-white and Black immigrant groups and places them either within the selective assimilation or downward assimilation path. Furthermore, the theory evokes a hierarchy between minority groups/cultures and the majority culture. Lastly, this theory puts race at the center and does not analyze other factors such as religion (Warner, 2007).

3. Acculturation theory

Acculturation theory has been developed and extensively used within the field of psychology. However, the root of the concept of acculturation is in anthropology. One of the earliest definitions of acculturation is “the phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both group.” (Redfield, Linton, & Herkovits, 1936). More recently, Gibson (2001) defined the concept as “the process of culture change and adaptation that occurs when individuals with different cultures come into contact.” The concept has been used

extensively to study the experiences of colonized or indigenous peoples (Berry, 2003; Berry, 1970), immigrants, refugees, and asylum seekers (Schwartz, Unger, Zamboanga, & Szapocznik, 2010). Research on acculturation has been growing fast, primarily due to the trend of globalization which gave momentum to migration waves around the world and contact among different cultures (Birman & Simon, in press; Schwartz et al., 2010; Berry, 2003).

Acculturation theory and research have largely been shaped by the fourfold paradigm developed by John Berry (1997; 1970), who is a cross-cultural psychologist. According to this model, non-dominant cultural groups and their members decide the degree of *cultural maintenance* and *contact and participation* they desire in their daily encounters (Berry, 1997). Berry (1997) defines *cultural maintenance* as the extent to which “cultural identity and characteristics are considered to be important and their maintenance is desired, and *contact and participation* as the extent to which they are involved in other cultural groups, or remain primarily among themselves”. Consequently, he uses these two dimensions to illustrate four acculturation strategies for non-dominant groups: *assimilation*, *separation*, *integration*, and *marginalization*. “When individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interactions with other cultures,” they pursue an *assimilation strategy*. “When they place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interacting with others,” they pursue a *separation strategy*. When there is an interest in maintaining both one’s own culture and becoming part of the larger social network, this strategy is called *integration*. The forth strategy is defined as *marginalization*, when there is little possibility of preserving ethnic culture and little interest in having relations with main stream culture.

Berry’s fourfold paradigm has also been used in studies on the adaptation and well-being of immigrant youth, although the names of the strategies can be slightly different. For example,

in their most recent cross-cultural study on youth in different Western countries, Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) use four corresponding profiles to categorize youth's acculturation: *national (assimilation)*, *ethnic (separation)*, *integration*, and *diffuse (marginalization)*. Generally, these categories are studied in relation to the well-being and adaptation of immigrant youth. Berry and his colleagues have argued that the integration strategy has led to the best adaptation and well-being outcomes for immigrant adolescents (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2008; Berry et al., 2006).

The fourfold paradigm presented by Berry (2003, 1997) is an important and promising step for research on immigrants in general and with immigrant adolescents in particular with its simultaneous emphasis on the individuals' relationship with his or her heritage culture and the new host country culture. The paradigm goes beyond early assimilationist perspectives, which measured acculturation along a single continuum and assumed that individuals would leave their culture of origin as they adopted the new culture (Birman & Simon, in press). Beyond constructing the four acculturation strategies, the framework also contextualizes the immigration experience: First, it connects group level factors with individual level factors and proposes that the contact between groups and the resulting cultural changes lead to an individual level *psychological acculturation process*. This psychological acculturation process may encompass behavioral shifts, acculturative stress, and psychopathology (Berry, 2003). This process, in turn, leads to *psychological and sociocultural adaptation consequences*, which have positive connotations (Berry, 2003; Berry & Sam, 1996). While psychological adaptation is defined as self-esteem, identity consolidation and well-being/satisfaction, sociocultural adaptation is defined as cultural knowledge, social skills, interpersonal and intergroup relations, family and community relations (Berry & Sam, 1996). According to the framework, it is also important to

consider *the characteristics of the society of origin* (ethnographic characteristics, political situation, economic conditions, demographic factors) and *those of the society of settlement* (immigration history, immigration policy, attitudes towards immigration, attitudes towards specific groups, social support) to understand group acculturation processes. Furthermore, *the individual level factors that exist prior to acculturation* (demographic, cultural, economic, personal, migration motivation, expectations) and *those that exist during acculturation* (acculturation strategies, participation, cultural maintenance, social support, coping strategies and resources, prejudice and discrimination) should be taken into consideration (Berry & Sam, 1996). In this way, the framework situates individuals' acculturation experiences within the context of the individuals' immediate and larger environments.

4. Critique of Acculturation Theory

There are several criticisms of the concept of acculturation in general and Berry's model in particular (See Rudmin, 2003 for review). First, scholars argue that there is confusion about the concept of acculturation and it should be replaced with other proxy measures such as place of birth or the age of immigration (Escobar & Vega, 2000). Others (Birman & Simon, 2013; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001) insist that the construct should be retained, but attempt to refine its conceptualization and measurement. For example, Birman and Simon (2013) criticize the research guided by the fourfold paradigm for using double-barreled questions to assess acculturation strategies. The authors suggest using bilinear measurements as a solution, which means assessing acculturation to two or even more cultures with separate questions. Moreover, Birman and Simon (2013) assert that language, behavior, and identity dimensions of heritage and host cultures should be explored.

There are other criticisms of the fourfold paradigm of acculturation. First, it is argued that marginalization cannot be a strategy, because it is not a preference, but enforced by structural conditions of the settler society (Rudmin & Amanzadeh, 2001). Second, scholars argue that acculturation typologies are presented as personality or group traits that are not easily changed (Rudmin, 2003) and these categories may not capture the wide range of ways that individuals may combine their native and new cultures (Birman & Simon, in press).

A more recent and radical critique has been developed by critical acculturation psychology. Proponents of critical acculturation psychology criticize main stream acculturation theory for assuming that there are universal processes of acculturation that all immigrant groups go through (Bhatia & Ram, 2001) and presenting integration as the most desirable strategy for immigrants (Rudmin & Amanzadeh, 2001), resulting in the best adaptation outcomes (Berry et al., 2006). This is questionable, because acculturation strategies and adaptation outcomes are measured through a limited number of structured questionnaires. In addition, most studies combine different groups in single samples or use census category groupings to describe their samples, which may actually include multiple cultural groups (Birman & Simon, in press). Moreover, the measures used may not be validated for all cultural groups included in research.

C. Immigrant Adolescents' Well-being

1. Definition of well-being in the empirical research

Adolescent well-being is defined and measured differently in different studies. Because most studies are quantitative, they operationalize well-being in a way that can be measured through scales and almost always as an individual level phenomenon. Well-being has been conceptualized and assessed using positive constructs such as life satisfaction or self-esteem, or

negative constructs such as depression or anxiety. For example, the following constructs have been used to study the well-being and experiences of immigrant adolescents in several studies included in this review: life satisfaction (Yoon et al., 2012; Vera et al., 2011; Seaton et al., 2010; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000; Sam, 2000) depressive symptoms (Rogers-Sirin & Gupta, 2012; Seaton et al., 2010; Mesch, Turjeman, & Fishman, 2008; Ying & Han, 2008; Driscoll, Russell, & Crockett, 2007; Romero et al., 2007), anxiety (Potochnick et al., 2012), self-esteem (Seaton et al., 2010; Ying & Han, 2008; Driscoll, Russell, & Crockett, 2007; Sam, 2000; Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), optimism (Romero et al., 2007), somatization of mental health problems (Rogers-Sirin & Gupta, 2012), daily happiness (Potochnick et al., 2012), self efficacy (Mesch, Turjeman, & Fishman, 2008), sense of mastery (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), acculturative stress (Liebkind & Jasinskaja-Lahti, 2000), academic performance (Farver, Bhadha, & Narang, 2002), perceived competence and global self-worth (Birman, 1998), psychological adjustment measured as stress level, depression, and self-esteem (Buddington, 2002).

These studies assess well-being as an individual level phenomenon. However, Birman (2011) argues that there is a need to approach well-being in a broader way and across different life domains. For example, immigrant youth's well-being may be related to their family, school, community, organizations, and the larger society. Also, well-being can be applied to communities, settings, and organizations (Birman, 2011).

2. Factors that affect immigrant adolescent well-being and adaptation

There are contradictory findings on the well-being of immigrant youth (Hernandez & Chamey, 1999). On the one hand, there are arguments that foreign-born or first-generation

immigrant adolescents experience acculturative stress, which is a risk to their well-being (Hernandez & Chamey, 1999). On the other hand, studies show that first generation immigrant youth may have higher levels of psychological well-being compared to second or later generation immigrant youth despite the poverty, discrimination, and adaptation problems they have to face; these studies show that youth's psychological well-being may deteriorate over both time and generation in the U.S. (Driscoll et al., 2007; Suarez-Orozco et al., 2006; Harker, 2001; Harris, 1999; Gans, 1992; Portes & Zhou, 1993). Although this pattern may not be observed for all groups or individuals, the pattern is widely observed for Latino and Asian immigrants in the United States. The longer these immigrant youth are in the U.S., the more school adaptation problems they have (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2006). This phenomenon is called the *immigrant paradox* in the literature.

The immigrant paradox is partially explained by protective factors. An analysis of The National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data by Harker (2001) revealed that parental supervision, low parent-child conflict, supportive adults, supportive community members, church attendance, prayer, and social support were more prevalent among first generation immigrant youth and protected them against depression. Higher levels of positive well-being were associated with closeness with parents, frequent prayer, and high levels of perceived social support. Similarly, literacy in one's ethnic language may affect adolescents' lives in a positive way. Bankston and Zhou (1995) surveyed 387 Vietnamese high school students in New Orleans and found that literacy in Vietnamese was positively related to present academic achievement and an orientation toward higher education. The authors attributed this relationship to the fact that Vietnamese proficiency provided the students with the social capital and support of their ethnic group.

Despite the existence of protective factors for some immigrant youth, the literature also revealed negative influences on immigrant adolescents' well-being. The immigrant paradox points to the fact that higher generation status may be a risk factor for some immigrant youth. Two studies that analyzed the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data revealed second plus generation status as a risk marker for immigrant youth. The survey was conducted with a nationally representative sample of adolescents in grades seven through 12 in the U.S. Driscoll et al. (2007) analyzed the subsample of youth of Mexican origin and found that the rate of youth with behavior problems, measured as delinquency and alcohol use, increased with generation. Harker (2001) analyzed the same data set to examine the relationship between immigrant generation and adolescent psychological well-being, measured as depression and through a positive well-being index. In line with the immigrant paradox again, he found that first-generation immigrants experienced less depression and greater positive well-being than second generation immigrants of similar demographic, ethnic, and family backgrounds. Once more, these findings point to generation status as a risk marker for some immigrant youth.

In contrast to the immigrant paradox, some studies reveal that acculturative stress may be a negative influence for first generation immigrant adolescents' well-being. Polo and Lopez (2009) compared distress experienced by immigrant and U.S.-born Mexican American youth, most of whom were of low income backgrounds. First-generation immigrant youth reported significantly higher social anxiety and loneliness than U.S. born youth. The differences between foreign born and U.S.-born Mexican youth with regard to social anxiety and loneliness were fully accounted for by acculturation stress and/or English proficiency, which means that acculturation was a stressful process for the immigrant youth. The study also suggests that English proficiency may be important for youth's well-being.

A study by Romero et al. (2007) also revealed that everyday life stressors that result from discrimination/prejudice or immigration/acclulturation in the context of family, peers or school bicultural stressors were significantly associated with more depressive symptoms for Latino, Asian American, and European American adolescents.

Perceived discrimination has also been identified as a negative factor. An analysis of the National Survey of American Life indicated that perceived discrimination increased depressive symptoms and decreased self-esteem and life satisfaction of a sample of African American and Caribbean Black adolescents (Seaton et al., 2010). In this study, immigrant and African American adolescents were clumped in the same sample. Rumbaut (1994) also indicated that symptoms of depression were linked to perceived discrimination in Asian, Latino, and Caribbean immigrant children.

Choi et al. (2005) collapsed immigrant and minority adolescents in the same sample as well. The data were collected as part of the Minority Youth Health Project and the study analyzed the data from the Seattle site of a seven-location study. Asian and Pacific Islander American youth were included in the sample along with African Americans, European Americans and multiethnic youth. Youth antisocial beliefs, neighborhood safety and peer antisocial beliefs were directly or indirectly associated with youth self-reported problem behaviors of substance use and violent behaviors.

Some studies analyzed the effect of acculturation on adolescent well-being. Yu et al. (2003) operationalized acculturation as the language spoken at home. Using the U.S. component of the 1997-98 World Health Organization Study of Health Behavior in School Children, the study by Yu et al. (2003) examined the association of acculturation with the health, psychosocial,

school, and parental risk factors of Hispanic, Asian, non-Hispanic White and non-Hispanic Black adolescents. The study showed that adolescents from non-English speaking homes were at higher risk of psychosocial and parental risk factors regardless of their race or ethnicity. These adolescents were also more likely to report feelings of vulnerability, exclusion, and lack of confidence. Also, many groups of nonwhite youth, regardless of their language, were at higher risk for being bullied. Furthermore, white adolescents were also at higher risk of being bullied because of their race or religion when they came from non-English speaking homes.

Potochnick et al.'s (2012) study focused on two acculturation experiences and examined how the experiences of discrimination, social acceptance and social context influenced the daily psychological well-being of Latino youth through a comparison of youth in Los Angeles and youth in North Carolina. The surveys were administered to 557 youth in high schools. The results showed that negative social interactions in youth's schools and communities significantly increased their psychological distress. On the other hand, positive social interactions such as feeling respected by teachers reduced psychological distress and increased youth well-being. Moreover, positive social interactions reduced the negative effect of discrimination. Daily positive ethnic treatment was positively associated with daily happiness, but also with higher levels of anxiety.

Farver, Bhadha, and Narang (2002) studied the relationship between Asian Indian adolescents' acculturation style and psychological functioning. Eighty-five US-born Asian Indian adolescents and one of their immigrant parents were administered the questionnaires. The participants were recruited from Indian student clubs, universities, Indian organizations, and high schools in California. The authors measured acculturation with the Bicultural Involvement Questionnaire (BIQ), which "assesses the degree to which individuals feel comfortable in their

culture of origin and the dominant society, independent of the other.” (Farver et al., 2002)

Regardless of their generational status, the adolescents were “more likely to identify with the Indian culture than with the American culture or a hyphenated version.” After controlling the effects of family SES, the findings showed that adolescents who were bicultural and felt comfortable both with American culture and their culture of origin had higher perceived self-competence in several domains as well as higher GPAs.

Yoon et al. (2012) studied the effects of acculturation and enculturation on subjective well-being for 273 Asian American college students, recruited from two universities. The authors defined acculturation as cultural socialization to the majority culture and enculturation as cultural socialization to Asian culture. The authors emphasized the complexity of the relationship between acculturation, enculturation, and well-being. While acculturation was defined as socialization to the majority culture, enculturation was defined as socialization to one’s own culture. Consequently, they examined the mediation effects of “social connectedness in mainstream society, social connectedness in the ethnic community, perceived discrimination, and expected social status” (Yoon et al., 2012) in their model. Results showed that the effect of acculturation on subjective well-being was mediated by social connectedness in mainstream and ethnic communities and expected social status, whereas the effect of enculturation on subjective well-being was mediated by social connectedness in the ethnic community and expected social status, but not by social connectedness in the mainstream community.

3. Immigration, identity, and well-being

Adolescence is a crucial period for identity development. Immigrant adolescents negotiate their immigrant identities along with other identity components. As a result,

adolescents' relationships with their ethnic culture and the mainstream culture may have considerable influences on their well-being. Two parallel dimensions of immigrant identity are frequently discussed in the literature: ethnic identity and national identity. Ethnic identity involves maintaining one's heritage culture's values and practices, as well as retaining a sense of belonging, while national identity involves accepting the adoptive culture's values and practices and forming a sense of belonging (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Ethnic identity is a work-in-progress during adolescence (Phinney, 1990). It is a developmental process that should be analyzed over time and within context (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Immigrant adolescents actively explore the extent to which they identify with their ethnic identity particularly during their high school years (Berry et al., 2006). Therefore, ethnic identity is closely related to adolescents' social lives and well-being.

Ethnic identity and American identity are closely related to the well-being of the ethnic minority youth and there is a separate body of literature on the relationship between ethnic identity, American identity, and well-being of immigrant adolescents. Several studies suggest that strong ethnic identity has a positive influence on adolescents' well-being. American identity is also found to influence adolescents' well-being positively in some social contexts.

Rogers-Sirin and Gupta (2012) conducted a three-year longitudinal study to examine how ethnic identity and American identity affected mental health symptoms for first and second generation Asian and Latino adolescents. The results showed that ethnic identity was associated with lower levels of withdrawn/depressed symptoms for youth from both ethnic origins. Ethnic identity was associated with lower levels of somatic symptoms for Asian youth, but this was not the case for Latino youth. American identity was not associated with reduced levels of somatic or withdrawn/depressed symptoms for either group.

Phinney, Cantu, and Kurtz (1997) conducted a survey with American-born African American, Latino and White high school students to examine ethnic identity as predictors of self-esteem. The authors assessed ethnic identity through a positive sense of belonging to and positive attitudes towards one's ethnic group, and commitment and involvement with one's ethnic group. Ethnic identity was a significant predictor of self-esteem for African American, Latino, and White adolescents in predominantly non-White schools. American identity strongly predicted self-esteem for the White adolescents, but not for African American or Latino adolescents.

Vera et al. (2011) studied the relationship between perceived discrimination, urban hassles and subjective well-being for 157 urban, ethnic minority adolescents aged 11 to 15. They found that ethnic identity, measured with the Multi-group Ethnic Identity Measure, was a strong protective factor against perceived discrimination and increased life satisfaction.

Another quantitative study on Mexican and Chinese ninth grader adolescents measured daily happiness and anxiety levels through a daily diary method over two weeks (Kiang, Gonzales-Backen, Fuligni, Yip, & Witkow, 2006). The results showed that regardless of their level of self-esteem, adolescents with a greater regard for their ethnic group exhibited greater levels of daily happiness and less daily anxiety over a two-week period. Strong ethnic identity was also found to be positively associated with self-esteem for Asian American and European American adolescents (Farver, Xu, Bhadha, Narang, & Lieber, 2007).

Two studies (Birman, Tricket, & Buchanan, 2005; Birman, Trickett, & Vinokirov, 2002) showed how ethnic identity and American identity may lead to different adjustment outcomes for different life domains. The studies measured acculturation of Jewish immigrant adolescents from the former Soviet Union to Russian and American cultures through The Language, Identity and

Behavioral Acculturation Scale (LIB). The first study (Birman, Trickett, & Vinokirov, 2002) revealed that Russian identity and American identity might lead to different adjustment outcomes for different life domains. American identity predicted better school grades, reduced loneliness, and support from American peers; while Russian identity predicted greater support from Russian friends and reduced loneliness. The second study (Birman, Trickett, & Buchanan, 2005) showed that American identity had no negative impact on adolescents' peer and family, school, and psychological adaptation, and had a positive impact on school outcomes and support from American peers. Russian identity had both positive and negative influences on adolescents' adaptation. It had a positive influence on support from Russian peers and parents, and reduced loneliness. However, it had negative influences on psychosocial adaptation and school attendance.

The aforementioned studies define and operationalize well-being and adaptation in quantitative terms and do not pay attention to adolescents' subjective definitions and experiences. However, identity negotiation is a complex process for immigrant adolescents and may need a more in-depth exploration. Qualitative studies are especially informative in illuminating the complexity of identity processes and the nondeterministic relationship between identity negotiation and individual psychologies and socialization.

In an ethnographic study of a Chinese-American church in New York, Cao (2005) explored how a Chinese-led, yet Americanized church played a vital role in promoting adaptation and upward assimilation of working class Chinese immigrant youth. According to the segmented assimilation theory, these youth may be at risk of downward assimilation. This study shows that ethnic identity, in this hybrid form that combines Chinese and American cultures, can be protective for immigrant youth through ethnic-religious socialization.

The relationship between ethnic identity and adolescent well-being may not always be that straightforward. The qualitative study by Hunt, Moloney, and Evans (2011) with Asian American youth who use illicit drugs reveals the complex relationship between ethnic identity and risk behaviors. While some of the youth saw their drug use as exceptional for Asian Americans, others argued that their drug consumption is a natural consequence of their Asian American identity in American society. The study shows the dynamic nature of ethnic identity construction and how youth can justify different risky behaviors with their ethnic identity representation.

Ek's (2009) study of a Guatemalan teenage girl in California shows how she negotiated her identity at home, school, and church. Each of these contexts had different values, norms, and used different languages. The study highlights the ways she used different everyday life strategies to construct her ethnic and religious identities. For example, she was reading the Bible in Spanish and reacting negatively to a Sunday school teacher at the Church when he spoke English. She was also aware that school and church imposed different and sometimes conflicting identities on youth: school promoted competition, while church promoted humility. In addition, the local context imposed different ethnic identities. For example, this Guatemalan adolescent was identified as Mexican by others, because the majority of the immigrants who came from Spanish speaking countries to California were Mexican.

The studies of immigrant adolescent identities often identified ethnic identity as a protective factor for immigrant adolescents. American identity is also found to affect adolescents' well-being in a positive way in some settings, such as school. Furthermore, qualitative studies reveal the complexity of the identity negotiation processes for adolescents and

point to the need to explore these processes to understand how different identities may lead to different outcomes in different settings.

D. Immigrant Family Environment, Parenting, and Adolescent Well-being/Identity

Immigration is a stressful experience for families and creates pressures on the family system (Suarez-Orozco et al., 2006). Immigrant families may have to struggle with multiple challenges. For example, immigrant children are more likely to be living in poverty and to be without health insurance compared to native-born children and more likely than native-born children to have parents who had not graduated from high school (Shields & Behrman, 2004). These circumstances may decrease immigrant children's access to resources and affect their well-being. As a result, factors such as poverty and parental education should be taken into account in research with immigrant families and children.

The literature also suggests that immigration experiences transform parenting styles and parent-child relationships and the family environment can serve as either protective or risk factors for immigrant adolescents.

1. The effect of immigration on parenting

Immigrant parents experience challenges raising children in the U.S. and negotiating their parental roles. Parents may have a negative perception of American cultural values (Ross-Sheriff et al., 2007; Baptiste, 2005) or fear “losing” their children to American society (Stodolska, 2008). They may wish that their children would understand both ethnic and American cultures and also want to protect their children from discrimination (Ashbourne et al., 2012; Portes & Zady, 2002).

A study by Driscoll et al. (2007) explored the relationship between parenting styles and adolescent well-being among youth of Mexican origin. The study revealed that parenting styles transformed with each successive generation. The proportion of teens with permissive parents increased with each successive generation and other parenting styles declined. Parenting patterns also differed by place of birth. Half of immigrant parents were reported to use high levels of control on their children. Approximately two thirds of parents who were born in Mexico and were first generation immigrants in the United States granted greater autonomy to their adolescents.

The interplay of immigration/acculturation and parenting is far from simple. A number of factors may be at work while immigration and acculturation impact parenting and parent-child relationships. For example, a survey of 304 Korean American adolescents indicated that community level social support may be more important than the level of acculturation in predicting parent-child conflict (Moon, 2008). The study showed the relationship between lack of social support networks and family conflicts. However, the study only took adolescents' perception of acculturation into account and it is not known whether parents' perceptions would make a difference in the results.

The studies point to the complex interplay between immigration, parenting, and parent-child relationships and show that these relationships cannot be understood in isolation from other contextual factors. Therefore, multiple level factors should be considered in the analysis of immigrant family dynamics, parent-child relationships, and their influence on adolescents.

2. Family as a protective factor

Studies show that family can be a protective factor for immigrant adolescents.

Harmonious parent-child relationships and low parent-child conflict protect the well-being of immigrant youth (Harker, 2001; Rumbaut, 1997). Respect for parental authority and the traditional value of familism, which is defined as feelings of loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity towards the members of the family, are considered to be protective factors for Latino adolescents (Potochnick et al, 2012; Polo & Lopez, 2009; Chapman & Perreira, 2005). The literature also shows that positive parent-child relationships and parental involvement in adolescents' lives have a positive influence on Asian American adolescents' well-being (Lim, Yeh, Liang, and Lau, 2009; Ying & Han, 2008; Smokowski & Bacallao, 2006; Kim & Ge, 2000).

Potochnick et al. (2012) found that family identification reduced youth's sense of negative well-being, promoted daily happiness, and reduced daily anxiety for first and second generation Latino youth. Moreover, positive daily relationships with parents increased youths' daily psychological well-being. In their study of Mexican American adolescents, Polo and Lopez (2009) found that higher affiliative obedience was associated with lower depression and lower internalizing problems. The study also identified respect for adult authority as a protective factor.

Kim and Ge (2000) found that among Chinese American families, adolescent perceptions of high parental monitoring and inductive reasoning were inversely related to adolescent depressive symptoms. In their study, inductive reasoning was defined as providing more explanations, giving reasons for their decisions, asking their adolescent for opinions when making decisions, and explaining rules to adolescents. However, adolescents' perceptions of parental harsh discipline were positively associated with adolescent depressive symptoms. Harsh discipline was defined as spanking, hitting and locking the youth out of the house. A study by

Lim, Yeh, Liang, and Lau (2009) with Chinese American families revealed similar findings. The results indicated that greater parental warmth was significantly related to less depression and fewer psychological symptoms.

Ying and Han (2008) studied parental contributions to Southeast Asian American adolescents' well-being. The sample included both adolescents and their parents. Their path analysis showed that parental acculturation facilitated parents' involvement in their children's school life and education plans. This involvement enhanced the quality of family relationships, which promoted adolescents' well-being. To sum, parental involvement in different spheres of the adolescents' lives had a positive influence on the quality of intergenerational relationships for Southeast Asian American families.

Fuligni, Yip, and Tseng (2002) studied the effects of family obligations on Chinese American youth. The authors used a daily diary method, in which 140 Chinese American youth completed daily checklists about their daily activities and well-being. The study showed that a sense of obligation to family was a protective factor for psychological and behavioral outcomes of youth. The authors speculate that family obligations may provide a sense of identity and purpose to immigrant children. Using the similar daily diary method, Telzer and Fuligni (2009) analyzed the effect of adolescents' daily family assistance on the psychological well-being of adolescents from Latin American, Asian, and European backgrounds. Their findings indicated that family assistance was not stressful for the adolescents, but contributed to their psychological well-being by creating a sense of connection to the family.

Some studies focus exclusively on adolescents' academic success. A survey (Plunkett & Bamaca-Gomez, 2003) of 273 Mexican-origin high school students found that immigrant parents' ability to help, monitor and support had a positive influence on adolescents' school

success. Acculturation variables were language spoken at home and generation status. The results showed that adolescents who spoke more English at home had higher academic motivation and educational aspirations.

These studies show that factors such as strong family values, daily family assistance, parental monitoring and involvement in youth's lives may have a positive influence on youth's well-being.

3. Family as a risk factor

Intergenerational conflict in immigrant families is well-documented. Younger family members who may have more exposure to the host culture through school and other social domains may adopt norms and values that conflict with those of their elders (Chapman & Perreira, 2005). This means that first generation immigrants and their children adapt to the new country at different rates, which is defined in the literature as dissonant acculturation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) or an acculturation gap (Turner et al., 2006; Lau, McCabe, Yeh, Garland, Wood, & Hough, 2005). According to Portes and Rumbaut (2001a), when parents and children agree upon the pace and pattern of acculturation, parents become supportive of their children in the new environment. However, when parents and children acculturate at different paces, parent-child conflicts may arise and this diminishes parents' ability to guide and support their children. In addition, parents may have difficulties in communicating with their children due to linguistic and cultural barriers (Yu et al., 2003). In accordance with this theory, Phinney and Ong (2002) found that intergenerational conflict was a strong predictor of negative youth outcomes for immigrant families. Lim, Yeh, Liang, and Lau (2009) examined the relationship between mother-child acculturation gaps and youth distress in 81 Chinese American families. They found

that parent-child conflict was positively associated with depression and psychological symptoms of somatization. A longitudinal study of 491 Southeast Asian American adolescents showed that differential acculturation was positively and indirectly related to high-school age adolescents' depression through intergenerational/intercultural conflict (Ying & Han, 2008). Similarly, Kim, Chen, Li, Huang, and Moon (2009) found that high discrepancy in father-adolescent acculturation levels was related to more adolescent depressive symptoms in Chinese American families. This finding showed that the acculturation gap did not necessarily increase adolescent depression rates *per se*. However, a high level of discrepancy in American orientation between fathers and adolescents was associated with unsupportive parenting practices, which, in turn, were linked to more adolescent depressive symptoms. Another study (Smokowski & Bacallao, 2006) identified parent-adolescent conflict as a strong risk factor for Latino adolescents' aggressive behavior.

Studies also show that certain parenting styles may pose risks for adolescent youth. According to Driscoll et al.'s (2007) analysis of National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health (Add Health) data, non-authoritative (permissive or disengaged) parenting styles appeared to be a risk factor for Mexican American youth. Moreover, the effects worsened by each successive generation: Behavioral outcomes and depression were worse for third-generation teens from permissive families than for first- and second-generation teens from similar families.

Nguyen's (2008) survey with 209 Vietnamese American adolescents revealed an association between authoritarian parenting and youth's psychological functioning. Adolescents who reported that their fathers had authoritarian parenting styles had lower self-esteem and higher depression scores. However, the authors acknowledge that these relationships are obscure, because the place of birth and adjustment difficulties may be the real reason behind low self-

esteem and high depression scores. Also, it is a limitation of the study that parenting style is measured only with adolescents' perceptions.

Studies point to the two different roles families may play in the lives of immigrant youth. While low parent-child conflict, high parental monitoring, and harmonious parent-child relationships may serve as protective factors for these youth, parent-child conflict, an acculturation gap, and authoritarian parenting may be risk factors. However, the studies on parenting often judge immigrant parents based on Western parenting styles and categories. Furthermore, the measures of well-being outcomes are problematic because they are developed for populations that live in the West. This ethnocentric approach often results in a deficit perspective and may be partly responsible for portraying the parenting practices of immigrant parents as risk factors for their own children. There is a need for further research to explore the perceptions of the parents and adolescents in depth and with their own cultural frames of reference.

E. Immigrant Muslim Families, Parents, and Adolescent Well-Being in U.S.

1. Adaptation and well-being of Muslim adolescents

Since 9/11, Muslim communities in the U.S. have experienced increasing labeling, discrimination, and stress. The category of "Muslim-American" has increasingly been part of the individual and community identities (Sirin et al., 2008). Muslims have been portrayed as terrorists by the media (Arioan, 2012). Muslim youth particularly encounter discrimination in different forms (Arioan, 2012; Livengood & Stodolska, 2004). These events inevitably affect the everyday lives and well-being of Muslim adolescents. The literature on Muslim youth often focuses on the negative effects of religious identity in youth's lives. Muslim youth respond to

this everyday life discrimination and otherization in diverse ways, which have been shaped by religion, class, nationalism, gender and ideologies such as liberalism, feminism, and Orientalism (Maira, 2010).

Aroian's (2012) qualitative study illustrates the discrimination Muslim male and female adolescents encountered in and outside school. At school, it was either the teachers or classmates that were the actors. In non-school settings, girls' headscarves were the focal point. Participants reported coping strategies such as laughing off the incidents, educating or confronting perpetrators or ignoring them.

A mixed methods study (Sirin et al., 2007) explored the relationships between American and Muslim identities and the influence of discrimination, acculturation, and religious practices of 97 Muslim youth who were children of recent immigrants or were immigrants themselves and between ages 18 and 25. Along with surveys, the participants drew identity maps to illustrate their identities and these maps were analyzed. The study revealed that the participants had stronger Muslim identification than American identification. However, most of them incorporated both identities and had either integrated or parallel identities. Only 10 percent of the sample experienced identity conflict. While discrimination-related stress and home country orientation were negatively related to strong American identification, US orientation was positively related to it.

Khuwaja et al. (2013) conducted in-depth interviews with 30 recently migrated Pakistani Muslim adolescent females between ages 15 and 18. The authors found that parents' positive immigration motivation and economic achievements in the U.S might lead to positive attitudes in adolescents toward the U.S. When the reason for immigration was reunion with the family,

immigration promoted a feeling of security and self-confidence in the participants. Parents' support for adaptation to the U.S also contributed positively to the adolescents' adaptation. Interestingly, these adolescents were bullied by their peers, most of whom were members of settled Pakistani families, for their lack of English proficiency or accent. The participants had positive relationships with their families, especially with their mothers, and trusted their families to help them resolve problems. They were not comfortable with community organizations for fear of disclosing personal issues to the community and harming family reputation. Religious practices and active membership in their community organizations were also found to be supportive of the participants' adaptation to US. The quantitative part of the same study (Khuwaja, Selwyn, Kapadia, McCurdy, & Khuwaja, 2007) revealed that longer periods of stay in the U.S, younger age at immigration, and speaking English more in daily life were associated with low socio-psychological stress and depression for these adolescents.

As studies suggest, Muslim identity may lead to positive or negative everyday adolescent life experiences in American society. While discrimination based on religious identity may affect the well-being of the adolescents in a negative way, Muslim parents' positive attitudes and encouragement may sometimes facilitate adolescents' adaptation to American society. There is a need to further explore the different roles religion may play in Muslim adolescents' lives.

2. Parenting and family values

There are very few studies on parenting experiences of Muslim immigrants and parent-adolescent relationships in Muslim immigrant families. This limited number of studies show that parents experience difficulties due to the context of a new, relatively unknown country.

Religion influences the parenting experiences of Muslim immigrant parents and parent-child relationships. A qualitative study (Ross-Sheriff et al., 2007) with Muslim mothers showed that mothers expected their daughters to practice Islam and used socialization strategies to promote this. These strategies included education, encouraging a modest life style, asking their husbands' and other family members' for support, family gatherings and rituals, participation in activities in their religious and ethnic communities. Also, they thought that there were "negative forces" in American society from which they had to protect their daughters. For example, mothers were afraid that their daughters could marry non-Muslim men or took their headscarf off.

In their longitudinal study of the relationship between mother-child relationship and Arab-American Muslim adolescent well-being, Aroian, Templin, Hough, Ramaswamy and Katz (2010) found that the quality of mother-child relationship mitigated the effects of stressors on adolescent behavior problems. While the mother-child relationship quality was measured as togetherness, nurturance, and the mother playing a mediator role; adolescent behavior problems were measured as internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors. Social support was also found to facilitate coping for both mothers and adolescents.

Ashbourne et al.'s (2012) study of family time and parental monitoring for Muslim immigrant families in Canada points to the importance of parent-adolescent relationships and the time spent together as a family for adolescent identity. The parents and adolescents indicated that the difference between pre-migration and Canadian contexts reduced the time the families spent together, isolated families, increased the burden of childrearing on parents due to the lack of extended family networks, and reduced communal surveillance of adolescents. The parents expressed the fear that their adolescent children could adopt non-Islamic values, they could

“lose” their children, or their children could leave home if they put too much pressure on them. They also verbalized their concerns about increased rights of children protected by institutions such as schools and welfare agencies. Adolescent daughters expressed their concerns about being watched by the Muslim community.

These studies highlight the importance of family for Muslim immigrants and the anxieties of the parents triggered by a different sociocultural context of the new country. Further research is needed to explore the bidirectional relationship between parent-adolescent relationships and adolescent experiences for different immigrant groups.

F. Turkish Immigrant Adolescents and Families

1. Acculturation, identity, and well-being of immigrant Turkish adolescents

There are three studies that focus on Turkish parents and/or children in the United States (Atmaca Suslu, 2014; Isik-Ercan, 2009; Poyrazli et al., 2001). There are a few other studies have been conducted with the Turkish population in European countries. The studies on Turkish people in the United States discuss the complex interplay between ethnicity, religion, and American identity and how Turkish immigrants negotiate their positions in American society. The studies on European countries are often problem-oriented (Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001) and underline the low prestige of Turkish families and low academic achievement of Turkish immigrant adolescents in Europe (Vedder & Oortwijn, 2009; Wissink, Dekovic, Yagmur, Stams, & Haan, 2008; Gungor, 2007).

The first study on Turkish adolescents in the United States (Atmaca Suslu, 2014) is an unpublished dissertation study on the educational aspirations of Turkish American middle and high school students. This mixed-methods study focused on how factors related to family, school

and the individual student affected Turkish immigrant students' educational plans and experiences. Students participated in a survey, individual interviews, and focus groups. Parent perspectives were also explored through individual interviews. Study participants were recruited in Texas. The study showed the importance Turkish children ascribe to their educational performance. It also revealed that children's school achievement and parents' expectations predicted children's educational aspirations, defined as how far in school the child wanted to go. The study also revealed that Turkish students valued academic achievement and school engagement more than extracurricular activities and school clubs for future educational goals.

The study by Isik-Ercan (2009) is a qualitative dissertation study and four articles were published out of this study. Similar to the study by Atmaca Suslu (2014), both parents and children were part of the sample. Eighteen parents (10 mothers, 8 fathers) and 14 children participated in the study. However, the children's age range is from seven to 13 and only seven participating children in the sample were in early adolescence, aged between 11 and 13. Data were collected through interviews and observational fieldnotes.

One of the articles (Isik-Ercan, 2012) based on Isik-Ercan's dissertation study (2009) offered examples of how crafted education contexts enabled Turkish children and their parents to negotiate their Turkish, American, and Muslim identities. The article specifically explored the developmental and educational outcomes of the sociocultural activities organized by the Turkish cultural centers for children between ages seven and 13. These activities included the mentorship of elder brothers or sisters for children, Sunday schools where Turkish culture, language, history and Quran were taught, and Turkish language and history instruction classes. These activities were found not only to support children's biculturalism, but also their socioemotional and

cognitive development and academic skills, hence having a positive influence on children's well-being.

The second article by Isik Ercan (2014a) elaborated the ways Turkish American children negotiated their religious identities in school settings and highlighted that Turkish children either made their religious identities invisible or visible depending on their own feeling of affiliation with Islam, participation in religious practices, and family perspectives. Children faced their religious identities sometimes as a result of the curricula, which brought up Islam as part of social studies, or as a result of Islamic practices such as dress codes and dietary restrictions. When children needed accommodations for Islamic practices they had conversations with teachers and asked for accommodations. Their parents also encouraged them to do so. However, they did not seek provisions for their religious needs in schools. Some children preferred not to disclose their religious identity unless it was asked. More importantly, the study showed that Turkish children did not perceive any conflict between their Muslim and American identities, but successfully reconciled them.

Only three studies focused solely on Turkish adolescents in Europe. One of these studies (Gungor, 2007) explored the relationship between value orientations (*separatedness* and *conformity*) and sociocultural and psychological adaptation outcomes for 287 Turkish-Belgian adolescents with an average age of 16 years. The author defined *separatedness* as emotional disconnectedness and self-direction and defined *conformity* as compliance to external norms, being in line with the community, and accommodating oneself to normative societal rules without question. The resulting model suggested that conformity negatively affected sociocultural adaptation, which was measured as language efficiency, feelings of belonging, and school adjustment. On the other hand, conformity impacted psychological well-being (the level

of symptomatology) in a positive way via maintenance of the heritage culture. This result may suggest that conformity can be good for adolescents' individual psychological well-being, but may affect their adaptation to the host society in a negative fashion, considering that independence is highly valued in Western societies. On the other hand, separatedness led to sociocultural adaptation via the adoption of the new, host culture. This shows that individualism and independence may be more adaptive for Turkish adolescents in the context of Belgium.

The second study (Gungor & Bornstein, 2009) examined Turkish youth in Belgium again, and examined gender differences and similarities in acculturation, values, adaptation, and perceived discrimination among middle (14-17 years) and late adolescence (18-20 years). The study showed that older adolescents attached greater importance to their heritage culture and conservatism. This finding emphasizes that acculturation is an ongoing process in adolescence and acculturation styles may change depending on the adolescents' age. The study also points to a gender difference in the adaptation process: girls perceived less discrimination and showed better adaptation. In addition, this gender gap in acculturation widened in late adolescence.

The third study of Turkish adolescents (Virta, Sam, & Westin, 2004) analyzed the ICSEY dataset of Berry et al.'s (2006) international study to compare psychological adaptation (self-esteem, life satisfaction and mental health problems) of 407 Turkish adolescents in Norway and Sweden. The authors explored the relationship of identity, acculturation strategy, and perceived discrimination to psychological adaptation. Turkish identity and integration were predictors of good adaptation. Poor adaptation was related to marginalization and perceived discrimination. Integration was the most adaptive strategy and marginalization was the least adaptive. Turks did not differ from their respective host national peers in terms of their psychological adaptation.

Two studies combined Turkish adolescents with youth from other ethnic groups in their samples. Wissink, Dekovic, Yagmur, Stams, and Haan (2008) examined the relationship between ethnic identity, self-esteem, and externalizing problem behavior in Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, and Moroccan-Dutch adolescents living in the Netherlands. There were no differences among the three groups in their levels of aggressive and delinquent behavior. The levels of self-esteem were not different among the three groups either. Moroccan-Dutch adolescents had higher levels of ethnic identity compared to Turkish-Dutch adolescents.

The last study that included Turkish adolescents in its sample (Sam, 2000) revealed ethnic identity as a protective factor for immigrant youth in Norway. The sample included 506 Vietnamese, Pakistani, Turkish, and Chilean adolescents. According to the findings, ethnic identity was positively associated with self-esteem and mental health. There was also a positive association between majority identity and self-esteem. Family values had no significant effect on mental health and the main contribution of traditional family values was in the area of satisfaction with life. Contrary to other research findings, separation strategy had a positive impact on life satisfaction and marginalization strategy had a positive impact on self-esteem. Integration had a positive effect on mental health as well.

The studies on children in the United States showed that education was perceived as very important by children and they had high educational aspirations. The social environments provided by the Turkish community and cultural centers were found to make a positive contribution to children's well-being. More specifically, the activities organized by Turkish cultural centers made a positive contribution to their socioemotional, cognitive, and bicultural identity development. Studies in European countries indicate that different acculturation styles and values may lead to a variety of well-being outcomes for Turkish immigrant adolescents. The

context of the host country may play a role in that difference. The definition of acculturation, values, adaptation, and well-being also seem to influence the results and the interpretation of various studies. There is a need for further exploration of the experiences of Turkish immigrant youth.

2. Family environment and parenting

There are two studies (Atmaca Suslu, 2014; Isik-Ercan, 2009) on the experiences of Turkish parents in the United States. There are also a limited number of studies on Turkish parents in other countries. There is only one study focusing exclusively on Turkish parents and it was conducted in Australia (Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009). A second study (Vedder & Oortwijn, 2009) from the Netherlands included Turkish immigrant families in its sample along with Dutch and Surinamese families.

One of the articles from Isik-Ercan's dissertation study (Isik-Ercan, 2010) focused on parent perspectives on their children's early schooling and explored how parents connected with or were disconnected from school culture. The study revealed Turkish parents' challenges in understanding school culture in America and the ways they negotiated their access to the school culture. For example, parents thought their children were not challenged enough academically, children were overpraised at school, or were not given enough homework. While parents saw the teacher as part of the family and perceived parent-teacher relationship as essential, they felt hesitant to establish personal connections with teachers. Yet, they appreciated the pedagogical methods of the teachers in that they encouraged independent learning.

Another article (Isik-Ercan, 2014b) showed that Turkish parents and their children shaped third spaces to negotiate their identities within home, community, and school contexts. Finding

Turkish mentors for their children, organizing Sunday schools at the cultural centers, and regenerating traditions through adding Turkish cultural elements to American holidays were examples of how parents created social spaces for their children.

The dissertation of Atmaca Suslu (2014) included parent interviews along with children's interviews and surveys. The study showed that Turkish American mothers were very much involved in their children's education plans, supported and encouraged their children. In return, parents' expectations were found to affect children's educational aspirations. This study was also important in displaying Turkish children's and parents' high emphasis on academic success and parents' high academic expectations for their children. More importantly, there was a gap between parents' motivations for their children's educational goals and the children's own motivations, which was anxiety provoking for the children. Therefore, the author suggested that Turkish parents' expectations should be adjusted to the American context. On the other hand, parents' logistic support, emotional and verbal encouragements supported children's plans for higher education. The study also found a positive association between speaking Turkish at home and educational aspirations. To sum, while Turkish parents' emphasis on educational success was found to increase children's educational aspirations, children could also feel anxious when their academic motivation was at a level that would not satisfy their parents.

In their survey of 58 Turkish mothers of young children living in Australia, Yagmurlu and Sanson (2009) explored the relationship between mothers' acculturation and parenting styles. Their findings suggested that mothers who had a tendency to integrate with Australian society used more inductive reasoning and expected less obedience from their children.

Vedder and Oortwijn (2009) investigated the discrepancies between parents' and children's perceptions of family obligations, which is defined as communality of household chores, obedience to parents and need to support the family and parents. The study compared 92 Dutch, 115 Turkish, and 74 Surinamese immigrants. The findings showed stronger endorsement of family obligations in both Surinamese and Turkish families. Higher level parent education corresponded to smaller intergenerational family obligation discrepancies. Higher intergenerational discrepancies were associated with lower life satisfaction and more behavioral problems. Although the study points to possible acculturation gap distress, the operationalization of the family obligations construct does not allow us to assess whether the intergenerational conflict is due to acculturation differences. There is a need to investigate the causes and dynamics of intergenerational conflict in Turkish immigrant families in different contexts.

G. Conclusion

The literature reveals important aspects of immigrant adolescents' well-being and its relationship with parent-child relationships. Factors such as acculturative stress, language problems, discrimination, or negative social interactions at the school or community level can affect adolescents' well-being in a negative way. However, factors such as social support or church attendance may protect immigrant adolescents from these adverse influences. The experience of living in America as immigrants inevitably affects parent-child relationships and parenting styles. The literature demonstrates that parents and the family environment may influence the well-being of immigrant adolescents in positive or negative ways. Both the well-being of adolescents and parental influences on adolescent well-being are context-bound. For example, ethnic identity and American identity may result in different well-being outcomes in different life domains for adolescents. Similarly, for immigrant adolescents, being a first

generation immigrant may result in negative experiences due to acculturative stress, or positive ones due to social support systems. In addition, different aspects of parenting can either be protective or risk factors for adolescents. For example, parents may provide their children a sense of identity and belonging, or may have negative influences on their children's well-being due to parent-child conflicts.

Studies on immigrant adolescents and their families have some commonalities. Although there are a few studies which assess well-being in adolescents' different spheres of life, most quantitative studies limit the measurement of well-being to one or two individual level constructs and use scales developed for the populations in the West. There is a need for studies that address the multidimensional and complex influences of the contexts on immigrant adolescents' and their families' lives. Furthermore, most studies on immigrant parents and their children often focus on the negative influences of the immigration experience on children. The studies on parenting often judge immigrant parents based on Western parenting styles and categories. This ethnocentric approach frequently results in a deficit perspective and may be partly responsible for portraying the parenting styles and practices of immigrant parents as risk factors for their children.

Acontextual perspectives in research place the burden of the negative outcomes on parents, despite the fact that these outcomes might be related to negative environments to a great extent. There is need for further research to explore the perceptions of the parents and adolescents in more detail, from a contextual perspective, and within their own cultural frames of reference.

Qualitative studies seem promising in understanding the experiences of immigrant adolescents and their families. They help us grasp the complex processes of identity negotiation within immigrants' own cultural or religious frames of reference. These qualitative studies often explore the effects of ethnic identity on adolescents' lives and experiences in different settings

and how adolescents negotiate ethnic and American identity. A few studies focus on the effect of immigration on Muslim families, parenting, and adolescents. These studies reveal the complexities surrounding immigrant lives and identities. Moreover, these studies bring the negative and positive sides of immigrant parents' and children's lives and do not portray their experiences from a solely negative or positive perspective. There seems to be a need for more in-depth explorations of the experiences of different cultural and ethnic groups in the U.S. In addition, further studies, from an ecosystemic perspective, should consider how adolescent-parent relationships affect adolescents' experiences and well-being in other spheres of life or vice versa. This comprehensive approach will possibly reveal the complex dynamics of immigrant families' lives.

III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The present study is informed by critical acculturation psychology and an ecological perspective. Critical acculturation psychology helps us understand multiple perspectives of immigrant adolescents and their parents and the ways they actively construct their realities in everyday life. An ecological perspective situates the adolescents and parents as active agents within the context of multiple and transacting systems. This combination makes it possible to hear Turkish adolescents' and parents' experiences, leave preconceived definitions of well-being, parenting, and acculturation aside to a great extent, and to conduct contextual analyses.

A. Critical Acculturation Psychology

Critical acculturation psychology is suggested as a promising paradigm for the study of family dynamics and parent-child relationships in families in cultural transition (Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Informed by this paradigm, the present study does not use any predefined acculturation categories to evaluate the parents' and adolescents' experiences, but rather attempts to hear the study participants' voices. Critical acculturation psychologists stress that the acculturation categories of cross-cultural psychology theories are often universalist, ethnocentric, biased, and culture-bound (Chirkov, 2009; Bhatia & Ram, 2001). They criticize Berry's fourfold model for assuming that all immigrants go through the same experiences and integration strategy universally predicts the best outcomes. The present study considers how the participants think living in the U.S. affects and shapes their family dynamics, parents' parenting styles, parent-child relationships and adolescents' lives in different social domains. Moreover, the study does not predefine well-being, but rather explores how the parents and adolescents feel about their experiences and how they define these experiences and feelings. Also, although the

study inevitably generates community level culture-specific findings, it avoids generalizations. It explores culture and family specific dynamics in the families which participate. As Tardiff-Williams and Fisher (2009) suggest, the goal is to reveal the non-linearity and complexity of the process, to analyze how family members negotiate sometimes conflicting cultural modes, positions, and identities and relate to different cultures to reconstruct their own cultures and everyday lives.

Another emphasis of critical acculturation psychology is that culture is dynamic and culture and individual selves are mutually constituted. In other words, immigrants actively construct their cultures in everyday practices, while culture constitutes their selves and psychologies at the same time (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Creswell, 2009). Hence, culture represents a symbolic collective meaning making that occurs between people in their everyday interactions (Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009). These processes can be studied at family and community levels and without defining culture with essentialist traits. Cross-cultural psychology is criticized for homogenizing culture into a few essential traits such as collectivism and individualism especially in the study of families (Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009). This is also the case for studies of Turkish families in diaspora, who are often portrayed as collectivist (Yagmurlu & Sanson, 2009; Phalet & Schonpflug, 2001). In critical acculturation psychology, adults and children are considered as active agents in the construction of meaning and culture in everyday life (Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009). Accordingly, the present study avoids attributing generalized traits to Turkish-American families and considers the active processes of meaning and culture construction.

Critical acculturation psychologies also consider surrounding discourses, ideologies, and systems of power to understand acculturation experiences (Tardiff-Williams & Fisher, 2009).

The present study pays attention to ideologies, discourses, and power relations that surround families as a whole and family members individually. American culture and mainstream ideologies, youth culture, the culture of Turkish community in America, and global ideologies all play a role in the lives of the participants. The critical and social constructionist approach of critical acculturation psychology provided me with the opportunity to consider these as needed.

B. Ecological Perspective

Parents and adolescents as individuals, and families as subsystems are surrounded by and embedded within multiple systems. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological perspective is used in order to address the full complexity of the contexts. Situating individuals within the micro, meso, exo, and macro systems, the ecological perspective acknowledges that individual behavior is transactional. This perspective has been used and suggested as an appropriate model in research with immigrants both by psychologists (Birman & Simon, in press; Chapman & Perreira, 2005; Trickett, 1978, 1984, 1996) and sociologists (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993).

The ecological perspective provides a guide to determine which levels and factors to consider in understanding experiences. Both individual family members and families as subsystems are surrounded by multiple level factors. One of these factors is diversity of today's American society, which is an important factor in the study of immigrants (Trickett, 1996; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). The ecological perspective requires attention to specific populations, specific circumstances, and specific historical moments. Therefore, whether certain strategies and actions will lead to well-being for immigrants depends on the context (Trickett, 1996). Similarly, segmented assimilation theories stress the ways local, national, and global contexts play a role in shaping the experiences and responses of immigrants (Portes & Zhou, 1994). The emphasis on historical moments adds time and history as a context along with other

micro, meso, and macro level factors. Birman (2011) adds global factors to these levels and puts forward that it is not enough to consider meso and macro systems in the U.S., but a global perspective is necessary to understand factors which may serve as push or pull factors for immigration. Under the light of these considerations, I analyze the ways multiple domains of life influence parents' perceptions of their adolescent children's lives, shape their parenting practices, and influence adolescents' experiences and well-being. Therefore, I consider the effects of school, neighborhood, local communities, American society and culture, Turkish community, religious communities, the events in Turkey, local/global economic factors and histories as relevant.

An ecological perspective is concerned with “the demand characteristics of the settings, the options and constraints they embody in their norms, values, structures, and processes, and the ways individuals cope with, adapt to, and change these contexts.” (Trickett, 1984). Immigrant family members have the challenge of negotiating different, sometimes conflicting values and norms of different settings in American society. For example, the norms families teach to adolescents may be in conflict with the norms taught at school (Ek, 2009). Parents may have difficulties in raising children in a different social setting. Family members may develop different coping strategies in the face of these challenges. The present study may highlight the demands of different settings on Turkish American families and how they respond to these demands. In addition, the different settings of immigrants' lives are interdependent (Trickett, 1984). Consequently, what happens in one setting inevitably influences the other settings. For example, what happens in an adolescent's school life has repercussions in his or her family life and vice versa.

An ecological perspective also allows me to define well-being as a contextual, multi-level phenomenon (Birman, 2011). Birman (2011) emphasizes the importance of assessing well-being as involving multiple life domains and underlines that immigrants define success and well-being in a broader and more complex way than most quantitative studies. Moreover, as Birman (2011) elaborates, individuals' well-being may be related to the well-being of specific communities, social settings, or even countries which means that factors such as oppression and inequalities may be affecting groups of individuals. An ecological perspective is useful in exploring these multiple level dimensions.

1. Are critical acculturation psychology and ecological perspective compatible?

Different from critical acculturation psychology and grounded theory, the roots of the ecological perspective are not in critical, postmodern theory. While critical acculturation theory and grounded theory are mostly focused on the conflicts that individuals experience and the power relations in which they are involved, the ecological perspective, with its origins in biology and the study of ecosystems, is adaptation oriented and highlights the ways individuals adapt to their environment and environment adapts to individuals. Hence, the use of these two perspectives may seem contradictory at first glance. However, using ecological perspective along with the critical lenses of critical acculturation psychology gives me the opportunity to assess the multifaceted aspects of immigrant experiences and avoid defining well-being as either adaptation or the absence of conflict. As Birman (2011) elaborates, immigrants' well-being is closely connected to and sometimes determined by the contexts that surround them. Their well-being is also related to oppressive structures. Critical perspective gives us the ability to see how power operates at micro and macro levels, in other words, in individuals' daily lives and in social structures.

C. Theoretical Sensitivity

I was not interested in immigrant children's or adolescents' experiences before I came to the United States. Since I became an immigrant and had my own children, my interest in this topic has grown substantially. I also have a lot of friends in a similar situation, raising children of different ages. Parenting issues and the experiences of our children at schools have become part of our daily conversations. However, my knowledge of adolescent children's experiences was very limited, mostly because the people around me had younger children. I was curious to explore adolescents' perspectives on life in the U.S. and assess their needs to guide future programs for them and their families.

My subject position in the Turkish American community served simultaneously as an advantage and a disadvantage in accessing the study population and conducting the study. As a Turkish mother, I could easily relate with Turkish parents I interviewed. Parents knew that I was raised in the same sociocultural environment they were raised and was familiar with all their cultural codes. This meant that they open heartedly shared their stories and family lives. Considering that Turkish families are usually quite reserved in sharing their private lives with unfamiliar people, this was invaluable. The fact that I had common friends with some of the parents also played a role in their welcoming styles. Also, it was very easy for me to understand their meaning systems. As a native Turkish speaker, I could grasp the meanings they tried to convey to me during the interviews. All parents preferred to conduct the interviews in Turkish, which makes it apparent that they were better at expressing their thoughts and feelings in Turkish. I was lucky to conduct those interviews in a vivid and articulate way as a Turkish native speaker.

However, my relationship with the parents as a researcher was not always that straightforward. As a woman wearing headscarf, my clothing style necessarily meant something. Headscarf has had a controversial issue in Turkey for decades. It has been perceived as a threat to the secular tenets of the Turkish republic. Along with symbolizing Muslim identity, it is associated with certain conservative values, and sometimes alliance with the current government in Turkey. Turkey has long been a highly politically polarized society, but the tension has been increasing recently. This tension has reflections in Turkish community in the United States as well. Consequently, while some Turkish people may feel closer to me due to my physical appearance, some of them may feel a certain distance. These dynamics played a role even during the recruitment process. In one instance, one potential participant, who called me via phone, was enthusiastic about making a contribution to my study. However, I felt like she declined to participate because she did not feel comfortable with me due to my headscarf, which probably had negative connotations for her.

My position as a first generation Turkish immigrant mother also influenced the dynamics of the adolescent interviews. Most adolescents did not feel very comfortable, except the ones whose parents were very encouraging about the research. One of the possible reasons is that the adolescents thought I was closer to their parents' generation than to theirs. They also knew that I would also interview their parents or had already done so. Although I assured them about confidentiality and the fact that I would not share what they said with their parents, most adolescents were reserved and cautious to varying degrees. The fact that I was new to them probably played a role in this.

All adolescents preferred English as their interview language indicating that their English was better than their Turkish. This increased their comfort level during the interviews. However,

the fact that I was not a native English speaker and that I was not very familiar with elementary/high school culture in the United States affected my interactions with the adolescents. They sometimes needed to explain things in further detail to me when I could not grasp some terms they used or the details of their everyday lives.

I tried to write the findings section in a self-reflexive way as much as possible. Nevertheless, my position as an immigrant Turkish parent might have necessarily affected the interviewing dynamics and the writing process. My strong feelings about the difficulties of raising immigrant children in the U.S and fears that my children might experience a cultural and religious transformation which may lead to a gap within my own family somewhat influenced how I conducted the study and reported the study findings. This required my constant self-reflexivity on my position in the community, my relationships with the participants, and the dynamics during the interviews. Several means were employed to increase the trustworthiness of the data, which are discussed in the methodology section.

IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A. Research Design and the Method of Investigation

I followed Charmaz's constructivist grounded theory approach to guide the data collection and analysis processes. Grounded theory is an approach to qualitative research that embraces the rigor of science and the creative elements of emergent discovery (Hennick, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011). Grounded theory methods consist of systematic, yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories grounded in the data themselves (Charmaz, 2006). The focus is on how the research participants explain their positions, actions, and how they give meaning to their experiences. In other words, the researcher explores the worlds of the participants and constructs his or her own "grounded" theories to give meaning to what he or she sees (Charmaz, 2006). The emerging theories may be grand theories as well as small scale new theories as was the case in this study. This approach allowed me to develop an in-depth understanding of parent-adolescent relationships in Turkish immigrant families and how these relationships influence the lives, beliefs, feelings, and world views of both parents and adolescents in a reciprocal, bidirectional way. The constructivist grounded theory approach allowed me to pursue two goals at the same time. First, based upon my limited sample, I saw the commonalities of Turkish immigrant families', parents', and adolescents' experiences due to grounded theory's emphasis on constant comparison and theory building based on common experiences. Second, constructivist grounded theory's emphasis on complexity of everyday realities and subjectivity in experiences (Cresswell, 2007) allowed me to see the differences among the research participants' experiences and the divergences in their values, beliefs, assumptions, and ideologies. As a result, the study reveals the differences within the Turkish

immigrant community, the differences among the adolescents, and the differences among the parents.

Characterized by a bottom-up approach to theory development, the primary goal of the grounded theory approach is to hear the voice of the research participants. Thus, grounded theory requires the researcher to develop an experiential understanding of the participants' worlds in the research process and in the presentation of the findings. Charmaz (2006) argues that the very act of theorizing, which involves seeing possibilities, establishing connections, and asking questions, gives the researcher theoretical openings to avoid importing and imposing automatic answers. Although the literature review I conducted, my disciplinary perspective as a social worker, and my personal experience inevitably shaped the questions I asked to the participants and sensitized me toward certain concepts, as Charmaz (2006) suggests, I used these concepts as "points of departure" (p. 18) rather than to limit my ideas. To increase my ability to develop theories from the ground, I used several strategies during the data collection, analysis, and writing processes. Rich data collection, member checks, reflective commentaries, and memo-writing were among the strategies to ensure that the participants' voices and experiences shaped the study (see "data collection" and "data analysis" for details).

However, hearing the voices of the research participants does not mean that the study is an exact reflection of the families' realities. Constructivist grounded theory emphasizes that the theories developed by the researcher are constructions of the reality, or an "interpretive portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 10). Besides, any analysis is contextually situated in time, place, culture, and situation (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131). Although I used several means to be as self-reflexive as possible during the data collection, analysis, and writing processes (see data collection and data analysis for details), I also acknowledge my own

position as the researcher as much as possible throughout the text to increase the trustworthiness and authenticity of the study. Factors such as my position as a Turkish immigrant mother, my existing connections within the community, the role my headscarf may play on how the participants perceive me are evaluated as necessary. In order to ensure that I present the participants' view as much as possible, I tried to explore how they perceived me as a researcher during the interviews and the interview analysis.

B. Sampling

1. Selection criteria

Recruitment inclusion criteria had the following characteristics: (1) Both parents originate from Turkey (regardless of ethnicity), at least one parent is first generation immigrant (was not born and raised in the United States) and currently resides in the United States, (2) At least one parent is willing to participate and gives permission for an adolescent child (ages 12-19) to participate, (3) The adolescent child was either born in Turkey or in the U.S. (4) At least one first generation immigrant parent and the adolescent child lived in the U.S together for a minimum of two years.

The first criterion makes sure that at least one parent is first generation immigrant from Turkey (i.e. born in Turkey and came to the U.S. later) and the other parent may be first, second, or later generation immigrant from Turkey. The third criterion includes first, 1.5 and second generation immigrant adolescent children in the sample. The rationale behind the last criterion was to make sure that the child had spent a crucial part of his or her adolescence in the U.S and parents experienced raising children in the U.S at least for some time.

2. Sample size and rationale

Theoretical sampling guided me in determining the sample size and procedures.

Theoretical sampling is suggested for the grounded theory approach, where there is a need for rich data and in depth data analysis (Charmaz, 2006). In theoretical sampling, the data analysis process leads the researcher to determine whether to recruit more participants and what characteristics to consider as the recruitment and selection criteria based on theoretical concerns (Charmaz, 2006; Coyne, 1997). The researcher analyzes the data, develops categories and themes inductively, and chooses the next people to talk to or the next cases to find based upon the theoretical analysis and the previously developed categories (Charmaz, 2006). Sampling continues until saturation is reached, which means that additional analysis no longer brings about new themes (Draucker, Martsof, Ross, & Rusk, 2007).

Although data analysis process guides the researcher in theoretical sampling, during the initial stage of sampling, “selective” or “open” sampling may be used to determine the initial criteria to start sampling at the initial stage (Draucker et al., 2007). This means that the researcher can make an initial decision about the general characteristics of the sample through choosing sites or persons. For this purpose, I initially aimed at recruiting families of different socioeconomic levels, degrees of religiosity, and parent education level. There are two reasons behind these initial criteria. First, the degree of religiosity that Turkish families display vary and this may affect parents’ and adolescents’ experiences. Second, family socioeconomic level and parental education levels may have considerable implications for the family environment, parenting practices, and the families’ access to resources. I succeeded to recruit families with diverse socioeconomic levels, degrees of religiosity, and parent education level.

Twenty-eight participants from 14 families were interviewed from October 2014 through January 2015. I completed 15 parent interviews and 13 adolescent interviews in these 14 families. Table 1 displays the pseudonyms for each parent and adolescent interviewed in each of the 14 participating families. The table also displays the age of each participating adolescent as well as the gender of each adolescent in each of these families who participated or declined to participate.

I was able to interview the mothers in all 14 families. Among the 14 families, only one father agreed to participate. This father reached me over the email after seeing the study announcement. The fathers in other families either refused to participate or the mothers did not ask their spouses either considering their spouses' busy schedules or thinking that their own participation was enough to represent the family. I had the opportunity to invite one father in person, who declined to participate.

In 11 of the 14 families, I was able to interview at least one adolescent child. Two adolescents were interviewed in two of the 11 families in which the adolescents agreed to participate. In another participating family, there were two adolescent children, one of whom declined to participate despite his sibling's participation. Therefore, the number of adolescent participants was 13 in total. In three of the 14 participating families, all adolescent children declined to participate. In these three families, the mothers told their adolescent children about the study and I learned from the mothers that their children were unwilling to participate. There were six adolescents in these three families.

TABLE I³**PARENT AND ADOLESCENT DEMOGRAPHICS**

	Parent(s)	Adolescent, age, gender	Parent education level	Parent occupation
Family 1	Şule (mother)	Sümeyye, 16, female	Mother: College	Mother: Housewife
		Şükran, 14, female	Father: College	Father: Teacher
Family 2	Zeynep (mother)	Fatih, 17, male	Mother: College	Mother: Therapist
		Enes, 14, male	Father: Masters	Father: Community Organizer
Family 3	Zehra (mother)	Female (not interviewed)	Mother: High school	Mother: Housewife
		Male (not interviewed)	Father: College	Father: Teacher
Family 4	İpek (mother)	Tarık, 12, male	Mother: College	Mother: Housewife
			Father: High school	Father: Taxi driver
Family 5	Fatma (mother)	Female (not interviewed)	Mother: College	Mother: Housewife
		Male (not interviewed)	Father: College	Father: Teacher

³ All names are pseudonyms for the purpose of confidentiality.

		Male ((not interviewed)		
Family 6	Sinem (mother),	Male, 12 (not interviewed)	Mother: Masters Father: College	Mother: Working from home Father: Industrial designer
Family 7	Çiğdem (mother)	Serkan, 17, male	Mother: PhD Father: Masters	Mother: Bureaucrat Father: Bureaucrat
Family 8	Mehtap (mother)	Sude, 16, female Zeki, 15, male (not interviewed)	Mother: College Father: Masters	Mother: Housewife Father: Teacher
Family 9	Derya (mother)	Taner, 15, male	Mother: College Father: College	Mother: Housewife Father: Unemployed
Family 10	Ayten (mother)	Ahmet, 14, male	Mother: High school Father: Unknown	Mother: Housewife Father: Unknown
Family 11	Kadriye (mother)	Gülsüm, 16, female	Mother: College Father: College	Mother: Teacher Father: Teacher
Family 12	Aykut (father) Zuhal (mother)	Sertaç, 13, male	Mother: College	Mother: Nurse

			Father: College dropout	Father: Working from home
Family 13	Mine (mother)	Tuba, 14, female	Mother: PhD Father: PhD	Mother: Academic Father: Academic
Family 14	Emel (mother)	Sevgi, 15, female	Mother: College Father: Masters	Mother: Housewife Father: Taxi driver

The data analysis started immediately after the first interview based on the constant comparison method of grounded theory, through which similarities and differences are analyzed. In addition to the primary investigator, a second coder analyzed the data, and the themes found by the primary investigator and the second coder were compared. I decided whether I needed more families or not based on the principle of saturation. After I completed 28 interviews, I was able to reach saturation to answer the study's research questions.

3. Recruitment method

I used formal networks, informal networks, and snowball sampling to recruit participants. Using multiple sampling strategies helped me reach participants with diverse socioeconomic, education, and religiosity levels, which were my initial point of departure. My personal networks and snowball sampling especially helped me move forward with the principles of theoretical sampling.

a. Formal networks

There are two major Turkish cultural centers in Chicago, around which Turkish immigrants are organized: TCCI and TCCII. I reached the administration of TCCI and they allowed me to use TCCI as a non-engaged performance site. TCCI center announced the study to its members via their email group and on their facebook page. I already knew some people who had connections with TCCII, so I did not make any formal announcements there. I reached people around TCCII through my personal networks. The study was also announced on the facebook page of the Counsulate General in Chicago. Potential participants were invited to reach the primary investigator via email or telephone.

b. Informal networks

There are email groups and facebook groups established by Turkish immigrants in the US, of which I am a member, such as Wisdomnet, TAC, and Americaturk. I announced the study in these email groups. The study was also announced through the facebook page of Turkish students studying at UIC with the possibility that there might be students eligible for the study or students who might know potential participants. Study flyers were sent to these email groups or were posted on facebook group pages with moderator approvals in order the potential participants to contact the primary investigator. I also asked my friends in the Turkish community if they would be willing to distribute study recruitment flyers to parents they believe may be eligible to participate in the study. However, my friends did not give me the names of any potential participants. Potential participants contacted me if interested. My contact information (as the primary investigator) was included in the flyers (See Appendix R, S). I also contacted my acquaintances who might be potential participants.

As a result of email and facebook announcements, five parents became interested in the study and contacted me through my email address. One of them did not explore further after I informed him about the study. Four parents were willing to participate, but I could not recruit them because they lived in other states and I gave priority to families in the Chicago area.

Regardless of how the participants learned about the study and reached me, recruitment was challenging. My first recruitment effort was especially a demoralizing experience. I reached the first potential participant family through my informal networks and visited the family in their home. I talked to the mother, but her daughter was also curious about my research and wanted to stay and listen to my explanations to her mother. Although the mother was willing to participate, her daughter declined to participate after learning the focus of my research. She also reminded her mother that they should have asked their father first. At that moment, I was reminded of most Turkish families' concerns about family privacy and their reluctance to disclose family matters to outsiders. During my data collection process, a second potential participant also declined to participate asserting the same reason after we met her in person. She indicated that the topic was too private to disclose.

Conducting a qualitative study was sometimes part of the recruitment challenge. Despite my emphasis on confidentiality, some of the potential participants found it hard to understand how I would not disclose their identities after listening to their stories and writing about them. It was hard for them to grasp how personal narratives could be written in the format of a study. One participant did not understand it because she had no previous knowledge about research. Another potential participant, who was familiar with science and quantitative research, questioned how "scientific" a study could be relying on detailed personal accounts. She questioned the issue of generalizability. It was not easy for me to explain her that the purpose of

the study was to explore participants' experiences in depth and not to generalize my findings to all Turkish people living in the U.S. because the study was not a quantitative one with a large, representative sample.

There was an opposite dynamic for some participants, who thought parenting and their children's well-being was a topic that was easy to discuss. When I informed them about the measures to insure confidentiality through reviewing the recruitment script, they found some of the strict measures unnecessary. They told me that they did not understand why schools in the United States were this meticulous about research procedures and why they had to review pages of documents. Some participants even felt uncomfortable while we were going through the recruitment documents and they were signing the consent forms. Signing forms gave them the impression that they were about to be involved in a threatening process. During the consent processes, I had to find a balance between taking my research procedures seriously and not giving the impression that this process would be threatening.

c. Snowball sampling

Once I reached participants through formal, informal networks, and my personal connections, I asked participant families to distribute the study recruitment flyers to other families they thought might meet the study's inclusion criteria (See Appendix O for "Snowball sampling information script").

Ultimately, seven families were recruited through informal networks, six were recruited through snowball sampling, and one family was recruited through formal networks.

C. Data Collection

1. Data collection procedures

One time, in-depth, face-to-face, semi-structured, open-ended, individual interviews were conducted at a place preferred by the study participants such as the participant's home, the researcher's home, or cafes. I took measures to ensure privacy as much as possible. I conducted the adolescent interview after conducting the parent interview in each family with one exception. Parent and adolescent interviews were sometimes conducted on different days. As a result, I needed to visit the family more than once on several occasions. When I did the interviews at home, I tried to make sure that we were in a room where other family members could not hear our voices in order to maintain confidentiality. The interviews lasted approximately two hours. Three interview guides were used: (1) parent interview guide, (2) 1.5 generation adolescent interview guide, and (3) second generation adolescent interview guide. In addition, the interviewer administered a family demographics questionnaire to one of the parents. (See Appendix A, B, and C for the interview guides and the family demographics questionnaire). A \$15 cash incentive was provided to each participant to compensate them for their time.

I collected rich data through in-depth exploration of the parents' and adolescents' experiences. To understand the participants' interpretation of her or his own experiences, the interview guides consisted of broad, open-ended, non-judgemental questions. Still, interviews guides have some structure and the questions revolve around the study's focus (Charmaz, 2006). This kind of an interview is intended to elicit the participants' subjective worlds in accordance with a grounded theory approach.

The participants were interviewed in the language that they preferred. All parents asked to be interviewed in Turkish and all adolescents wanted to be interviewed in English.

Accordingly, the interview guides and the questionnaires were prepared in Turkish and English. I conducted all the interviews on my own. It was expected that some male participants might feel more comfortable with a male interviewer due to their religious sensitivities or other reasons. So, a second researcher was available for the participants who preferred a male interviewer. A male interviewer was offered to all male participants, but none of the participants requested a male interviewer.

The duration of the interviews varied from participant to participant to a considerable degree. This was especially the case for the adolescent interviews. While some adolescent interviews lasted almost two hours, some interviews were as short as 30 minutes. There are several possible reasons for this. Some adolescents were more interested in my study and were even curious about which questions I would ask. Some adolescents even seemed to enjoy the fact that I was interested in their experiences. These adolescents were usually more open and willing to share. I think the messages they had received from their parents about the study might have affected adolescents' comfort level. Most adolescents whose parents seemed encouraging and comfortable were comfortable as well. On the other hand, some adolescents seemed to perceive the interview as a burden and tried to cut their answers as short as possible. The adolescents might have been influenced by the fact that I had interviewed their parents as well. I showed considerable effort to engage these adolescents and tried not to make them bored. Another factor was the adolescents' level of self awareness. The adolescents who had thought about the questions I asked provided me with more detailed accounts, whereas the ones who did not have previous self reflections found it hard to answer the questions.

2. Training of the second interviewer and the second coder

The second interviewer (Zubeyir Nisanci) is Turkish, knows the Turkish community well, and is already trained in qualitative research. He was a PhD student at the department of sociology at Loyola University Chicago. However, he did not conduct any of the interviews because none of the participants requested a male interviewer. The second coder (Alperen Gencosmanoglu) is a graduate student at the department of sociology at Bogazici University in Turkey. He can read both in English and Turkish in order to read the interview transcriptions in both languages. The second interviewer and the second coder completed UIC's IRB training before the research starts. Besides, I prepared trainings for these two researchers and the trainings included the study's purpose, conceptual framework, methods, UIC's research requirements (ethics and human subjects), the details of the IRB protocol with a specific emphasis on the confidentiality measures, the-details of the data collection process. While the second interviewer's training included an extensive section on interviewing based on grounded theory principles, the second coder's training was more about how to code the interviews and do the analysis using grounded theory approach.

3. Human subject protections

Informed consent forms were prepared for the participants who were over 18 and assent forms were prepared for those under 18. Parents gave permission for their children's participation by signing the parent permission section of the Parent Consent and Permission Form for Participation in Research (See Appendix D). The forms were prepared in English and Turkish. In my initial contact with the parents, I informed them about the study, explained the study purpose and procedures in detail, and asked whether they were willing to participate. If

they were, I asked their permission to contact their adolescent child(ren) and asked their assistance in doing so. Then, in my first contact with the adolescent family member(s), I explained the study purpose and procedures in detail. When attempting to arrange face-to-face interviews with the participants who lived in other cities or far suburban areas, I informed them about the eligibility criteria and the study procedures in detail over the phone and made sure that they understood the study requirements before I traveled to review the consent/assent forms and arrange interviews. I obtained parents' consent and permission before conducting the assent process with adolescent participants.

At the beginning of the interview, I read and discussed the informed consent or assent form with the participant and made sure that the participant understood the purpose of the study. I made sure that the participant did not have any unanswered questions in mind about the research process. The participants were informed that they could refuse to answer any of the questions, withdraw from the study, or terminate the interview at any time. At the end of the informed consent/assent review, the participants were asked if they were willing to participate, and if so, they were asked to sign the consent/assent form. Parents gave written permission for their children to participate before the adolescents were involved in the assent process.

If the participant showed any signs of emotional distress during the interview, the interviewer reminded the participant that he or she could take a break or terminate the interview. This happened in two parent interviews and the parents continued the interview after taking a brief break. I provided each participant with a list of the resources available at the end of the interview. These resources included mental health support services for youth and families in the Chicago area. I prepared youth and family resources in the Indianapolis area for one family living there (See attached youth and resources lists in Appendix T and U.)

To ensure confidentiality, all forms related to the study including the informed consent forms, the questionnaires for demographic information, and the printed transcriptions were stored in a locked cabinet in my home office. Digitally recorded and transcribed electronic documents were saved in password protected files in my password protected, encrypted personal laptop. All the data files were encrypted and kept in separate files. Only the second coder, who helped me in the data analysis process, had access to the electronic and hard copy transcribed files. Any names or other identifiers were removed and replaced with pseudonyms. On a separate sheet, each participant and family unit were assigned IDs. Instead of the participants' names, these IDs were used on the transcribed documents and the audio files. This participant-ID list (master list) was kept as a PDF document in the primary investigator's password protected, encrypted laptop in a separate folder from the data files. When member checks were completed, this list was destroyed.

The second coder/transcriber who helped me in transcribing and coding the interviews kept all research documents in his password protected, encrypted personal laptop. The digital audio files and the transcripts of interviews that were shared with him were labelled only with the project ID code number for the family and individual in the family. The second coder destroyed all files in his computer once he was done with coding.

Because people are part of a close network in Turkish community, there is a risk that participants may be identifiable to members of the Turkish-American community in the text. To mitigate this risk, I reported the findings carefully and mostly presented the common themes in the dissertation. When I used illustrative quotes, I was careful to not use any phrases or quotations that could disclose the participants' identities.

Furthermore, conflict may occur within families as a reaction to other family members' responses. To minimize this risk, I did not include direct quotations that may cause conflicts among the family members in a particular family.

4. Trustworthiness and transferability

Several measures were employed to increase the trustworthiness of the study. My familiarity and prolonged engagement with the culture of the Turkish community can be seen as a factor that increased the study's credibility (Shenton, 2004). However, this familiarity may also pose a challenge to the study's credibility due to my lack of distance. The second coder served to balance the disadvantage caused by this familiarity. Besides, I wrote memos after each interview and these reflective commentaries were useful in reviewing the effectiveness of the interview guide questions, my style and recording my initial impressions on each interview session (Shenton, 2004). In this way, I reflected upon my own position as the researcher and the participant's reactions to the interview. The last measure to ensure credibility was member-checking. In member checking, participants are invited to review the researcher's findings and confirm the accuracy of data analyses and the overall theory developed (Bryant & Charmaz, 2008). During member-checking, I shared a summary of all data collected with the participants using two strategies (Charmaz, 2006). First, I shared the major categories that emerged from data analysis with the participants who had agreed to participate in member checking. Second, I requested further insight from the participants.

Member checking interviews are usually conducted in-person individual interviews or focus groups. However, I used a nontraditional method for member-checking due to technical constraints. Because I returned to Turkey after I finish data collection, I did not have the

opportunity to do member check interviews, but offered to share a summary of all data collected with the participants via Qualtrics, which is a secure survey platform. I asked them to share their feedback via Qualtrics. To ensure informed consent, at the beginning of the research, I asked all study participants for their permission to send them the member checking email and the link to Qualtrics survey site. This information is included in the consent and assent forms and I explained the details to the participants before they signed consent or assent forms. Based on the preference of the participants, the member checking emails and the attached findings summaries were sent out in Turkish to parents and in English to adolescents. Parents who participated in the member checking preferred to give feedback in Turkish. Only one adolescent gave member checking feedback and she preferred to write in English. The participants were informed that participation in member-checking was voluntary.

In the Qualtrics survey, participants were asked two major questions: (1) If and to what extent the findings voice their experiences, and (2) To what degree their experiences were different. The participants provided their feedback using the Qualtrics survey link. All participating parents had agreed to participate in member checking. However, 11 adolescents agreed to participate and two of them declined to participate. Six parents and only one adolescent responded to the member checking survey. Member checking findings are presented in the findings chapter.

Another consideration to increase the study's transferability, which is described as whether the study findings can be applied to other individuals' positions or to other settings (Shenton, 2004). Transferability allows the reader to determine if findings are possibly applicable to others and other settings. To provide enough information on transferability, the context and the procedures of the study are described in detail. The sample demographics are

presented, the sampling procedures, data collection and analysis methods are described (Shenton, 2004).

D. Data Analysis

1. Analysis style

I followed the methods suggested by Charmaz (2006) for the data analysis. The major stages of data analysis described by Charmaz are coding and memo-writing. I used MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis software, for coding and data analyses. I transcribed each interview and began the coding process as soon as possible after the interview was completed.

a. Coding

In qualitative data analysis, the interview transcriptions are analyzed and labels are assigned to the words, phrases, sentences, or paragraphs. These labels are called codes. Charmaz (2006) elaborates four phases of coding for constructivist grounded theory: initial coding, focused coding, axial coding, and theoretical coding. In the initial coding phase, the data are analyzed quickly and line-by-line to study the data closely and begin conceptualizing ideas. Focused coding is the second major phase of coding, where the researcher develops more directed, selective, and conceptual codes (Charmaz, 2006). In this phase, I synthesized, separated, and sorted the interviews. In axial coding phase, the categories were connected to subcategories and to the dimensions of the category. In the last phase of theoretical coding, possible relationships were specified among categories in an integrative way.

The second coder, Alperen Gencosmanoglu, helped me develop focused codes, axial codes, and theoretical codes. He did two things (1) He developed his own codes independently and we compared our codes, (2) After we compared, refined, and agreed upon the list of codes,

he coded the interviews along with me. Then, while I was writing the study findings, I compared the quotes he included with the ones I included under each code. If the quotes we included under the codes differed, we discussed the reason and I made the final decision on which code to include in the analysis and the text. We also often discussed the study findings and our discussions were very fruitful for me while making analysis.

b. Memo-writing

I used memo-writing before (pre-writing) and after each interview to develop ideas, to analyze initial and focused codes, to move from focused codes to conceptual categories, and highlight relationships between categories. I wrote detailed memos after each interview and memos helped me in each phase of coding. I also wrote detailed memos to develop focused codes and conceptual categories as I moved forward in analysis. Memos not only helped with analysis, but also with self reflexivity, because I noted my own observations and feelings in great detail.

The quotes of each parent and adolescent are not presented in the same frequency in the findings section. The quotes of some participants were presented more frequently compared to others. This was not the result of my bias, but the fact that some interviews lasted longer and were more detailed compared to others and some participants came up with more detailed accounts. Different interview durations were prevalent in adolescent interviews. While some adolescent interviews lasted 30 minutes, some were as long as two hours. As a result, it was inevitable that some adolescents' accounts used more frequently and their quotes were longer.

2. Levels of analysis

I used three levels of analysis in this study: parents, adolescents, and families. Using different levels of analyses helped me produce contextually grounded study findings (Ayres, Kavanaugh, & Knafl, 2003).

a. Across case analysis 1

Parents were the unit of analysis in this level of analysis. This includes the comparison of all parent interviews to explore parents' experiences and views. This is in harmony with grounded theory's emphasis on constant comparison based on commonalities. In this way, the common parental views, concerns, and practices of Turkish parents were explored.

b. Across case analysis 2

Adolescents were the unit of analysis in this level of analysis. This includes the comparison of all adolescent interviews to explore adolescents' experiences and views. In this way, adolescents' common experiences and perceptions on their well-being and relationships with their parents were revealed.

c. Within family and across family analysis

In this level, families were the unit of analysis. First, I analyzed parent and adolescent interviews for each family unit. Second, I compared the commonalities and differences among participating families.

Analyzing and comparing parent and adolescent child interviews within each family unit helped me explore particular family dynamics. This comparison was particularly important to fulfill the goals of constructive grounded theory with its focus on the complexity and multiplicity

of individuals' experiences and the participants' subjective worlds. The comparison of parent-child interviews also served the constructivist goal of exploring the mutual construction of meanings in everyday life by family members. Moreover, this analysis allowed me to connect parent-child relationships to adolescent children's well-being in different spheres of life.

Thanks to within family level analysis, I was able to better contextualize the adolescent interviews, which gave me limited insight compared to parent interviews. Consequently, the data I obtained from adolescent interviews was not as rich and in-depth as the parent interviews. Although adolescents were somewhat reserved, I was able to dig for some additional connections between parent interviews and adolescent interviews to answer my research questions. Hence, parent interviews also set the context while analyzing the adolescent interviews and I analyzed parent-child dyads to get a fuller picture at the family level. Doing the parent interviews before the adolescent interviews helped me do this. I usually posed my questions while keeping the parent interview in mind.

During across family analysis, the experiences of families as a whole were compared with each other. This was particularly important to develop theories based on grounded theory approach. I was able to come up with theories on parenting, parent-adolescent relationships, and adolescent well-being mostly based on this level of analysis, because producing theories required a fuller picture of the participants.

V. RESULTS

A. Introduction

The aim of this study is to explore Turkish immigrant families' experiences in the United States through answering two research questions:

- (1) How does the immigration experience influence parenting practices, parent-adolescent relationships and the family environment for Turkish immigrant families in U.S.?
- (2) How do parent-adolescent relationships and family environments affect Turkish adolescents' well-being?

In the first two sections, I will discuss parents' perspectives on these two research questions. Then, I will elaborate adolescents' perspectives on these research questions in the third and fourth sections. The fifth section includes a discussion of common and distinctive themes across families.

B. Parent Perspectives on Parenting in America

In this section, I discuss parents' perspectives on how being an immigrant affects their parenting, parent-child relationships and the family environment. There are two main factors that affect parenting: (1) Parent socialization in America, and (2) Parents' perceptions on parenting and adolescent well-being, which mainly includes concerns and perceived advantages about their children's experiences in America. These two factors affect parenting practices and parent-child relationships. The following figure depicts the dynamic relationships among the factors that affect parenting. This section explains these factors and is organized around the study's research questions.

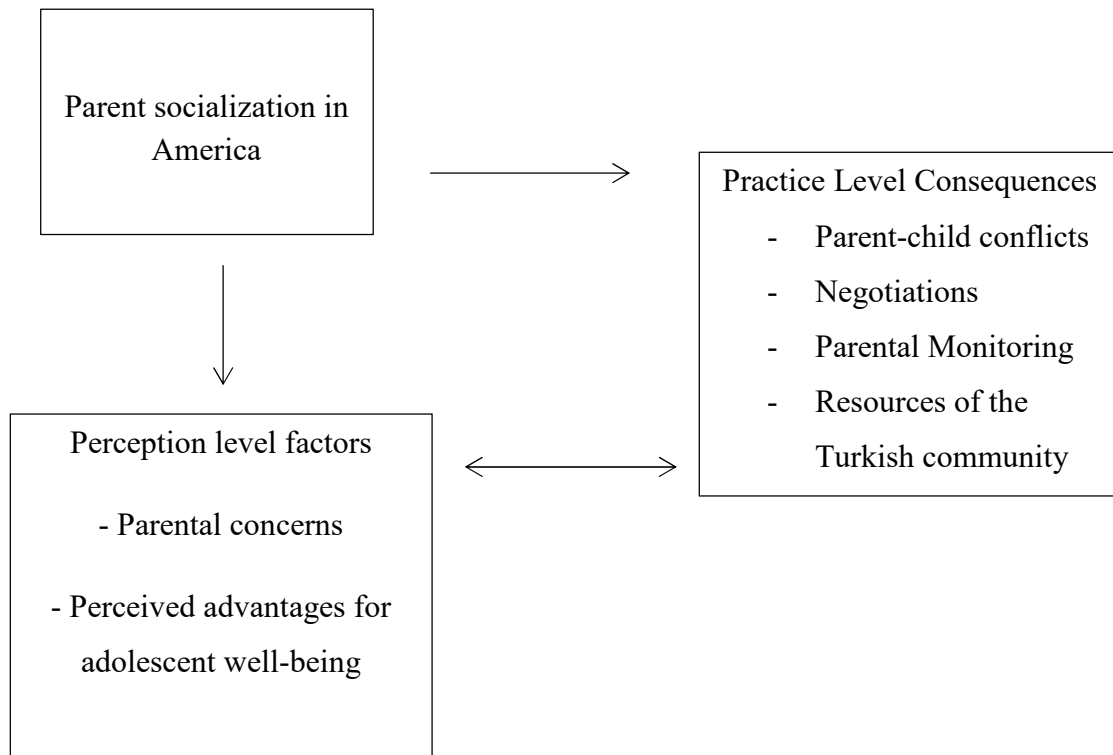


Figure 1. Factors that affect Turkish parents' parenting in America.

In this section, I analyze the relationship between the changes in the parents' lives resulting from coming to America and their parenting experiences. Leaving their home country and coming to a new one was a tremendous life change for the parents. Most parents had a hard time adapting to the new environment, especially in their first years. It was not easy for these parents to recall these experiences and talk about the challenges they had faced. As a result, some of the interviews I conducted were quite emotional because of the stresses parents had experienced due to a combination of factors. Some parents became teary and we had to stop for a while. Sinem's interview was one of these emotional interviews. After she frankly shared her parenting related worries and her negative impressions about America, we walked to the parking lot of the Turkish cultural center, where we had done the interview, to get into our cars. While we were walking towards our cars, she told me her story of coming to America after getting married. She said she was very happy on the plane and a man had realized this. He asked her why she was so happy. She said she had gotten married and was going to live in America. The man, who was himself an immigrant living in Germany, said: "Why are you this happy? You cannot see any country in the world, except Turkey, where immigrants come back to Turkey to be buried when they die." After sharing this memory with me, Sinem said: "I never forgot this. Here I was in *gurbet*⁴ and this never ended. I feel I am in *gurbet*. However, my child does not feel the same way because he was born here. Some part of him will always belong to here." She looked very emotional at that point. After she got into her car, she smiled, got out of her car again and gave me a package of Turkish brand pasta. She added: "Cook this pasta for your children tonight." This instance showed me that as first generation immigrants, parents might not have felt a full sense of

⁴ *Gurbet* is a Turkish word meaning "foreign place." The word usually has an emotional connotation and used when the person feels like an a stranger, and outsider, and misses her home.

belonging to America and this could have influences across their life domains, including their parenting perceptions and practices.

Ayten was another interviewee who had similar feelings. I met with her for our interview in her condo in the city. While scheduling the interview with her on the phone, I briefly informed her about my research. Immediately after hearing the focus of my research, she began to describe the challenges of raising an adolescent child in America. She explained that it was a challenge especially for housewives, because they were not familiar with the school system in America. She compared herself with other Turkish parents who received degrees in America and claimed that these people were somewhat familiar with the school system. She mentioned their difficulties in choosing schools for their children because of their unfamiliarity with the education system. I felt in her voice that she was not very happy living in America and was not happy raising her children here either. She said she would not suggest anyone with a good life in Turkey come to America, because there is “no American dream” (Ayten). At that point, I realized that parents’ own socialization and adaptation experiences in America had a substantial impact on their parenting experiences. Two interrelated factors seemed to affect parenting: (1) lack of extended family support and the feelings of longing for the social environment in Turkey, and (2) parents’ adaptation to America.

a. Parenting alone?: Lack of extended family support

Parents’ lack of their extended family support and their struggle for adaptation to America affected their parenting experiences to a great extent. Overall, parents with a strong feeling of longing for Turkey appeared to have higher parenting related stresses. This feelings of missing their country is further exacerbated by missing their extended family members and the awareness that they lacked their support. Parents regretted that their children were deprived of

the support of their grandparents and other extended family members. This deprivation put an additional burden on the shoulders of the parents. Due to the distance between Turkey and the United States, their extended family members could not visit families often and when they did, they usually could not stay long.

Şule said she had understood that parenting in America would be challenging in her first parenting year in America when she stayed at home with her daughter. Before that, she had been in Turkey and working. After coming to America, she became a housewife, which was very different from her life back in Turkey. She compared herself to her brother's wife in Turkey and indicated that her sister-in-law's childrearing was much easier thanks to the extended family support she had received.

I had a sister-in-law in Turkey, my brother's wife. We had children around the same time. She always received her own mother's and my mother's help while raising children. I always envied her. (Şule)

Derya, too, mentioned the difficulties of parenting on their own in America. She was aware that if they lived in Turkey, she could sometimes be able to leave her son with his aunts to have some spare time for herself, while the children socialized.

You feel lonely here. You are left on your own. If you have a certain network, you may have a few friends, probably your son's parents. A foreign city, there is no one to knock your door. This was very hard. I sometimes think that if we were in Turkey, he would have friends, they would become a group, they would visit each other, or they visit their aunts and play for hours. You feel relaxed as a mother. Here, you are more alert. (Derya)

Mothers felt the burden of a lack of their extended families' support even more when this was accompanied by their spouses' busy work schedules. Even İpek, who consistently claimed that her parenting stress had nothing to do with being in America, mentioned the disadvantages of parenting alone. She was uncomfortable that she was losing patience easily during her

conflicts with her son, because she was feeling distressed from having no break as a parent. She said she had difficulties in controlling her anger because of this distress.

It is very difficult to raise children here because you are totally alone. You take care of everything as a mother. I sometimes feel very exhausted. I want a break and sometimes feel guilty for feeling like this. Because they are my children and I can't live without them. I mean it is hard to be on your own. I am not very patient. I yell at my children in the way my parents yelled me. I sometimes can't control my anger. (İpek)

When I asked her how this affected her relationship with her sons, she elaborated:

Being alone is a huge factor. My husband works. My children sometimes don't take me seriously. So you feel tired of warning. We have such moments. My husband isn't always with me, he works hard. He has to work hard. You shouldn't even get sick, because they don't care. You have to be strong all the time. You have to be energetic all the time. You don't have the right to take a rest. (İpek)

İpek's spouse's busy work life increased her feelings of loneliness while parenting.

Sinem was another mother who was worried that lack of grandparents in her son's life had contributed to his isolation, which in turn made Sinem's task more challenging.

Of course grandparents would make a change. Unfortunately my mom can't stay here for long. I wish grandma would raise my child. Children would be much more different this way. The biggest disadvantage here is to lack grandparents. When parents immigrate here, they can't bring their families here. So, their children are inevitably isolated. In Turkey, grandparents look after the child, teach him a little bit of culture and the child learns to respect his elders. (Sinem)

Çiğdem's family was planning to return to Turkey permanently when I interviewed her. Her adolescent son would probably attend college in America due to the higher education quality. However, she and her spouse still wanted to go back to Turkey because both their extended families were in Turkey. Otherwise Çiğdem was happy with their life in America. Despite the advantages of living in America, Çiğdem preferred to continue her life in Turkey mainly to be close to her family. Unlike other families, the disadvantage of being alone in America outweighed the advantages for her.

b. Adaptation to America

The ways parents constructed “America” in their minds seemed to affect their feelings related to parenting. Parents’ construction of the image of America is mostly based on the parent’s past and present experiences, observations, and conversations with others. Most parents received the messages on America through the media and the popular culture in back Turkey. In accordance with the so called American dream, these messages often conveyed the idea that life was materially better in America and there were various opportunities for upward mobility. There were different factors that affected parents’ constructions of America and how they experienced America themselves.

One of these factors was how well parents knew American society and which America they encountered. When they felt content about their “America” and their own experiences in American society, they felt better about raising their children in this country. Parents’ previous experiences, socioeconomic level, work status, and type of occupation had a crucial impact on what kind of an America they had experienced. These experiences, in turn, determined how much they felt a sense of belonging towards America.

Coming to America was a big transition and often a rupture for the parents. Most mothers I interviewed had active social lives in Turkey whether in the form of work life, community engagement, or social life. Almost all mothers came to America for their husbands’ job. It took time for the parents to adapt to a new environment with a different culture and language. While some mothers adapted quickly and liked living in America, some had difficulties due to various reasons such as limited English proficiency, missing Turkey and their extended family, or dislike of American culture.

Ayten indicated that she had an active work life back in Turkey. However, she had become a housewife in America. Although she took care of other Turkish people's young children from time to time, she did not have a regular job. Language was a huge barrier for her. She was still attending ESL classes and her proficiency in English was limited. This difference between her level of socialization in Turkey and after they arrived in America seemed to affect her negatively. The information she got about American society was limited to her everyday life experiences such as shopping or hearing from other Turkish people. As a result, she seemed to perceive herself as an outsider and part of the "minority" in American society and always mentioned Americans as "them."

They are in majority. Law is their law, country is their country. Although we are citizens, we feel temporary. I am an American citizen too, but if a slightest problem occurs, we know where to go. We are more careful. They are more advantaged. It doesn't matter how free you are or whether you have rights or not. We are in minority here. We have to be more careful. (Ayten)

Besides perceiving herself as an outsider, Ayten felt the diversity of American society as a disadvantage while raising children. She associated diversity with the unknown, and her limited exposure to different cultures and lack of close contact with people from diverse backgrounds, though living in America, seemed to be a factor behind her fears.

Interestingly, İpek, who also became a housewife after coming to America, felt very positive about American society's diversity from the very beginning. She enjoyed the fact that there were a lot of immigrants around and felt at home.

People seemed warm to me when I came to Chicago, because there are a lot of immigrants here. I didn't feel like an outsider. I felt like I was in some part of Turkey. (İpek)

Regardless of what they thought about diversity, parents who adapted to the culture and language of America faster seemed more comfortable about parenting in America and about their

children's adaptation to American society. These parents usually overcame the language barrier, became engaged in an active work life, and had the opportunity to get to know people from diverse backgrounds. Zeynep explained how the positive environment in her ESL classes facilitated her adaptation to American society.

Warm and sincere atmospheres facilitated my adaptation to the culture and environment. I am an easygoing person and don't feel shy to talk to people. I used to take my children to the library and communicate with people with my limited English. I heard programs in park districts and tried not to miss. These helped me talk and express myself. Generally, we didn't have much culture shock or discomfort. I was happy and I never regret coming here. I would do it again. (Zeynep)

Language had been the biggest barrier for Zeynep and her husband at the beginning.

Me and my husband didn't experience a culture shock. However, language was a barrier. Having a heavy accent was a barrier. My husband was invited to several interviews but lost in the interview. They gave positive feedback to his work, but they said: "We are sorry, you are not qualified. (Zeynep)

Kadriye, too, had experienced painful instances because of the language barrier at the beginning. Similar to other parents, she explained that she could not communicate with anyone because of language.

I came here with zero English. You will say something in the market, you need your husband's help. My most painful moment was my daughter's parent meeting. Her teacher was talking to us, she talked for three minutes, then I turned to my husband and asked what the teacher had told. He explained me with one sentence. Then, it was hard. I had no English for the first two years. My child was young, so I couldn't go to school. It was painful not to understand America. (Kadriye)

Later, both Zeynep and Kadriye overcame the language barrier, became fluent in English and started to work. These two parents did not report parenting stress specific to raising children in the American context. However, Ayten and Zehra, two parents without active work lives, seemed to experience more stress as parents. Sinem was an exception to this pattern in that she did not like the American education system and the capitalist work life. She did not have a language barrier and was working. However, she perceived her busy work life as an obstacle to

good parent-child relationships and started to work from home. Similar to Ayten, she had strong feelings of missing Turkey.

I don't have much connection with Turkey. My dad had passed away. My mom is in Turkey and stays here for six months and in Turkey for the rest. Although I am here, I miss Turkey a lot. I miss everything about Turkey: its people, soil, culture... So I am trying not to break my ties. But after coming here, distance is getting bigger. Because we get older and we feel tired. Your children start to belong to here. You find it hard to leave them here and you get lost. (Sinem)

What kind of America the parents had been exposed to was a factor in determining the America image in their minds. For Sinem, American culture had become materialist in the last 30 years and she perceived this environment, which she described as a melting pot, as a dangerous environment for her son.

The culture here is a melting pot. Everyone comes here and gets mixed. Then (your own) culture persists, but... There is capitalism under this culture. In the past, America was different. Instead of what they can do for the society, what inventions you can do to make this society a more beautiful place, children now think about how much money they will earn, how they will go to school, or how they will pay their mortgage. The system is totally based on money. Humanitarian values are gradually disappearing. (Sinem)

Mine agreed that the America one was exposed to influenced parenting. She said that because she was working in academia and was living in a good neighborhood, she did not feel that there were alarming potential dangers around for her daughter.

May be that's because both my husband and I work at a college. We live as if we work in a different world. We sometimes witness an unexpected event while shopping like seeing an inappropriate behavior of someone. This happens very rarely. Usually, because there are good people in where we live, we assume that the life outside is like this too. We haven't been exposed to negatives. (Mine)

Mine admitted that her surrounding environment had a huge impact on the image of America in her mind, hence on her parenting comfort. Parents relied on their previous experiences while constructing the image of America in their minds. Aykut was another example in that he wanted their son to grow up in a relatively homogeneous environment in terms of their

neighborhood's ethnic and cultural composition. He said that he had to work in low wage jobs and had unpleasant experiences with other immigrants. These experiences partly influenced their decision to buy a house in a majority white neighborhood.

2. Perception Level Factors and Parenting

Parents' ideas on their children's well-being can be categorized under two main titles: their concerns about raising children in America, often due to the factors they think may affect children's well-being in a negative way, and the advantages they see about raising children in America.

a. Parental concerns

Parenting related concerns exacerbated as children reached adolescence. These concerns were basically the fear of losing culture, religious concerns, and other environmental concerns.

1) Culture related concerns

I guess that's part of being an immigrant, *not getting yourself lost*⁵, protecting your culture, being together, because we sometimes hear that there are Turks who even forgot speaking Turkish. We don't want to be like those. We want to protect our culture. We also want our children to be raised within a morality and culture as we were raised in Turkey. (Şule)

A prominent theme that emerged in the parent interviews was "losing oneself in America," "getting yourself lost in America," or "losing children in America." Although most parents acknowledged that parenting was challenging everywhere, they mentioned some challenges which they thought were specifically related to the context of the American society and to being

⁵ The emphasis is added.

an immigrant. Part of this challenge was the fear that their children might lose Turkish culture. This fear seemed to increase parenting stress to a great extent.

After they come to America, Turkish parents find themselves in a very different environment compared to Turkey and start to think about how to define their own culture vis-a-vis others. Although there are different ethnic groups in Turkey, Turkish society is not as diverse as American society and ethnic differences are not that visible. Hence, Turkish parents meet a variety of cultures, languages and religions that were previously unfamiliar to them for the first time in America. As a result, in their everyday lives, they become engaged in an active and often conscious and deliberate state of defining, evaluating, and constructing “Turkish culture” vis-a-vis “American culture” or the diverse cultures they encounter. Turkish culture and American cultures are mutually constructed and the parents constantly negotiate Turkish culture with American culture. In addition, this negotiation process should not be considered separately from religious concerns, because some parents regard Turkish culture and Islam inseparable. Therefore, their concerns and expectations about Turkish culture and religion are often entwined. I will explain this in detail in the next section.

How parents perceive Turkish culture and the surrounding cultures, primarily “American culture,” as they construct it, affects their parenting experiences and parenting stress or comfort. Perceiving a large gap between Turkish culture and American culture may increase parenting stress, while being in peace with the surrounding culture(s) may decrease it. Consequently, there were roughly two categories of parents: those who had considerable stress due to the fear of “losing their children to America,” and those who felt more comfortable despite some degree of concern. The perception of a big gap between Turkish culture and American culture may even lead to situating American culture as a threat to Turkish culture. By the phrase “losing children,”

parents usually made reference to “forgetting” Turkish culture and becoming “like Americans.” Parents with the highest levels of anxiety about losing Turkish culture defined American culture mostly in negative terms. Some other parents defined desirable and undesirable components of American culture, but did not present it as totally negative. The more desirable components of American culture were, the more parents felt comfortable about raising their children in America. As a result of these different definitions and constructions of the image of American culture, parents set different discursive and practical boundaries for themselves and their children in America starting from their children’s early childhood years.

Zehra was one of the parents who mostly talked about American culture in negative terms and as a threat to Turkish culture. She had two adolescent children and looked quite distressed about raising her children in America. She did not enjoy the fact that her children always wanted to participate in activities that she perceived as part of American culture. For example, she seemed quite unhappy and uncomfortable during the interview when she talked about some American cultural events such as Halloween.

For example, the last 3-4 years, my young daughter wears costumes and goes to school (in Halloween). For last two years she has been out collecting candies. I don’t know whether this is fun for children or they try to keep up with American kids. We don’t want to grab the (American) culture but you get into it in one way or another. (Zehra)

Ayten, too, did not want to be Americanized nor did she want her children to be Americanized.

There are some Americanized Turks here, I don’t want to be one of them, I don’t want my children to be like them either. I am a Turk, I want to live like a Turk. I don’t want to change my mind, opinion, or brain. People change, conditions change people, you can be more rigid over time, events and conditions make you more mature, they say that pain matures people. But you can earn money, but if your heart changes, if your character changes, this is very bad. I mean, not keeping in touch with people, I don’t know, avoiding being a Turk, not speaking (Turkish), there are people who say ‘I speak Turkish but in fact I am an American’. (Ayten)

Ayten thought that getting Americanized with one's talking style and behaviors was "losing oneself." In reference to Americanized Turkish people, she said she could not be like them. For Ayten, part of being American is becoming cold, distant and individualized. She indicated that Turkish people have warmer relationships, while she defined Americans as more distant and cold.

When we meet a Turk, first of all they ask where we are from, when we came, etc. I tell myself 'Yes, they are typical Turks!' Where are you originated from, where do you come from, what did you study, what is your job, are you married or not, do you have any children, so typical Turk reveals oneself. If we are to meet an American, it is more formal. Our people are warmer, we ask more questions, we are more curious. (When you meet) with an American, it is "how are you, good." It is more respectful, more formal. They are like robots. (Ayten)

Şule, who had two adolescent daughters, also expressed her concerns about giving up Turkish culture with the phrase "losing." Giving reference to material benefits of staying in America, she said that one should not "lose oneself" for money in America. She added that they wanted to raise their children as if they were in Turkey, with a similar morality and culture.

I think this is part of being an immigrant, not losing yourself, protecting your culture, being together. Because we hear, there are some Turks who even forgot how to speak Turkish. So, we don't want to be like that. We want to protect our culture. We want our youth to be raised with our ethics, culture in Turkey. These are the most important things for us. It does not worth to come here to *sacrifice your ownself* for money. You can earn money in Turkey, too. (Şule)

The negative perception and fear of American culture increased parenting burden and worries. Some parents continually thought about how things would happen if they lived in Turkey and concluded that their parenting task would be less burdensome in their home country. In this sense, they were in a state of constant evaluation about the advantages and disadvantages of staying in America. These parents felt uncomfortable thinking that their children were continually exposed to different cultures outside of home. So, they felt the obligation to turn their homes to "little Turkeys", where they had to teach every aspect of Turkish culture to their

children. Aykut's phrases expressed this deliberate effort of making home a safe zone for the child. He defined his home as Turkish boundaries and said:

We consider our home boundaries as Turkish boundaries as much as possible. I want him feel in Turkey here. (Aykut)

Kadriye also indicated that they lived "completely Turkish" in their home. She mentioned how they lived as Turkish at home through watching Turkish TV channels and cooking Turkish food.

We cook Turkish food and live in like Turkish. We start our day watching news in Turkish for one hour. We live more like Turkish here than we would in Turkey. (Kadriye)

The perception that they had the responsibility of transmitting Turkish culture to their children in an environment dominated by other cultures seemed to increase their perceived parenting burden, hence their stress. They might also conclude that parenting would be much easier in Turkey. For example, Ayten expressed that it would be different in Turkey because her children would learn Turkish culture not only in the family, but outside as well.

If we were to live in Turkey, as we will be all speaking in Turkish, sharing Turkish culture, children would learn things at school. For instance, they learn in the mosque, from outside of home, friends and relatives. This would ease my duty around 90%. I would only be concerned about disciplining my child at home. But it is not like that here. (Ayten)

Fatma made a similar point by indicating that the environment outside the family would make their job much easier in Turkey, while the family was alone in America:

As I said, family tries to do everything. If you are worried (about your children), you have to put a lot of effort and strive. The environment in Turkey is already like that, so you don't have to put an extra effort. However, because the environment is different here, you have to put a lot of effort and labor. (Fatma)

She went on to explain that this burden was greater with adolescents than with young children. She explained at length that it was easier to raise young children in America thanks to

child friendly places such as libraries or the parks around. However, she was not that positive about the adolescent years.

A family can't teach everything to the child because the child has no support from the environment. How much your family environment can give? We eat, drink, behave, but the child doesn't experience everything. Okay, we were born in Turkey and do everything, but *the children's Turkey is their family*. How much can a family give? (Fatma)

Even though parents were involved in a deliberate endeavor of teaching Turkish culture at home, the parents realized that the gap between the ways they experience Turkish culture is different from the way their children perceive and experience it. These efforts of teaching culture might decrease as their children get older and become adolescents.

No, I have tried a lot when he was little like playing Turkish folk music or Turkish classical music. ... (He would respond) Mom, are we going to listen to this again, like turned it off we bored of this. We are tired, there is no other cassette and we have been listening the same thing over and over again. Then, I realized that there is no relevance between the music I listen and the music they listen. It means then that the culture is leading them towards this. (Zeynep)

Parents' perceptions of American culture as a threat had different everyday life implications and aspects. Turkish language, history, food and hygiene standards were the most salient features that parents mentioned these as aspects of Turkish culture which they perceived in conflict with American culture.

Transmitting Turkish language. One prominent concern of most parents was teaching Turkish language to their children properly. This seemed to be extremely important for most parents, who thought preserving Turkish language and communicating with their children in Turkish were essential to preserving Turkish culture. Forgetting Turkish language was regarded as part of losing one's culture in America. Parents could accept that their children could not read

Turkish as well as English, or they may accept that they could not write in Turkish. However, their children's ability to speak and understand Turkish was a priority for most parents.

It was important for the parents to teach Turkish to children at home. They indicated that speaking Turkish at home was not sufficient because the Turkish they spoke at home was "limited" and mostly "consisted of basic sentences such as 'sit down, stand up, eat, drink'" (Fatma). It is also upsetting for the parents to see Turkish people around who did not speak Turkish properly. Parents may hear or encounter Turkish people who do not speak any Turkish.

We sometimes hear some Turkish people who forgot even to speak Turkish. We don't want to be like that. We want to protect our own culture. (Şule)

Ayten also found it annoying to see that some Turkish parents talked to their children in English in their own homes. Ayten mentioned her observations of another Turkish family and said she explicitly talked to that family about the importance of preserving Turkish in their homes.

There are a lot of Turkish families, they speak English at home although both the mother and father are Turkish. One day I intervened and asked: "why are you speaking Turkish?". "Hımm, for this reason, that reason" but she did not give me a reasonable answer. I said "this child will learn English at school anyway, he doesn't need to learn from you." (She replied) "He should be able to speak English when he starts to school." (I said) "No, he will speak English very well anyway. Is it a problem if he doesn't speak English in his first year? Let him learn it in his second year, I don't care." I realized that they perceived English as a blessing. They don't like speaking Turkish. That is interesting, they seem to become estranged from being Turkish. (Ayten)

Almost all parents stressed the importance of communicating in Turkish with their children at home. Sinem regretted that she did not speak Turkish with their son at home and felt worried that her son tried to speak English with them at home.

It is important to speak language (Turkish) at home. If a child forgets his language, he forgets his country. *Language means country.* (Sinem)

It was very important for most parents to communicate with their children only in Turkish, as they believed their children would attain high level of English proficiency at schools anyway. When they experienced conflicts with their children over the language of their personal communications at home, parents felt upset. For instance, Sinem found it heartbreaking that when her son was younger, he wanted to listen to the stories from her in English. Sinem confronted her son harshly and insisted that she would continue to tell the stories in Turkish.

If he wants to read, he reads (in Turkish). But he usually doesn't. The sad part is, I have been telling him stories since he was four. Because he heard English at home, he tells me not to tell Turkish stories, but English ones. This bothers me. Several times, I told him that I was a Turkish mother and to find an American mother if he wanted (to hear English stories). I said "I am Turkish, I will speak Turkish" or "Talk to an American mother if you don't like (Sinem)

The children's limitations in understanding and speaking Turkish might lead to two basic communication issues: First, the children could not communicate with their extended families in Turkey well, both over the phone and during their visits back to Turkey. Parents were anxious that their children would have limited communication with the extended family members.

Although his son was able to speak Turkish, Aykut was still worried about his limitations in Turkish:

We don't want him to forget Turkish. For example, there are a few people in my family who can speak English. But in Zuhail's family, there aren't a lot of people who can speak English. So, if Sertaç cannot speak Turkish, he won't be able to talk to anyone in Zuhail's family. (Aykut)

Second, most Turkish parents watched Turkish TV channels and shows at home. Because their adolescent children did not comprehend Turkish as well as English, or because they did not have the basic understanding of the contextual knowledge to interpret the program content, they might not have understood or enjoyed the shows. This might bring to the surface that the adolescents might not have access to a whole cultural world to which their parents had access.

Consequently, the families might be deprived of a possible family activity that could do together, which was watching Turkish TV together.

He has some language problems. For example, when we watch a Turkish show with my husband, we snort. If he (Sertaç) sits with us, he doesn't understand and asks why we laugh. Because when we came here, Sertaç was 2.5 years old. He wasn't able to speak Turkish. (Zuhal)

Again, not all families have the same level of anxiety about Turkish language. Mine seemed quite comfortable about switching to English when she talked to her children when they did not grasp something in Turkish. As parents, they rarely spent time explaining Turkish expressions to their children.

To tell you the truth, we don't pay much attention to that. For example we don't speak Turkish with children at home. Because their English got better after they started to school and their Turkish regressed, we necessarily speak English. We sometimes spend time to speak Turkish and explain them what means what in Turkish. (Mine)

İpek, too, seemed quite relaxed about their language of communication at home. She indicated that they communicated in English most of the time. It seems that parents differ in their level of worries about teaching Turkish to their children, although almost all of them perceived this as a crucial aspect of protecting Turkish culture.

Aykut's wife, Zuhal, did not have active community support while raising her son. She was also active in transmitting Turkish culture and language to their son on her own and said she recently started to teach her son how to write in Turkish.

One bookcase of Sertaç is full of English books and the other one is full of Turkish books. I am working on this slowly. People say he should read in Turkish, but I don't want to force my child. I am training him slowly on this issue as well. A few days ago, I gave him a pen and a paper, then asked him to make a shopping list in Turkish. I asked him to write potatoes, tomatoes in Turkish. (Zuhal)

Fatma, who had lived in an area without a Turkish cultural center, told me how she taught Turkish to her children on her own when they were younger through games. They also came together with other Turkish friends and organized activities.

We were trying to teach them Quran, history, geography on our own. Each mother taught one of these, things about our religion or culture, like folklore dances. We used to practice these dances first, then ask the tailor to prepare traditional folklore clothes for us. We did everything on our own. (Fatma)

Teaching Turkish history. For the parents, teaching Turkish history was also part of teaching Turkish culture to their children. This did not seem surprising to me because I know by personal experience that as first generation immigrants, Turkish parents were subject to an intense education on Turkish history by the national education system during their primary, secondary and high school education years in Turkey. This education includes both Ottoman and modern Turkish republic's histories. Parents felt the responsibility to teach this history to their children and regretted that they could not do this properly.

About history, I want to buy English history books. I mean novels on Turkish history. (İpek)

My son doesn't know enough about Turkish history. I should sit down and help him study, but it is hard to do this as parents. (Derya)

They were concerned that their children learned American history, but not Turkish history at school. It was especially a concern for some parents to teach about Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish republic, to their children.

I tell him a little bit about Turkish history like 'this happened, that happened, our country was established by Atatürk' like this. (Derya)

While raising children in America, I want my child to learn Turkish customs and traditions. We taught him Atatürk and Independence march of Turkey. I want him to learn these, although he is learning American history now. His Turkish isn't that good, so I bought him English books on Turkish history." He read them. (Aykut)

Turkish food. Some parents were concerned that their children are attracted to American food culture, which they mostly associate with fast food or processed food, which they view as unhealthy. For example, Zehra said:

Even though you try to teach her Turkish culture, things outside attract her. For example Subway, foods, having breakfast outside... We don't eat out often as a family, but they want. (Zehra)

Aykut was uncomfortable that American families around them did not cook at home and their son was influenced by their eating habits. The parents' concerns about food were also related to hygiene or the diet regulations of Islam. Islam bans pork and Aykut did not trust the meat the restaurants served.

The drawbacks are, I mean American families around us never cook at home, but eat outside. So, Sertac wants to eat out all the time. He wants to go to Starbucks with them. Or let's say, he wants to go to McDonald's. And if possible, I don't want my child to go McDonald's or Starbucks. First, due to poor hygiene, second, I don't know how to tell, I don't trust their food. I am against his eating pork. (Aykut)

According to Aykut, it was impossible to isolate the child from American food culture. In the end, his son would eat like "American children." Eating like American children was undesirable for him as a parent, but he knew he could not be able to fully resist his son's demands. As such, he perceived this as a departure from Turkish culture.

But I can't prevent fully. In the end, we, too, go to MacDonalds, to Starbucks, and we have to do whatever American children do. But not everyday, just from time to time. (Aykut)

Parents could sometimes find a middle way and changed the ways they cooked Turkish food and added elements from other cultures' cuisine to make it attractive to their children. For example, Zeynep transformed her cooking habits in that she "Americanized" Turkish food to make it appealing to her children.

If you ask about food culture, we cook Turkish food at home, but I realize that I cook in American style. What is that? A piece of meat, a little salad, a little cauliflower... They don't eat stuffed eggplant or okra. If I sometimes cook those, they don't eat. I present them vegetables in a different style, not in the way we eat them in Turkey. (Zeynep)

Hygiene standards. Some parents perceived a difference between the hygiene standards in Turkish culture and the standards in American culture. One parent, Ayten, put a special emphasis on hygiene issues. She did not approve of the hygiene standards at her son's school. For example, it was wrong to place a backpack on the ground. She did not enjoy at all that her child's bag and clothes were in dust and mud most of the time, because they placed their coat and bag on the ground outside. She had a hard time because of the differences between the hygiene standards outside and at home.

Their understanding of hygiene is very different. A very simple example, my child takes his back pack, goes to school. When he comes back, the back pack is horribly muddy and dusty. They place them in the lockers but the lockers are dusty as well. They have such a culture. (Ayten)

The hygiene standards sometimes had religious rationales. Ayten had taught her son not to put his lunch bag on the ground, but when his lunch bag was dirty and dusty, she realized that he was doing it at school.⁶ After realizing that putting the lunchbag on the ground was a common practice at school, she reluctantly accepted that her son would do the same at school. However, she suggested that he not do the same thing at "Turkish school," which her son attended at one of the Turkish cultural centers.

He throws his lunch bag down. (I say) 'My dear, you should't throw it like that, there is food in it. Put it in your backpack.' See, the simplest example of cultural differences. He sees his friend placing his lunch bag on the ground and he does the same. Or his teacher tells him to do so. (My son may say) 'But sir, my mom told me not to put it on the ground'. You see? This is a challenge for me. (I tell him): 'Because your teacher tells you to do so at school, you can place it on the ground. But when we go to Turkish Sunday

⁶ It is a common practice in Turkey not to place food on the ground in case someone would mistakenly step on it and for religious reasons.

school, lets not place it on the ground please.' I teach him the right way. Or when my son comes home, he doesn't throw it down. (Ayten)

For Ayten, preserving Turkish hygiene standards was an important aspect of preserving Turkish culture.

Concerns about the future. Some parents' culture related concerns found expressions in their worries about the future. One of the worries was the possibility that their children could leave home by the time they reach age 18, because Turkish adolescents usually do not leave their parents' homes by age 18 unless it is absolutely necessary for their education or job. Parents think this is a common practice for American adolescents to leave home at age 18 and perceive this practice a threat to Turkish family values. Ayten described this as "breaking off" with the family.

First and foremost, I am afraid that he will be disconnected from his family. Now, it is also becoming the same in Turkey as well, when they gain economic independence, they can rent a separate house for themselves. What happens in our culture is that until getting married, children stay with their parents. After then, they establish their own household and start living separately. Nowadays, the children are working, they have independence and they are strong and they have power and money as well. They can afford renting their own apartment. Thus, my fear is the separation of my child from the family. I mean, at least until getting married he should stay with us. (Ayten)

Zuhal also has the similar concern and perceives it as "kicking the child out."

I don't want my child to leave home at the age of 18 and start living somewhere else. Because I want him to stay with me. Until he can establish his own thing. But the families here are kicking out their children after the age of 18. (Zuhal)

Another area of concern is the adolescent's future marriage. All parents think about their children's future spouse choice, his/her culture and/or religion. A wrong spouse choice may also mean losing the child in America. Zuhal was telling me the story of a woman who "lost" her children in America. When I asked her what exactly she meant, part of the story was that two

sons of the woman had got married to white American women. She attributed the reason for their divorces to the cultural differences between those American women and Turkish children.

She had told me and she would always talk about it. She had three sons and of these three two of them married American girls and both of them divorced. Why? We always talk about this with her. Because, they looked for what they saw in your mothers and sisters. And because none of the American girls are raised like the Turkish girls. Because they could not find what they saw with the mothers and sisters both of them got divorced. (Zuhal)

As these examples show, parents' concerns were not limited to this day, but they also thought about their future lives. They thought that living in the context of American culture and the possibility that their children would adapt American life style could affect their future parenting.

Fear of losing culture and culture-religion relationship. For some parents, Islam played a pivotal role in determining how concerned they felt about “losing culture” and how flexible they were about their children’s adaptation to American society. In other words, parents’ perception of the relationship between Turkish culture and Islam had a pivotal influence on their parenting decisions and strategies vis-à-vis cultural issues. For these parents, their construction of “desirable” components and “undesirable” components of American culture were largely determined by religious criteria.

Some parents perceived Turkish culture and Islam as almost inseparable. Hence, for these parents, giving up Turkish culture could mean giving up Islamic values and practices. For example, Şule said they did not want their children to adopt American culture, although they liked America and defined their children as Turkish American. She thought American culture was different not only from her own culture and moral values, but also from her beliefs.

In terms of *morals*, we don't want to adopt American culture fully. We like America, we always tell them they are Turkish American, because Şükran was born in America. Although Sümeyye wasn't born here, she grew up here. But because American culture is different from our *culture and belief*, we don't want to adopt it. We want them to grow up with Turkish culture. (Şule)

Zehra, Şule, and Fatma, who largely considered Turkish culture and Islam inseparable or entwined, felt more stressed about their children's cultural choices or were more proactive in affecting their children's experiences. Because, for them, giving up some aspects of Turkish culture might have meant giving up Islam as well.

Another mother, Sinem, thought that culture and religion were separate. However, she also believed culture and religion should have been taught to children at the same time. Sinem made the following suggestions to other parents:

Let them send their children to a school with religious component. Not an Islamic school, but a weekend school that teaches religion and culture. This is for Turkish. Chinese people do this. I have Chinese friends whose children go to Sunday schools of churches to learn Chinese and religion. It is important that they learn religion and culture at the same time. If they learn solely religion, children may feel confused after adolescence. If we are not careful, they may go to extremes. (Sinem)

Sinem's stress stemmed not from seeing Islam and Turkish as inseparable, but her inability to teach her son Islam.

Some other parents who also had religious concerns (Zeynep and Kadriye) were feeling less stressful about their children's cultural choices because they differentiated Islam and Turkish culture to a great extent. For example, according to Zeynep, if a value or practice that is Turkish culture has nothing to do with Islam, it can be abandoned or altered. Zeynep thought her children would not be influenced in a bad way from American culture unless what they do is against Islam. She differentiated Islam and Turkish culture and asserted that some cultural practices could be abandoned with the condition that core Islamic beliefs will always stay.

We don't want to connect everything to culture *because one can give up culture at some point*, or can find a middle point. We don't want them to become fully nationalist people or people who live with their past. We want them to give their good values to society and receive from society. *As long as it is not against our religion, I don't think they will be affected from the culture we live in in a negative way.* I believe they will overcome the difficulties with their strong characters. (Zeynep)

She was supportive of her children's integration to American society as long as they did not forget their "real" selves or did not depart from their religion. She indicated that her children could reciprocally both take from American society and contribute to it.

There is nothing wrong with adapting to this society as long as they don't forget their *real selves* or compromise their religion. I mean I perceive their giving and taking transaction in a positive way. (Zeynep)

Zeynep gave the example of Halloween and said it was acceptable for her because it did not have an explicit religious meaning unlike Christmas which was a religious event. Hence, what is religious and what is cultural is a distinction criterion for her.

For example, we celebrated Halloween yesterday. This is a very important event for this society. Although this is related to the witches or things like that, the underlying motive is to wear costumes or collecting treats. My children are 14-15 years old now, but they still want to wear costumes and go to school. I am not against this. (Zeynep)

When Zeynep talked about her choices and evaluations about what they should have preserved and what they could give up, she implied that she had talked about these issues with other Turkish parents before.

Zeynep, as a parent, seemed okay with her two adolescent sons' integration into American society. She was happy with her children's adaptation to American society and defined their children's identity as "Turkish American." She was happy that her sons integrated Turkish and American cultures peacefully and there were not two different cultures for them anymore.

When they were little they used to be approaching Turkey with more nationalistically, like the flag etc., they now feel more American as they grow up. When they are asked,

they are saying I am Turkish American. I mean, I don't think they have lost these kind of things. You know, they uphold their values and love (them), but on the other hand they see themselves from (the perspective of) this culture and as part of this culture. They see themselves as part of the Turkish culture as well but, how should I say, like there is no separation, both of them are together. You grow up with them, regardless of you want it or not. You grow up but at the end you are American. You live like them in general. (Zeynep)

Kadriye, too, uses religious values to differentiate what her children can take from America. She thought Americans also “lost” their children due to social maladies and believed that American parents, especially religious ones, had similarities with herself as a parent. In her definition of American culture, the negative factors which give way to the fear of losing the child are not intrinsic parts of the “American culture”.

There are beautiful things you can take from the culture, the American culture. I mean, I don't see it like with adversity. Because, these people too lost their children and they are feeling the pain of this. I mean never, they never want this to be like this, it “doesn't matter” [sic] whether they are Christian, Catholic, or Orthodox. When you look at a family, they too, like us, want their children to be good, they want it like we want it. I mean, self-confident, not doing mistakes etc.. When we look at education, everybody wants the same. It is not only religious, even when we look at it culturally, there is no difference between us like the Jews here, the Americans or the Turkish. Therefore, I am fearing too much that my child will be American. Because this, the negative things mentioned, *they are not in the American culture*. Already, we are trying to give good morals so that they don't take these things. (Kadriye)

For her, the factors such as “drinking alcohol, leaving parents' home at the age of 18 or having boyfriends” are threatening for all parents including Americans, or Jews, and not peculiar to Turks. Kadriye did not regard the commonly mentioned negatives as intrinsic components of American culture and rather defined American culture in positive terms.

The aspects of the American culture, which people mention as negative, such as leaving home at age 18, alcohol abuse, or having boyfriends, these risks exist everywhere. (Kadriye)

Kadriye also said she was quite comfortable about some practices which were commonly regarded as outside of Turkish culture.

For example, “ice skating,” my kids went to ice skating for two seasons. Because, I mean, these things were not in Turkish culture. I mean now, if we have time and when we say take your skates and let’s go skating, they are able to skate. I mean, this gives them some confidence and ice skating is among the very few sports those who cover their head can do because it is 48 degrees and cold inside and everybody are already covering themselves. (Kadriye)

She deliberately emphasized the degree inside the place where her daughter did ice skating, because as parents, she and her husband want their children to obey to Islamic clothing norms. It is a common practice of Muslim adolescent girls to wear hijab by the time they reach puberty and Kadriye’s daughter did so. Kadriye preferred ice skating because her daughter could cover herself without gaining any attention because the place was cold and everybody was covered to some extent. In this example, Kadriye and her husband encouraged their daughter to practice sports that were often regarded as non-Turkish and not encouraged by other Turkish parents. They did not see any problems with ice skating because it was not against Islamic norms in any sense. Conforming to Islamic dress codes was their foremost concern, and their daughter was able to cover her body while ice skating. Therefore, Kadriye defined iceskating as an acceptable sports activity for their daughter.

Kadriye explicitly indicated that American culture had aspects they wanted their daughter to adopt. She highlighted two positive aspects, honesty and geniality of Americans, what she wanted her daughter to practice.

But if she is going to take, I don’t know, let her take smiling which I think is more common here than it is in Turkey. If she will take, let her take honesty which is more common here than. She can take that. (Kadriye)

This does not mean that all parents had the same judgement criteria. İpek was a parent who wanted to raise her 12-year-old son based on Turkish culture and values. She put forward that she wanted her child “to grow up as a Turk, to know his real identity and not to forget.”

I mean, yes, I want him to be raised as a Turk, I mean I want him to know his identity, I don't want him to forget. (İpek)

However, it was obvious in our interview that she was not experiencing culture related stress as much as some other parents. When I asked her if they were in any effort to teach Turkish culture to their son, she said they were not doing much. When I visited her home for the interview, it was Christmas time and they had a little fancy Christmas tree in their home. For İpek, Islam and religious practices were not a criterion to decide what to adopt and what not to adopt from American culture. She said that they were not practicing anything that being a Muslim required.

At the end we are Muslims, but we are not fulfilling its requirements, I mean only our name is like that. (İpek)

Indeed she did not even talk about a serious concern about her child's adopting American culture.

In order to understand how parents relate to Turkish culture, we need to grasp how parents construct culture-religion relationships. When the parent has a fear that her child might lose Islam when s/he loses culture, this may cause stress. In other words, as parents perceived Islam and Turkish culture as inseparable, their concerns about their children's getting Americanized increased. However, when they partly separated Turkish culture and Islam, and when their priority was their children's preservation of Islamic values even when they adopted some aspects of American culture, parents seemed to be more comfortable. The parents who did not ascribe a crucial Islamic component to Turkish culture, such as İpek, seemed to be more relaxed in terms of whether their children would "lose" Turkish culture or not.

2) Religion related parental concerns

I met Zeynep and her 17 year-old son at the Turkish cultural center on a weekend. I had already interviewed Zeynep a few weeks ago and it was her son's turn that day. While we were waiting for her son, Zeynep and I briefly talked about how my study was going. Because I had already interviewed her, she was familiar with the topic and started to tell me how difficult it was to raise adolescent children in America. She said they had recently been experiencing conflicts and they had to talk about evolution theory at length. She was uncomfortable that evolution theory was taught as the ultimate truth in school and concerned their children's Islamic beliefs could be in danger. To counteract the school's teachings, she and her husband found explanations of other scientists who were against evolution theory and showed them to their children. They were uncomfortable that children were receiving conflicting messages from home and school about creation.

Zeynep's family was not the only one having concerns based on religion and morality. Living as a Muslim immigrant had important meso level implications with influences on parent-child relationships. In this instance, the messages her children were getting from school were disturbing for Zeynep and her spouse. I had the opportunity of getting some in depth details of this kind of conflict from parents, who were straightforward with me about these issues not only because I was a parent as well, but probably also because I was wearing a headscarf declaring my pious stance as a Muslim.

It was not only evolution theory parents thought was a challenge to the values and beliefs they were trying to teach their children. Parents thought the messages their children receive from outside, especially from school, might conflict with their religious values. Islamic clothing

was one such issue and Islamic clothing standards may lead to mild to severe conflicts within families. Zehra was one of the mothers who was sensitive about practicing Islam and teaching the tenets of religion to her children. Her main concern was the danger that her children could “get away from an Islamic life style and become too worldly oriented.” (Zehra).

Fatma also expressed clothing related conflicts. She did not want her son to wear shorts, which she perceived as improper clothing according to Islamic standards. According to Fatma, part of the difficulty stemmed from the fact that children did not see similar role models around. Both Fatma and Zehra thought because their children did not see similar religious practices outside of the home, parents had a hard time teaching religious responsibilities to their children.

Similar to what parents felt about the additional burden of teaching Turkish culture in American context, parents also complained about the difficulties of teaching Islam without enough support from the outside systems. Sinem and Ayten expressed their discomfort about the lack of religious education at school and asserted that their task would become easier if their children received religious values from school. Ayten complained about having too much burden as a parent and said her duties would be much easier if her son received at least technical education on Islamic practices. For her, it was getting harder to teach her son as he reached adolescence.

When the child reaches puberty, things get harder especially during school days. Because schools don't give religious education, only we, as mother and father, talk about religion at home. I think we give inadequate information and sometimes make technical mistakes. I wish they had it at school. Children would see the application of religion to everyday life because the teacher would explain and the child's knowledge would be strengthened. What we teach at home is not very effective. By puberty, everything changes. The child receives if he likes or doesn't receive if he doesn't like. Our job gets harder. (Ayten)

Sinem agreed with Ayten on the necessity of religious education, but her concerns differed. Sinem associated religious education with global values and situated it against a

“capitalist education.” In addition, she did not limit religion to Islam. She put forward that there were some universal values in religion.

It is hard to raise an adolescent child in America. Because there isn't much cultural and religious education, so there are problems with children's belief system. The system teaches the child to obey the rules. But these are *American rules, not universal rules*. When children learn religion and morals, they learn universal rules and have certain ethics such as respecting human life or not wasting your extra food. We learned these in our religious classes and in our culture. They don't have these in American culture. In universal culture, religion universally includes (values such as) not wasting, respecting your neighbor, not being full when someone else is hungry, respect, friendship, the importance of helping others... Because we don't have these here, they train children with a pure *capitalist education*. (Sinem)

Another challenge parents reported was related to fasting during the Ramadan month.

Ayten thought it was not easy for her children to live with “people who did not share the same religion,” primarily because the environment did not ease basic Islamic duties. When the fasting month Ramadan came, she asked her son to fast because she thought he was responsible for fasting as an adolescent. However, they experienced stress as a family because fasting affected her son's daily life. He was participating in sports activities during the fasting month and they had to have conversations as a family about it. Ayten felt distressed because she believed her son was responsible for his religious duties since he entered puberty, but was unable to fulfill that duty. When I asked her how her adolescent son's life was affected by Islamic responsibilities, she explained:

This is affecting the daily activities of the child, it is affecting the daily life, his school life. Let me give an example I lived first hand. My son had to exercise at school, so we asked him not to fast for four or five days. His father didn't want him to fast. My mother told me not to send my son to school for sports. His father had registered him without taking Ramadan into account. The fasting month is August, what will we do now? He will go today, will run, and get thirsty. He will spit cotton and will dehydrate. If I don't send him, I will feel guilty. What should we do? We told him not to fast and make up for the days he would miss later. Or one of his friends may say: “Let's go to this place and don't fast today, okay?” Here you go! One by one, the child is getting used to this. I don't think at all that we would have these issues if we were in Turkey. Because his friends

would be fasting, too. We would be fasting along with many other people around. Also, he would be waiting for the call of azan (in Ramadan for breaking the fast) in a good and blessed mood, I think. (Ayten)

Ayten mainly had issues with her husband about her son's fasting, but not with her son, who was willing to fast.

Despite difficulties felt by the parents for living in a predominantly non-Muslim environment, the parents had a general appreciation of the respect towards religious choices in America. They appreciated the diversity of American schools and that other children and teachers were usually respectful to their children's Muslim identity.

When I said 'This is our truth, I want to do this,' I have always been respected in public schools. For example, we don't celebrate Christmas. Even when they will take a picture, they ask us if we give consent. You are always respected if you do something due to your religion. I liked this. (Fatma)

Fatma felt really happy for the respect her daughter received at her high school and that the school's principal asked her if she needed a space for her prayers.

Her school is big and she is the only Turkish girl. But thank God, she was always respected. She was the only one with hijab. One day, the principal asked her if she needed a space for her prayer times during the day and offered his own room. He gave her the right to choose an appropriate space. (Fatma)

Şule's daughter had to make arrangements for their prayer times, too. When they asked their school for a praying space, the school showed them the gym. However, her daughters did not want to pray in the gym because the gym was open to public.

It was open to public, so they didn't want to pray there. People move in and out, they have programs. She doesn't want that, so she is making some changes in her prayer times now. (Şule)

Some parents expected their children to display their Muslim identity comfortably in public and felt uncomfortable when their children were reluctant to do so. For example, Ayten complained that her son was not comfortable enough at school about his religious identity and

wished he would be more assertive. Comparing her son to American children, she wanted him to:

...explicitly say who and what he is. Let him not feel shy or withdraw himself. The other children comfortably say when they go to church and tell what they do there. You can share that you go to mosque, you fast, or you pray. Say this comfortably. Never feel inferior. Why would you ever feel (inferior), why? (Ayten)

Parents did not only try to deal with this as a stigma, but they tried to reverse it, too, primarily through expecting their children to represent ‘good’ Muslims. For example, Çiğdem suggested her son teach his friends about Islam without engaging in arguments and to behave in a way to alter Muslims’ image in minds.

They sometimes have religious studies or world cultures kind of classes. For example, when they have discussions about Christians, Turks, Muslims, or different religions, you should be able to talk comfortable and defend, because you know these, you know your boundaries. One of your friends might have received wrong information. You can inform them, but don’t argue with them. Because when you practice (your religion in the good way), people will see and say “Hımm, Muslims are like this.” (Çiğdem)

Zehra, too, expected her children to represent Muslims. She pointed out that they should present “a clean and well-groomed Muslim image” in public because Muslims had been “humiliated for their poor hygiene and lack of education” (Zehra).

Şule indicated that her daughters’ friendships could serve to reverse the negative Muslim image. To that end, she wanted her daughters to have American friends, who had not known Muslims in person before.

I always tell my daughters to become friends with American girls, invite them to home, let them see Muslim people. This is good for our relationships. (They say) ‘Mom, we can’t invite them to home this quick.’ Then I say: ‘Do whatever is appropriate.’ I want them to get to know each other with American girls. (Şule)

Some parents had a hope that their children would reach Americans easier than they could do with the purpose of conveying the message of Islam to them. For example, Zehra

wished that her children would not lose their “Islamic qualities” and tell people about Islam. She thinks that it will be easier for her children to do this because they are raised in America:

If we will stay here, which seems to be the case, I want her to stay as a practicing Muslim and tell others about it. Different from us, they grew up here, studied here, and will probably work here. Well, it may be easier for them to reach Americans once they are in work life. Because they grew up here, they know people better. (Zehra)

In the present context, parents had concerns about raising Muslim adolescent children in America. Yet, some of them also had hopes based on the expectations they had from their children. These expectations were sometimes part of the mission of representing “good Muslims” in America and this perception of mission relieved parents’ burden and stress to some extent.

Concerns about the “Muslim Terrorist” image. One of the biggest challenges of the parents regarding Islam was the Muslim terrorist image in society. Almost all parents, regardless of how much they practiced Islam, mentioned that they had to talk about the association of Muslims with terrorists at some point, because their children heard about it either at school or from the media starting from their early childhood years onward. Çiğdem had recently had a conversation with her son, who felt sad that the media had blamed Muslims immediately after an attack in Australia.

Well, he sometimes asks why people say this to Muslims. For example, someone took hostage a cafe in Australia recently. When he saw Arabs (in the news), even before reading the news content, he immediately said ‘Look mom, they talk about Muslims again.’ I am sure he is aware of everything. He knows. (Çiğdem)

Zuhal’s family had been quite assertive about their son’s rights and struggling with religion-based discrimination. Once, their son’s teacher did not correct a student who made an offensive comment about Muslims in class. Zuhal and her husband thought the teacher had to correct the student and say “You should not think this way, you cannot know this, no one can

know this.” (Zuhal). So, they went to school and complained about the teacher. Still, Zuhal was upset that the teacher’s silence in the face of the student’s anti-Muslim comments had a negative influence on their son. After this event, Zuhal had to have a difficult and upsetting conversation with her son:

After that day, my son said ‘Mom, I don’t want to be Muslim. I want to be an atheist.’ This is so painful. My heart broke, my heart really broke. I said: ‘My dear, you are so young to make that decision now. No one can force you.’ I never put pressure on my son. Because he is already between two things (cultures, religions) here. I said: ‘If you decide on what you want to do, we will respect and support you. I never put pressure on you. I never force you to do this, to go to mosque, to pray five times a day. You are a smart child and God gave us a brain and the capacity to think. Every human being finds the truth some way.’ He said ‘Okay mom.’ And we never talked about religion since that day. (Zuhal)

While her husband indicated that their son did not have a serious problem related to Muslim identity, Zuhal still thought their son was “between two cultures and two religions, although he seemed not to care” (Zuhal). Sinem, too, shared her son’s challenges with being a Muslim in American society. For her, her son was uncomfortable with his religious identity and felt that he could possibly be discriminated against if others learned it.

Although my child looks like American, in some places, he is isolated from the society for being Muslim. In where we live now, there aren’t a lot of Muslims. So, several times, my son came home and said: ‘Mom, that teacher doesn’t like me because he knows I am Muslim.’ There are two other Muslims in his class and their grades are not high. My son thought this was because the teacher did not like Muslims and gave them low grades. He said: “So, I am scared to tell I am Muslim.” (Sinem)

When I asked her if her son had a specific instance of discrimination, she indicated that he was hiding his religious identity and country of origin because of witnessing discrimination against others. Similarly, Fatma indicated that her children sometimes had to hide their Muslim identities and this reinforced their feelings of being an outsider in American society.

You are always a stranger, even though born and raised here, *our children are strangers*. They are entirely within a system with rules and norms like an American, but you can feel differences in how they are perceived in society. You could feel that they are looked at differently. We can feel uncomfortable with our culture or our being Muslims in the society we live in. We may feel this need to conceal (ourselves). This, for instance, is difficult for me. Were I in my own (home) country, I would not feel the same thing. (Fatma)

Fatma indicated that she, as a parent, and her adolescent children sometimes felt like outsiders in America. In our interview, she also acknowledged that Americans were often respectful to their culture and religion. Despite this perceived respect, she still put forward that her family sometimes felt uncomfortable due to their culture and religion. She expressed that her children were still “foreign” although they were born in America. Moreover, they sometimes felt the need to hide their religion and culture despite the general respect towards differences in American society. She found this challenging and added that she would not feel this way if she was in Turkey.

To sum, it can be concluded that religious concerns and experiences of religious discrimination can be a serious cause of stress for Turkish parents. When parents do not have a concern of teaching Islam to their children or controlling their religious practices, they seem to feel more relaxed. Two factors seem to comfort parents with religious concerns: (1) having the opportunities to teach Islam to their children and having the hopes that they could represent good Muslims in a predominantly non-Muslim and Islamophobic environment, and (2) differentiating Turkish culture and Islam, hence encouraging adolescents to adopt “good sides” of American culture.

3) Other concerns about the micro environment

Parental worries around the adolescents' micro environment revolve around their friends and possible effects of friends on their lives. First of all, parents were afraid their children would want to imitate their American friends' life styles. For example, Mine said:

To what extent can one make friends with Americans? Willingly or unwillingly, she may want to imitate them if she continually makes friends with Americans. (Mine)

When I asked her what her worries were mainly about, she mentioned dating:

For example, boyfriend issues. Dating from very early years onwards, going far... We avoid even to verbalize these. We don't have this in our culture. We are scared of this kind of things, scared that she will be engrossed in this kind of things. These are the difficulties. But probably things changed in Turkey too. It is difficult there too. (Mine)

Mehtap and her husband, who had sent her daughter to Turkey to study for a semester because of their concerns, also mentioned that their biggest concern was her daughter's friends. When she was at middle school, they realized that their daughter had become "too close with friends from different lives" (Mehtap). When I asked what she meant by different lives, she gave me examples:

I mean they live more comfortably. She (American girls) goes to malls or *does makeup*. She is in middle school, but has *boyfriend*, her mother's boyfriend comes and picks her up from school... Or they comfortably *curse* during their daily conversations. Those children would come to our home. They spend time (with my daughter) in the room, we don't know what they talk, you later realize that they curse during the conversations. *My daughter started to adopt that teenager culture. This made us a little bit anxious.* (Mehtap)

They were concerned that their daughter was adopting her American friends' teenager culture and their prominent concerns were boyfriend issues and cursing.

Şule and Zeynep were other parents who did not want their children to have a boyfriend/girlfriend due to religious reasons. According to them, having a girlfriend/boyfriend and being engaged in sexual relationships were unacceptable before marriage.

In American culture there is such a thing. For example, because it is against our beliefs, we are against dating. (Our children may find themselves in) such a group that dating may become normal. But in Turkish culture, we don't have this. Or drugs. I mean these are possibilities everywhere, but we tried to keep their friendship circles clean. (Şule)

Zeynep realized that her children were subject to questions at school about dating. She had realized that her sons were not “sharing everything with her anymore.” This was an important transition for Zeynep, because she said her sons would share almost everything with her when they were young children. Zeynep was feeling that she was losing her credibility in the eyes of her adolescent sons day by day because her sons were getting older and “making their decisions by talking to one another.” Hence, it was getting harder to make comments on their choices anymore. She said she had witnessed their conversations with one another about dating and learned that their friends were asking them why they did not have a girlfriend. Zeynep felt uncomfortable that one of her sons was suggesting the other lie and say “I have one.” She indicated that she felt the need to step in and wanted them to declare that it was due to their religion:

I said ‘You find yourself lying. You don't need to lie. You can explain that you do this because of your religion. Then, he (his son's friend) won't bother you. Because when you tell them (you have girlfriend), they may want to see her picture.’ He said he could show them a random picture. I replied: ‘Look, lies will bring new lies. You will need to tell another lie. He may want to meet your girlfriend, you will need to lie continually and when he catches your lie one day, he won't trust you anymore. You don't have to lie. I don't know, they may make fun of you. But I don't think your friend will care if he really likes you. Because Christians have the same value. You don't have to have a relationship before marriage.’ But I could not convince one of my sons. (Zeynep)

Zeynep was aware that her sons were having a hard time explaining their choices to their friends and tried to teach them assertiveness to comfortably talk about these choices. She herself had similar experiences as well. When one of her American friends wondered if her sons had girlfriends, she had difficulty explaining.

It is difficult to explain this to Americans, to people who are not from our culture. One of my colleagues very comfortable asked me if my sons had girlfriends. Because this is very natural (to her). I said “No. We don’t have relationships before marriage. I mean they will make their own choices, but this is what I teach them.” She threw me strange looks. She seemed to mean “You are not in your own environment, your own country anymore. It is very normal to do this here.” Without going into the details, I explained her that we did not have relationship before marriage in our religion and that my sons could talk to girls at school as usual friends but they were supposed not to date. I also added that it was their choice in the end but God willing, my sons would continue their lives with good marriages. (Zeynep)

Fatma also had a negative stance toward her children’s dating for religious reasons. She did not want her children to participate in sexual education either, because he thought this would remind them of the possibilities.

For example, dating is unacceptable for us and especially in our religion. But here they have sexuality education in fifth grade here, on how healthy girl-boy relationship should be. They asked for our consent and we said we did not want. For us, this is wrong. This is reminding the child of something he did not even have in his mind⁷. (Fatma)

Mine, Mehtap, Şule, Zeynep, and Fatma were strict about their boundaries about dating. For these parents, it was impossible to tolerate their children’s dating, not only due to the fears of an unwanted baby, but primarily due to religious restrictions: dating before marriage was wrong in Islam.

Some other parents were more accepting of dating, but their dating and sexuality related concerns and boundaries varied. For some parents, an unwanted pregnancy and its consequences

⁷ Here, she used the Turkish idiom: “Reminding the donkey of the watermelon” (*Eşeğin aklına karpuz kabuğu düşürmek*).

for the child's future were the biggest concerns. Some others were against dating, but realized that putting pressure on the adolescent would lead to reactive adolescent behaviors. For example, Çiğdem preferred that her 17-year old son not have a girlfriend. On the other hand, she had the perception that dating was "normal in American culture," although she thought it was "also the case in Turkey anymore." (Çiğdem). She asserted that in America, this was "explicitly imposed" even in cartoons. As a strategy, she tried not to be oppressive, not to trigger reactions, and be open as much as possible:

Because this is so normalized, I know that they will react if I ban dating for them. So, I prefer to be open about it. (I ask him) if he has a girlfriend, if he sees her. He didn't have one till now, or this is what I know. Alhamdulillah, we didn't have issues upto now and I think we won't have problems from now on, inshallah. (Çiğdem)

Some of the mothers wanted their sons to have girlfriends. Derya defined herself as "civilized" for being accepting about her son's relationships with girls. She observed that her son was always hanging out with boys and was shy about inviting girls to their activities:

I am a civilized person. For example, when my son goes to movies, (I say) 'Invite your female friends too. Spend time together, boy and girl.' I mean I don't force him to go with girls, but I also encourage. They prefer to be man-to-man, they meet man-to-man and I encourage him to invite girls. He seems to be indecisive and shy. (Derya)

Similarly, Sinem, who was already concerned about her child's isolation from society for being Muslim, was also distressed that her son could be isolated for not being able to establish healthy relationships with girls. She gave the example of an event she heard in the news: a male adolescent had murdered someone. She thought the reason was the adolescent's "isolation" and "lacking a girlfriend" (Sinem). On the other hand, she also feared that her son could have sexual experiences too early, especially during the summer months when he was out of school. For her, summer camps could present solutions to regulate and structure his life in the summer, but they

were too expensive. She perceived this as a problem, because she thought her son would have no structured activities in his life, have his freetime with girls, and could explore his sexuality.

Between 12 and 16, he will go into puberty and will feel his manhood. Here, girls are indecent and sexuality will come into the picture. Hormones will come into play. In this period, I can't be with my son enough because his friends start to influence him more. So, I have fears. I don't want to stay here. I am especially afraid of summers. (Sinem)

Sinem was not the only mother who was concerned about early exploration of sexuality.

While Derya encouraged her son to have girlfriends to spend time with or she was accepting dating, she was uncomfortable with the comfort level of the teenagers.

I don't know what it is like in Turkey, but here, youth is much looser here. They are looser and have adult like behaviors. Especially girls are looser and I feel scared of this. Frankly, I am on top of him (my son). Let him not get mature too quickly, be too engrossed in girlfriends, not make mistakes, not have wrong friends. Because you don't know her, you don't know her parents, a very different environment. There are many children who grow up lonely here. I mean after middle school, parents may say 'This is your life.' You want to know how the other child grew up before your child becomes friend with him or her. I think I have fears: will he have wrong friends, will he do something to prove that he grew up? (Derya)

She was scared because her son was not knowledgeable enough because he was too young and inexperienced, which made him susceptible to mistakes. As a solution, she also preferred open communication, because she witnessed that his son's friends were sharing their sexual experiences openly. She was scared that he could imitate them.

Sometimes I hear that his friends started to experience things (means sexuality) and they share (these experiences) as if it is good. I wanted him to know that having this does not prove your adolescence. We talked about this for the first time a few days ago. I found it hard to talk, but we had to talk. I learned that one of his friends showed off saying he was getting drugs and doing everything with his girlfriend. (Derya)

Zuhal had similar fears. She was concerned about the possible devastating future consequences of an early sexual relationship. Therefore, she endeavored to inform her son about sexuality and birth control to prevent an unwanted pregnancy.

I am afraid my son may have a girlfriend in early ages and have a child. This will become a huge problem. Because these people are loose. I am trying to protect my son from this. Of course he will have a private life, but he needs to know how to protect himself. And I am training my son about this. He is searching on the Internet too. Let him not make a mistake and not to ruin his education. (Zuhal)

Along with sexuality related concerns, the parents were concerned about drugs, which they thought would be introduced to their children in their friendship circles. When Zuhal told me about what it is like to have an adolescent child in America, in reference to another Turkish friend of hers, she said:

It is hard, very hard. And that Turkish friend of mine had a statement. She said raising children in America was like raising rose in the mud. (Zuhal)

When I explored if she agreed with this statement, she started to express her concerns about drugs and possible friend who could introduce drugs to his life. Because his son was in middle school yet, she was especially concerned about his high school years.

Sertaç is growing up as a good person. He is smart and searches everything on the Internet. He is very comfortable with expressing himself, he doesn't lie. However, regardless of how well you raise him, you can't control everything. He is at school with his friends from morning till evening. What kind of friends are these? What kind of habits do these friends have? My biggest fear is drugs. Because he will start high school. I hear so many things from my friends and don't know how to control. He says 'Mom, are you crazy? Is this possible?' But you can't know. Tomorrow, he will have friendship circles and we won't be able to control. Now, his whole life is between home and school. But I don't know what tomorrow will bring. (Zuhal)

Ayten and Çiğdem mentioned friends and drugs side by side. For example, one of Ayten's biggest fears was about her son's future "friendship circles" and "wrong habits." (Ayten). During our interview, I could clearly see that she was ascribing power to her son's friends in terms of how they could possibly influence him. Çiğdem was feeling the same way. She had also learned from her son that some of his friends smoked or got drugs. Because of this fear, she did not want him to go to parties, where she had heard that drugs were around.

I heard Serkan talking about friends who smoke, get drugs, or drink alcohol. For this reason, I don't want him to become part of this kind of events. I didn't go and see, so I don't exactly know what happens in those parties. But I don't want him to go. (Çiğdem)

Although she was content that her son was sharing everything with her, she was worried that he could be introduced to drugs at some point:

Yes, he tells me everything, he doesn't hide. I am grateful for that. He tells me what his friends do. Now, I am trying to keep him away as much as possible. But to what point can I do this? (Çiğdem)

Sinem had a strong fear of drugs as well. However, her fear was not peculiar to America, but to Turkey as well. She revealed that she wanted to take her son to Turkey at this time, because he became an adolescent. However, he was scared about drugs both in Turkey and in America. For her, the fact that police came to schools and educate children about drugs and its harms was a comforting factor in America.

b. Perceived advantages

What was our purpose of coming here? To prepare a good future for our children. We also lost a lot to this end. (Zuhal)

I found the opportunity to spend the whole day with Zuhal's family when I visited them for the interviews in their home in a suburban area. They were living in a nice single family house, which was very clean and tidy as most Turkish homes I had seen so far. Zuhal's husband, Aykut, had prepared food and Zuhal had baked *baklava*. I could say that they were very happy to host a Turkish person in their home and we talked about Turkey a lot, besides talking about America, parenting and their child. I could see how fond they were of their 13-year-old son, Sertaç. They enthusiastically showed me a letter he had written to his father when he was younger. I was astounded to see how eloquent Sertaç was as a young child. Zuhal was proud of Sertaç, whom she found very smart, sensitive, and thoughtful even in his early childhood years. During our interview, Zuhal shared how challenging their life had been in America, especially

during Sertaç's early childhood years. She lamented that as parents, they could not have spent enough time with him due to their extremely busy work schedules and financial difficulties, which thankfully had stayed in the past. She gave the details of how her son had been affected by their stress during those days such as an anxiety attack during which he had shortness of breath. She became almost teary when she remembered that one day, her son had told her "Mom, I did not live my childhood fully." He had pointed out that she and her husband had not played with him enough. Zuhail indicated that her son was deprived of so many things while growing up. Despite these upheavals, why did they stay in America? As most parents did, Zuhail was in a constant evaluation of the disadvantages and advantages of staying. As most of the other parents, Zuhail's and her husband's motivation was to prepare their child for a good future, which they thought could be attained through good education. This envisioned good future and good education counterbalanced deprivations such as a fully lived childhood or having extended family around. This theme repeatedly emerged in this study.

I have only one son and our purpose of coming here is to provide good education to him. Now, I am working for his education. My husband and I, I don't know. Sertaç is growing up devoid of so many things. And he doesn't know these, he doesn't know that we are preparing him a good future while he lacks things. He isn't aware yet, but will realize later. But he will have an unlived childhood. We lost a lot from ourselves. (Zuhail)

For Zuhail, their very "purpose" of coming to America was "to construct a good future for their son." She claimed they endured difficulties for the sake of their son's future: They lived away from their extended family and struggled a lot to settle down in America. She pointed out that they had no chance of leaving properties to her child, but a good education instead.

We don't have the opportunity to leave material heritage to our children such as house, farms, money. Our heritage will be the opportunity to live in America and the opportunity of good education. My husband and I pay a lot of importance to education. I can do everything in order my children to receive good education. Once we see that our children studies in good colleges and had a job, we will sell everything and go to a world tour with

my husband. We are investing in Sertaç now, but only for his college education. Because as you know, tuitions are high here and Sertaç will study here. (Zuhal)

Staying for a good future was a finding consistent for the parents regardless of their education level. In addition, all parents thought providing children good quality education was the most salient route to a good future. The parents I interviewed were not rich. Some of them were not financially stable either. They either rented apartments or owned their own homes, for which they had mortgages. Therefore, the only way their children could attain upward economic mobility was through good education. Very much like Zuhal, Derya had a difficult life financially. They had to make frequent job and neighborhood changes, which was difficult for the whole family. They were still tenants and were not financially stable during the time of the interview. Derya's husband was about to step into a new field and open a restaurant. However, Derya still asserted that a good education outweighed the disadvantages and difficulties of being away from the extended family, although this continued to be hard.

This (staying in America) is meaningless. My sisters's children grew up, they have an aunt but she is not around. Such complex feelings. But children are getting education here, you thank God, and continue your life. (Derya)

İpek also indicated that they came to America for their children's education. She was quite anxious about her children's safety and mentioned her safety related fears a lot during the interview. She said there were possible threats for children everywhere, including America. Still, it seemed that the possibility of a high quality education seemed to outweigh her concerns.

I don't know, maybe I am taking this to the extreme, but people are kidnapping children for their organs. God forbid, these dangers exist everywhere. I don't know, I want them to get good education. (İpek)

A constant and sometimes confusing evaluation of the American education system, together with a comparison of education in Turkey and education in America is at work for the parents, all of whom had studied in Turkey from primary school onward. Parents vocalized both

criticism and praise for the secondary education system, while all parents said higher education was of high quality. They aimed to see their children in the best colleges in America. On the other hand, they were in constant evaluation mode about American secondary education. Şule and İpek had heard rumors within the Turkish community that the quality of secondary education in America was academically lower than the quality of secondary education in Turkey. Yet, these parents declared their overall satisfaction with the academic level of her children.

They always claim math is taught very well in Turkey. I believe education here is good, too. I mean it's not too bad, not below Turkish education. The education in America is sufficient. (Şule)

I don't know, some say education is very bad here compared to Turkey. I think they teach enough. There is nothing bad, I don't understand why they say it is bad. Generally it is Turkish people who claim this. (İpek)

Aykut criticized the American secondary education system and indicated he approved of “neither Turkey's, nor America's secondary education system,” although he appreciated that the schools were relatively better in America compared to Turkey.

Sertaç often changed schools. Regardless of which school it is, the system is roughly the same, the curriculum is the same. States have requirements and schools have to comply. And despite some stupid rules, school system is relatively better than the system in Turkey. (Aykut)

However, he complained that the school system was imposing obedience and discouraging questioning. Aykut wanted his child to question the system's rules if they seemed meaningless or “stupid” to him.

Here, the school system does not encourage children to ask questions. They say, “You should learn this like this.’ But you actually know that a question may have 25 different solutions. We always tell Sertaç not to hesitate to ask questions and to struggle if he believes he is right, regardless of what school rules are. They sometimes say ‘This is school policy and we can't do anything.’ For example, Sertaç could not take water bottle to school, but had to buy from school. Because one of the students had brought alcohol to

school and they banned water bottles. We struggled and now, waterbottles are allowed. (Aykut).

As a criticism, Sinem put forward that the education system is suppressing children's leadership skills. Hence, the child is being educated by the system and "belongs to the system", which results in a gap between the child and the family.

In America, things changes after 1970s and 1980s. Now, they can't raise leaders. People are increasingly homeschooling, because school system is bad and and education is weak. Isolating children decrease their leadership skills and train them as obedient sheep. Children don't learn leadership, but to follow. They impose all rules in the education system. My son is second generation. His children will belong to this system even more. (Sinem)

Despite their criticisms, Sinem and Aykut were happy that their children were studying in America. According to Sinem, the schools in Turkey tried to teach everything to children, while American schools focused on certain areas based on the child's talents and preferences. Sinem thought that children in Turkey developed competency in different academic areas such as mathematics, science, history, and language. However, she observed drawbacks in this kind of education in that children could not focus on their individual interests. Consequently, their talents remained underdeveloped.

(In America) they guide children from the very beginning and encourage them for physics, math, or art. So, I can't take my son to Turkey. Because my son is good at social sciences, math and art now. If I take him to Turkey, he will have to be good at everything to adapt to the system. Children who come here from Turkey adapt easily. Because they know everything they teach here. They are ahead of high school children here. However, university education here is better because children are guided towards his areas of interest from the beginning. In college, he focuses on that area even more. (Sinem)

Parents frequently brought up that they felt lucky because their children were away from a consuming and meaningless academic competition back in Turkey. One parent, Emel, even indicated that escaping from the stressful school life in Turkey was their primary motivation for

staying in America. Parents sometimes expressed this to their children. For example, Derya wanted her son to be aware of this advantage of America.

We told Taner that he would start studying hard earlier. You should appreciate that this stress started this year in your life. You spent your previous years comfortably till this year. His cousins in Turkey had a different experience: high school test, exams, stress, teachers... I mean we are trying to be aware of the advantages and ignore disadvantages. We have to live like this. (Derya).

Parents had studied under high pressure of competition in Turkey, especially during their own high school years. The chief factor behind the competition was the central university exam and the social pressure of entering good colleges. According to Mehtap, her children do not have the same academic motivation that her generation had. Contrary to Derya, she perceived this as simultaneously positive and negative. Positive, because her children did not experience that stress, negative because they did not feel the same need to study. She pointed out that children were oriented to having fun and disregarded the need to study.

For them, everything should be fun and there is nothing to strive for. They have no test pressure till college. They have status exams at the end of the year, but it shows the school's success not of students. If the family doesn't care, children live very loose. If the child doesn't like studying, she may find it unnecessary to study hard like getting all As from all classes. They develop such a life perspective. (Mehtap)

Mehtap thought that there was unnecessary and extreme academic pressure on youth in Turkey. Like Sinem, Mehtap put forward that there was a need to discover the child's talents and interests. Yet, she thought her daughter did not push herself enough to achieve academically in order to get into a good college with a scholarship.

Maybe it is not a must, but you still want them to go to college and have scholarship. To this end, she should have high awareness. But it is difficult to have children understand these in that age (adolescence). (Mehtap)

For Mehtap, her daughter's relaxed stance towards colleges was partly due to other possibilities in America such as "going into sports or finding a job after high school," whereas

there was “no life for the child without a college degree in Turkey.” (Mehtap). Still, a college degree was the route to a better life from her perspective and she did not want her children to choose a path without formal higher education. She disapproved that children in America want to experience everything as fun. According to her, children should experience challenge and work hard to attain better education and a better life. The parents I interviewed prioritized their children’s education in their lives. The foremost reason for their stay in America was good education. They perceived high quality education and a high status job as requirements for their children’s upward social mobility. In this way, the parents either encouraged their children to study hard and get into a high ranking school such as selective or magnet schools, or they chose the neighborhood they lived in based on the high school’s quality. The parents did not feel satisfied when their children had average grades. This emphasis on academic success might occasionally have led to parent-child conflicts. İpek also complained that her child was being lazy for having a few B’s in his grade report along with A’s. Her main concern was for her son to get high grades to get into a good college in the future.

We have frequent conflicts over studying nowadays. He is a little bit lazy. We have to push him a lot for him to take action. He still could not grasp how serious this is. He needs to do extra work to be successful and public school doesn’t require them do extra work. I want him to practice more on what they learn at school, but he opposes. He thinks what he does is enough. He says “they don’t give extra homework, why are you pushing me?” (İpek)

Even when the adolescent had high school grades, some parents felt concerned about their children’s schoolwork. Like İpek, Çiğdem compared her own school experience with her child’s experience and criticized him for not spending enough time on his homeworks after school despite his high grades. Similar to Mehtap and İpek, Çiğdem criticized the school system for being too loose on children and not assigning enough school work.

Especially nowadays, we conflict over studying. He needs to study for ACT. I think we grew up with too many tests in Turkey. We were in a constant mode of studying. The education system puts less pressure here. When they come home, they have one page homework and they finish it in five minutes and then, they are free. I especially tell Serkan that he has to study hard this year for ACT. He says ‘I am at school whole day, they make us study, and my grades are good. I don’t need to do extras.’ But I want him to study in his spare time at least for half an hour. We used to come home and my hands would hurt till 10 – 11 pm. I can’t observe this on them. I believe there is a problem with the education system. (Çiğdem)

Parents might have given special rewards to their children when they became successful. For example, Emel proudly told me that “they did not deprive their two daughters of anything” because they never made them upset and always became successful at school. They bought a Mac laptop for their daughter when she had passed the test for selective public school. She was proud that as parents, they provided their daughters things they themselves did not have, such as the Mac laptop.

Because of their parents’ concerns and encouragement, the adolescent children in the participating families often attended high ranking public schools. This was often because parents either pushed their children hard to enter selective or magnet schools or they moved to areas where there are good public schools. İpek had a similar observation and regretted that she learned some facts about schools after staying in America for 10 years. She had just realized that other Turkish people chose their neighborhoods based on the school’s quality in the neighborhood.

See, I learned ten years later, whereas even newcomers know this. From the very beginning, they look at how the schools in that area are doing. I didn’t know, I just learned these. I think our school’s grades are good academically, but this also depends on your child. (İpek)

As İpek indicated, parents were quite conscious about their choice of neighborhood. For example, Aykut reviewed the schools of the area before they decided where to buy a house. He indicated that they preferred their present neighborhood although there were cheaper houses in

other areas. The main reason was the school quality and safety. Similarly, Şule, Zehra, and Derya's families decided to move to a suburban solely because the high school was among the best schools in the area. Şule and Zehra said their husbands drove a long distance from work to home, but they still did not prefer to move to where they worked. Derya and her husband had looked for an apartment for months and they were able to rent one at a point they were about to lose all their hopes.

We are a family that moves frequently and we are experienced anymore. We first choose school, then we choose home. As you know, you can't send your child to any school here, but depending on where you live. So we chose where we live based on school. We looked for a place in this area for months. We looked for a place for two and a half months. I was about to give up, abandoned this school, and started to look for other areas. This apartment had been on market for a long time. It was dirty and the security deposit was high. We talked to the real estate again, offered a price and rented. I am happy to be here and very satisfied with children's schools. Thank God. That is the most important part. (Derya)

İpek said the Turkish around her found tutors for their children when they found their child's success insufficient. Most parents I interviewed did not need a tutor because their children were quite successful academically. Sinem was an exception among the participants in that they found a tutor for their 12 year-old son.

He had a bad grade report last semester. There are 2's, 3's, and 4's in his report. Math and lots of other classes were like this. We found a tutor and his grades got better. (Sinem)

While high quality education was a priority for the parents, it was not their only consideration. They also mentioned the importance of their adolescent children's social emotional development and self-confidence. Şule compared the schools she had attended in Turkey and the ones her daughters had attended. For her, one of the best aspects of the school system was giving children self-confidence through child-centered education.

Children can raise their hands and answer the questions whenever they like, so they can express themselves. Here, there is student centered education. It is not based on memorizing. There is always a project. I am comparing the schools of my time in Turkey with my children's schools. I don't know how it is in Turkey now, may be better. We used to memorize and we were subject to corporal punishment when we couldn't do it. When I tell my children now, they don't believe. There aren't such things here, this is good. They are self confident and safe here. We don't have safety concerns. (Şule)

Sinem was also content that the school tried to discover the child's talents and direct him accordingly.

They are trying to discover the child's talents first, and then guide him accordingly. The child gets better and focuses on one area. (Sinem).

Another advantage for the social emotional development of children were the social activities in America. İpek put forward that one needed to be quite affluent to provide similar opportunities to their children back in Turkey. However, those opportunities were open to them in America.

Turkey is good in the end, too. But there are different advntages here. I mean you can send your child to social activities here. In Turkey, you should have good income to send your children to social activities. You should have extra money to give. I think it is more advantageous here. (İpek)

Kadriye made a similar point. Based on her experiences as a teacher both in Turkey and America, she had observed that it was harder to give self confidence to adolescents in Turkey.

It is harder to give self confidence to your child in Turkey. For example, a child may not speak comfortably in front of a senator in Turkey, you are easily judged in Turkey. Children's confidence is easily broken. Here it is easier. It is supposed to be the opposite way, you should be more comfortable in your own country. For example, here, my daughter will do internship in White House. This is very hard in Turkey. She will do internship in the parliament? (Very hard). (Kadriye)

Kadriye felt lucky because opportunities were delivered based more on merit and experience than on networking in America, again in comparison to Turkey. For Kadriye, the

social emotional development was as important as academic development and as parents their effort was to pave the way for their daughter for an active social life and readiness for life.

Otherwise she will graduate from high school as an antisocial person. Then what will happen when she goes to college? Again she will finish as an antisocial person. She won't be someone who can contribute into life. Then she will find a job and work. What happened? Nothing. We always tell her that we are ready to send her to anywhere in the world, when you are ready. You can go and work in Kenya, or you can go anywhere, if you see that strength in yourself. She has the capacity to do that now. (Kadriye)

The parents perceived the after school activities and volunteering programs as important opportunities for their children's development. For example, Emel said that they sent their children to different after school programs in the park district such as swimming, gymnastics, and taekwando. According to her, these activities had been pivotal in helping her daughters develop high self confidence. Zeynep also considered school organized volunteering activities crucial for her sons' development of self-confidence and sense of responsibility.

Once every week, every Wednesday evening, there is a program organized by school. They have different activities, they sometimes go to field trips, sometimes they have fundraising. I see this positive. They are doing activities that give them responsibilities, which I tried to give but couldn't. For example, during the community hours, they show parking spots to people. I support this because these are opportunities to gain feelings of responsibility. The child is doing this to get grades, to gain positive points, not to please parents. They seem sure of themselves while doing these activities. (Zeynep)

Despite their ambivalence and criticisms towards American secondary education system, parents thought the advantages outweighed the disadvantages. Moreover, they felt lucky for their children's opportunity to go to college in America due to the quality of higher education. They had the expectation that their children would attain high socioeconomic status in the society. Most Turkish children's light skin color, which made their immigrant background almost invisible, also made this expectation possible.

3. Parenting practices and parent-child relationships

a. Parent-child conflicts and negotiations

Being an immigrant parent may contribute to parent-adolescent child conflicts, which is already a common aspect of parent-child relationships when children reach puberty. In this section, I will present different areas of conflicts and parent-child negotiations in these areas: culture, religion and morality, and adolescents' academic life.

1) Culture related conflicts

Parents ascribed some of their parent-child conflicts to the so-called acculturation gap, which refers to the different rates of parent and children acculturation to America. Parents also indicated that parenting became more challenging as their children reached adolescence. As a result, when the challenges of adolescence were juxtaposed with the acculturation gap in participating Turkish families, parental stress increased for most parents. As Ayten explained, as the child “gets older; his mind, thoughts, everything changes both physically and emotionally.” (Ayten) The adolescents were often more willing to adapt to American life style, whereas their parents were often less willing. This so-called acculturation gap sometimes caused conflicts about cultural issues. Aykut thought that this was because his child spent more time with Americans than within the family.

The disadvantage of here is that your child is spending most of their time with Americans. The time he is spending with us is very limited. How should I say, our kids want to live like how the American families are living. And we have certain rules, certain things. There are conflicts time to time. Things are happening time to time. (Aykut)

As first generation immigrants, Turkish parents felt like they and their children belong to two different worlds due to a perceived cultural gap between themselves and their children.

Fatma indicated that she and her children had different norms because Fatma had been raised in Turkey. This perceived gap also caused feelings of loneliness in the parent, as it did for Sinem.

When you start living here, your kid is starting to speak this place's language because he is born here. (He belongs to) the culture of here. (As a parent) you are falling into loneliness here. (Sinem)

Situating American culture as different from their own culture from the very beginning, some parents found it “challenging” that their children “will grow up in a different culture” (Mehtap). Some parents developed an impression that their children think parents come from a different world (Mehtap).

This cultural gap did not only find expression at the level of feelings, but had everyday life implications as well. One of the consequences is that in some families parents and children had different normative criteria. For example, Fatma reported having experienced conflicts over what is right and what is wrong with her children. For her, this was because her children were between two cultures.

You know, first, they are left in between two cultures. What is true and comfortable for them is not true and comfortable for us. I don't know, when they want to go to their friends I am not giving permission, when they want to go to their friends. (Fatma)

Another consequence is that parents and children may have different understandings of respect. Although Zeynep described their relationship with their two adolescent sons as parents good overall, she also said that she sometimes felt like their children violated parent-child boundaries. This may cause issues in the children's relationships with their parents and their relationships with the other older people around them.

I mean, he sees the father as father but they don't have a formal relationship. I mean, there is nothing like one is above the other but everybody has their role. Sometimes, for example, my older son is forgetting that role, the younger is at the same levels as him, and like the older is at the same level with him too. Like, he is making arguments with

the teachers, with his parents. With the younger brother too, he cannot understand the limitations of the younger and (saying things like) why is he doing like this. Or to the adults, he is talking to them like they are his age. You know, in this sense, at school or in the social environment we are having difficulties. (Zeynep)

Zeynep observes that even though her children do not mean to be disrespectful, they are perceived as such in their everyday interactions.

Himself, directly, can be seen as if he is giving opposite reaction. And I say, he is growing up in our culture, talking like that is not welcomed. Because the child doesn't know this, he is having difficulty for being seen as such even though he doesn't have such intentions. (Zeynep)

For example, the children may "lie down or stretch their legs" in the presence of their fathers, or push their mothers, which Zeynep defined as behaviors she would never display to her own parents. Zeynep defined this as a cultural difference between her children and herself as a parent. The different interpretations of respect sometimes resulted in parent-child tensions. Zeynep said that she felt really upset when she thought her son behaved disrespectfully, such as raising his voice or yelling at her. They also had instances when tension increased between her children and her spouse.

With their fathers too, I mean their fathers... Our understanding of respect is different from theirs. I mean when we see something as disrespectful, they can say that we don't see it as such (disrespectful). But there are occasions when their father disapprove and get disappointed by their behavior, gets angry and reacts. Sometimes there are tensions between them and their father. (Zeynep)

Kadriye also told me instances when she felt odd at the beginning of her daughter's adolescence. For example, she felt very uncomfortable when her daughter behaved not in accordance with traditional Turkish hosting norms, did not greet the guests properly, or did not had lengthy conversations with them. She had difficulties understanding her daughter's behaviors. At first, she attributed these behaviors to growing up in America.

I mean, their behavior seem strange to you in the beginning and you start saying what is happening to my child. First you are attributing this to America and saying that children growing up here are becoming like this and that they wouldn't be like this if they were growing up in Turkey. When the kids reach adolescence, you are not attributing it to the (development of) child and seeing it as if they are being disrespectful. (Kadriye)

However, she increasingly attributed those behaviors to a generational difference, not to American culture.

I went to Turkey, the same thing is with the children in Turkey too. I mean, you are expecting that they warmly greet the people and sincerely say welcome and pay attention to them. You first are saying that the kids who are growing up here are like this (but it is the same in Turkey as well). Betül used to sit next to the guests until the sixth grade. We started seeing things from her like withdrawing to her room and closing the door. The things I said were because of America were things like this. (Kadriye)

Observing similar behaviors and reactions in adolescents in Turkey during their visits triggered similar thoughts in Zeynep's mind, too. Hence, she also concluded that these problems were more of a generation difference issue than a cultural issue.

At times he said "I want this like this", for example. There have also been times when he said "it is like this because I want it like this". When you tell your child that you want something to be in a certain way, he is also saying that he wants it in the way he wants it. He can give me such a response, I mean. When we try explaining what we want from him like "this is why we are doing this in this way and not doing that in that way" he is saying OK if he finds it reasonable and accepting it. But if he doesn't find it reasonable, he is never convinced. (Çiğdem)

Zeynep reported occasional conflicts with her 17-year-old adolescent son over clothing styles or her sons' choices. Her son slept over with his friends and wore his clothes for school in his friends' home. Zeynep visited her son that day at school to bring him food and was shocked when she saw him.

"Oh my God! He came with the pajamas on!", I said. He came to class with the pajamas. To the class... "So, what is wrong?" was the response I received. I said, "My son, there is the dress for school and there is the dress for partying. Can you wear anything at any time?" "So (he said), what is up with that? My friends are coming to school like that as well". To his school... I said, my son cannot go to school like that. The pajamas, literally the pajamas! I mean, it is not possible. You know the dressing style here. It attracted my

attention at college as well. When I was at college, people really were coming to school with slippers and pajamas. I said (to him), you cannot come to school like that when you are my son. He was saying, “so what, what is wrong with that?” I said; “My son, (you should know that) you cannot wear whatever you want everywhere especially when you are attending a Turkish school. It doesn’t seem nice to do presentations in such clothes. It is not nice to come here with such clothes and do presentation. But, this, I had difficulty convincing him about this. The other one (child) is like that too. With the sportswear.. We will go to some place, for example, we are going for dinner and he wants to come with the sportswear. Because, he is comfortable, it is the culture here. Nobody cares. (Zeynep)

Although Zeynep was aware that her son’s clothing choices were acceptable in America, she still did not want him to wear pajamas outside, because it was unacceptable in Turkish culture.

Parents were frequently challenged by their adolescent children’s resistance when they tried to impose their cultural choices on them. It was a common observation of the parents that they had to present logical reasons to their children to convince them to adopt certain cultural choices or practices.

I mean, when you say “This is like this, we think this way about this’, it doesn’t sound reasonable to the child. Why we are not thinking like that, for example, why we are not celebrating Halloween. When you say that we are not celebrating it, it doesn’t the child is not convinced. Sometimes I am telling him “Let me do more search about this. Let me learn more about this and I will let you know”. Then I am doing things. Otherwise, it is not convincing to say like “we are not doing these things because of such and such. (Çiğdem)

When I asked Çiğdem if this had anything to do with being raised in America, she said she did not know. However, she clearly was observing a difference between the way she was raised and the way she was raising her children. When she tried to impose something on her children by saying “because I say so,” her child could reply “If you want that, I want this.” Therefore, she had to present clear and convincing justification each time. She sometimes had to do extensive research to find a reasonable justification for questions such as why they preferred not to celebrate Halloween.

Mehtap had a lot of conflicts with her daughter over her cultural and religious choices. She also explained her struggles with finding justifications for everything and attributed this parent-child difference to being raised in two different environments. When her child did not comply, they sometimes applied some pressure and forced her to comply, which resulted in painful conflicts for their family.

I mean, you know, the education we received is different, too. I was like, you should not question, you will accept whatever they say. I mean, there is always obedience. The schools here are not like this anymore. They always learn how to question and criticize. When you say something.. “Why I am I going to do it like that?”. You always need to explain the reason. We are not used to this. We are not always explaining the reason. Sometimes, we are compelling. (Mehtap)

2) Religion and morality related conflicts

I met with Zeynep at the lobby of the Turkish Cultural Center. After we talked for a while, her son came and looked very unhappy. It was obvious that they were in the middle of a conflict. When Zeynep was leaving, Fatih asked his mother to give his phone back but she refused angrily. Later during my interview with Fatih, I learned that Zeynep had caught him cursing over the phone to his friend, got really angry, and seized Fatih’s smart phone for the whole weekend as a punishment. Fatih thought his mother had “exaggerated it too much” and it was unrealistic to think that he would never curse. It was a rare instance and he would never curse in the presence of an adult.

Zehra, too, was distressed about having occasional conflicts with her daughter because of her clothing choices, which did not always comply with Zehra’s standards. Zehra indicated that although she bought the clothes for her daughter, she felt uncomfortable when she saw the clothes on her. According to Zehra, some of her clothes were not loose enough to cover her

body. Similarly, Fatma had conflicts with her son over his clothing. When she tried to explain this to her son, she reported difficulties.

Wearing shorter or longer clothes. I don't want adolescent and young men wearing shorts. When I say this to my children, their response may be 'why? Because they are not informed about our culture, they do not find other cultures odd. That is why things are difficult for them. I mean clothing. Because, everybody around them are like that and the kids are like "why?" I had difficulties with talking about things regarding our culture and religion. (Fatma)

Mehtap and her husband, too, had a hard time with their 16-year-old daughter from secondary school onward. As practicing Muslim parents, they had certain expectations of their two adolescent children such as praying five times a day. She reported difficulties in persuading her daughter and tried to force her from time to time.

When she didn't agree with us, we tried to enforce things. While we preferred rewards in her earlier ages, we started to say 'You should do this, you have to pray' kind of things as she got older. Because we didn't want to compromise about religion (Mehtap)

Because their daughter did not fulfill her parents' expectations, Mehtap and her husband felt uncomfortable that she had a lot of close non-Muslim and non-Turkish friends. After seeing their daughter cursing on facebook with her American friends, Mehtap and her husband decided to control their daughter's friendships, which led to tensions in their relationship.

We started to control her more. For example, we saw her cursing messages on facebook and wanted her to close her facebook account. These were normal things for her and when we started to control her, she gradually became reactive. She couldn't give meaning and said "I used to see these friends, why am I not allowed to anymore?" (Mehtap)

They attributed their daughter's behaviors to her desire to live like her American friends.

She was under the influence of her friends. She usually had Muslim friends too, but she preferred to hang out with her non-Muslim friends most of the time. We had difficulties about this. We couldn't force her, but expected her to become more like us, carry Turkish culture on her, carry her religion on her. In those days, she wanted to be looser, like her friends, and to live like her friends. She didn't want to prioritize religion in her life. When

we forced her, our relationship got affected badly. She developed reactions to us and closed herself to us. (Mehtap)

As a result, they decided to send their daughter to Turkey to study, but she could only stay for one semester. Mehtap and her husband were in contact with her teachers in Turkey and learned that things had not changed much. They also considered that she might have adaptation problems to the environment in Turkey. So, they decided to bring her back, and sent her to another boarding school in America. After she studied there for a while, she returned to her family's home.

Çiğdem, who wanted their son to represent a good Muslim, had religious related concerns as well. For this reason, they also sent their son to Turkey to study for a while and put restrictions on his activities and relationships in America. For example, he could not go out with his friends until recently. Çiğdem indicated that her son questioned her restrictions from time to time, and pointed to the fact that he was growing up in America, hence some restrictions were meaningless or exaggerated.

Serkan has after school dances and rehearsals at school. He asks why he can't go and why I don't let him go. I am living here, I study in an American school, why I can't go? He is experiencing these conflicts. (Çiğdem)

Parents' discomfort and sensitivity about Muslims' image in society affected their interactions with their children as well. Zeynep indicated that she sometimes tried to restrict her sons because of her fears and sensitivities.

I sometimes react too harsh to my children because of the negative stance towards Muslims both in the world and here. I mean 'Don't talk like this at school, don't dress up like that, don't do that' kind of things. (Zeynep)

She gave two outstanding examples of such conflicts. First, her son wanted to wear a soldier uniform and a gas mask at school as a Halloween costume. Zeynep opposed this because that

costume symbolized weapons and violence to her. She was afraid that people at school would feel offended, someone could be annoyed, hence an argument could occur.

Well, I warn him when I don't want him to gain attention. For example, when there is an argument at school, I warn him to respond in a sensitive way and not to offend others. I want him to express his thoughts, but not to gain negative attention. Because we are going through a bad, sensitive, and difficult time. There are negative comments about Muslims again. So, I feel the need to warn my children about the necessity of not telling every truth everywhere. They should not make others feel offended. (Zeynep)

She had a hard time persuading her son not to wear that costume, and she had to show a written school rule to persuade him not to wear a gas mask. In the written school rule, students were not allowed to wear any costume that would cover the face. Still, Zeynep's son wore a soldier uniform.

The second instance was about her sons' airsoft game, which they played in their own garden. Zeynep was very concerned that someone would call the police thinking that the guns were real. She tried to explain that her sensitivity was due to the "bad atmosphere" and "the negative public opinion against Muslims" (Zeynep). She feared they could be treated as potential criminals once a complaint is made. On the other hand, her children thought she was exaggerating and a complaint was not a possibility. During the interview Zeynep and I further talked about the possible reasons behind her sons' reaction to Zeynep's sensitivity. We speculated that her sons probably perceived themselves no different from other American adolescents. They had no conception that playing airsoft game could raise any suspicions in their neighbors. When Zeynep shared her fears with them, they had said "everyone in their age liked airsoft game" and there was nothing wrong with playing it in their gardens as ordinary American adolescents. During the interview, Zeynep confirmed my interpretation that her sons had adapted to American society better than she had and being Muslim was obviously not an obstacle for

them. Consequently, they perceived themselves no different than any other American adolescent and different from their mother, they did not need to filter their everyday life activities with the same sensitivity. This difference in parent-child perceptions gave Zeynep a hard time and finding a balance was challenging for her. She did not want to “go to the extreme” (Zeynep) either. She said:

I don't want to go to extremes either. Then, the child will say ‘What's wrong? Is there something wrong with my religion? Why do others see me like this?’ This is the other extreme. I want them neither to be too relaxed, nor be too anxious. (Zeynep)

Zeynep wants her children to find a “balance” when they reveal their thoughts about Islam and Muslims in public, especially in school. She did not want them to ignore injustices and say “I don't care.” It was important for her that her children would “express their thoughts in a nice way, do the reasoning and explain.” (Zeynep). On the other hand, she was uncomfortable with one of her son's way of disclosing his thoughts, which had sometimes been too direct. She was concerned about his style and that he would get into trouble. Despite the freedom of thought, she thought her children had to find a balance when they revealed their points of view.

3) Conflicts because of academic pressures

Parents often perceived academic opportunities as a positive aspect of America and this perception made them feel that it was worth staying in America. On the other hand, parents' high academic expectations and pressures on adolescents led to conflicts from time to time. For example, Çiğdem's son accused her of “not being a normal mother” (Çiğdem), who in his mind was supposed to be more relaxed and not reminding her son to study all the time. Derya was another mother who was accused by her son of putting too much pressure on him about school work. Her concerns partly reflected the financial struggles they had gone through as a family. She did not want her son to have similar financial struggles and wanted him to enjoy life fully.

We struggled a lot. He grew up with us and witnessed our struggle. So he wants to make a good start. A good university, a good life. I always say this: “Okay, do whatever you like, but be the best. Okay I won’t put pressure on you (about your choice), but be the best in your job, so you won’t have difficulties with finding a position. And life is beautiful. Don’t think about how to pay the bills. You love life, you are very social. You will forget all the difficulties you will go through during these four years. Look, I forgot, you will forget too. Let these four years pass with struggle, but you will have a comfortable life afterwards.” (Derya)

Derya told his son that he had to work very hard during his high school years for a better future. Similar to Çiğdem, she got criticisms from her son. He had recently developed anxiety over academic success and blamed his mother for it.

He is very anxious. He has had worries for the last few years. He didn’t have this when he was younger. He says “You did this. You created this anxiety.” I mean (he sometimes says) “I couldn’t succeed.” He sometimes asks for a make-up exam from his teachers saying he would receive a low grade. Some teachers accept it. He is trying to find his own solutions. When he can’t find a solution, or when he can’t study, he feels anxious. (Derya).

The pressure for academic success sometimes stemmed from the parents’ concerns about their ability to fund college education, especially when they had more than one child. Zeynep mentioned what she told her son:

Keep your grades high. I am not in a position to support both of you (financially). I am paying my own loan. Both of your costs are already too much for us. We will do our best, but you should strive and keep your grades good that you can find scholarships and study. (Zeynep)

Whether due to financial concerns or due to an expectations of a better future for their children, parents’ high academic expectations occasionally resulted in parent-adolescent conflicts.

b. Parental monitoring

All parents I interviewed were engaged in high parental monitoring of their children. Physical safety of the child was among the main considerations of the parents. They preferred to

live very close to school when they had the opportunity. Some parents moved to a neighborhood with a good school, moved to a closeby area when their children got into a school with exam such as a selective or magnet school, or they made arrangements on how their children would get to school. For example, Zeynep's family bought a house just across her children's school.

We are just across the school. We bought a house this smmer and preferred this house because it was across the school. We wanted our children to walk to school, be at school on time and come back home on time. (Zeynep)

Kadriye decided to move to the city from a suburban area when her daughter entered one of the top public schools. Their priority was the school's distance to their home.

Rather than the neighborhood, the school-home distance was important for me. I wanted my child to walk to school. The only reason for our move to this place was this. I looked for a place for one month on this street. She should be able to walk to school in three minutes. Although it is not very safe, it is comfortable. It feels better than bus to us. She has one more year, so we will stay here. She will take the bus, get off, walk to the bus stop, this doesn't sound safe when she is out late. (Kadriye)

Emel and her husband could not move to a neighborhood close to her daughter's selective school. Their daughter had to take the train and bus to get to her school. Emel and her husband had a conversation on how to arrange their daughter's trip to school: should she take the bus and train on her own or should they drive her? Emel insisted that their daughter should have taken the bus and train on her own, while Emel's husband wanted to drive their daughter. In the end, a third option came into the picture and their daughter's friend's family drove their daughter to school together with her own daughter, who was going to the same school. With this option, Emel and her husband felt safe.

For some parents, arranging the adolescent's trip to school was part of regulating the adolescent's relationships with the opposite sex. For instance, Mehtap did not want her daughter

to take the school bus to school because children sat too close to one another in the bus. Either they or another Muslim parent drove her to school.

Parents perceived the regular school schedule as facilitating parental monitoring. They especially liked that schools informed parents when their children were absent or late to class. For example, Zeynep and Aykut were quite content that the schools sent them messages immediately about their child's absences, class times, or even grades.

Here if my child doesn't go to school one day, or he is late, they call me immediately and say "your child is not in class." (Zeynep)

He is taking school bus to go to school. Although he is at the same classroom with his friends, he is taking other classes as well. He is slow, so while going between different classes, he is usually late for the next class. I can see this immediately. Or I can see when he receives a bad grade. I know everything about him, but he doesn't know that I know everything. (Aykut)

Aykut was able to monitor his son's daily activities online without him knowing it. Parents acknowledged that it was easier to monitor their children in America compared to Turkey.

Zeynep shared her observations of adolescents in Turkey and concluded that it was easier to control children in America.

I think it is easier here compared to Turkey. Because the child is totally under his parents' control until a certain age. You may ask "Why?" For example, if you don't give him car, your child can't go anywhere on his own. I saw this a lot when I went to Turkey. My friends' children can go out on their own at night. Why? Because there is bus everywhere, there is everything everywhere, the child comes together with his friends, gets his allowance, goes to wherever he likes and parents can't check. (Zeynep)

In accordance with Zeynep, Kadriye also indicated that monitoring and parenting was "paradoxically" easier in America compared to Turkey for two reasons. First, they could set boundaries for their children easily through constructing a distinct religious and ethnic identity to the child.

This may sound contradictory, but I find it easier to raise children in America. When I go to Turkey and see, I realize this. Because, here, the child can set up boundaries for herself. Or we say ‘We are Turkish and we bring certain things from our culture. They aren’t Turkish, so may make mistakes. Indeed, what is wrong to us is wrong to them as well. Don’t take them as an example.’ Or we say ‘We are Turkish, we are Muslim, and there are things we should do. They don’t have to do this because they are not Muslim.’ When you say these to your children, they don’t imitate negative examples from outside. (Kadriye)

Kadriye talked about a similar experience. She said that they, as a family, raised their children with certain behavioral norms they considered a Muslim Turkish person had to follow. Kadriye considered being away from Turkey as an advantage in that sense, because in America, it was easier to construct good role models in a selective community of Turkish people with whom they chose to interact. Kadriye mentioned this especially in the context of Islamic practices and lifestyle. She said that when they visited Turkey, their daughter could challenge them by saying “These people are also Muslims but do not do this or that.” Wearing headscarf set one example of this. In America, Kadriye could easily present wearing headscarf to her daughters as the proper standard for a Muslim woman. However, her daughters could challenge this when they saw many Turkish Muslim women not wearing headscarf. To sum, visits to Turkey could challenge the constructs the parents had presented to their children when their children were exposed to other role models or people that their parents did not fully approve as role models.

Another strategy that Turkish parents developed was to have their children spend time in their presence, instead of sending their children out. İpek told me about a “scary” experience she had gone through. She had dropped her 12-year-old son off at an American friend’s home, when his mother was at home too. When she called that mother later that day, she learned that her son and his friend had gone outside. She could not reach her son via phone for a while, and when she did, he could not tell her his location. She told me that she banned her son from going to that

friend's home after that day. Instead, she preferred him to play with the children of people "whom she trusted." From that day onwards, either she accompanied her son or she invited his friend and his friend's mother to their home. While she spent time with the mother, her son played with his own friend.

The parents were especially determined when their children demanded to stay at their friends' homes for a sleep over. For instance, Zehra put forward that she never let her daughter go to a sleep over, although she allowed her daughter's friends to stay in their home. Zehra only allowed her daughter to spend time outside of their home with her friends to work on school related projects. Similarly, Mine took her daughter back home around 11 pm when she asked for a sleepover.

We don't allow. This may create something in her and we explain her each time: "We don't know your friend's family. What kind of a family it is, we don't know. They are good people for sure, but we don't know. You can stay till 11 and we will pick you up at 11:30. Have fun, but don't stay there." Mine

She indicated that her daughter did her only sleep over in her Turkish friend's home, whose family Mine knew well. Emel also explained her rationale for not letting her daughters go to sleepovers. Her worry was that her friend's family could have alcohol or drugs. She also invited her daughters' friends to their own home for their birthdays or other parties, not to have them "feel deprived" (Emel). Çiğdem was another parent who would never allow a sleep over for her son. However, she had recently started to let him go to movies with his friends because she witnessed he had suffered from not joining activities with his friends. She asked him to show her the tickets, be back at the time he promised, and be available via phone.

The parents' main motivations behind choosing and regulating friendships seemed to be protecting their children from "inappropriate friends" and their biggest fear, drugs. When

parental monitoring was a result of a serious level of anxiety, parents were also uncomfortable with their own feelings. In other words, they sometimes did self-criticism of their overprotectiveness. In addition, parents' high levels of monitoring sometimes led to parent-child conflicts. Indeed, parents had high awareness about the causes and possible effects of their overprotectiveness. Some parents were constantly evaluating whether they were doing the right thing or not. Parents often compared themselves with the other parents including other Turkish parents and kept children's occasional resistance in mind. There were mainly two categories of parents: (1) parents who had fears and anxiously monitored their children; and (2) parents who were less fearful about America and comfortably monitored their children. For example, Çiğdem, Zehra, Zeynep, Mehtap and Ayten were in a state of anxious monitoring while Mine, Emel, Şule, Kadriye and Derya were more comfortable in their monitoring. Parents' trust in the environment and trust in their children's choices were the primary factors affecting whether parents were anxious or comfortable. The parent's image of American society was one such factor.

Çiğdem defined her parental control as overprotectiveness and partially ascribed it to raising children in America. Though hesitantly, she admitted that context might have made a difference in her parenting practices.

I think I would feel different in Turkey. I believe it is contextual to some extent. When I go to Turkey, my sister lives in a big apartment building and she lets children play outside on their own. I feel uncomfortable and look from the balcony to check them and see if children are still there. My sister tells me to be relaxed and reminds that it is an area where everyone knows each other. But I continually look from the balcony to see if my children are there. These are the things America brought to my life, I don't know.
(Çiğdem)

The diversity of American society or feeling in an unknown environment also triggered overprotectiveness in some parents. Ayten and Derya were sure that they would not be this overprotective if they lived in Turkey and explained the sources of their fears as being in a relatively unknown environment.

We are always protective and I am aware of this. Why am I doing this? Because we are living in a multinational environment and can never know what to expect. You have African Americans, Turks, and people from different nationalities around. You necessarily become more protective. Your behaviors, movements of your hands, facial expressions, speech change. Especially in crowded places such as lunaparks, zoos, beaches, you always tell your child to stay around. If there were only Turkish people, you will know what to expect. However, there are different nations and you can't anticipate things. Their cultures are different, thoughts are different, looks are different, you can't understand. They don't understand you either. So you end up being protective, always protective. (Ayten)

God forbid, you have a fear for being in a foreign environment. You feel like something bad will happen. So I think I became more protective and I am always on top of him. I could be a more relaxed mom. He sometimes feels exhausted, but I can't do anything about this. I am trying to take him out to places he will like as much as possible. (Derya)

Other parents did not necessarily ascribe their high level of monitoring to living in America. For example, according to İpek, "everything could happen everywhere." Similarly, Mine and Kadriye stressed that their fears were independent of where they raised their children.

We don't feel too anxious. We of course have some worries as parents, but we would have these independent from where we live. What kind of a person will she become as she grows up? How will her stance be towards life? You want her to be happy and peaceful. You want her to do the right things. We have these kind of fears, but we don't feel like "Oh we are in America, what will we do?" (Mine)

I mean Turkey isn't safer than here. If you wanna choose the wrong path, you can do this anywhere in the world. Do I have fears? Yes I do. I would fear in Turkey too. Everyone fears to send her child to college. (Kadriye)

Kadriye and Emel were protective, yet comfortable mothers. Both mothers defined themselves as less stressful and less anxious about parenting compared to other Turkish parents around. Their distinctive feature was opening more space for their children's independent

activities and a high level of trust in their daughters' choices. Moreover, they perceived themselves as less restrictive compared to other Turkish parents. For example, Emel set a unique example in that she allowed her daughter to attend parties organized by the school after basketball games, although she and her husband were hesitant at the beginning. She said she felt comfortable because she knew her daughter's friends and their families. Emel pointed to their difference from other Turkish families, who she had observed to be quite strict about dance parties. Kadriye and Emel were also happy that their daughters could take a train or bus when they needed.

Regardless of how they explained their high monitoring or their position on a comfort-fear spectrum, parents unanimously stated that high parental monitoring was an advantage of America. They thought they would not be able to practice that high level of parental control and monitoring if they lived in Turkey. However, they pointed to its drawbacks for their children's development as well. In this respect, they experienced parental monitoring both as an advantage and as a concern. One constant theme that emerged was their concerns that their adolescent children would develop inadequate life skills due to being raised under too much adult control and regulation in America.

c. Parenting strategies to regulate parent-child relationships

Along with high parental monitoring, parents focused on different aspects of their relationship with their children and utilized several strategies to establish healthy relationships. Open communication with the adolescent, showing respect and providing privacy, and spending time together were the most salient relationship strategies that parents elaborated as successful, yet challenging strategies. Among these strategies, open communication was a way to peaceful parental monitoring.

Parents felt thrilled when their adolescent children shared their feelings and thoughts with them. This was especially the case when the topic was sensitive. Şule seemed proud that their daughters did not hide anything and investigated parents' opinions and discussed their observations with Şule and her husband.

My daughters share. They share with me the things that are against their ideas and life styles. We always promote open dialogue and tell them to tell us without hesitation. If they don't tell me, they tell their father. There are things they don't tell me, but tell their father. Then, my husband and I share it. (Şule)

Parents expected their children to become open and honest. Emel harshly criticized mothers who encouraged their children to hide things from their fathers to avoid conflicts, which she thought could accustom them to lie to parents. Parents discussed becoming friends with the adolescent as one aspect of open communication. One of Derya's top priorities was to know what was going on in his son's life through becoming friends with her son.

If he looks sad or absent-minded, you should keep him awake and ask why he is like that. You should ask: 'Why are you looking like this? Did anything happen at school? Would you like to share? Tell me my dear.' Then, he necessarily shares. He may not share at first, maybe after half an hour. It is important to be present, be friends, try to be friends. (Derya)

While stressing the importance of friendship and warm relationships, parents frequently ascribed different roles to mother and father. As explained in her strategy, Ayten had succeeded in becoming her son's friend, while she also claimed that a parent "should become like the child's friend, but not his friend." (Ayten). What she meant with these words was the importance of not losing the role as a mother and that parent-child hierarchy while establishing that friendship. To keep parent-child boundaries and hierarchy in place was a consideration for other families as well. In most families, parents relied on a family system where one parent was more authoritarian and disciplining while the other was more like a friend. For example, Aykut mentioned the importance of friendship as well, but he also felt that one consequence of

friendship with the child was that their son did not take him seriously. However, he still seemed very content about their relationship and was comfortable in that his wife's more strict boundaries and discipline balanced their family system. Kadriye's family had a similar balance in that their adolescent daughter felt more comfortable with her father and Kadriye situated herself on the side of rules and restrictions.

My daughter opens up to her dad a lot. For example, if she will order something on the Internet, he asks her dad. He is more comfortable with her dad than with me. This gives us comfort. She finds her dad more speakable and approachable. As you know, mom is the one who forces the rules. (Kadriye)

Parents participating in this study realized that putting pressure on their children or imposing restrictions to shape their behaviors would not lead to the desired effect especially in the context of America, where they thought children expected their parents to respect their own choices and privacy. I gained the impression in the interviews that parents were quite sensitive about respecting their children's choices, personalities and boundaries, though they could not stop themselves from constant monitoring. They became observant of their children's behaviors and developed tactics to open their children up or to influence their behaviors. Some parents conducted underground investigations to know what their children were doing. This was their way of being respectful to their children while monitoring them simultaneously. For example, Çiğdem was worried about her son's possible dating. However, she thought she could not prevent him from having a girlfriend. So, she tried to be open about the possibilities with her son and kept asking questions despite his partial discomfort.

If I don't allow dating, I know he will react. So, I prefer to be transparent as much as possible. Is there someone in your life, do you see her? For example, he recently told me about a girl who lives a few blocks away. I realized something different from the way he talked. When he understands that I realize, he says things to imply that there is nothing special. I sometimes ask questions like 'Do you see her? Where do you see her? What do you talk about?' He may say 'Mom, I know what you are trying to do. (Çiğdem)

Probably influenced by Çiğdem's style, her son hesitated to talk about his own dating issues with his mother openly. Çiğdem said that her son sometimes asked questions about dating to understand his parents' viewpoints. For example, he had asked Çiğdem how she had met his father. According to Çiğdem, her son's style was the result of her previous harsh reactions to his questions and comments on dating. This shows that adolescents' behaviors are shaped transactionally by their parents' responses.

Other parents conducted disguised investigations as well. Ayten, who was one of the most anxious mothers, realized that she never got answers from her adolescent son about what had happened at school. As a result, she found ways of approaching him:

You try to get clues through encouraging him to talk. He doesn't talk. You need to ask. "How was school?" "Good." "How are classes?" "Good." "My son, nothing bad happened?" "No." "Come Ahmet, let's buy that thing that you love." "Really?! Hmm, this happened, that happened..." "Oh really? Oh, what did you say?" Like two friends. (Ayten)

Similarly, Şule said she often fished for information indirectly from her daughters, primarily on issues of discrimination.

Especially because my two daughters cover their hairs, they get questions from their friends, teachers. When my daughters talk, I always try to read between the lines and understand if they are discriminated against or not. I analyze how they are reacted to (by others) without them understanding (my overhearing). (Şule)

Despite being tolerant, Şule felt sad that her daughters were gradually becoming adults, more distant from their parents, and spending too much time in their rooms.

They are reading books for hours. I told them several times not to read that much. 'Daughter, turn to life, look, you have siblings, help them with their homeworks, help me a little bit, and we should empty the dishwasher.' They like to withdraw themselves. (Şule)

Şule said she prepared fruit plates for her daughters to create "interaction opportunities" with them.

Most families emphasized the role of spending special time with their children to establish healthy, warm, parent-child relationships. Parents usually preferred to go to restaurants, movies, or sightseeing with their adolescent children.

d. The use and mobilization of the Turkish community

1) Turkish community support and parenting

Some parents relied on the support of their Turkish friends and of the Turkish community in the absence of an extended family support. The lack of extended family support also meant the lack of parent role models for the parents. Having no parent role models was reported to be a challenge for the inexperienced parents. Under these circumstances, as a meso level dynamic, parents used the existing resources of the Turkish community, became engaged in mobilization efforts, or took their senior Turkish parent friends as examples. They consulted with their friends in the Turkish community, who were usually very few in numbers, or took them as examples. For example, Mehtap and her husband decided to send their daughter to Turkey for high school when they observed a similar practice in one of the Turkish families within their close circles. Their friends' parenting experiences were guiding Mehtap and her husband because they were parenting adolescent children for the first time in their lives.

We raised our first child with trial and error methods. We didn't have many friends who were raised here. We didn't have any role models in front of us (as parents) (Mehtap)

Some parents were organized around the two different Turkish cultural centers in the area. Parents sent their adolescent children to the Sunday schools of these cultural centers in their early childhood years and they continued to participate in the organized activities of these centers as a whole family during their children's adolescence years. Some of the adolescent children continued to attend the weekend programs of student mentors or the ACT classes organized by one of the centers. Parents who preferred TCCI were engaged in the activities of TCCI from the

very beginning, because TCCI was established earlier by the Turkish community. On the other hand, the other cultural center was founded later. The parents who were active in this other cultural center were still organizing activities for their children with a close circle of friends. Zeynep explained how her friends filled the gap of an extended family in America while raising her children.

First of all, you have your parents' support in Turkey. Your younger sister, elder sister, you have family support. This is a very serious support. You don't have it here. This is probably why we are culturally very close with our friends here. We are always together. We are trying to compensate that lack (of family) this way. (Zeynep)

Kadriye, too, mentioned that they had been organized as a small community of friends in another city, before she came to her current location.

If we didn't have friends, it is very hard here. Our friends were organizing Sunday school there. Our children would release whole week's stress there by playing, running. Eid programs were organized and our children were feeling very happy thanks to these activities. (Kadriye)

While these parents felt the support of the Turkish community from their children's early childhood years onwards, not all parents had the same level of support from other Turkish people, or from an organized community of Turkish people, although all parents had Turkish people's support in America at some point in their lives. For example, İpek complained that most of her recent friendships with Turkish people had resulted in disappointment due to relationship problems, so she was becoming increasingly more cautious towards them. Similarly, Aykut was hesitant to attend Turkish people's events in their area, because he perceived it to be "a waste of time" anymore. Derya was another parent who had received almost no support from Turkish people after coming to America when her son was four years old. This was primarily because they had to move frequently from one state to another due to her spouse's job instability. She put forward that as a family, they had been increasingly feeling the lack of community support in

their lives. She said her busy daily life as mother of three children had become an obstacle for her active involvement in Turkish community's activities. However, she said she planned to attend herself and to encourage her son to attend these activities.

There are schools around Chicago, there are two Turkish groups. There are weekend programs and Taner wants to attend. He may have one or two Turkish friends there. We couldn't join these programs yet but I will do my best to do so. I want Taner to go out at the weekends for sports or club activities. I would love that. (Derya)

All parents had the support of the Turkish community in their lives at some points and most find this support important for their parenting and their children's well-being.

2) Turkish community activities for adolescents

Parents also endeavored to regulate their children's activities to protect them or to teach them religion, morality, and culture. These activities in a way serve the parental monitoring purposes of the parents. One of these activities organized by some parents was regular weekend meetings for their adolescent children with Turkish college students who came from Turkey. In these meetings, female adolescents stay with female college students, while male adolescents stay with male college students. The adolescents stayed there on Friday nights and their parents picked them up on Saturdays. According to Şule, the main function of those meetings was to practice Islam, Turkish culture, and socialize with other Turkish adolescents. In this way, parents constructed an alternative socialization sphere for their adolescent children, where they socialized with other Turkish adolescents.

We don't want to lose our girls and we want to tell them our culture and values. We do everything to that end. They pray together, do halaqa, and other Turkish girls come there too. They share with them. They have groupings there. Not each girl can get along with every other girl. During large scale events, they act together. (Şule)

Kadriye wanted to guarantee that these outside home activities were under their control, as parents, and the weekend activities provided the parents with that assurance.

She enjoys going there and being with college students. I mean children too need to spend time outside of home. It is important to do this under control. They should stay in safe places. (Kadriye)

Zehra thought that it was good for the well-being of her daughter to attend to these weekly activities. She stressed that it was easier for her daughter to do activities with her peers and “she enjoyed living under the same roof with them.” (Zehra). Mehtap also emphasized the importance of the weekend meetings with sisters in teaching Islamic practices to the adolescents. Although her daughter was reluctant at the beginning, Mehtap was happy that she was attending those weekend meetings. She felt grateful for these weekend activities, because her daughter “got used to daily prayers more easily in that environment.” (Mehtap) According to Kadriye, these weekend meetings addressed her daughter’s need to stay outside home from time to time.

Another activity organized by one of the Turkish Cultural Centers was ACT classes for the adolescents. Şule’s daughter attended those classes and was learning from Turkish teachers along with other Turkish adolescents. Turkish Cultural Centers’ activities are not limited to ACT classes for high school students. Starting from primary school years, those cultural centers organize Turkish classes, Turkish history classes, and classes that teach Quran and Islam. Parents perceived these spaces as safe spaces where adolescents could learn Turkish culture and/or religion and socialize with other Turkish youth. Mine encouraged her daughter to have Turkish or Muslim friends to prevent her from “yearning her American friends.” Mine was content that her 14 year-old daughter had a Turkish friend where they lived and they attended the Quran classes at the Turkish cultural center together. She said it was good that she had a Muslim Turkish friend.

Emel's two daughters attended folklore classes of a Turkish cultural center as well when they were younger, although they were not willing to participate at the beginning. Emel perceived these classes beneficial in that they socialized with other Turkish children and their Turkish improved. Emel proudly explained how her elder daughter visited Turkey with a group from her school and easily helped her American friends with her advanced Turkish. Şule also indicated that they raised their children with the help of Sunday schools of the Turkish Cultural Center, where they learned religion, Turkish language and folklore.

We organized Turkish classes, religion classes for them. We taught them Turkish culture and folklore. We raised them with weekend schools to teach both culture and religion. (Şule)

Ayten's son also attended weekend school of a Turkish cultural center. According to Ayten, these classes became beneficial in teaching Turkish cultural values to her child and advancing his Turkish.

They learned Turkish culture, national and religious holidays, Atatürk, God, learned to read poems, and improved their social relationships. This was the purpose. To teach them Turkishness, speaking and writing in Turkish. (Ayten)

Fatma was content that she was living close by a Turkish cultural center and her adolescent children could attend to ACT classes or other activities organized by the community. For Sinem, whose love to her country of origin was very high, one function of Turkish cultural centers had to be teaching "the beauties of Turkey" to children, hence triggering an ethnic pride in them.

This kind of cultural centers have a huge responsibility in America. The beauty is that the teachers here slowly teach children the beauties of Turkey, its songs, art, and make them feel the beauties of their country. It is important that our children feel proud of these. (Sinem)

She expressed her regrets that she could not send her son to the cultural center's classes due to disagreements with her husband but suggested other families do so. For her, teaching Quran and Islam was paving the way for "mercy, respect, and tranquility" (Sinem) for children.

Parents also tried to live close by to the other Turkish families for similar reasons. For Şule, this was a way to protect her daughters from being like American youth. She was very happy that there were two other Turkish families living close by in the same suburban area and these Turkish adolescents were supposed to "protect each other." In the last two neighborhoods they lived, there were other Turkish adolescents in her daughter's high school.

We know the situation of American youth. We did not want our children to get lost. We didn't want to send them to an ordinary high school. We wanted them to go to a high school where they will protect one another. There were three more Turkish children in my daughter's first high school. We moved to that area even for one year. In this way, children can control themselves as a group. (Şule)

Even when parents were not close neighbors, they socialized with their Turkish friends thinking that their adolescent children could stay more connected this way. For example, Kadriye's daughter had 7-8 close friends, whose parents were Kadriye's parents. Hence, Kadriye claimed to raise her daughter in a "selected environment." In this way, she was able to show "good role models" to her daughter, whereas she would not have that opportunity if they lived in Turkey. Instead, "her cousins would inevitably be her role models," (Kadriye) whether she would approve them or not. Şule had a similar sensitivity about choosing her daughters' friends. However, this does not mean that parents fully restricted their children from having American friends. For example, Şule expressed that it was impossible to fully control children's friendships:

She had American friends too. We promoted this as well. We invited them to our home in the weekends. Our children went to their birthdays. They were good, clean children. There is nothing wrong to keep your child in that group as long as she chooses her friends

carefully. But as your child gets older, we can't control. So, we moved to this area in agreement with our friends. Although we came from different areas, we wanted our children to study in the same high school. Four Turkish adolescents. (Şule)

However, Şule still perceived the Turkish adolescents around her daughters as a safe zone.

e. Transnationalism

Transnationalism emerged as an important theme in this study. In addition to being an inevitable part of living as immigrants, transnationalism appeared to have influences on parenting and be a parental strategy in this study. The families had tight connections with Turkey and the parents thought adolescents' visits to Turkey and their relationships with the extended family were important for their well-being. However, this was a challenge in that the trips were expensive and it was hard to adjust schedules for each family member. The nonstop plane trip from America to Turkey takes approximately ten hours. This is an expensive trip and the ticket costs were one of the primary concerns of the parents, who were often passionate about visiting Turkey with their children. Because of the high ticket costs, some families like Şule's might have waited for promotion seasons and whoever had time visited separately, or they could only visit whenever they could afford expensive summer tickets every two or three years.

Another obstacle appeared to be visa issues, which I preferred not to explore in detail during the interviews because I did not want to be too intrusive about such a sensitive issue. Some parents did not go back to Turkey for years and one of the families never went back. I did not investigate the reasons behind not visiting Turkey considering families' privacy and the sensitive nature of the topic. This seemed to be painful for the parents, all of whom had left their extended families in Turkey. For example, Derya and her husband had never gone back since she came in 1999 and their son, who was four years old when he came, had never seen Turkey. Yet, it was vital for them to maintain their transnational ties with their children's maternal and

paternal extended families. Derya put forward that “Turkey was never abstract for their son” because “Turkey came to America every summer” and “America became Turkey,” although they could not visit Turkey themselves. With these words, she meant their extended families’ summer visits to their home, which she described cheerfully. For her, this was a necessary way to keep their son’s ties with Turkey and Turkish culture. When I asked Derya why those visits were important to her, she said:

Not to be far from Turkey’s culture, to feel the culture, let him go and live in his grandmother’s grandfather’s home, smell, and get to know what his country is and what it is not. He is a child that loves his culture. Let him see himself and make the judgement himself. I wonder what he will say when he sees there in person. I am excited. Will he love here or there? (Derya)

Derya said they were excited for their planned visit to Turkey the following summer. Their son was very fond of Turkey and Turkish culture and I could see Derya’s pride and happiness with their son’s ethnic and cultural pride. Derya described visits to Turkey as important means to transmit Turkish culture to children and thought that regular visits to Turkey was a must for him to learn Turkish culture in place. She was happy that he had the same desire to go during summer vacations.

All other parents in participating families visited Turkey from time to time, though not very often. Some parents sent their children to Turkey on their own. For example, Şule, Fatma, Kadriye, Mehtap and Zehra preferred that their children attend the summer camps organized for youth in Turkey. During those vacations, their children both attended those summer camps approximately for a month and spent time with their extended family members.

We changed our policy. Whoever finds cheap tickets and whoever has time goes. For example, we sent our daughters this summer. Both of them. Sümeyye went there every year for the last three years. Next year will become Şükran’s second year. She went this summer and will go next summer too. (Şule)

For the parents who sent their children to those summer camps, Turkey visits and summer camps were prominent instances for transmitting Turkish culture and Islam to their children. Şule described these summer camps as such:

Their connections with Turkish culture are strong and we are trying to keep these ties strong through our visits to Turkey and through coming together with Turks here. They go to Turkey, witness from the first hand, and see the differences (of Turkey from America) themselves. (Şule)

The parents who did not send their children to the summer camps still perceived summer visits a way of teaching religion and culture. For Sinem, where their son spend his adolescent years would determine what kind a person he would be. Based on her observations of other Turkish people in America, she had developed the impression that children should spend the years between 12 and 16 in a country to acquire the sense of belonging to that country. She believed she had to give their son the love of their country, Turkey.

Your child can't acquire the love for his country from outside. It doesn't matter how much I tell my child that he is Turkish and Muslim. I can't change his feelings. The thing that will change him is the love for his country and the only place he can obtain this love is his own country where he spends his holidays. He shouldn't break his relationships with his friends there. (Sinem)

Sinem seemed to be in a panic in that she thinks she should take her 12-year old son to Turkey as soon as possible to give him that sense of belonging to Turkey. For her, visits to Turkey would serve multiple purposes: exposing their son to Islam, to Turkish culture, to diversity and tolerance at the same time.

I usually try to take my son to Turkey in the summers. I want him to learn his culture a little bit. This gets harder as he reaches puberty. It is easier for them to adapt when they are younger and it gets harder after age 12. This year I felt obliged to send my child to Turkey for two months this year. Because I believe he will learn the culture better if he lives there, eats food there, has fun there, laugh and become happy there. I try to send him to the mosque on Fridays. I have friends from different socioeconomic status there. I try to stay with them and eat with them. So, I want my child to grow up without

prejudices. I believe he shouldn't judge people based on their religion, language, race, or skin color. (Sinem)

Most parents wished that their children continued their close ties with their extended families in Turkey not to forget Turkish culture and language. Zuhale, too, expressed that they wanted their son to visit Turkey regularly to that end. Her husband wanted their son to advance his Turkish in order to communicate well with his wife's family, where nobody could speak English.

When Sertaç gets older in the future, I want to send him to Turkey on his own at least once every two years. Let him spend time with my nephews, nieces, cousins. Let his Turkish improve. Because when we go to Turkey, he still has problems with speaking Turkish. And people often snort. Because he doesn't know what he says. (Zuhale)

Some families sent their children to Turkey for longer stays to learn Turkish culture and Islam better, advance their Turkish language, and enhance their relationships with their extended families. For example, Çiğdem and her husband sent their son to Turkey to study for a year. Çiğdem explained their rationale for that choice:

We sent him to Turkey because we wanted him to be close to Turkish culture, customs, and relatives. We wanted him to learn his religion and Turkish traditions. (Çiğdem)

For Çiğdem, "not losing his child" seemed to be the primary motivation. Mehtap had similar fears and they expected their daughter to study better in Turkey under the supervision of people they trusted. Mehtap and her husband witnessed their daughter's cursing with her American friends on facebook and became concerned. They sent her to a private college in Turkey expecting stricter discipline would change their daughter's behaviors. They also expected her to learn how to practice Islamic duties regularly while staying in a dorm.

So she started to react and this affected her grades badly. She closed herself to everything that came from our side. And we tried different things like having her study in Turkey.

We had close friends there. We thought she would feel closer to her sister mentors if they showed interest in her. The education was good too. Her life could be more organized and she would gain motivation in dorm life. Because she was smart but did not care her classes. (Mehtap)

Although they thought this experience did not fulfill their expectations and their daughter came back after spending one semester in Turkey, Mehtap was still contend that their daughter's Turkish had gotten much better thanks to that experience.

The sole purpose of sending their children to Turkey that Mehtap and Çiğdem expressed was the “protect” their children in their high school years. These parents assumed high schools were safer in Turkey in that there was less drug use and adolescents did not explore sexuality at the levels American adolescents did.

Although Mehtap and Çiğdem claimed to observe positive effects of their children's stay in Turkey, such as improvement in their Turkish, they also mentioned difficulties their children had in Turkey. Consequently, Çiğdem's son came back after a year and Mehtap's daughter did so after one semester. In addition, not seeing the anticipated behavior changes in their daughter had urged Mehtap and her husband to bring their daughter back to America. Çiğdem explained why their son came back without hesitation.

He couldn't adapt. I mean he felt like we left him to the ocean suddenly and he had to take care of everything on his own. So he found it hard. He had to do everything in a country he wasn't used to. I think it was our mistake. As a result, he felt impatient to come back here. His school is very good here anyway. (Çiğdem)

Çiğdem's son's adjustment issues stemmed from the differences in the American and Turkish education systems and from the highly politicized social environment, including the classrooms. Interestingly, Çiğdem said that spending time in Turkey eliminated the fishbowl effect of being raised in America for their son, because he had a “good Turkish people” image in

his mind before staying in Turkey for a year. Çiğdem said he expected to see only good people in Turkey, but was disappointed by seeing the negatives. This experience transformed her son's perceptions through introducing grays to his World, which consisted of only blacks and whites previously. This might have been caused by the fact that parents generally, and Çiğdem in particular, constructed a good, ideal Muslim Turkish person for their children and expected them to represent this ideal in their personalities. Hence, when the adolescents witnessed negatives in Turkish people, this contrasted with the image their parents had presented to them. Previously, her son had constructions regarding each ethnic or religious group, including Turks. Çiğdem explained this in the following words:

Things are clear in his mind. He interprets and say "He is a Mexican and this is Mexicans' general culture." Or "He is white American" or "He is Black." In Turkey, he realized that everyone is Turkish, everyone is Muslim. But when the person's behaviors conflict with his Turkish Muslim identity, he couldn't make that black and white distinction. There are grays. Because there are lots of grays (in Turkey), he couldn't define that identity in his mind. (Çiğdem)

Sinem was another parent who saw transnationalism as a strategy to protect her son from her biggest concern, early sexual relationships. She said she was planning to take her son to Turkey in the summers so that he could have Turkish girlfriends there:

Let me take my son to some places (in Turkey) so that he will have girlfriends there. He will get to know Turkish girls. Because if he sees friends in Turkish culture and lives with them for a while, I believe this will be useful for him. So take your child to Turkey to have summer friendships there. Let him swim, have fun, get to know Turkish music, Turkish art. If he stays here (in the summers), he may become friends with girls with indecent clothes, may start experiencing sexuality, or just the opposite, he may become isolated. Being isolated, not having girlfriends, may lead children to violence."(Sinem)

Transnationalism was a strategy used by Turkish parents both to "protect" their adolescent children from the threats they perceived to their well-being and to transmit Turkish culture and religion. These opportunities seemed to relieve their parenting stress. However,

transnational experiences were not without challenges and had both comforting and stressful influences for the parents.

C. Parent Perspectives on Parenting-Adolescent Well-being Relationship

This section analyzes parents' perspectives on the second research question of how parenting, parent-child relationships and the family environment influence adolescent well-being.

1. Children in fishbowl? Overprotectiveness as negative side of parental monitoring

One prominent theme that emerged was parents' concerns about the effects of their parental monitoring and protection when it reached high levels. Parents frequently consciously evaluated their monitoring, sometimes criticizing themselves.

When parents assessed the effects of their overprotective parenting practices, parents situated their adolescent children both against the adolescents in Turkey and White American adolescents. When they compared their children's lives to the lives of the adolescents in Turkey, parents thought negative influences resulted both from their overprotectiveness and the American life style. Parents often defined the adolescents in Turkey as acquiring certain life skills earlier, such as going to the market on their own, taking public transportation, or even climbing trees during free play. Parents unanimously said they were raising their children in a "fishbowl" in America. One aspect of this was children's activities were almost always adult controlled. When adolescents needed a drive to participate in social activities, their parents drove them. They indicated that they were like drivers responsible from their children's transportation to social activities or they always did shopping together. As a result, they concluded that their

adolescent children could not learn certain independence skills such as playing outside on their own or shopping on their own.

I realized something with Serkan. When you go shopping, you drive as a family. Parents make the payment. The child is passive. In America, when I ask Serkan to go out and buy something from CVS, he says “Mom, are you sure? Will I go on my own?” Because he isn’t used to. (Çiğdem)

In comparison to the children in Turkey, parents realized their adolescent children did not have the skills of spontaneous, free play with their friends outside, because everything was artificially organized under the name of an activity in America.

They are in a fishbowl, because I can’t send them to streets (to play). If they will do an activity outside, we are always on top of them. If we go to iceskating, we go together. We go everywhere together. There is nothing like let him go out with his friends and have fun. So, when they go to Turkey, they can’t adapt. For example, his friends climb trees and Serkan doesn’t know how to climb. His friends throw apples from the top of the tree, Serkan just looks and thinks: “How can I climb? Do I harm the tree if I do?” He is always hesitant and cautious. So, children don’t know what to do or how to behave when we leave them free. I don’t know if I raised them this way or is this a general tendency of children raised here, I don’t know. (Çiğdem)

Children who were raised in Turkey are on top of the roofs. They play outside in the summer, play with ball, because there is space. Here, the environment isn’t suitable to this. Not everybody has a house. There are streets in front of the buildings or the buildings are surrounded. Children can’t play with their balls because this is against the rules. (Ayten)

According to Ayten, lack of free street play deprived her son of several important social skills, which she thought children in Turkey spontaneously learned during playing and street interactions.

He jumps outside, sees how cars move and how humans behave. He goes to the market and learns how to walk in the street. He learns how to talk to others. Here, the child is always at home. When we go shopping, it is me who talks. He doesn’t do shopping. What happens then? The child learns nothing. He is always behind and passive. (Ayten)

Şule also said it was a very different experience for her daughters to play outside or to shop from the small neighborhood market during their visits to Turkey. Derya, too, regretted that

she could not give her son responsibilities such as shopping due to the “car-centered organization of daily life” in America.

Although the closest market is in walking distance, it is still far. For example, my son was more social when he was younger. He is losing that feature gradually. You can’t give that responsibility to him, *because the environment isn’t right for that*. I can’t tell him to go out with his cousin and do something. I can’t ask him to take the bus and go to his aunt. Life is car-centered. You drive him everywhere. This doesn’t support his socialization. He needs to do things on his own for that. (Derya)

Derya concluded that his son’s life skills were less developed when compared to American youth. This was partly because American children were raised in the middle of their web of extended family relationships just like Turkish adolescents who were raised in Turkey.

Similarly, Zeynep indicated that her children were less mature and more childish compared to American adolescents and Turkish adolescents in Turkey. She also ascribed this to dependency on parents, parents’ overprotectiveness, and lack of spontaneous, non school organized activities with friends. As a result, children learned “not through experiencing, but education or adult supervision” (Zeynep), while Turkish adolescents learned things through experience and became adolescents earlier.

Another area of self criticism related to overprotectiveness was not giving enough responsibilities to adolescents, primarily to male adolescents. Zeynep regretted that she had not taught her sons how to prepare their own food.

In American culture, they give responsibility to their children from their early years onwards. If you didn’t do this for 15 years, you can’t do after this point. I had trials, I tried different ways, but couldn’t be successful. (Zeynep)

As we see in Zeynep’s expressions, giving responsibility to children was a crucial aspect of “American parenting” in the parents’ constructed image of Americans. In my interviews, some parents compared themselves to White American parents and pointed out that Turkish

parents did not give enough responsibility to their children in daily life. They concluded that this parental style hindered children's independent living skills.

We are protecting that family thing. It doesn't matter if the child doesn't make his bed, we, as mothers and grandmothers, make it for him. But Americans are good at this. They raise their children in a way that they will stand on their own feet. We are raising them a little bit dependent on their families. We are thinking about leaving Serkan alone in America in his last year at high school, after we go back to Turkey. But there are 40 different things in my mind: Will he be able to rent a place and live on his own? If I leave a pan on the oven and leave home, I will feel uncomfortable. Because I know he won't take care of it and won't think I will expect him to take care of it. So, I am hesitant about his staying alone. (Çiğdem)

In conclusion, parents thought their adolescent children in America were disadvantaged with regard to independent life skills for two reasons. First, parents were aware that they did not give enough responsibilities in their daily lives such as preparing food, cleaning their rooms, or making their beds. Second, parents thought that different from the adolescents in Turkey, adolescents in America lacked the social environment which would promote their life skills. Parents attributed this to three factors: (1) the organization of adolescents' lives in America, which they defined as car centered, (2) to the lack of free, spontaneous street play in America, and (3) lack of extended family in America. In this sense, parents concluded that their children were disadvantaged in comparison both to Turkish adolescents in Turkey and American adolescents in America. To sum, the combined effects of parental overprotectiveness with the three aforementioned factors were pointed as hindering adolescents' life skills development.

2. Supporting adolescent self-confidence and well-being

Parents encouraged their children to express their feelings and reactions. To them, doing so boosted their children's self confidence. Ayten said she was deliberate in her effort to open up space for her son. She said her son had been increasingly reactive in his behaviors, but she did

not attempt to stop him because he “could be affected in a negative way.” (Ayten). She said: “I don’t want to restrict his freedoms, it is necessary for the child to express his reactions.” (Ayten).

Her daughters’ self confidence was a central concern for Şule, too. During our interview, she shared her observation that her children seemed a little bit shy compared to American adolescents. To change this, she mentioned how they took their daughters to some of the events the Turkish community had organized, to which Americans were invited as well. During the events, her daughters found the opportunity to interact with Americans and give them information about Turkey and Turkish culture. For her, these events gave her daughters the following messages:

We aren’t trying to blend and lose ourselves. We can both protect our values, introduce our values to others, and adapt to America. There is no need to get lost. You can become successful and be respected with your stance. We were showing them these examples for them to stand strong. (Şule)

Parents might also have deliberately taught assertiveness to their children to help them gain self-confidence. For them, it was especially “important in America to stand on one’s own feet” (Kadriye). Zuhale and Aykut too were proud to teach their son how to stand against injustice or practices that might seem illogical to him. Different from most of the other parents I interviewed, they thought the American education system imposed obedience to the system and rules. As a reaction, they encouraged their son to oppose rules that seemed unreasonable.

We always teach Sertaç to stand against injustice. And Sertaç is a very different child. He never accepts injustice. He always stands against it and we had problems for this reason. His teachers always complained and said ‘your child doesn’t obey.’ Because there is injustice. Sertaç wears a hat in the summer to protect himself from sun. He comes and says ‘Mom, they say we have to take our hats off in cafeteria. I didn’t take my hat off and my teacher said I couldn’t sit with my hat.’ He said he asked the reason. He is looking for a reason. If it has a reason, make a reasonable explanation to me. If it is reasonable, I will take it off. If you only say ‘This is the rule,’ it is not sufficient for me. He is such a child and this is how we raise him. (Zuhale)

Another method parents pursued was to encourage adolescents to participate in social activities and sports. Kadriye had the impression that it was important for a Muslim woman to become involved in the activities other adolescents were engaged in for the child not to have a sense of deprivation. In return, this was supposed to boost the adolescent's self confidence. Kadriye mentioned some social activities as if they balanced the possible negative effects of being a Muslim adolescent girl in an American school.

For example, she wears headscarf comfortably at school. But she plays golf at the same time. Golf is appropriate for us, you play it on your own, nobody can approach you closer than one meter. She is playing violin in advanced orchestra. We wanted her to know that she doesn't have to be deprived of anything because she covers her hair. We will send her to DC for an internship. (We want her to) be strong on her feet in a self confident way and (think about) if I can make a contribution to this country. (Kadriye)

Kadriye regarded golf, a middle class American sports activity, as a way to facilitate her daughter's adaptation to American society. This also displays her desire that her children would become part of the American middle class and stand on their own feet as self confident individuals.

According to Emel, family activities and special time with children were instances where the children felt "they were important more than anything" (Emel). To this end, she said both her spouse and herself spent time with their daughters, did gymnastics, iceskating, played soccer, or went to movies together while they were growing up. She said that her husband did not differentiate female-male activities and spent time with their daughters despite his busy schedule.

It was the fathers who were the busiest in families and "my husband is too busy" was a common expression I heard during the interviews with mothers. Still, fathers tried to find spots for their families. İpek said her husband, who was a busy driver, went out with his son to drive their remote controlled car outside. According to İpek, it was also her son's preference to spend

time with his father instead of herself: “He doesn’t spend time with me often. He usually spends time with his dad, because he doesn’t have much to share with me. I go shopping and go around and he doesn’t like this. We just sit and watch movies together.” (İpek).

Kadriye had observed that although Turkish parents spent time with their children, it was not labelled as special, quality time. As a result, she said Turkish children felt inferior vis-a-vis American children, whose families almost always named their activities. This gave children the opportunity to verbalize their shared family time with their friends at school.

Our Turkish children always feel inferior because their families don’t allocate time to their children. I mean a foreign child (American) watches movies with his family, so do our children. However, his family brings pop corn to him and calls it movie time, they name it, as if it is special for the child. Our family might be doing more, but it is not special for the child. So, as far as I observe, they are in a mood of observing others in a passive way. When they grow up like this, this mood continues in high school. (Kadriye)

As opposed to other Turkish families’ unnamed family activities, Kadriye and her husband organized weekly family time with their daughters. Kadriye elaborated how they read books and later discuss them accompanied by a special food for that activity.

Indeed, parents’ need to take a step back and not become too intrusive was also the result of their children’s demands. One apparent newly emerging demand of the adolescents was an increasing demand for privacy. This emerged in the form of spending more time behind closed doors of their rooms. Parents usually respected this despite their occasional complaints. Kadriye had ascribed this both to being in America and being an adolescent.

She started to withdraw to her room since sixth grade. She was closing her door. That is what I meant by ascribing to American context. For example, she still can’t feel happy unless her room’s door is close. She will be in her room behind close doors. She will have a private life. But this was under control. We let her do this in adolescence. In the end, if we know what she does in her room, we allowed her to be alone in her room. She felt very happy (thinking) ‘Oh, they respect my life.’ We started to knock her door before we entered. (Kadriye)

Parents claimed having respect for their children as they reach puberty and indirect interventions were better than conflictual confrontations. For instance, some parents preferred an indirect style when they wanted to give messages to their adolescent children. To protect their daughters from their fear of drugs, Kadriye said she and her husband found documentaries and watched them together at home as a family time activity. In this way, their goal was to inform their children about drugs instead of restricting their children's behaviors or giving them direct messages.

There are drug addicts or smokers in many high schools around. I mean we tried to have them watch documentaries on the subject at home. We tried to help them understand that one trial may not be one trial and may darken one's life. The children may not know this. Before she started high school, we found related stories from the Internet and shared.
(Kadriye)

Similarly, Şule asserted that they tried to be respectful to her daughters' choices. For instance, Şule and her spouse did not want them to listen to certain kinds of music loudly at home. However, they did not state this as a rule, knowing that this could create a reaction. So, she said they expressed it indirectly to her daughter.

We say: "My daughter, don't turn it on. Your siblings will hear." I mean I try not to target her directly because when I do that, she reacts. (I say): "Look, you have siblings, this may not be a good example for them. If you want to listen, do with your headphone silently." I always make her feel that she has choices. This gives her confidence. We try to tell her why she shouldn't do. You can't take it away and hide. (Şule)

Respecting their children as they became adolescents was both the result of adolescents' demands and parents' way of enhancing children's self-confidence.

3. Extended family in Turkey and adolescent well-being

As I explained in the previous sections, parents perceived their transnational ties as important for transmitting Turkish culture and Islam to their adolescent children and had a strong

desire that their children would strengthen those ties. Along with these desired benefits, parents had observations on the ways transnational experiences affected their children's well-being. The connections with the extended family members were the most important part of the transnational experiences.

Derya and her family were never able to return to visit Turkey for the 10 years they had stayed in America. Nevertheless, their extended family members visited them in the summers. Derya indicated that her son enjoyed those summer visits so much that he said he wanted to move to Turkey to live with his extended family permanently. I learned from Derya that he was even making plans to go to college in Turkey. It was not until very recently that he changed his mind and said he wanted to study in America. When his grandparents left, he felt sad for a while, which made Derya sad in return.

Grandmothers affected him a lot. I mean each time they came here and left, he felt sad as if he lost something. This sadness lasts for a long time. Here there is only mom and dad. We criticize him sometimes. He is feeling more warmth from them. (Derya)

It can be said that the visits of the extended family had both positive and negative influences on Derya's son. It was positive in that he enjoyed his time so much, negative in that he felt sad for weeks after they left and felt his loneliness strongly in those days.

Parents who had the opportunity to visit Turkey as a family indicated that their children usually enjoyed their time there because their relatives welcomed them and treated them as special. However, they also put forward that adolescents might sometimes have felt bored moving from one home to another as guests in extended family members' homes.

Enjoying their time did not eliminate all relationship problems. The major issue that bothered parents was different understandings of proper ways of expressing respect to the elderly in America and in Turkey. Parents felt upset that their relatives in Turkey interpreted some

adolescent behaviors as disrespectful, although these behaviors were not necessarily regarded as disrespectful in American context. One of the main problems was the way the adolescents sat in the presence of the elderly. Parents mentioned that their children sat quite comfortably or sometimes laid down, which was regarded as disrespectful by the elderly extended family members. Çiğdem said she felt uncomfortable when her son sat too comfortably in the presence of Çiğdem's father, and she had to warn him. Zuhail, too, warned her son for the same reason.

Serkan usually don't behave disrespectfully. But I realize that he sits very comfortably and puts her legs on one another. I stare at him and try to make him understand with my facial expression. He knows that he shouldn't do that but he doesn't see it as an expression of respect. He is comfortable in the presence of his grandfather. And my father doesn't say anything. He used to tell us, but doesn't warn him. Grandchild is different. (Çiğdem)

I tell him 'You shouldn't sit like this in the presence of the people who are older than you.' He says 'Okay mom.' Because he doesn't know. He is very comfortable here, no one prevents him here. (Zuhail)

Extended family members might have perceived the adolescents' tone of voice as rude and disrespectful as well. Zeynep claimed that children in America had difficulties in controlling the tone of their voice and this had caused problems in Turkey, when their sons talked to them with a similar voice.

They may say 'How rude he is? How can he talk to his mom or dad or to an older person like this?' I mean he can't control his tone of voice and speaks loud. We see this in these children. They talk directly. (Zeynep)

Emel's daughters were criticized for having a loud voice and their communication style, too. Their daughters' uncles and cousins had criticized them for telling their uncle "Don't smoke" too loudly. Emel felt uncomfortable that her relatives ascribed these behaviors to "being raised in America" and "not being disciplined properly." Getting negative comments from their extended family members for not raising children with proper respect norms made parents and the adolescents upset.

It was not only the differences in the respect norms that gave families a difficult time. Also, coming from two different sociocultural spaces, Turkey and America, resulted in communication problems for the adolescents and their extended families.

At first, it was more positive and much funnier for the children to go to Turkey and see relatives. As they grew older and saw some negative things, (this changed). And your mode differs from the people in Turkey after a while. For example, children can't communicate well with their cousins. They talk about very different things, they listen different music. These are important things that keep children together and help them socialize. When you don't have these, we sit together, drink tea, and leave. Children get bored after a while. (Zeynep)

Visits to Turkey were vital instances for the parents, who desired their adolescent children to develop a sense of belonging to Turkey. While parents experienced their children's short and long term visits useful for teaching them religion, Turkish culture, and language, these visits were not without tensions. They observed that their children got bored during extended home visits and stays, missed America after a while, experienced occasional communication problems including the problems of different understandings of respect. It can be claimed that parents perceived both positive and negative influences of their extended families on their children with regard to adolescent well-being.

D. Adolescent Perspectives on Parenting in America

This section analyzes adolescent perspectives on research question 1: "How does the immigration experience influence parenting practices, parent-adolescent relationships and the family environment for Turkish immigrant families in U.S.?" Adolescents were aware that having first generation immigrant parents was making a difference in their lives. They seemed to have a high level of consciousness about their parents' parenting and were engaged in a constant evaluation of their parents, probably a practice their peers might not be doing at this level. First of all, adolescents were aware of their parents' concerns and expectations. Second, they were

aware that having immigrant parents had been exposing them to Turkish culture through the social spaces their parents opened to them and in reconstructed forms.

1. Awareness of immigrant parenting

a. Adolescent perspectives on parental concerns and monitoring

Adolescents compared their parents to the other immigrant and American parents around them. They often concluded that their parents displayed high levels of parental monitoring. Adolescents seemed quite tolerant and empathetic towards their parents' monitoring. They could ascribe this to being immigrant parents, to coming from a different social background, or their desire to transmit cultural and religious values.

Compared to other parents, Sevgi's parents were more comfortable and monitored Sevgi less with some level of control. Sevgi indicated that she enjoyed this freedom and accepted that her parents would have a certain level of parental control over them. She perceived a certain level of parental control as the intrinsic part of parenting and defined this as "normal parenting." When I asked her if she agreed with the idea that Turkish parents were overprotective, she agreed and ascribed her parents' protectiveness to being immigrants.

My friend like my best friend and the other people in my division, their parents are mostly like that too because you know they're not American. *So they have like that background of overprotectiveness. And so they're kind of alike.* (Sevgi, 15)

Similar to Sevgi, Tuba put forward that she could understand where her parents were coming from. She attributed their protectiveness and restrictions to their fears. Tuba was not allowed to stay in her friends' homes for a sleep over.

I get like why they're doing that. I get where they are coming from. I guess it's like a more protective system, you know back in Turkey like they wanna like keep the child

safe and stuff. They wanna you know it's a child so I get that they wanna you know keep safe. (Tuba, 14)

Tuba also expressed that there could be real potential threats for someone her age, which means she did not find her parents' worries totally unrealistic. Ahmet (14), too, pointed to the potential negative effects of drugs and friends who were involved in drugs. For that reason, he found his parents right in their worries to some extent and described their level of strictness as "moderate." The fact that he was 14 might also have played into his judgement of his parents, because he thought an 18-year-old adolescent would be able to go out on his own.

My parents uhm a little over moderate, but not too strict. You know my social life like they don't want me to talk to people who are usually would have a negative effect on me. Usually kids who are like bad they don't really focus much on school they don't want me to talk to them because obviously they would have a negative effect on me. (Ahmet, 14)

When I asked him what kind of kids he was talking about, he mentioned the ones who did drugs. His parents caution was especially towards those kind of friends, who "they think I would if I talk to them a lot, they would influence me." (Ahmet, 14).

Serkan, too, said his parents were stricter compared to American parents:

Turkish parents are more are supposed to be, traditional they are more strict in comparison to American families. (Serkan, 17)

Parents sometimes intervened in their children's school lives. Sümeyye's father continued to actively get involved in her school affairs and when she shared her adverse experiences, he did not hesitate to go to her school and talk to the teachers. For example, Sümeyye told her father when a male friend of hers told her a negative word.

That day my health teacher didn't really notice but like I told my dad, then he kinda like over you know like oh he did that he's gonna protect her daughter kinda. You can't call my daughter that. So he went to the dean and like I was like "Dad no need to make a big

deal out of this, it was one word" and well the kid got suspension but I never saw him again. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye's father was also the one who chose the school Sümeyye and Şükran would attend after middle school. As I learned from the Sümeyye, Şükran and their mother, he was very attentive to what his daughters wore, whether they were able to pray on time at school, what they saw on their smart phone on the Internet, or what they read. Sümeyye told me that her Internet on her phone was restricted, because their parents did not want them to see some web sites.

My dad he is always against the Internet anyway, he is like the Internet is where you get corrupted so I don't want you guys to be on it too often. And I am not on the Internet really, but I mean he really does take care for those stuff so my Internet is restricted on my phone. (Sümeyye, 16)

Despite these strict measures, she said she empathized with her father and could understand his rationale:

I understand where my dad is and the position he is in right now, he is afraid that we might lose everything and like eventually grow up to not remember Turkish, or like be able to read Quran, I understand that. (Sümeyye, 16)

Adolescents related their parents' concerns either to the threat of drugs, to parental cultural or religious concerns. In this way, they ascribed a rationale to their parents' controlling behaviors and did not react harshly.

Some adolescents were more reactive to high parental monitoring. Gülsüm (16), whose parents were more comfortable in their monitoring, criticized strict and anxious monitoring of some other parents.

Some people send their kids to Turkish schools wherever (they are). Like you can't just shelter your kids for the rest of their lives, they're gonna go out to college eventually. (Gülsüm, 16)

Enes, too, mentioned trust while we were talking about his level of freedom. Enes had asked his parents to go to school at night for a basketball program, but his mother did not allow this, saying it was too late. Enes felt this as a lack of trust because the school was very close to their home.

They don't really give me that much like freedom I would say because maybe they don't really trust me that much like, I asked one time I asked if I could go to school at night because there is a basketball program, and then my mom says "No it's too late." I am like "What am I gonna do? School is right there." We live right across it. (Enes, 14)

Different from Gülsüm, Enes' parents had a more controlling style. Enes said that he wanted to go to his school to play basketball, but his mother did not allow him to go. Although he felt uncomfortable and was not sure what his parents "had in mind," he tried to come up with explanations for their worries or a possible "lack of trust." He attributed it to the possibility that his parents felt unsafe because he did not have a car and parents felt unsafe about his walking outside at night:

I think they are just waiting for me to grow up a little bit more. If I had a car at that specific moment they would probably let me go. (Enes, 14)

He also acknowledged that he gave his parents some credit because they had experienced some conflicts over what they wanted him to do and what he wanted to do. He perceived the distrust to be the result of their frequent past conflicts in their relationship, which he thought was getting better. When I asked him if he thought American parents gave more freedom to their children, he agreed, but framed this freedom in a negative way.

I think that American kids have a lot more freedom, and *they always do stupid things* and they get away with it and their parents don't care. Most of the time it's the dad that lets them do whatever they want, because the dads don't really care that much since they probably did the same things that they did. I never wanna go to one (of those parties) *because I don't want my parents to think I am some like wild person.* (Enes, 14)

Enes situated his parents differently from American parents and although he sometimes felt uncomfortable with his parents' expectations, he seemed not to approve of the freedom American parents were supposed to give their children either. He described children attending parties as "wild," probably meaning a person who uncontrollably drinks and has sexual experiences.

Sude, too, discussed her parents' strict monitoring around the theme of trust and expressed her discomfort with her parents' unnecessary "uptightness" during the interview. Still, she empathized with her parents to some extent and she even appreciated that her parents were not "spoiling her with lots of money, as American parents did." (Sude) She also attributed her parents' strict parenting to being immigrants.

I guess they kind of learn everything from the time they have the child and because they went to high school in Turkey as well it's different. I think they might be more uptight than parents who live longer in America or like American parents. (Sude, 16)

Ahmet agreed with Sude in that adolescents had more freedom in Turkey and ascribed this freedom and comfort to the homogeneity of Turkish society. This means that he was probably aware that diversity of American society triggered his parents' worries, hence increasing their monitoring.

America and Turkey are two different places. I would say Turkey is you would feel more comfortable because you're with the same people. And like you have friends there too. In America it's different because all people are different. So it would be harder actually to go outside my own go like a bunch of different places. (Ahmet, 14)

The adolescents empathized with their parents to some extent and understood their worries as first generation immigrants. I will elaborate the effects of parental monitoring on well-being in the next section.

b. Awareness of parental exposure to a reconstructed Turkish culture

The adolescents I interviewed were aware of their parents' conscious effort of transmitting Turkish culture to them. They observed this as a consequence of having first generation immigrant parents. Adolescents also had the awareness that they were face to face with "Turkey" as constructed by parents in their family environment. Adolescents learned about Turkish culture from their families, or from what their families exposed them to.

Adolescents were exposed to an intentionally reconstructed Turkish culture. There were basically three micro systems through which the adolescents were exposed to this reconstructed Turkish culture: (1) their family environment where they were exposed to their parents' intentional endeavors of introducing Turkish culture to them, (2) Turkish community and Turkish cultural centers, and (3) transnationalism, which means their visits to Turkey and relationships with their extended families in Turkey. The moments of exposure to a reconstructed Turkish culture often led to a romanticized image of Turkey, Turkish culture and Turkish people in the adolescents' minds.

The adolescents' family environment became pivotal in representing and reconstructing Turkish culture to the adolescents. The family environment was the first sphere where the adolescents saw people who defined themselves as Turkish. Therefore, adolescents often identified Turkishness and Turkish culture with what their parents did at home and with the organization of their home sphere.

Sometimes it is hard to differentiate what is Turkish because I don't know what happens in Turkey really like but my family is Turkish I guess like the way my mom always I mean walking around the house with no shoes is kind of a cultural thing. And like keeping everything clean, I don't know what is really Turkish or like what Americans do at home. (Sümeyye, 16)

Adolescents often experienced Turkish culture in the form of Turkish food, Turkish television shows, speaking Turkish with parents often upon their demands, warm social relationships and hospitality, and Turkish home hygiene standards. These were the most prominent components of the Turkish culture as their parents presented to them.

Transnational experiences, when combined with their exposure to Turkish community center's events in America, provided some adolescents with an additional level of awareness of the reconstructed nature of Turkish culture. Sude stayed one semester in Turkey to study in her first high school year. She experienced Turkish culture in Turkey and mentioned that she did not enjoy the eid celebrations at the Turkish cultural center in America but she loved them in Turkey.

In Turkey, I love it. But here I don't. In Turkey one year I celebrated *kurban bayramı* (eid'ul adha) in Turkey, my uncle cut the *kurban*, went to my own family's house, it really felt welcomed and liked it. But here it's kind of just like we eat *kurban* in like plastic plates. (Sude, 16)

She said she felt like it was not the same thing in America and told me that eid celebrations in America looked artificial to her. She said it was "not the same thing that you felt back in Turkey." With these statements, Sude pointed to the constructed aspect of the Turkish culture she had lived with in America.

The events organized by Turkish cultural centers also became instances where they were exposed to a reconstructed Turkish culture. It was their parents who exposed them to these social spaces. Adolescents also observed the ways the Turkish community presented Turkish culture to Americans during Turkish cultural festivals, where Turkish food, music, handicrafts and folklore dances were presented. Some adolescents' parents had been actively engaged in these activities. Moreover, some adolescents had been engaged too, through taking Turkish folklore or Turkish

history classes in these cultural centers from their early childhood years onwards. Being sent to the Turkish cultural centers gave the adolescents the awareness that their parents wanted them to learn Turkish language and history. For example, Ahmet's parents had sent him to the classes at one of the Turkish cultural centers and he seemed to have the awareness that speaking in Turkish with other Turks and having the knowledge of Turkish history were important for his parents. Similarly, Sertaç indicated that his parents did not care much about his cultural choices, but they only wanted him to learn about Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish republic. His parents had bought both the Turkish and English versions of Atatürk's book, Nutuk, which he had written addressing Turkish people.

Parents not only deliberately exposed their children to Turkish culture, but some parents expected their children to represent Turkish culture outside and be good examples. For example, Serkan's parents expected him to regulate his manners carefully in public because he was supposed to represent a "good Turkish" person in America.

Representation is important in that my dad *my family wants me to represent not just the family, but the people*. Here you have a lot of Turkish people. In my school you don't. so when they when we go outside, and we are in a restaurant, we act upper class because *we don't want people think about us as a primitive country* cause I remember when I was little not really little but like 8-9 years old, this one guy sat next to us and was eating rice with his hands and my mom looked at it and I can tell that he would she was judging him based on how he ate. So he represented Pakistan as a country that did not have that do not use utensils often as we did or so forth. So they want me to represent turkey in not that Turkey of doesn't use utensils Turkey is a country where intelligence is non existent. They want me to represent Turkey as oh Turkey is a highly mannered society. So that's why they push me to do things that natural but in Turkey you wouldn't really do it. I mean in Turkey you're not gonna eat döner with a knife and a fork. (Serkan, 17)

To sum, adolescents were aware that they were both recipients and representative of Turkish culture in America. They also knew that Turkish culture they were exposed to and were sometimes representing was different from Turkish culture in Turkey.

c. Awareness of parental attitudes towards American culture

Adolescents were aware that their parents had to make conscious choices with regard to both Turkish and American cultures. Adolescents were aware of their parents' position of first generation immigrants in American society and shared their insights on how these had been affecting their parenting.

Adolescents appreciated when their parents facilitated their adaptation to American society, which I will elaborate in the section on parenting and well-being. Enes appreciated his parents' role in facilitating his adaptation to America. He criticized the fact that some parents did not teach their children any English before school and the fact that their children had difficulties in becoming native English speakers.

I really hate it's not just Turkish but every foreign kid they come here and when their parents just teach them their home language, at home and they don't teach them one word of English, it's just annoying when they come into preschool like they don't know anything about, they can't say a single word of English. I don't really care about that but when they grow up it gets worse because they have a really annoying accent. (Enes, 14)

When I asked him if he thought these children's accent would eventually fade away or not, he said that their English would never be as good as other people around them or they would probably speak with "terrible grammar."

Turkish culture and American culture coexisted peacefully for Enes and Fatih thanks to their parents' encouragement and the forms of Turkish culture their parents exposed them to. They seemed to be supportive of a parenting style which supported adolescents' adaptation to American society. Similarly, Gülsüm was in favor of parental support for adaptation and she found it unrealistic that one should remain solely Turkish while living her whole life in America. In her following statement, she criticised one's rejection of American identity:

You can also be like "I live in America but I am not American, I am totally Turkish." Like you have to admit that you grew up here like you or not you are American as well as Turkish. As I lived most of my life here, I consider myself Turkish American. (Gülsüm)

Like Enes, Gülsüm, too, criticized raising children in isolation and suggested that families should facilitate their children's adaptation to America.

I would say to a family is like if you bring your kid over here, you have to accept the fact that they're gonna be immersed in American culture, and they're gonna pick up like American culture, you can't just like try to keep them in home and protect them from it because and it's not you just have to teach them like the good things that they have to do, and let them make decisions for themselves because if you brought them here, you have to accept the fact that they're gonna change with American culture. I mean if they grow up in Turkey, there is a way that like Turkish morals and standards that are set and like everyone in Turkey follows the same social guidelines and you have to teach them morals, but you have to accept the fact that they're gonna grow up in this country and you can't just like isolate them from the culture. I know some people who try to do that and it doesn't work. (Gülsüm, 16)

E. Adolescent Perspectives on Parenting-Adolescent Well-being Relationship

1. Responses to parents' cultural concerns and exposures

Adolescents had their own views on how parenting affected their well-being. These ideas overlapped with or elaborated upon parent accounts. Furthermore, adolescents' viewpoints and strategies often took the form of responses to their parents' views or behaviors. In this section, adolescents' responses to the following parenting practices or strategies will be discussed in relation to adolescent well-being: (1) Parents' exposure to Turkish culture, (2) Parent's perspectives on adaptation to American society, (3) Transnationalism, (4) Parents' religious concerns, (5) Social spaces opened by parents, (6) Parents' academic pressure, (7) Parental monitoring and overprotectiveness, (8) Parents' regulation of adolescents' friendship choices.

a. Parents' exposure to Turkish culture and well-being

When they ask where I'm from, you know I don't say "I'm from Illinois." I'm like I tell them Türkiye, Turkey. And then I tell them I was raised in the United States. *There is no need to be ashamed that you know, I love my country.* (Taner,15)

Taner came to America when he was four years old and he had never been to Turkey back then. He did not have well-recalled memories of Turkey. Still, what he meant by “my country” was Turkey and he was apparently proud of everything related to Turkey such as Turkish food or Turkish soccer teams. At one point during my visit to their home, his mother, Derya, asked Taner to bring his scarf with *Fenerbahçe* (Turkish soccer team he supported) colors and patterns on it. Taner showed me his scarf with great enthusiasm. His uncle had bought that scarf for him in Turkey when they had gone to a soccer game. To my surprise, he remembered that day and the game itself. He said he still supported *Fenerbahçe* and was very much involved in Turkish soccer games. His mother was also cheerful when she was telling me about her son’s enthusiasm about Turkey, Turkish culture, language, and people. During my interview with Derya, I learned that Taner sometimes wore *Fenerbahçe* uniform at school. He wanted to talk about Turkish soccer teams with his classmates. His mother was surprised that he was feeling quite comfortable with his ethnic identity and was trying to create opportunities to share this pride with his American friends.

Adolescents may want to make their ethnic identity visible. While their parents focused on their worries that their children could “lose” Turkish culture, adolescents framed it in different terms. The fact that parents preserved Turkish culture in their home boundaries and taught Turkish culture to their children in reconstructed forms became a positive influence on their children’s well-being. Because, in reconstructed forms, adolescents usually became exposed to positive aspects of Turkish culture such as hospitality, warm relationships, delicious

ethnic food, enjoyable social events... etc. When I asked adolescents what they thought about Turkish culture, almost all adolescents highlighted these aspects. They were not only very comfortable with talking about Turkish culture, but most of them also seemed proud of it. Moreover, they emphasized the importance of preserving their culture in America and said it was important to keep one's own ethnic culture not to forget who you are.

I would say that's awesome, keep it up you know, stay stay I just don't let anybody put you down if you're Turkish, if you're different you know, you're that way, you're born that way. Just you know, it's okay. (Taner, 15)

We understand from his statements that Taner was aware of what it meant to be part of an ethnic minority in America: Others could try to put you down. Taner's strategy to face possible negative reactions was to acknowledge his ethnic identity and feel ethnic pride. For Serkan, remembering one's ethnic origins was necessary but not sufficient. One had to represent his culture as well.

Remember your culture. Remember where you came from. Remember who you represent and not just who you are. Because I've seen a lot of people who forget that they represent Turkish people here. And they become selfish and greedy and only say that "I want this I want that." (Serkan, 17).

At the level of discourse, all adolescents seemed to be happy and proud with the constructed versions of Turkish culture. It was this positive discourse that increased the adolescents' pride in Turkishness. This discourse on Turkey, Turkish culture, and Turkish people is similar to how Turkey is often represented to the tourists who visit Turkey. Parents, the Turkish community in America, and the adolescents' extended families presented a similar, touristic image of Turkish culture to the adolescents.

Turkish history including the Ottoman Empire's history was a source of pride for some adolescents. They often learned this pride in history from their parents, who had learned Turkish

history in detail and often with the official version, which was full of praise with regard to Turks. As I explained in the previous section on parent perspectives, parents were aware that their children were learning only American history and World history in American schools. As a result, they wished to teach Turkish history to their children, although they could not do it due to their busy schedules. They relied on the Sunday schools of the Turkish cultural centers for that. The adolescents learned at least some superficial Turkish history from their parents and internalized that pride in Turkish history. This contributed to their ethnic pride further. Adolescents made this pride visible from time to time. For example, Sümeyye and Şükran told me instances when they shared this history with their teachers and friends at school when opportunity rose. Serkan, too, expressed his pride in the ancient history of Turkey and reminded that his family taught this to him.

My family always tried to teach me in a Turkish in Turkish culture, and they always tried to make me remember that I am not American, I am Turkish and my bonds are to Turkey. I was raised to think that the culture in Turkey was historic. It didn't come to existence out of nowhere, but it came from thousands of years of previous cultures and this is all like one culture can find to on our food döner. You don't find it anywhere else except for Turkey. The food, the clothing, it's our clothing is not like anybody else's. It looks like Indian clothing, or it looks like some other kind of clothing but it has its own style because it came it originated from even all the way back to the Göktürks. The barbarians as Chinese call it above China. Like it came from Asia, it mix with western culture, and its own culture. That's why they call it the Middle East and they don't call it east or they don't call west. It's the Middle East and I was taught that Turkey is more of a cultural hub than anywhere else in the world. At one point we were controlling 3 continents so it's only natural that we've got some information that we got some ideas some cultures and traditions from those three continents. (Serkan, 17)

The adolescents seemed to internalize this positive image of Turkey, Turkish culture, and Turkish people to such an extent that they sometimes thought they were representing Turkey and Turkish culture in America. Serkan felt the responsibility of showing people in America that Turkey was a civilized, not a primitive country. Although Serkan indicated that he was “not the best choice” to represent Turkish culture, he still wanted to represent Turkish culture by saying

that he wanted to “make the world know Turkey more than they already do” (Serkan, 17). The adolescents’ drive to represent Turkey was the result of both their parents’ encouragement and teachings, and the fact that adolescents internalized that constructed, positive image of Turkey and Turkish culture. This might motivate adolescents to get involved in efforts to represent Turkish culture in their school environments. This exemplifies a meso level interaction, where the adolescents’ internalization of the presented Turkish culture affected their behaviors and activities at school. For example, Gülsüm initiated a Turkish club in her school together with her American friends. She said they occasionally organized meetings, which included events like henna nights or eating Turkish delights. She seemed happy and proud of that organization. When I told her that some other Turkish adolescents were not disclosing their ethnic identities unless they were asked at school, she said: “It's just who I am. I am not gonna try to hide it.” (Gülsüm). Sümeyye, too, did not miss the opportunity to tell her friends about Turkish culture.

I really like my history teacher because he would really take in consideration, he would have this global cultures class, and when the Turkish middle eastern unit came, around he would like invite us to like do speak some Turkish people, and like we have been explaining like things in Turkey, and all and me and fitnat we did like a presentation when time and we bought like wrapped leaves so like sarma, and like everybody was like "this is so good" like do you guys have Turkish delight? I am like yeah, it was really nice that they appreciated our culture, it was one of the times I liked being in my school, my history teacher honestly made everything kind of fun. (Sümeyye, 16)

This willingness and comfort of disclosing Turkish identity was partly caused by a macro level factor: the adolescents’ recognition that diversity was appreciated in multiculturalist American society, at least at a discursive level. The adolescents were aware that they were encouraged to represent their ethnic identities in the school environment, where multiculturalism was encouraged. They received these messages at microsystemic and macrosystemic levels in America. Mine’s daughter, Tuba, told me about the positive reactions she received in the school

environment for being Turkish. She put forward that people first noticed her name as different, learned that she was Turkish, and sometimes asked questions about Turkey.

Sometimes they ask how it's like over there (Turkey), and I say "It's great" because it is. And they seem very interested. (Tuba, 14)

Tuba did not visit Turkey often. She concluded that life was "great" in Turkey based on the representation to which she was exposed. When I asked her if she had encountered any hostilities or negative behaviors from anyone for being from Turkey, she mentioned a recent positive experience:

Not necessarily at all. I think actually my gym teacher the other day he was like "where are you parents from?" and I told and he is "That's really cool." (Tuba, 14)

Adolescents commented that being Turkish was perceived "cool" in their environment and differences were welcomed. For instance, Serkan was quite open about his Turkish identity at school, knowing that differences were valued.

In America when I am in school I position myself I make myself Turkish. But I am also American in that I have a passport you know American passport Turkish passport but I position myself as Turkish because having cultural differences is more valued in America than is in Turkey. (Serkan, 17)

Sevgi (15) and Şükran (14) were two adolescents who expressed that speaking two languages was also viewed positively in America. According to Şükran, the knowledge of two different environments was perceived to be fascinating.

I feel like it's more of an advantage. I know about two different cultures, I know two different languages, I know more than what other people would know. When they know, when they hear that I am Turkish, they are just most people they are just fascinated, they are like "wow!" It's like you're Turkish, you know how to speak the language, you know how they work, you know how their cultural systems work, you know how the schools are like there and the environment in Turkey, you've been to Turkey, they find it really cool. They like it. They like to hear different stuff that happened like Turkish culture or anything. They like it. (Şükran, 14)

The adolescents with higher ethnic pride were also more comfortable disclosing their Turkish identities. These adolescents seemed happier and were more confident in their social lives. Furthermore, the reconstructed version of Turkish culture facilitated their adaptation to American society, which I explain in the next section.

Adolescents' pride in Turkish culture usually decreased parent-adolescent conflicts, because parents wanted their children to adopt Turkish culture. On the other hand, things got complicated when American culture came into the picture. Parents often felt challenged when their children embraced elements of American culture in their lives. Most adolescents felt closer to American culture in some aspects than to Turkish culture in their daily practices despite their pride in Turkish culture. Parents and children sometimes had divergent views on how much a Turkish individual in America could or should adapt to American culture. In the next section, I will elaborate what these parent-child opinion differences meant for adolescent well-being.

b. Parent's perspectives on adaptation to American society and well-being

Touristic experiences of the adolescents with Turkish culture facilitated their adaptation to American society. While they experienced the elements of a reconstructed Turkish culture at home, at the cultural centers, and during visits to Turkey, they were able to experience the elements of American culture as well. As second generation immigrants, adolescents usually felt connected to American culture to a great extent. They often preferred English songs, shows, movies, or books over Turkish ones. They communicated in English better, although most of them were fluent in Turkish as well. Most of the adolescents' light skin colors and English proficiency largely made their ethnic identity invisible in the public sphere. The only clue of their ethnic identity was their foreign names. The only exception to this was some female

adolescents' headscarfs. Unless someone asked them where they were originally from, based on their names, it was hard for others to understand their ethnic identity.

Under these conditions, the parents' attitudes and guidance seemed to have a crucial role in how the adolescents related to American culture and how they negotiated different elements of Turkish and American cultures. When parents were unsupportive of their children's adaptation to American society, or when they expressed concerns that their children could lose Turkish culture or their religious values, adolescents felt these tensions and somewhat reacted. In other words, adolescents mentioned their ethnic identity in a positive way at discursive level, but reconciling Turkish and American cultures was not always that straightforward at a practical level, especially when it led to parent-child conflicts. When parents felt at ease with the American culture, the adolescents seemed to be more at peace with being exposed to different cultures. As their parents perceived American culture as a threat to Turkish culture and religion, these feelings affected how adolescents related to American culture either through internalizing their parents' views or through feeling parents' worries and sometimes restrictions, to which adolescents sometimes reacted.

Zeynep's sons, Enes and Fatih, were encouraged to adapt to American society by their parents. Zeynep did not see any drawbacks in her sons' adaptation to American society as long as they did abide themselves with Islamic practices and values. This parental stance facilitated Enes's and Fatih's adaptation to America. In their case, Enes and Fatih felt very connected to American culture. Enes clearly indicated that American culture and Turkish culture were in perfect harmony for him. He did not even have a perception of two different cultures.

I didn't feel like I need to switch between the two at any point. It doesn't feel like I've been knowing one culture and then I got into another one. *It has always just been one culture for me.* Turkish culture is American culture. It's just American culture with some archaic reference and some religious reference mostly religious reference in it. (Enes, 14).

When I asked him what that one culture was like, he explained that it was *eating Turkish food with some multicultural influences and speaking English*. In this form, Turkish culture could peacefully coexist with American culture as one culture for him. However, he still felt the need to say that his room was American, although the house was fully decorated as a Turkish house.

With my brother, we⁸ everything American, everything in my room is American culture except for that one rug on the floor my mom gave it to me so just left it there. I always with my siblings I speak English. And like I speak English with my mom a lot of the time. (Enes, 14)

Enes seemed to regard his own room's boundaries as his own safe zone, where he could display his identity. He preferred to decorate his room as American, while the rug, placed by his mother, symbolized Turkish culture. He seemed content that his parents respected his choices.

His brother, Fatih, also felt very much connected to American culture. America's diversity made it easy for Fatih to connect. He said he respected the American flag as much as he respected his own Turkish flag and was proud that he was American. It was interesting to see that he still defined the Turkish flag as his own flag, despite his strong connections with America.

I've learned a lot about like American history. I know quite about it. I've made friends here and and I know people here. *I respect the American flag as much as I do with my own Turkish flag*. Clearly, America is a band of different cultures. I consider myself fully American. Not exactly fully but there is no person that's gonna say 'I am an American.' Because there have to be some sort of background unless of course if you are like Native American. (Fatih, 17)

Gülsüm appreciated that her parents supported her adaptation to America. She put forward that they were "just Turkish American" and that as a family, they were "distinctly

⁸ Indecipherable

Turkish and solid with American culture.” (Gülsüm). When I asked her to explain this, she said she had gone to public schools most of her life, her parents were fluent in English and had active work lives. She was grateful to her parents for being “immersed in American culture while simultaneously keeping Turkish culture in their home sphere.” For Gülsüm, anyone “who comes here, any like immigrant that comes to America, after a while they will become blank and American like Korean American.” (Gülsüm). This indicated that Gülsüm perceived Turkish-American identity as an inevitable and good way of existing in America. She still felt the need to explain that she was not more American than Turkish and that her friends told her she was “so Turkish.”

I don't feel more American than I do Turkish. I am not more American than I am Turkish. It's just I know my Turkish values and then religious values, and I find a way to incorporate that without causing discrepancies into my American culture. They can overlap peacefully. (Gülsüm, 16)

Enes, Fatih and Gülsüm were examples of peaceful combinations of Turkish and American cultures and their parents’ encouragement to adapt to American society played a role in that. However, these adolescents had occasional conflicts with their parents. Especially when religion came into the scene, they had some conflicts at varying levels, which I will explain in the next section. On the other hand, their parents’ emphasis on positive sides of American culture made their adaptation process relatively easy. I observed this comfort and easier adaptation in other adolescents whose parents highlighted positive aspects of Americans and American culture from time to time. Sevgi and Tuba had a similar relaxed stance towards cultural issues and I could tell from our interviews that their parents’ encouragement to adapt to American culture had a positive influence on their well-being.

Adolescents felt less comfortable or somehow ambivalent about American culture and society when they received negative messages from their parents about American culture. When parents expressed their negative attitudes towards American culture or expressed their worries about “losing” them to their children, this created a barrier between the adolescent and the American culture to some extent. For instance, Sude’s parents had high levels of worries about “losing” her to American culture. As a result, Sude felt an increasing distance between herself and American culture despite an apparent attraction she had felt towards American culture. She enjoyed listening to American music, watching American TV shows, reading English books. However, she still felt like a “foreigner” to Americans and American culture, and closer to other immigrants. While we were talking about school, she told me how isolated she was feeling in her new high school, because she was new both to the neighborhood and school. Her preference would be to attend a public school in the city, where there could be more immigrants than White Americans. When I asked her the reason for that preference, she said: “I mean I am a foreigner too. I relate more to them than I relate to Americans.” (Sude). At some point, she seemed to internalize her parents’ values and criticized Turkish children who had too much American influence on their lives. She also developed high ethnic pride, probably to deal with the distance she had put between herself and Americans.

Some of my friends here in my age like Turkish friends they’re like they I feel like they have too much American influence. And I’m like you don’t have to like to celebrate their holidays. And I guess American holidays are not even holidays. They’re like celebrations, they are just events. They have like no social purpose. I guess I kind of understand them but I wish they would be more like they have pride in their own culture. (Sude, 16)

As a result of her parents’ cautious stance towards American culture Sümeyye, too, established stricter boundaries with American culture and American friends. She explained that she could not relate to her American friends mostly over several issues such as dressing or dating. One example she gave was make up, which she observed was very usual for American

girls. However, she did not find it appropriate for herself, as a Muslim girl, to wear make up. She felt uncomfortable when her American friends wore tight clothes and too much make up. For her, this was not proper dress for school.

In X (her previous school), everybody during the summer, especially at gym where we're wearing shorts, and during the winter where we're wearing yoga pants, and like they were wearing really tight clothes and like wearing heels, make up, a lot of stuff. And the girls all had their hair permed and everything and the eyebrows plugged, and wearing make up, lip stick, and it was really different, it was like "this is not a model school." (Sümeyye, 16)

When I asked her why others' dress was that important to her, she pointed to how much that contradicted what she had seen in her family, which had set the standards of "normal" for her.

I mean at first because I've always grown around people wearing clothes that are normal, like you never see anybody wearing buddy shorts in my middle school school or like whenever we went to Turkey there weren't like those girls like⁹ and my mom was she would wear long step too, we are Muslim. So I mean I've never really seen anybody like basically dressed like that. (Sümeyye, 16)

My friends are like you go to this website I wanna see something I don't like, sorry I can't go to that website because my Internet is restricted. And they will be like "whyyy?" and I will be like well there is another reason why I cannot relate. Cause all my friends they are just going on different webpages on the Internet, unrestricted stuff. And it's not I really wanna go on unrestricted anything or restricted sites or anything, but like I don't have the freedom to do that, but I don't it doesn't bother me too much because I am always reading anyway so I am not really on the Internet. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye put forward that her American friends did not understand Sümeyye's parents' restrictions and she had to make explanations to them from time to time. Sümeyye's distance from American culture was also the result of her parents' and her own religious beliefs and values. Therefore, she put distance between herself and American culture both due to her parents' cultural and religious concerns.

⁹ Indecipherable

c. **Transnationalism and adolescent well-being**

I included “transnationalism” here to address the research question of how parenting and the family environment affect adolescent well-being. One rationale is that transnationalism was found to be an apparent parental strategy in parent interviews, so it is important to grasp what that strategy meant for adolescent well-being. Second, transnational experiences include a crucial microsystemic dynamic: the effects of the extended family members in Turkey on adolescent well-being.

When I asked the adolescents what they understood from Turkish culture, I realized that their perspectives resembled those of the tourists who visited Turkey and learned about Turkish culture from tourist guides.

I think it's all about like like kinda friendship and being nice to others, things like that, yeah, I can't remember the word now, oh hospitality and stuff like that. (Tuba, 14)

I know it's you have to be respectful to your elderlies and then you have to drink *çay*¹⁰. (Taner, 15)

Turkish culture I think it's pretty cool. Food, maybe our style, the way we dress, religiously, that usually comes to mind. (Ahmet, 14)

Transnational experiences made it easy for most adolescents to construct a Turkish culture image in their minds. Furthermore, they were able to represent Turkish culture to non-Turkish people in America in the forms they had seen in Turkey. When I asked adolescents what Turkish culture represented to them, they often mentioned hospitality, friendship, being nice to others, and good Turkish food. Their visits to the touristic, historic places reinforced Turkey's

¹⁰ *Çay* means tea.

image as a country established on the remains of ancient, archaic civilizations. This image reinforced what they had learned from their parents about Turkish history. Some adolescents acknowledge that having cultural connections with old, ancient civilizations made them proud and happy, thereby increasing their ethnic pride and their well-being.

1) **Extended family relationships and in-between position in Turkey**

Adolescents did not experience Turkish culture as it was experienced in Turkey except during their visits to Turkey, during which they were subject to special treatment by their extended families. These constructed, second hand and romantic experiences of Turkish culture often contributed to their pride in being a Turkish immigrant in America.

During their visits to Turkey, adolescents had first hand experience of the Turkish culture. Although this was a direct experience, they were subject to special treatment by their extended families. This treatment reinforced adolescents' perception of Turkish culture as warm relationships, hospitality, and good Turkish food.

Adolescents almost always talked about their extended families and relatives back in Turkey in an enthusiastic way. They seemed to have complex feelings regarding their insider/outsider positions, but I could see their excitement and longing in the tone of their voices and in their eyes. My own longing for my country could also have contributed to this impression. Either way, the adolescents' positive relationships with their families in Turkey seemed to have a positive contribution to their well-being.

Şükran enthusiastically narrated how sincere and close their relationships were in her grandmother's neighborhood in Turkey, both with their relatives and friends:

We've known like childhood like my grandmas haven't moved for a long time, for as long as I can remember, for my whole lifetime I think. So the neighbors are mostly the

same, and my grandma from my dad's side, uhm their whole apartment is basically the whole family. Family apartment even though the family doesn't own it. But yeah. And we have family friends, they're like just like family, other near apartments, they all know each other. We have we and my sister have like really close like friends. And you are really close. We are so close. (Şükran, 14)

They may also have close relationships with their cousins.

Our cousins, we play all the time, we were really close, we are still close. And when we go back we just pick up where we left off. So it's really nice to go there. (Şükran, 14)

Extended family members in Turkey even played a decisive role in shaping the adolescents' life choices and important life decisions. For example, Şükran's grandmother's and uncle's insistence for hijab motivated her to wear hijab when she was in Turkey one summer.

Uhm, I think it was we were gonna Turkey over the summer at 7th grade before school started, uhm my grandma has she has been asking me for a while. Just so when I went to Turkey I thought just to wear hijab just for the summer. I wore everyday for the summer, I never took it up for anything. And then after we came back, I couldn't take it off. I wasn't comfortable like outside. I felt like it was an important decision and not something to be easily disregarded. (Şükran, 14)

Serkan told me the ways his uncles and cousins treated him differently in Turkey. Their compliments and boundaries both made him happy and feel like an outsider at the same time. His uncle was feeding him like a young child:

When I am there, they at one point, there is a few cousins who act like you know I am regular cousin, I am cool, and I like that it's fine, but there are some family members who act like I am from America so I should be treated differently than my other cousins. I have friends and cousins who like example my uncle who sees us with one of my cousins who is not his son that cousin of me are side by side, and he'll tell me to come to side. But he won't tell other cousin to come to side cause he sees him so frequently. So I'll come his side and he'll feed me but he won't feed my cousin because he sees him so frequently. So he will do that to me but he won't do that to my cousin because he sees him so often that I mean I understand that that's just like being good host and stuff but it is unnecessary because we are a family in the end. (Serkan, 17)

Besides consolidating the positive, touristic and often positive image of Turkey and Turkish culture, the visits to Turkey reinforced the adolescents' American identity. On the other

hand, adolescents confronted the fact that they were partly outsiders in Turkey and were perceived “American” by Turkish people. The way their Turkish relatives and friends treated them in Turkey constantly reminded the adolescents of their ambivalent and in-between position in Turkey. They were defined as “Americans” by their relatives in Turkey and were subject to questions about America.

When we were little, all the boys and girls would like get together, and they would be like happy they always knew us that like “They are the family from America.” And they would always ask us like “How do you say this in English, how do you say that?” They always ask it, every single year. We just we get together, we always talk about how life is in America, they always ask “Is Turkey better? Is America better? (Şükran, 14)

Serkan, too, explained that he felt American in Turkey because the people around him made him feel that way.

(In Turkey) you are also categorized as what country you lived in for a long time. They consider me as American there, because I lived in America 15 years 14 years and I have American passport. And I can speak Turkish as well as they do, so there is Turkish people and there is outsiders. (Serkan, 17)

He said that being born in America was enough for being American in America.

However, he claimed it was different in Turkey. Although he was born in Turkey, he was not considered Turkish in Turkey because he did not know the culture and history enough.

In Turkey I am American. About myself, I am Turkish overall. But in Turkey I feel more American than I do when I am in America because in America everyone is American, well in a sense everyone is American. So I can justify my right and be I am Turkish because I was born here. But there being born there is not just enough. You need to know the culture. You need to know background, you need to know the history. *So when I go there, you are not really Turkish it's what they say. “You're more American.” I'm just like “Okay, but I consider myself Turkish.”* (Serkan, 17)

Because his relatives perceived him more American, they set up certain boundaries during his visits to Turkey. The eid of sacrifice was one such example. Although his relatives had good intentions, Serkan did not enjoy the fact that his extended family placed him far away from their culture.

You know *kurban bayramı* (eid of sacrifice), you have the cutting of a cow, which is really bloody, they don't care if my cousins see it, but they don't want me to see that because they I guess because it is so brutal, I mean I've seen it before, I've seen my dad cut sheep, I mean I won't do it because I don't like harming not harming creatures but like I don't like doing that to creatures. I mean it's kind of bad for me but I watched it, I've seen all the blood, I've seen everything, but they don't know that I've seen this because *they are not aware that I am not as far away from the culture as they expect from me*. So they don't allow me to see it because they don't want me to think that the culture take the culture out in the bad sense. (Serkan, 17)

Although Serkan felt himself to be Turkish, he was not granted that status in Turkey.

Serkan seemed to be a little bit upset for being perceived as an “outsider” despite his strong emotional connections to Turkey. Other adolescents did not care that much. For example, Gülsüm attributed her outsider position both to how people perceived her and how she perceived herself in Turkey. Although she could speak Turkish, people in Turkey could tell she was “foreign.”

This summer even though I wore like Turkish clothes, there is still like something about me that people people could just tell. There is like an aura. *Hava* like *havam değişik*¹¹. If you go to supermarket they can tell that you're foreign, right? But if I go to supermarket in Turkey they can tell I am foreign. Even if you speak like perfect English, even if you look totally American they can tell. People can tell. I can tell. (Gülsüm, 16)

Gülsüm indicated that she was so content with her life in America that she did not care how people in Turkey perceived or described her at all. It seemed to be more of a problem when the adolescents wanted to fit in more or felt more Turkish than American. Taner pointed to the fact that he was identified in two different ways. It was the moments of communication with other Turkish people from Turkey that he felt that in-betweenness the most.

When someone says where you're from I don't say I'm from America. But then when I talk to my Turkish friends, they're like "oh that's the American kid." When I talk to my American friends like “Oh that's the Turkish kid.” (Taner, 15)

¹¹ This means “My aura is different.”

Sude, too stressed that she had to identify herself in two different ways depending on the context. When I asked her how she defined her identity, she said:

I wouldn't really call myself American anything. Maybe if I was in Turkey, I would. I don't think I should be really labeled as American. Even though I am pretty much¹² more by America than I am by Turkey. (Sude, 16)

This contextual way of defining oneself made Sude feel like an outsider in both contexts: Turkey and America. Enes, too, feel like an outsider in Turkey and this made it hard for him to make friends there.

I guess like it would have been harder for me to make some friends there, well I don't really know because I acted like American in Turkey so they probably thought it was a little bit different but it was hard for me to make friends there mostly then only lasted a couple of days until they did something stupid and I didn't really wanna hang out with them anymore. When I play soccer with them or something when I was little, one day just cause I have a soccer ball, they're all like "hey come play with us" and the next day they're like "Go away! No one likes you!" (Enes, 14)

When I asked Fatih if he had felt a similar outsider position in Turkey, he confirmed that he did. He also felt the need to say that he was proud of being American. With this emphasis, I think he demonstrated the prestigious status of being American in Turkey. Different from the other adolescents, Sevgi and Sertaç claimed that they did not feel like outsiders in Turkey. When I asked Sevgi if she had any issues with grasping jokes, she said she did not have any troubles.

I mean when we were there it wasn't like as I has trouble speaking or conversing the languages so it wasn't really that much of a difference. (Sevgi, 15)

The outsider position the adolescents felt in Turkey strengthened the touristic image of Turkey in their minds, because they felt like tourists and were subject to special treatment.

¹² Indecipherable

d. Parents' religious concerns and well-being

Adolescents were quite comfortable with talking about their perception of and experiences with Turkish culture, while their Muslim identity was a more complicated and hard issue to discuss. Parenting, parents' religious beliefs and concerns, and adolescent well-being were closely connected. In order to analyze these connections, one should also consider what it means to become a Muslim in American society today. So, micro level parent-child relationships, meso level school-home conflicts and Muslims' image in American society are discussed in relation to adolescent well-being.

Fatih and Enes were encouraged by their parents to adapt to American society. Their parents also insisted that they continued to practice their Islamic duties and obey Islamic morality standards. Parents made their religious and moral expectations explicit to the adolescents, who in turn reacted in different ways. Moral expectations could lead to occasional parent-child tensions. For example, I found myself in the middle of their conflict before my interview with Zeynep's son, Fatih. I was talking with Zeynep when Fatih came and looked very unhappy. It was obvious that they were in the middle of a conflict. When Zeynep was leaving, Fatih asked his mother to give his phone back but she refused angrily. Later during my interview with Fatih, I learned that Zeynep had caught him cursing over the phone to his friend, got really angry, and seized Fatih's smart phone for the whole weekend as a punishment. Fatih thought his mother had "exaggerated it too much" and it was unrealistic to think that he would never curse. He said it was a rare instance and he would never curse in the presence of an adult in the end.

Fatih was very much aware of the worries of his parents. He explicitly said how upset he was because his parents struggled while raising them primarily over morality issues.

Immediately after he said he loved his parents, he started to mention his parents' worries.

Well I love my parents. And ah I I try not to upset them. And they worry about about me and my brothers a lot like am I hanging out with the good people, am I am I ah is is is my is my opinions right trying to make sure my mind isn't corrupt by like what people say and or like what I hear. (Fatih, 17)

He was right about his parents' worries. Just before I conducted the interview with Fatih, I had met his mother and she seemed really worried. She told me about the difficulties of raising a child in the United States and gave the example of evolution theory they teach at school. Also, she had complained in her interview that her children were losing trust in their parents' words as they grow up. The anxiety of the parents seemed to mainly stem from religious and moral issues.

When there were parent-child conflicts over morality or religious issues, this could affect adolescent well-being in a negative way. For example, Sude had to move frequently because her parents changed her school often, which affected her friendships and her school socialization in negative ways. Sude's parents had become anxious about her relationships with her American friends during her middle school years. Sude's mother had explained their discomfort with Sude's close relationships with her American friends, whom they thought had started to influence Sude's values, especially Islamic values. According to the parents, she could be exposed to sexuality issues earlier because of her friends' influence. From the perspective of Sude's parents, this was a threat for Sude in that she could date as well, which was inappropriate for a Muslim girl. As they felt uncomfortable, they expressed their worries to Sude, they restricted her relationships, and even sent her to two different schools thinking that pious Muslim Turkish people could affect Sude in a positive way. In turn, her friendships with American friends were ruptured and she felt closer to her Turkish friends.

1) **“Evolution is stupid”: School-home conflicts**

Parent-child interactions over morality issues sometimes stemmed from the different, and even conflicting messages that adolescents received from the environment. The meso level home-school interaction set one common example. Some adolescents experienced conflicts between what they learn from their parents and what they learn at school. For example, religious beliefs may shape the parents' beliefs about creation and adolescents adopt these beliefs. As a result the adolescents may feel conflicts between their own belief systems and what they learn at school, which seems to be upsetting and unsettling for them. Fatih had such an experience.

So or like or like I remember last year, when I was a freshman I took biology. Because of like for a couple of reasons, like I actually hate taking biology, because it's pretty stupid and it is misunderstood in so many ways like with all that crap about evolution that like brainwashes people. The young young kids and and that I and then like I was trying to say this is wrong. This is not what happened. And then I tried to explain in my own scientific ways with my own evidences and stuff.... I think evolution is stupid and it is definitely not real. There are may people who like many scientists who disagree with evolution with explanations a million times better than the explanations of Darwin's. (Fatih, 17)

Interestingly, Fatih explained that he believed what his parents told him about evolution, not what he learned at school.

Like a couple days ago like like actually the time when I was learning biology and which was like a year ago, I was learning about evolution and then I was like asking my parents if about this. Was and it was kinda getting ah and so they were worried about it like this would like change me and so so my dad was trying to show me how this is wrong and everything. So then I am like: so, evolution is wrong. (Fatih, 17)

Sümeyye had some issues at school as well, because the norms she learned at home sometimes conflicted with school rules. She experienced occasional tensions because of her religious norms for the opposite sex. For example, she did not want boys to see her dancing at aerobics class.

I take an aerobics class, all is girl except for this one guy in my gym class out of 47 girls. But that's the reason I find aerobics and all, but sometimes it does get awkward because

we have like today was jumba day, every Thursday we have this dance thing, to songs, and like sometimes we do it in the main gym, where people go to the lock rooms, the lock rooms are here and this is the gym, and we dance in these 3 lines. But sometimes our teacher decides to keep going even like even when we are close to the bell, and we keep going and sometimes the guys come back from their class, and we still dancing there. And it gets really awkward sometimes. When they start to come I stop dancing. I would be like that one girl just standing in the middle and does so. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye stopped dancing because she did not want boys to see her dancing. Sümeyye's sister, Şükran, had to struggle to negotiate her home values-school values conflicts. For example, she had to take a swimming class, where she would swim in the presence of girls and boys. However, she did not want to wear a swimsuit in the presence of others. The school had asked her to bring a letter from the mosque to prove that she could be exempt from swimming class because it would violate her religion's rules. Similarly, changing clothes for the gym class in front of others was also an issue for Şükran. Because she did not want to undress in front of others, she dressed in the bathroom, not in the changing room. Şükran had to answer questions about her dressing style or eating restrictions:

Uhm like well especially like during the summer when school just starts, it is so hot. Like you see all these girls wearing like shorts, and then like some of my friends, they don't know about Islam, they don't know about my religion. And they're just they're like always asking me questions like, it doesn't bother me, I like it, answering them, they are like "Aren't you so hot in that?" "How come you are not allowed to do this?" and like "How come you are not allowed to wear these?" I don't really feel under pressure, it just feels kind of awkward, I guess for me. But I explain to them and they are very understanding. (Şükran, 14)

Especially like if there is like candies or like gums or like meals that we are not eating, or if we're gonna go on this field trip in gym class, they gave us a menu of to pick from. You don't have to eat from it, but I decided not to eat from it because I don't eat from outside restaurants unless we know them, we know the places. And like there is like 3 different meals with like meat in it, and like I wasn't gonna eat it and my friends asked my why I wasn't going to eat it. Or like why I can't do these or yeah. (Şükran, 14)

Sümeyye's sister, Şükran, internalized their parents' religious values, too. She was not able to join some club activities at school because the activities were not scheduled in a way that

would allow them to pray on time. She was also asking for an official prayer room at school in collaboration with the other Muslim students at school.

2) **“At school I completely forget about prayer”: Public expression of Islamic identity**

For me, it was a challenge to ask questions to the adolescents about their Muslim identities, due to the specific context of America and the ongoing events around the world. During the interviews, I occasionally felt uncomfortable, tried not to pose direct questions about the adolescents’ Muslim identity, but waited for them to mention it in some way. This was partly based on what I had heard, observed and read. I had initial expectations that being a Muslim adolescent could be stressful after 9/11 and after what had been happening in the Middle East and all over the world. While I was conducting my interviews, ISIS was carrying out horrifying crimes in the Middle East. Charlie Hebdo attack in France also happened just before I finished my interviews. As a result, Islam and terror had frequently been juxtaposed and Islamophobia was part of every day news in the media. Under those circumstances, I expected the adolescents at least to experience some stress and pressure in their everyday lives in American society, especially in their school environments. Therefore, I was not feeling comfortable at all about asking questions about their Muslim identities and how their religion was affecting their daily lives. At the same time, I was aware that my headscarf could affect how the adolescents would respond to my questions but was not sure in which direction. Hence, I might have unconsciously transferred this tension to the interviews. While some adolescents answered the questions about Muslim identity very comfortably, some of them seemed to feel comfortable to some extent. I believe that the adolescents’ level of comfort and peace with and acceptance of their Muslim identity in general determined how comfortably they answered my questions to a great extent. In

addition, the degree to which they agreed with their parents about religious beliefs and practices seemed also to influence adolescents' ease with religious matters.

Adolescents can be grouped into two categories with regard to how much visible they preferred to make their religious identities: (1) Adolescents who preferred to practice Islam in publicly visible ways, and (2) Adolescents whose Muslim identities were largely invisible. These different categories, together with within category variations, are explained below.

Practicing Islam in publicly visible ways. Some adolescents preferred to practice Islam in publicly visible ways, often as a result their parents' encouragement. For example, Sümeyye and Şükran prayed at school, requested praying spaces for themselves, and were determined to be assertive to accommodate their religiously required needs at school, with their parents' encouragement again. This was not without any cost: Sümeyye reported experiences of religion based discrimination and shared challenges she had to face. At one point, she felt everyone was judging her for her headscarf and her other religious practices especially in her previous high school. She felt like differences were not accepted in that school environment: "If you don't follow the main group, then you are just weird. (People are like:) What are you doing?" (Sümeyye). She mentioned one specific instance of adverse treatments from her friends.

There were these two guys in my art class, they were kind of not make fun but poke at my religion kind of like they would leave weird picture on my desk and it would be really weird. Like *açık sapık resimler* (indecent pictures). And they were like "Oh look at these!" and I would be like "I am a Muslim go away." And like well I didn't talk to anybody so they would try to make me talk, and like I did ignore them really. They were annoying but I got through it. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye was very much aware of the negative attitudes and perspectives on Muslims, but she preferred to practice Islam in publicly visible ways. She also differentiated contexts and indicated that diverse environments were much more welcoming to Muslims. She said she not

only felt more comfortable in her new high school, but she felt like a better Muslim at the same time. She said indicated that the diverse environment of her new high school was helping her establish her identity as a Muslim.

There are questions about like what I do and stuff, why I am wearing a hijab, why I don't have boyfriends, and but *besides that they are really accepting*. And I think that is really what I like about this high school: *it has really actually helped me become like a better Muslim, I guess*. Cause there is a lot of diversity. Much more diversity. Because in my other high school it was like a lot of White Americans. *Everybody expected you to be American. There is a lot of diversity*. There is a lot of Chinese, and like a lot of Arabic population there, it was really diverse. (Sümeyye, 16)

Past experiences regarding religious identities affected adolescents' current comfort with their religious identities. While Sümeyye had to face challenges due to her religious identity, Gülsüm said she never encountered with any negative experiences due to her religion. Very much like Sümeyye, Gülsüm preferred to practice her religious identity openly as well. Like Sümeyye, family's encouragement was a factor behind Gülsüm's choices. For Gülsüm's family, Islamic values set the criteria on how much their children could adapt to American society. They were quite encouraging of Gülsüm's active socialization. As long as the activities did not conflict with Islamic norms, they supported Gülsüm's participation. As a result, Gülsüm could experience Turkish culture, American culture and her religious practices peacefully.

I don't feel more American than I do Turkish. I am not more American than I am Turkish. It's just I know my Turkish values and then religious values, and I find a way to incorporate that without causing discrepancies into my American culture. They can overlap peacefully. (Gülsüm, 16)

Still, it took time for Gülsüm to fulfill her parents' expectations regarding headscarf. Her family had expressed their wish before and waited for Gülsüm to comply. In the end, Gülsüm decided when she was ready for that decision to wear a headscarf in high school. Different from Sümeyye, Gülsüm did not report any exposure to religion based discrimination. Her transition to

make her Muslim identity more visible was smoother than Sümeyye's transition due to lack of past exposure to religious based discrimination. Gülsüm claimed religion did not affect her friendship relationships at all.

I have all kinds of friends. Like every single social circle almost. There is no division in my school yeah. (Gülsüm, 16)

When I asked her what she meant by all circles, she said:

Like volleyball players and, like the robotics team, I don't know debate team. Not circles. they are not like specific circles. No one cares what your skin color is or what you like practice. They just don't care. I don't care either. They don't really don't care in America. They don't. Maybe like in Chicago they don't because it is so democratic and like too diverse but maybe if you go like somewhere else to the deep suburbs they will. (Gülsüm, 16)

Gülsüm attributed this accepting atmosphere to diversity in the Chicago area. She acknowledged that it could be different in other places, for example in some suburban areas.

Adolescents who wanted to practice Islam in publicly visible ways could have different experiences depending on the context. Adolescents were aware of these contextual differences and not surprisingly, they felt more comfortable with their religious identities in diverse and accommodating environments.

Nonvisible Muslim identities. Some adolescents preferred to make their religious identities largely invisible. There were two categories of adolescents within this group: (1) the adolescents who were not practicing Islam much in daily life, often at similar levels with their parents; and (2) the adolescents who were practicing Muslims, but who deliberately made their Muslim identities invisible in public because they were aware of the tensions around Islam and

Muslims in America. This awareness often came from personal experiences of discrimination in the past or from witnessing negative discourses on Muslims.

Regardless of their degree of religiosity, most adolescents were either subject to adverse treatment or heard someone making negative comments about Muslims at some point. For example, Sertaç told me about his negative school environment when he was in elementary school. What he heard from his friends about Muslims added to the general negative environment in school.

I mean when I moved there, like I need some friends, but there was this one kid who was really rude. So he was really insulting. It was about me and also about the Muslim thing. We were in we were talking about 9/11, and we were talking about how the Muslims did everything and they were really Muslims are bad. So that affected me. I didn't know that at first, but. (Sertaç, 13)

Adolescents like Sertaç, who were aware of the negative connotations around Muslim identity in America and were influenced negatively, preferred not to disclose their religious identities in social life. They did not need to disclose their religious identities or talk about it unless someone asked them questions. Because Muslim identity did not affect the organization of daily life for these adolescents, they reported they were not subject to any religion based discrimination. Therefore, Muslim identity did not influence these adolescents' daily lives much. For example, Sevgi said her friends knew she was Muslim. She said she only talked about Islam at school when people rarely asked her questions during World studies classes. She defined her friends at school as "accepting."

I am pretty comfortable. I mean like my friends are really accepting in the school. Like nobody really matters about each other's religion. It's just like "Oh you are that? That's fine." (Sevgi, 15)

The second category of adolescents were more deliberate in making their Muslim identities invisible because of their awareness of the tensions around Islam and Muslims in

America. Exposure to negative discourse on Islam and Muslims was the most common means to raise that awareness in adolescents. For instance, Tarık, Ahmet, and Fatih mentioned instances when they were exposed to the Muslim terrorist discourse.

... Like when they say terrorist from the news they say Muslim terrorist but when the terrorist is Christian they don't say Christian terrorist or something like that. (Taner, 15)

Once in the summer I had this camp and some person said that all Muslims are terrorists. And he was a Muslim too. And I wasn't friends with him a lot. I actually heard him say it. And he said it secretly to someone else, to an American. (Tarık, 12)

Since I would say I'm Muslim, maybe like you know people who would say uhm they would be about terrorism, and stuff like that most obvious, that's basically it. (Ahmet, 14)

There are like websites that like say like Muslims are terrorists and stuff like that. (Fatih, 17)

The most apparent effect of the Muslim terrorist discourse on the adolescents was feeling uncomfortable with visibly fulfilling Islamic practices, or feeling the need to hide their Muslim identities altogether. For example, Enes said that he preferred to make his religious identity invisible in public. He was a practicing Muslim and praying five times a day. However, he said he did not pray at school when it was time to pray.

At school I completely forget about prayer. And I don't really want like I don't want that many people all knowing that I am that different from them that like maybe I would share I am a Muslim or so I know someone else is already Muslim." (Enes, 14)

Similarly, Enes's brother, Fatih, was praying regularly, but only at home. He said he preferred not to do that at school not to "get attention for doing things differently" (Fatih). He said he was not feeling comfortable with getting *abdest*¹³ at school. Similarly, his brother, Enes, said he forgot about praying at school although he did it at home. Serkan, too, preferred not to

¹³ *Abdest* means washing certain parts of the body before prayer.

pray at school based on an agreement with his parents. For him, praying five times a day was a challenge in American society.

We have been influenced by American culture, that's obvious, my parents don't force me to pray in school, whereas there the school itself is open for you to pray and they actually ask you to pray. And your parents will make you pray if you like need to. Here there aren't any mosques, I mean there are mosques, and there is other places outside, but there are it is not as present as in Turkey so they understand that here it won't be as easy to go to cuma. And that's why I mean they don't expect me to skip school, to go specifically for cuma. And I don't know if it's a good thing or bad thing. But there cuma is within the class itself it's its own class in Turkey. So the culture there is religious, but here it is not so religious. Cause they don't make you pray, they don't make you do anything, it's more like just education. But here religion and education are one, I mean there in Turkey. It's religion and education are one. So my parents still use Turkish culture values and Turkish traditions, but American traditions influence them. (Serkan, 17)

While Serkan made his religious identity invisible in public, he also felt the need to actively challenge negative Muslim images in America. When the opportunity arose, he replied to negative comments on Muslims at school and in online platforms. He said that when he saw negative comments about Islam on the Internet about women's rights or slavery in Islam, and when he thought these statements were not true, he searched for the alternatives and responded.

They have like phrases from the Quran in English translation and they would put like points of it like 81 b paragraph c or whatever that is, and I'll look at them and being Muslim myself I will be like that's not true though. This isn't true. And then they'll say "you're saying this because you are Muslim". But it's like "Yeah I am a Muslim and I'm saying this which means I've lived it and it's not true." But you had have people who say Muslims are a terror organization that support Satan stuff like that. It's pretty stupid. (Serkan, 17)

Interestingly, adolescents who deliberately made their Muslim identities invisible in public due to their awareness of Muslims' negative image often claimed there was no discrimination in their schools. These adolescents claimed religion was not an issue among teenagers and it did not have any effect on their friendship relationships. For example, Enes and Ahmet mentioned their discomfort with making Muslim identities visible. On the other hand,

when I asked Enes about religion-based discrimination, he claimed he did not see any religion based discrimination. He underlined that adolescents tried not to notice each other's religion.

People try not to notice each other's religion because when they do notice it they kinda see differences among each other, like I never really I've seen discrimination towards someone because of their religion, maybe two close friends who have a different religion would point something out like that, they're kinda not to say something like oh you're different than me. It's like just to like pick on them like tease them I guess. They say something like funny about their religion or something, and then these are just kind of funny they don't take it seriously. It's not meant to be serious anyways. (Enes, 14)

They also indicated that when they talked about their ethnic or religious identities with their friends, it was mostly within the context of a joke that no one took seriously. Ahmet gave an example:

I have some Jewish friends I would I would just like sometimes they would not wanna like say we're doing something and they wouldn't wanna provide for that I would be like "Oh stop being the Jew" you know like it says a joke it's not anything personal, yeah. (Ahmet, 14)

Adolescents' accounts on not having any religion based discrimination in their daily lives may seem contradictory at first sight. I interpreted this as their strategy to deal with the tension around Muslim identity. It could be the case that they adopted a blindness or minimizing strategy to decrease tensions around religious identity issues. The fact that Enes preferred not to pray at school reveals his awareness about the tension around religion in general and Muslims in particular. He also pointed to the teenagers' deliberate strategy of making religion invisible as much as possible in their daily interactions. In addition, they made jokes about religious identities probably to further decrease the tension around religious identities. This could be a way to prove to themselves that religion was not a problem that could affect their friendships. The other possibility is that adolescents labeled rare instances of discrimination as exceptions and viewed the majority of their peers as accepting and positive about religious differences.

Part of the motivation to make their religious identities invisible came from the desire to blend into the friendship groups and not to be seen as different. Enes pointed to this desire.

But I wouldn't go share I need somewhere to pray because *I don't want them to think of me as the religious guy* or something. Like I already know like this one Buddhist kid who goes to like to like pray every lunch period or something, and like first thing you think of them doing something weird I don't know. (Enes, 14)

Similar to Enes, Ahmet highlighted the importance of blending in. When I asked him what he would suggest to Turkish Muslim adolescents growing up in America, he suggested not to express their religion openly. He admitted that one could become excluded from friendship circles if he looked “too attached” to his religion.

I suggest (to them) not to think about other people differently than they think about themselves. I think they should think that they're the same, uhm even though they might have a different ethnicity or religion, I think they should think them as the same. *Not to show that you are too like too attached to your religion because other people might see that see that differently.* I want to say like they're gonna like actually I think it's weird but they're gonna *some people might see it differently.* That depends on the person you know. They would be like "Oh why is he like so attached to his religion when I am not" like stuff like that. (Ahmet, 14)

Sude also felt uncomfortable about disclosing her religion in public. While defining herself as a religious person and praying regularly at home, Sude decided to keep religion inside her and not to express it publicly. For instance, she would not go out of her way to pray if she was outside.

I don't think it really comes out. I mean it's kind of just inside me. If people ask it I'll tell them but not really religion isn't really a topic among teenagers. They don't talk about religion. (Sude, 16)

Adolescents who made their Muslim identities publicly invisible probably tried to dissociate themselves from the tension around Muslim identity in America. They either adopted a blindness or minimizing strategy to instances of discrimination or they saw these instances as exceptions. The very act of making their Muslim identities invisible seemed to be an active effort

to escape from possible religion based discrimination they had witnessed around or heard. They tried to eliminate the possibilities of being exposed to discrimination through making Muslim identities largely invisible.

3) **Muslim and Happy: Internalizing parents' encouragement to represent Islam**

Parents' expectation that their children represent a good Muslim also created diverse responses from adolescents. As I explained in the section on religion based parent-child conflicts, some adolescents did not want to represent Islam publicly, and some of them even preferred not to display their religious identities publicly. However, some of them internalized their parents' expectations. Part of the motivation might also come from the adolescents's observations that Muslims had been presented in a negative way in the main stream media. Sümeyye and Şükran were two adolescents who said they wanted to represent Islam. Sümeyye not only disclosed her Muslim identity in public, she also brought the topic to Islam when the opportunity rose. She said that when they were having a discussion in her English class on culture, she deliberately brought Islam into the discussion.

We were talking about our culture change and I was talking about how my religion played into it, so I kind of brought like religion into the discussion and people were kind of curious about it, so I like answered questions. So I really like that *I can represent my religion* and like a little my Turkish culture too I guess. So I like that I can do that. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye regarded the class discussion as an opportunity for telling people about Islam and answering their questions. Also, she presented Turkish culture and Islam as intertwined, as her mother did. At the same time, she had the motivation to differentiate herself from the Muslim groups who were presented negatively in the media, such as ISIS. Very much like Serkan, she was trying to demonstrate that groups like ISIS portrayed an inaccurate version of Islam and she

knew the right version. She wanted to introduce non-Muslims to the right version of Islam. For Sümeyye and her family, this was one of the reasons of living in America.

Since I am a Muslim, part of my duty as I believe anyway is to like continue on the thing so like explain to people why I am a Muslim, like converting people is the main goal. so like¹⁴ about us and how different we are, and that we are not like the bad guys like ISIS or anything, the better I did I guess. (Sümeyye, 16)

Another image against which she was struggling was the “Muslim teenager with a boring life.” She mentioned that her friends sometimes asked her questions about everyday restrictions on clothing or diet, or why she did not have a boyfriend. She had the impression that her American friends may think her life was boring for a teenager. Her following statements showed this impression:

Well a lot of times they watch movies and stuff like I watch American movies too, but like I don't watch the ones that they do. A lot of them kids watch movies not because of like sexual content, but like violence and stuff and they will be like "have you watched the latest episode of this?" "Have you watched this show? Do you watch this show?" And me and my sister are always like "no". We don't watch American shows. And they are all just like "What do you do with your lives?" We are just like "We read" like "We read". (Sümeyye, 16)

Therefore, Sümeyye also felt the need to show that she could abide herself with Islamic norms, but could still enjoy life and be happy. She said that she had worn the same gray clothes in her first high school, where she had difficulties with adaptation. She explained that in her new school, she dressed in more colorful and cheerful clothes, which received compliments even from her teachers. She defined these clothes as “Turkish clothes,” by which she meant pretty dresses she had bought from Turkey. Therefore, she wanted to show others that she could be a pious and happy teenager at the same time. “Showing” her religion and demonstrating that practicing Islam was not boring was her mission.

¹⁴ Incomprehensible.

In X (her first high school), I only wore like gray clothes. It wasn't interesting. I wasn't showing that I had fun or anything. I wasn't showing that you could be happy as a Muslim as well. Showing religion like wearing the hijab, showing that Muslim isn't like wearing like high booty shorts, so like showing her legs, or like wearing skinny stuff I guess, and like there is a difference like I don't really have any close boyfriends, or anything. I like show that it can be fun I guess cause I'm still a teenager in America. And that there is a way to keep a balance in religion. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye thought she would represent Islam better with her academic success. This idea came from her parents, who wanted Sümeyye to become a successful Muslim. Her sister, Şükran, had similar concerns of representing Islam to others. She thought other people learned things from her, things they did not know about Islam prior to meeting her.

It helps people become more knowledgeable or understandable. Some people didn't know Muslims at all until they met me, so yeah. (Şükran, 14)

The adolescents who found the motivation to represent Islam publicly in America seemed to be content with their mission, while they were also aware of the disadvantages of their religious identities and the negative image Muslims often had in American society.

e. Social Spaces opened by parents and adolescent well-being

Most adolescents participated in social activities organized by Turkish communities and cultural centers. In these instances, they both witnessed and internalized the community's representation of Turkish culture in America. They found opportunities to actively represent Turkish culture thanks to the spaces opened by the multiculturalist discourse in America, which made their surrounding environment receptive for such representation of culture. Several adolescents attended the Sunday schools organized by the Turkish community centers and enjoyed the activities there. For example, Sevgi (15) attended the weekend schools for Turkish children at one of the Turkish cultural centers for five years during her primary school years with her parents' encouragement. At the time of our interview, she was happily volunteering for the

same cultural center to organize their library. She was also informing Turkish parents who were about to send their children to high school about the school system in America. These volunteering activities seemed to make her quite happy and content. Gülsüm (16), too, attended programs at the Turkish cultural center. She happily told me how she enjoyed the cookie exchange days at the cultural center recently. Similarly, Enes still remembered the events he had attended at the cultural centers since his childhood.

There was also like a lot of events being hosted by like the Turkish cultural centers, I remember always going to those on my weekends and a lot of my time was spent in those kind of place and I could recall those a lot of those all my friends there. And most of my recent friends are all way way back then. (Enes, 14)

The cultural centers and events organized by the Turkish community contributed in to the consolidation of the adolescents' Turkish identity and ethnic pride.

Parents endeavored to regulate adolescents' relationships and social activities to protect them from the threats they perceived or to make sure that they had good role models who would teach them Turkish culture and morality. One of the activities organized by the parents was the weekend programs with college student mentors. Here, female adolescents meet with female college students in their dorms and male adolescents meet with male college students. These student mentors were supposed to read Turkish religious books with the adolescents and to monitor their daily prayers. Here, the adolescents were to learn Islam in the way their parents wanted them to learn it and practiced reading Turkish books. This may be a challenging, sometimes boring experience for the adolescents. Because the adolescents went to school in America, they were much better reading and writing in English than in Turkish. Enes and Sümeyye explained the goal of the weekend programs:

It's like college students we just went, who have been like originally the purpose of it was just to give educational assistance to young students, to high school students from college

students, but and also keep them on a religious track, but now kinda just change just to like reading Turkish books and just keeping them on a religious track. I mean they don't really help us with homeworks. I never even ask for help. There is no exact homework time because we don't really ask for help anyway so there is not really any point with the homework part. (Enes, 14)

We have designated the reading times, and like she gives us a *çetele* (recitation plan), like 7 pages of Quran this week and or like 14 the next week, or like this many numbers pages of Turkish *kitap* (book). (Sümeyye, 16)

Enes indicated that he learned new things in the weekend programs when he was younger. However, he seemed to find them boring increasingly for several reasons. First, he was not good at reading Turkish, he did not want to spend time on such a frustrating task while he had other homework to do, and there was repetition in the books he was supposed to read and did not find them useful anymore.

When you're like younger, you kinda just read the general life of like your religious characters back then, and then you kinda just like read that again when you're older except for it's more in depth of a specific character, and you you kinda understand better. I learn a couple of things uhm maybe like once every 80 pages, I learn something major I guess, and other than that mainly it's mainly just like reading like a educational book on religion. It's kind of boring though cause I don't really like reading Turkish, all the Turkish books I read in my life for like not that of actual like action or like adventure those kind of books that I read in like English. (Enes, 14)

Fatih found the programs boring, too. He had no attraction to the books they were supposed to read there and he did not like that their mentors took away their electronics. The reason behind this was probably to assure that they read books without any distraction.

It was horrible, it was super boring. All we do was read books. That's all we do. And they take away our electronics. I just read whatever they give me. (Fatih, 17)

Fatih had just attended a winter program with his family and he did not enjoy that either. He said he was bored reading religious books in Turkish and the “fourth grader books” they were given to practice reading Turkish.

Sümeyye and Şükran appeared to be more positive about the weekend programs with the student mentors. Şükran even regarded them as her role models, which means her parents were successful in their effort to present their daughters “good” role models. When I asked Şükran what her goals were in life, the first thing she thought was to become a mentor herself.

I want to be again helpful. I want to be knowledgeable in academics, religiouswise. I wanna have *talebes* (students). I wanna help them, I wanna be an *abla* (sister mentor). (Şükran, 14)

While some adolescents enjoyed the activities arranged by their parents, some found them boring and unnecessary. This means that the social spaces provided by parents could have positive or negative influences on adolescent well-being depending on the adolescents’ perceptions.

f. It’s just a Turkish tactic”: Responses to parental academic pressures

Overall, the adolescents verbalized similar views with their parents over the advantages of living in America. They seemed quite happy about living in America and they never thought about going back to Turkey, except the dreams of contributing altruistically to the well-being of the people in Turkey. They chiefly emphasized the academic and job opportunities in America and they felt privileged for having those opportunities. It can be claimed that their parents’ decisions to come to America were perceived in a positive way by the adolescents, therefore contributing to their life satisfaction and well-being. The parents’ emphasis on some of the bad sides of living in Turkey was the prominent factor in shaping the adolescents’ perspectives. Therefore, the family microsystem had a prominent role in shaping the adolescents’ perception of their experiences in America.

Enes indicated that he would have less opportunities if his parents stayed in Turkey. There was a consensus among the adolescents that education, career, and material opportunities

were much better in America. Enes put forward that it was easier to buy stuff for recreation activities in America. Similarly, Sude thought that it was cheaper to buy basic needs in America. For that reason, she said she would never think about going back to Turkey to live despite her occasional feelings of loneliness in America.

I feel like life is easier and cheaper and much more reliable and convenient here. I get my groceries, buy TV or something, or can just go and buy my needs, but in Turkey you have to go like a bunch of places if you want one shopping trip and travel is easier here. Heat, electricity are cheap here. Here you can use the heater in July, if you want to. It gets more convenient. (Sude, 16)

Serkan pointed to where his family came from to stress his privileged status. His father's family was engaged in farming back in Turkey, but his family had provided him the privilege of living in America.

I consider myself lucky to be in America, to be lucky lucky to be one of the few people, not only few but one of the people who rose up from making farms and caring for animals to living in a city with warm water, electricity, and food whenever I wanted it. (Serkan, 17)

Almost all adolescents talked about the educational advantages of America. Very much like their parents, they compared the Turkish education system and teachers with the American education system and teachers, and enjoyed getting education in a better system. Their knowledge of the Turkish education system came from what they had heard from their parents or from their cousins in Turkey, or from their friends who studied in Turkey either temporarily or as a result of moving back to Turkey permanently with their families. Two adolescents, Sude and Serkan, studied in Turkey and had first hand experiences. Hearing or experiencing some negative aspects of the Turkish education system increased the adolescents' feelings of being lucky and privileged, which in turn increased their well-being. Tarik felt lucky not to be studying in Turkey and said: *"From what I learned from my parents, schools in Turkey are harder. So it would be*

easier here because in my school I get like good grades easily.” (Tarık, 12) Based on what they heard from their parents again, there were rumors among the adolescents about Turkish schools’ more challenging curriculum and harsher teacher treatments. Şükran shared what she had heard:

You know in the past they would have Turkish teachers like punishing their students like all that I don’t know like I would always hear how Turkish schools are really hard and they are more advanced. So if you are an eighth grader here, you would be like seventh grader in Turkey. That’s what I would hear. Like it would be really harder so. My friend went to Turkey. She she lived in America her whole life. But then her family had to move to Turkey and she she is struggling. (Şükran, 14)

Adolescents shared with me how much they liked most of their teachers and how connected they felt to them.

While the adolescents felt lucky because of their parents’ decision to come to America, primarily due to career opportunities, the parents’ constant pressure over academic success seemed to be an occasional source of stress for some of them. Most of the adolescents attended good public schools and they had exceptionally good grades. Their academic success contributed to parent-adolescent relationships in a positive way. For example, Emel had explained how she and her husband had bought their daughters gifts to reward their academic success. Their daughter, Sevgi, seemed to enjoy positive consequences of her academic success and the accompanying parental trust and gifts. In such cases, the adolescents experienced their success in the most positive way and enjoyed the material and emotional rewards of their parent. On the other hand, some adolescents still felt pressure despite their good grades. For example, Serkan shared with me that he sometimes felt under pressure due to his parents’ constant supervision. Serkan’s feelings were mixed with empathy and discomfort.

I know that there is always obviously more about to learn and he would always he pushes me and he doesn't understand me. Well, I feel like he doesn't understand that I do what I do for a purpose. And he continually pushes me to do stuff that I really don't want to do. But I feel like as a father, if I think about it in his shoes, he does this because he wants to see me grow more than whatever he has been able to do. So he came from a village background and he doesn't want me to fall back to that and he is afraid of that so he wants

me to rise above that and be better than whatever he did because he set the starting point for universities he wants me to set the starting point for a PhDs or becoming you know world model and sometimes that's frustrating because he pushes really hard and *I guess it's just a Turkish tactic*. Since we're both male, and we are both Turkish, my dad wants me to be better than he is because I am part of his skin, I am his son. He wants me to be a doctor, and I wanna be a doctor. But he pushes me because it's like I don't know all Turkish people but from what I have come across, a lot of people I have a lot of Turkish people are impatient, but I am too I am very impatient but he like wants to see an improvement immediately. And when he sees me not working toward that improvement, he immediately stops and says you need to improve you need to improve start working start working. And that's just annoying sometimes, because like why aren't you studying? I just studied five seconds ago you weren't watching. And he is like 'Well, you are not studying now' and it's like 'Yeah, because I just studied for 3 hours straight, now I am gonna take a five minute break and I am gonna study again.' And they find out it seems like they find that one five-minute moment while you are taking break because he it's like okay. (Serkan, 17)

Serkan described his father's attitudes as "a Turkish tactic." Indeed, there is research support for Serkan's claim that Turkish parents have high academic expectations for their children (Atmaca Suslu, 2014). Parent accounts in this study support this observation. Turkish parents occasionally put pressure on their children for academic success. Most of the adolescents indicated that this may become anxiety provoking and annoying. Sertaç said:

Sometimes I will like have they say that like I have to get all As and that like if I am not doing my homeworks sometimes I forget to, that's going to affect me and that's not true. So they're really tight about my grades and so that's annoying sometimes. I know they want me to be successful. (Sertaç, 13)

Fatih also verbalized his anxiety over grades and said that he does not want to see anything but As in his report. He knows that his parents do not want to see any Cs in his grade report. When I asked him what was motivating him to get As, he said:

All I need to know is that if I if I do good enough work, then I can go to a good college. (Fatih)

However, he was very much aware that low grades make his parents upset:

And my parents always pressure me like if I not I I did a C, would upset my mom and dad. (Fatih, 17)

This awareness increased his anxiety for academic success:

Uhm well my worst subject is geometry and we get tests on that all the time. And I and I worry about it all the time and my grade for it is an uhm it's an A minus and I am trying to make sure it doesn't drop. (Fatih, 17)

Taner, too, felt significant pressure from his parents. It was his first year at high school and he had difficulties in adapting. He was not even able to participate in any social activities because studying took all his time. He was sometimes deprived of sleep because he had to wake up very early during weekdays and study in the evenings. He described his mother's push for success as something to deal with.

I don't know, she (mother) puts a lot of pressure to do good in school and I'm already trying my hardest. Although it's not the best, you know. You gotta deal with it, it's okay. (Taner, 15)

When I asked him how he was feeling about the pressure, he said "It's not good." His mother also indicated that Taner had become highly anxious about school success recently. Tarik, too, had occasional conflicts with his mother, who wanted him to read more. He could not agree with his mother over the amount of pages he should have read.

Sometimes I argue with my mom because she forces me to read and I don't really like reading. The amount. My mom gives me one chapter which is like 30 pages and I finish it like 15-20 minutes. And I always think it's a lot. (Tarik, 12)

Sude (16) put forward that her grades were neither good nor bad. She said that she had started as a top two or three in class at her initial school years. Then, she experienced a sharp decrease in her grades. At the time of the interview, she said her grades were on average. When I asked her about her parents' reactions, she said they were patient.

The adolescents seemed to internalize their parents' expectation of high academic success and their belief that success came from hard work. Adolescents appeared to be quite proud of

their good grades. Their next goal was to enter one of the top colleges with scholarships. It seems that like their parents, they perceived the route to a good life and to upward mobility as becoming successful academically. All adolescents targeted high prestige jobs such as jobs in medicine or engineering.

g. Responses to parental monitoring and overprotectiveness

Gülsüm and Sevgi were two adolescents who enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom. While these adolescents' parents also practiced parental monitoring, they gave their children freedom gradually as they got older and as they assured parents' trust. As they developed mutual trust, these adolescents gained more freedom compared to other adolescents. Gülsüm criticized parents who were overprotective and said she felt grateful to her parents for not doing that.

I've been to public school most of my life. I love my parents for not doing that (sheltering me). They like sent me to public school on first grade then it's cool because I got to learn their culture and they told me like what to do and what not to do, it was good it was bad. And *because they trust me* like and I try to make the right decisions but if they like sent me like Turkish schools, and they were like don't do this, don't do that, like we want you like at 2 o'clock every single day and you can't watch these movies or read these blogs, they didn't say that like that the bad movies, but they like they gave me like freedom, and as I grew up, they like gave me more and more. And now like they let me take the bus and stuff and I know people who going among they're like "oh are you gonna take a bus? like that's so terrible, like if she gets kidnapped, what's gonna happen if she does drugs" and my mom is like "She can do that either way" like "I can't protect her from that. I just I know I trust her" and I'm like "Thanks mom." And there is nothing wrong with the blue line. I don't know why people freak out. They need to calm down. (Gülsüm, 16)

Gülsüm seemed very happy that her parents displayed their trust in her. As the adolescents got older, they discussed the issue of parental monitoring around the theme of trust. In other words, they regarded the level of freedom they were granted by their parents as a sign of their parents' level of trust in them. Gülsüm seemed very happy that her relationship with her parents was based primarily on trust.

I also I am in two sports so I come home at like 9. Sometimes I take the bus at night. But like my dad can see everywhere I go. And he asked me if he can do that he is like "Can I track your phone?" Like sure because I get lost a lot and I need him to find me if I like die. So like it's okay, you can track me. Because I'm not trying to hide where I'm going. Yeah I was like where I am and that's why he is cool with it. (Gülsüm, 16)

Sevgi's mother was also quite generous about giving her daughters freedom such as allowing them to go to the after school dance parties, which were not allowed by the other parents I interviewed. Sevgi seemed to enjoy this freedom. She also acknowledged that her parents had more fears while raising her elder sister, so she had the advantage of becoming the second.

I mean since I am the second child, my mom is like okay with stuff now, but she needs to know where we're at, that's like normal parenting. (Sevgi, 15)

Sevgi said she had the advantage of being the second child and her parents had been more concerned while raising her elder sister, who was their first child. Having freedom made a positive contribution to adolescent well-being both because adolescents felt proud of having their parents' trust and the opportunity to explore the outside world.

Other parents were more protective, though at varying degrees and their adolescent children gave diverse responses to them. Sümeyye (16) and Şükran (14) seemed to be the most sheltered adolescents. I was curious to learn how they perceived this and reacted to their parents' high level of protection. Both of them had attended the charter school where their father was the principal. Sümeyye acknowledged that it was weird to have their father as the principal of their school. On the other hand, she described it as more of an advantage than a disadvantage.

Bullying never got out of control. Cause my dad's school is small. Cause middle schools are usually like 600 kids. Ours was 200, it was it was small. And so like and I had really close friends, if there was any problems my dad would come and like 'this kid do this is there something going on in your class?' And I would be able to like be the middle man

kind of taking the students problems and take them to my dad and my dad would come with me to a problem and I would tell him about this and I mean we were at first, it wasn't really good with like the American friends, but then during our middle school years, we got really close and like we would always compete in the math class and all and I feel like *I would really wouldn't have been able to do that kind of thing in a normal middle school.* (Sümeyye, 16)

Keeping them in his own middle school, their father had an unusual presence in their lives during Sümeyye and Şükran's middle school years. Sümeyye internalized her parents' cultural and religious expectations. She looked happy that she was wearing a headscarf and thought that this was partly because she attended a more sheltered school, where there were other Muslim girls. For her, this diversity and high population of Muslims facilitated her acceptance of Islamic clothing at that age.

If I had gone to a normal middle school, I think I would have been more like changed. I wouldn't have like really *kapalı* (covered) so soon probably. And I feel really lucky that I was going to Noble, and it kinda helped me more because the girls there a lot of the girls were *kapalı* (covered). There were like Somalis with like hijabs, and wearing all these things, and it was much more diverse as in like it was more African Americans, in fact there weren't a lot of Americans. Well like American Americans like the normal public middle school would have like 300 Americans at least and the rest would be divided. ours was more like 20 % Americans. The rest of them were really Somalis they were like African Americans. (Sümeyye, 16)

While Sümeyye perceived her sheltered middle school as an advantage, she also acknowledged that she experienced a shock when she started to attend a neighborhood high school. This was because she was subject to occasional adverse treatment. As a response, she wore gray clothes all the time, which expressed her resentfulness and adaptation problems. She had left a middle school which she perceived as "our school" to a majority White school.

In *our middle school* there wasn't like rumors about people like 'Oh she did this, she did that' there were really boyfriend girlfriend situations going on, but it wasn't a normal middle school. So it was kind of sheltered like from and X (her first high school) was definitely a White school. We were the only Turkish people in X. Yeah there will be like these 3 other girls there were only 8 Muslims in that school. It was really different from my, there was like Y (her most recent high school) like Muslim population, a little

Turkish, much more than X, and then over there our population was really small compared to the 2000 kids there. And the size was bigger, the student population was bigger, and everything was different so. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye expressed that she experienced both the advantages and disadvantages of parental monitoring, although they were aware of their fathers' unusual presence in their school lives. Yet, both Sümeyye and her sister seemed content with their parents and indicated they loved and were grateful to them. Some of the other adolescents experienced more discomfort with parental protection, while they expressed some empathy at the same time. For example, Enes, who was not allowed by her mother to go a basketball game at night, seemed to feel uncomfortable with possible distrust. On the other hand he mentioned that he was also responsible for this, because he had a somewhat conflictual relationship with his parents. He also acknowledged that he did not have any desire to join those parties partly because he did not want to disappoint his parents and partly because he associated those parties with smoking, drinking, and drugs. When I asked him what people were doing in parties, he said: "I have never been to one of them. Get drunk, get smoke. And then you know the rest."

Sude, too, put forward that she found it annoying that her parents did not acknowledge that she was from a different generation.

I mean they really are like they try to make you go through what they went through. It's like a different generation, different thing you know? They don't need to be as uptight as they think they should be. (Sude, 16)

When I asked her what she meant by being uptight, she said:

They they kind of like I feel like I grow up I am 16, I should be able to go out without causing too much trouble. But like sometimes I wanna just go see my friends, go to the mall, go ice skating, and that can cause like a huge thing. But I was like I am doing that with my Turkish friends, they are not gonna, they trust them but you don't trust me. *And that's kind of annoying.* They are gonna call all my friends parents and it's like I am 17. And my friends are like 18, 19. (Sude, 16)

Sude said that her parents' restrictions affected her life in a negative way. Sude was already feeling isolated because she was new to the neighborhood and to the school, where everyone was friends with each other since their kindergarden years. Under these circumstances, Sude felt isolated because she could only go out with her friends a few times a month, with lots of troubles with her parents. She said she had to text her friends or reach them over social media, which made her feel "kind of isolated." (Sude). She especially compared herself with her Turkish friends, who had parents with similar backgrounds to her parents. Because she observed that her Turkish friends could enjoy more freedom such as going to school on their own taking public transportation, she felt even more at odds with her parents' restrictions. Sude also had the opportunity to observe Turkish adolescents in Turkey because she had studied in Turkey for a while. Her statements supported the parents' observation that Turkish adolescents in Turkey had better developed life skills because they were living in a less adult controlled environment.

In Turkey my friends they go and get their haircut by themselves. They go do their shopping by themselves, without their parents. And here like my mom has to drive me to the hair saloon. She tells me what to do with my hair. It's more like they are socially developed. (Sude, 16)

When I asked Sude if that was the case for American adolescents, she hesitantly said: "I don't know. Most of them have their own cars so I guess so. And they have their own jobs." (Sude).

Serkan, too, experienced his parents' restrictions over dance parties and found it stressful to be restricted. He explained how his parents linked their restrictions to culture and religion. Although feeling frustrated for not having fun, Serkan perceived these restrictions as part of his cultural and religious education. Therefore, he seemed accepting of his parents' standards despite

occasional parent-child tensions. The fact that his mother was gradually allowing him to spend time with his friends outside could play into his acceptance.

Sometimes you know like become stressful because Turkish parents are supposed to be, traditional they are more strict in comparison to American families. So when my parents say '*you can't go to this dance because you know our religion and our culture doesn't support it*', I have friends who go to the dance you know have fun. I mean that's just a simple issue it can be fixed but my family always tried to teach me in a Turkish in Turkish culture, and they always tried to make me remember that I am not American, I am Turkish and my bonds are to Turkey. (Serkan, 17)

The adolescents wanted to feel their parents' trust in them and when they did, they felt more confident and at peace with their parents. This, in turn, had a positive impact on their well-being. However, when parents practiced anxious monitoring and expressed their worries to the adolescents, the adolescents felt annoyed, which increased occasional parent-adolescent conflicts.

h. Parents' regulation of friendship choices and well-being

The fact that most parents had close connections with other Turkish people and with the Turkish community and the fact that they encouraged their children's relationships with other Turkish children resulted in those adolescents having closer friendship ties with their Turkish friends. The adolescents had friendships with other Turkish children from their early childhood years onwards and felt more connected to them compared to their American friends. Sümeyye recalled how she did not have any American friends in her early childhood years.

I didn't have any American friends. It was mostly around Turkish people that I had memories with, so I couldn't really I didn't really talk to American children because they would go home and watch TV and we couldn't really relate because I didn't watch TV. Well, I used to. I would play with the computer a lot but not like everyday. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye had set a boundary between herself and American children in those early days. She said her first “real friends” were Turkish. She also chose her first high school based on where her Turkish friends went.

My first real friends were in X (her first high school). It was Ayşe, Fatma and Zeynep. They were both Turkish friends of mine and we bonded really well and we were good friends who would always hang out in the recess and Zeynep was in the same class as me so I had all my classes with her. And then we went to high school. It was different. (Sümeyye, 16)

Sümeyye was still in contact with her Turkish friends, although they had moved to another city and she had switched to another high school. Frequent mobility of the families was the main obstacle in front of the adolescents’ long lasting relationships with their Turkish friends. Similar to Sümeyye, Sude fell apart from her closest Turkish friends because her family had moved to another city. She had left her closest Turkish friends in their previous city and she had to communicate with them over the Internet. Her close friends in her current city were also Turkish because there were mainly Turkish families around her family.

Serkan had a similar experience. In his previous city, they were living within a close community of Turkish people. He explained how he felt more connected to Turkish friends compared to Americans and how he established his closest friendship there with a Turkish boy.

In X (his previous city), I found myself to treasure Turkish friends more than American friends, because they were so few, and I remember in X when I was like seven, I met one of my closest friends, my best friend even, met Ali, who has lived here basically his entire life. I treasured his friendship more than I treasured friendships that were American or that were other nationalities because I felt like hey he is Turkish and I'm Turkish, we should be friends. And I had more friends in X that were Turkish because they had more of a Turkish society built up there, Turkish community, uhm but *when I came here it was that kind of like all went away.* (Serkan, 17)

After moving around too often, Serkan ceased to search for friendships and did not value Turkish friends that much anymore. Still, he kept Ahmet as his best friend, despite the geographical distance.

I don't treasure my Turkish friendships more than I treasure American friendships. But I don't find myself making that many friends, cause I don't I am just moving around a lot, I moved elementary schools 4 or 5 times. And middle school I moved twice. (Serkan, 17)

The Turkish friendships based on the adolescents' early childhood years had a crucial effect on their adolescence year friendships as well. The length of the relationships and the parents' close ties with their friends' families played a role in that. Fatih addressed these factors.

Turkish people I have a close relationship with them because I can see them everywhere and like my parents know their parents we have been together for a like quite a while or as long as I can remember. (Fatih, 17)

Şükran also underlined her family's role in determining her friendship relationships through their connections with the Turkish community and active participation in the activities at the Turkish cultural center. After their weekend programs at the student mentors' home, Şükran went to ACT classes at the Turkish cultural center, where her mother volunteered as a teacher.

We go to the Turkish cultural center once a week, there is like kids there, there's like other Turkish girls in my age, we get along. After *ablas* (female student mentors) we go there. My mom teaches there as well. My brother has classes like Sunday classes Saturday classes there. So we just wait. And we also have ACT classes. (Şükran, 14)

Tarık also had another Turkish friend as his best friend. Their mothers were close friends and he felt like they were cousins.

Me and him we feel like we are cousins because we were almost born at the same time and when we were born my mom and his mom knew each other. (Tarık, 12)

As a meso level factor, the ways parents directed the adolescents' social activities and the ways they encouraged Turkish friendships seemed to affect the adolescents' social lives directly.

Some adolescents enjoyed the programs organized by their parents, while some of them find these activities boring. The adolescents seemed content to have close friendships with other Turkish adolescents, but it was hard to continue these relationships due to their families' frequent moves. The adolescents were aware that many American adolescents continued their early childhood friendships to their adolescence years often within the same neighborhoods. This awareness led to feelings of isolation and feelings of not being rooted for some adolescents.

F. Member Checking Survey Results

Five parents and only one adolescent responded to the online member checking survey over the course of approximately six weeks. I sent one reminder email to all participants two weeks after I sent the original member checking emails. Qualtrics, which is a safe survey site, was used. The summaries of parent interviews were shared with participating parents in Turkish and the summaries of adolescent interview findings were shared with adolescents in English (See attached member checking surveys). Participants were able to respond to the survey questions in Turkish or English.

Two questions were asked to the participants: (1) Do the findings voice your experiences? If yes, please explain. (2) Are these findings different from your experiences? If yes, please explain. All parents, but one, wrote very brief responses and said the findings were very accurate. All parents commented that the findings strongly "reflected" their thought and feelings. Two parents said the findings were so accurate that the summary was not like the summary of parents from 15 families, but like from only their family. One parent responded in detail and said she especially agreed with the finding that parents raised children in fishbowls. She thought this was because parents did not know how to deal with cultural differences. As a result, they overprotected their children and children felt stuck between two cultures: On the one

hand, children tried not to lose their “essence,” on the other hand they tried to adapt to another (American) culture. She agreed that the fear of losing the children put families under stress, while children felt lost in their identity crisis. She also indicated that parents’ stress was lower in families which did not prioritize cultural and religious values. She shared her observation that conservative families were more stressed and anxious with regard to parenting. This input was consistent with my findings.

Only one adolescent responded and said she/he felt as though most of the information in the summary reflected her/his and most other Turkish immigrant adolescents’ experiences.

Participants’ affirmative reflections increased the trustworthiness of the study. It is a limitation that only one adolescent responded to the survey although I had initially expected at least five adolescents to respond. However, this was not surprising to me because adolescents were not as engaged as their parents during the interviews and seemed less interested in the research.

G. Common and Distinctive Themes across Families

In this section, I present the results of my analysis of common and distinctive themes across families. First, I examine themes related to the first research question, how the immigration experience influences parenting practices, parent-adolescent relationships, and the family environment. Next, I examine themes related to the second research question, how parent-adolescent relationships and family environments affect adolescent well-being.

1. Research question 1

As a result of the grounded theory analysis, parenting as an immigrant individual in America was found to be affected by a number of factors, which are illustrated in Figure 2:

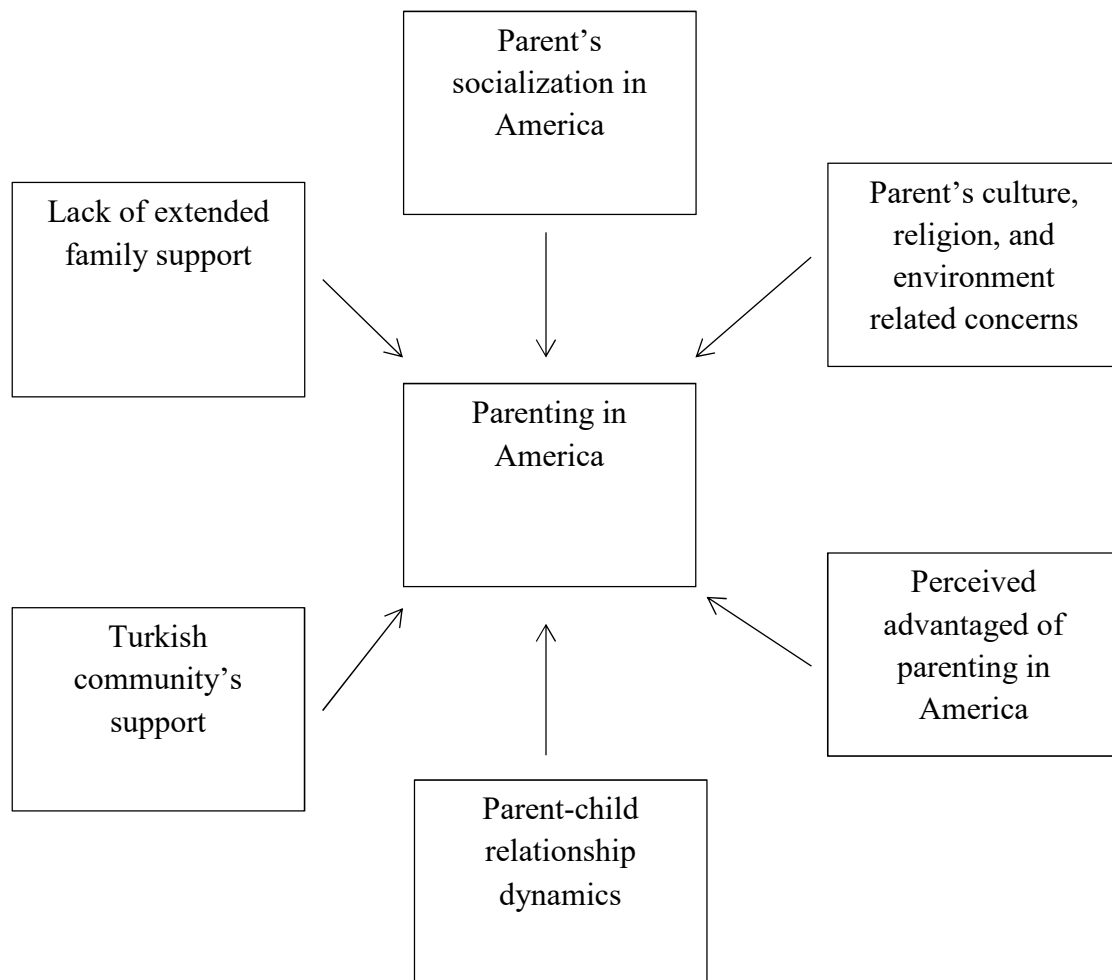


Figure 2. Factors that influence Turkish parents' parenting in America.

These factors affected parenting either in negative or positive ways. Parents' own life experiences such as lack of extended family support or adaptation difficulties made parenting more challenging for some parents. Similarly, culture and religion related concerns or concerns about the adolescents' environment gave some parents a hard time. On the other hand, Turkish community's support eased parenting for most parents. Also, parents preferred to stay in the U.S. thinking that their children would live a better life in America primarily through getting high quality education. Needless to say, parent-adolescent relationship dynamics was often the most salient factor influencing parenting related feelings and thoughts.

Despite the positive aspects of parenting in America, most parents shared their fears and concerns. The analysis revealed that parenting stress was a predominant component of parenting for majority of the participants. Parents' fear that their children would lose Turkish culture as they adapted to American society, adopt undesirable components of American culture, have inappropriate friends or habits such as drug use, or cease to practice Islam were the major concerns identified in this study. Figure 3 illustrates these major sources of parenting stress:

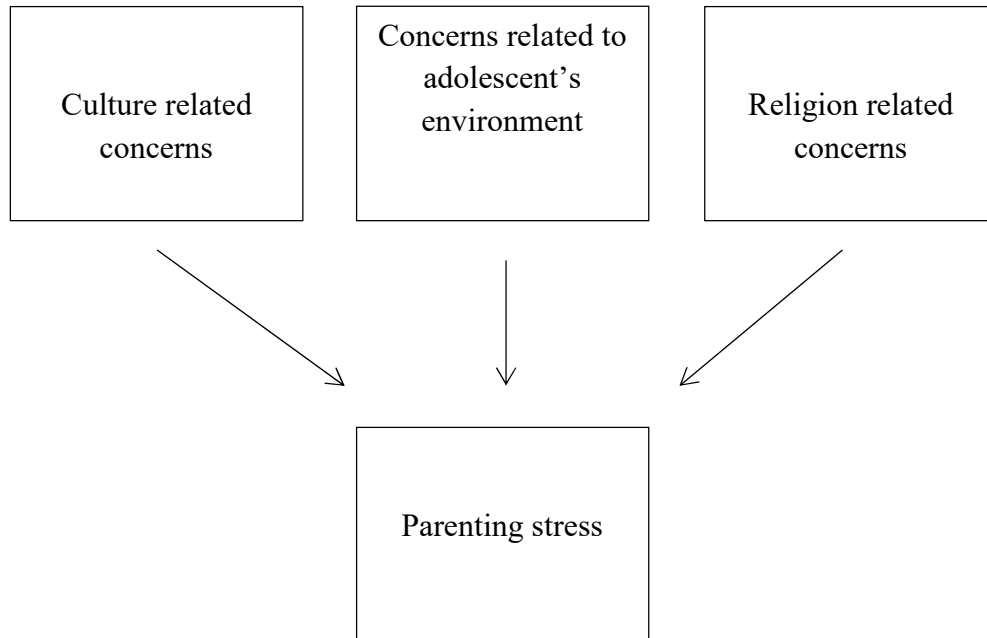


Figure 3. Sources of parenting stress.

Among these factors, religion was the primary concern in some families and needs particular attention. An across family analysis showed that there were two categories of families with regard to their religious stance: (1) parents with high level of religious concerns, (2) parents with low levels of religious concerns. Parents who described themselves as more religious expressed more concern about their children's religious choices. For Turkish immigrant families in this study, low levels of religious concerns resulted in relatively lower levels of parental stress.

A number of other factors determined the levels of parental stress for parents with high levels of religious concerns. When parents with religious concerns found opportunities to teach Islam to their children, their parenting stress decreased. On the other hand, parents who could not find these opportunities for religious education had higher parental stress. Another factor affecting religion related parenting stress was the responses they got from the adolescents. The more parents had conflicts with their children over issues of religiosity, the more stressed they felt. The last factor was whether parents differentiated Islam and Turkish culture. As I explained in detail earlier, parents who differentiated Islam and Turkish culture had less parenting stress because they thought their children would not necessarily stop practicing their Islamic responsibilities when they adapted to American culture. However, parents who perceived Islam and Turkish culture to be one and the same felt more stress because they thought their children would gradually diverge from the religious path as they adopted American lifestyle. Figure 4 below depicts these relationships:

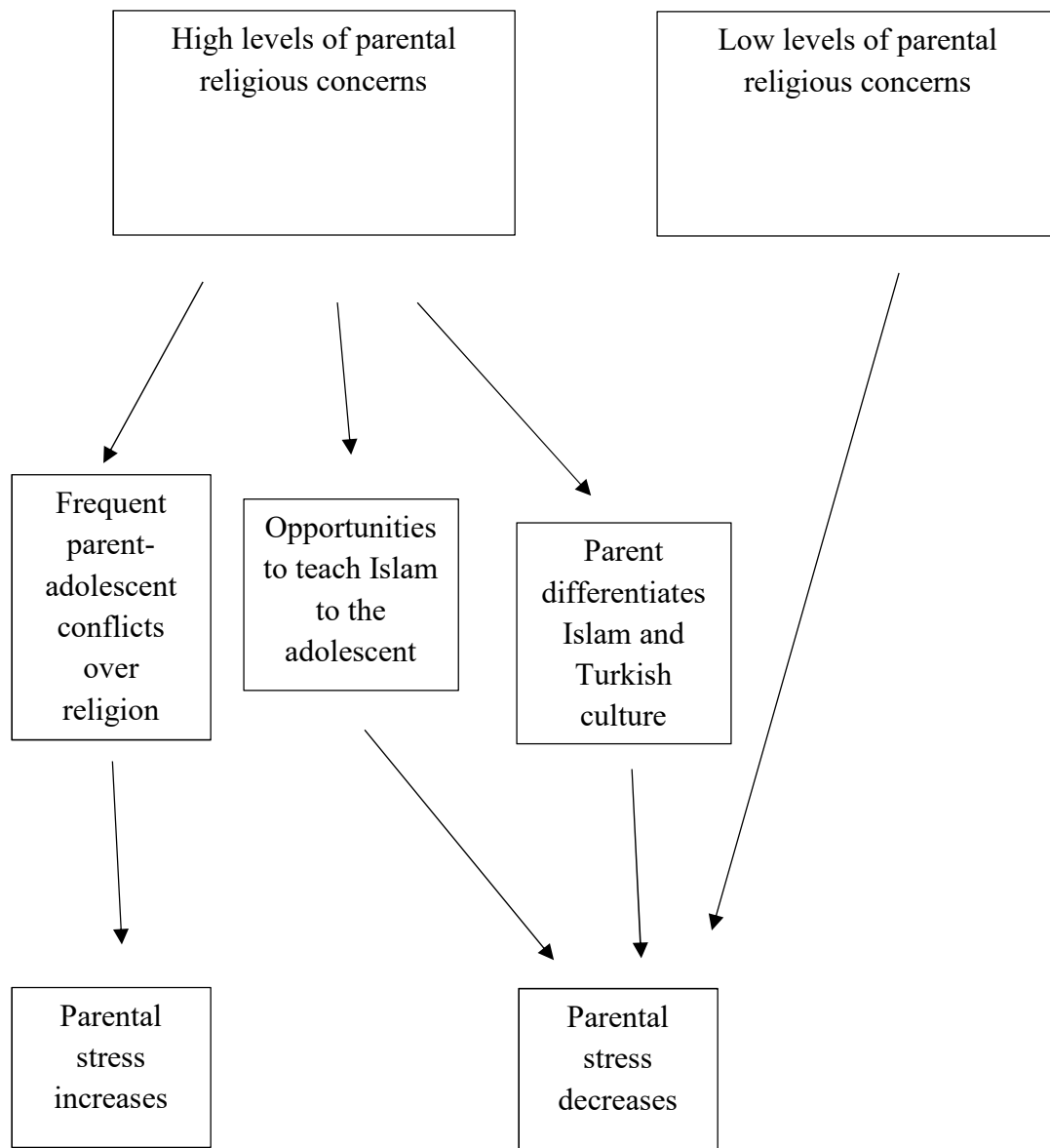


Figure 4. Religion and parental stress.

2. Research question 2

This section displays the results of an across family analysis with regard to the second research question: How do parenting and parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescent well-being? Parents provided the insight on the ways their parenting influenced their children's overall psychological mood, social life, and success. The emphasis was often the adolescent's happiness, academic success, friendships, and self confidence. As a result, they gave detailed accounts of the ways transactions among the adolescents' different spheres of life influenced these aspects of well-being.

a. Turkish culture, parenting, and adolescent well-being

Figure 3 illustrates adolescents' responses to their parents' religious choices. Most adolescents seemed to be at peace with Turkish culture, at least in the reconstructed form they were exposed to. However, some of them even embraced the role of representing Turkish culture in public, like in their schools, while others only experienced it in their home spheres and did not disclose their Turkish identities in the public sphere unless they were asked. The first group, which felt more comfortable with their Turkish identity, were almost always in agreement with their parents over what Turkish culture was. Accordingly, they did not experience much conflict over their relationship to Turkish culture with their parents. However, the second group of adolescents, who did not feel very comfortable with their ethnic identity outside home, had occasional conflicts with their parents over their cultural choices.

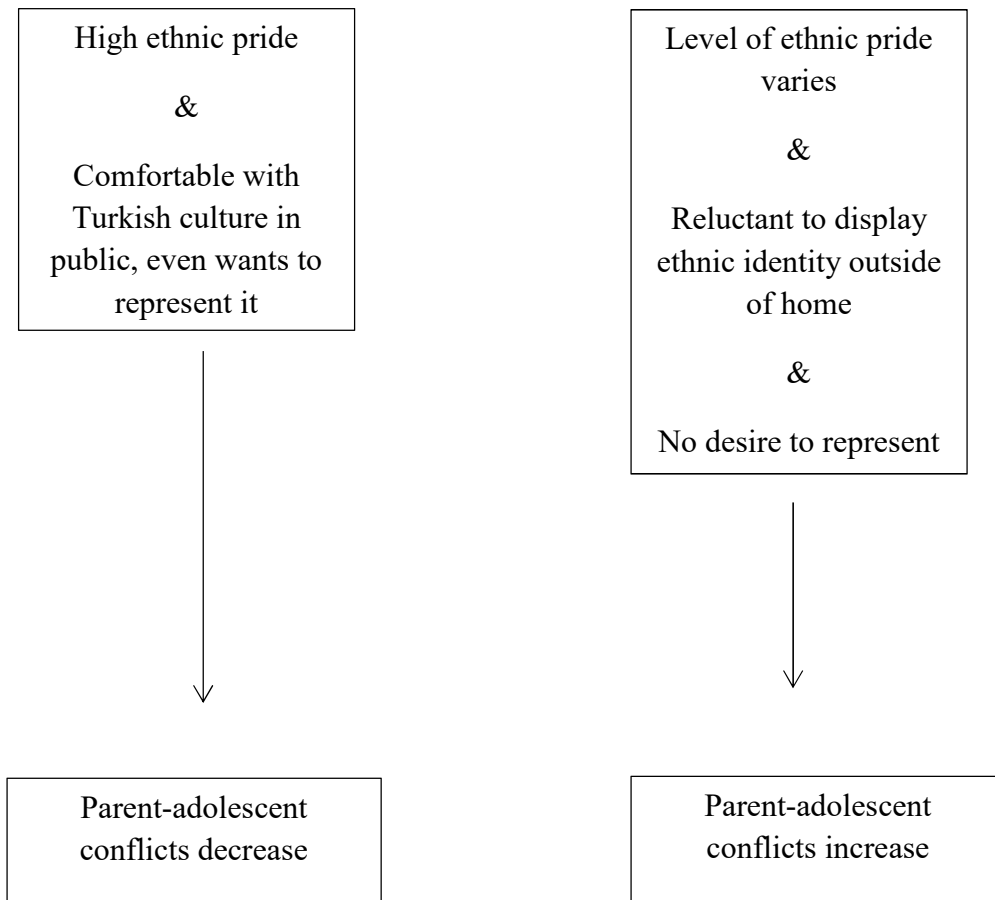


Figure 5. Turkish culture, parenting, and adolescent well-being

b. American culture, parenting, and adolescent well-being

All parents encouraged selective adaptation to American culture, while they varied on what to select from American culture. Some parents perceived American culture as a threat to some extent and some parents felt more comfortable with American culture and their children's adaptation to it. Parents were more likely to perceive American culture as a threat when they had a negative image of America previously, had limited socialization in America, or had negative past experiences in America, or perceived Turkish culture and Islam as inseparable. Regardless of the parents' stance, adolescents displayed high adaptation in their social lives when their parents encouraged some form of adaptation and adolescents agreed over these terms of adaptation (Figure 4). When adolescents had conflicts with their parents over adaptation to American society, some adolescents felt ambivalent towards American society and culture. Some adolescents experienced conflicts and contradictions in their thoughts and feelings towards American culture and society. This was especially the case when parents perceived American culture as a threat and received the clues from their children that they could "lose" their children to America.

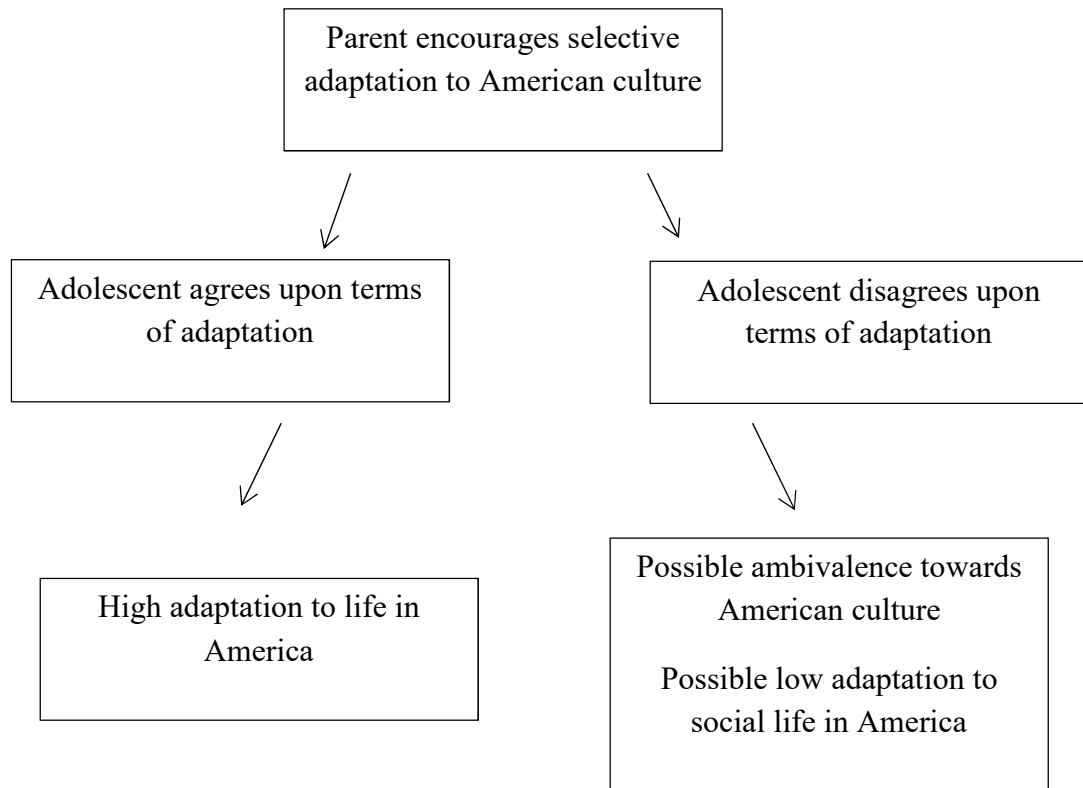


Figure 6. American culture, parenting, and adolescent well-being.

For some parents, religion played an important role in determining parenting practices. For these parents, having conflicts with their adolescent children over religion increased parenting stress. For some adolescents, these conflicts resulted in adolescent's discomfort with Muslim identity. These adolescents did not feel comfortable with practicing Islam in public spaces, such as at school. This meant that these adolescents did not respond positively to some of

their parents' religious demands, which increased parent-child conflicts and parenting concerns even more (Figure 5).

When adolescents agreed with their pious parents over religious issues, they developed solid Muslim identities. Despite challenges, these adolescents expressed their religious identities in public. As I explained in the previous sections, some of them even embraced the mission of representing “good Muslims” in America. Adolescents agreed with their parents over religious issues when their level of religiosity matched that of parents and when parents did not pressure them, but tried to model religiosity.

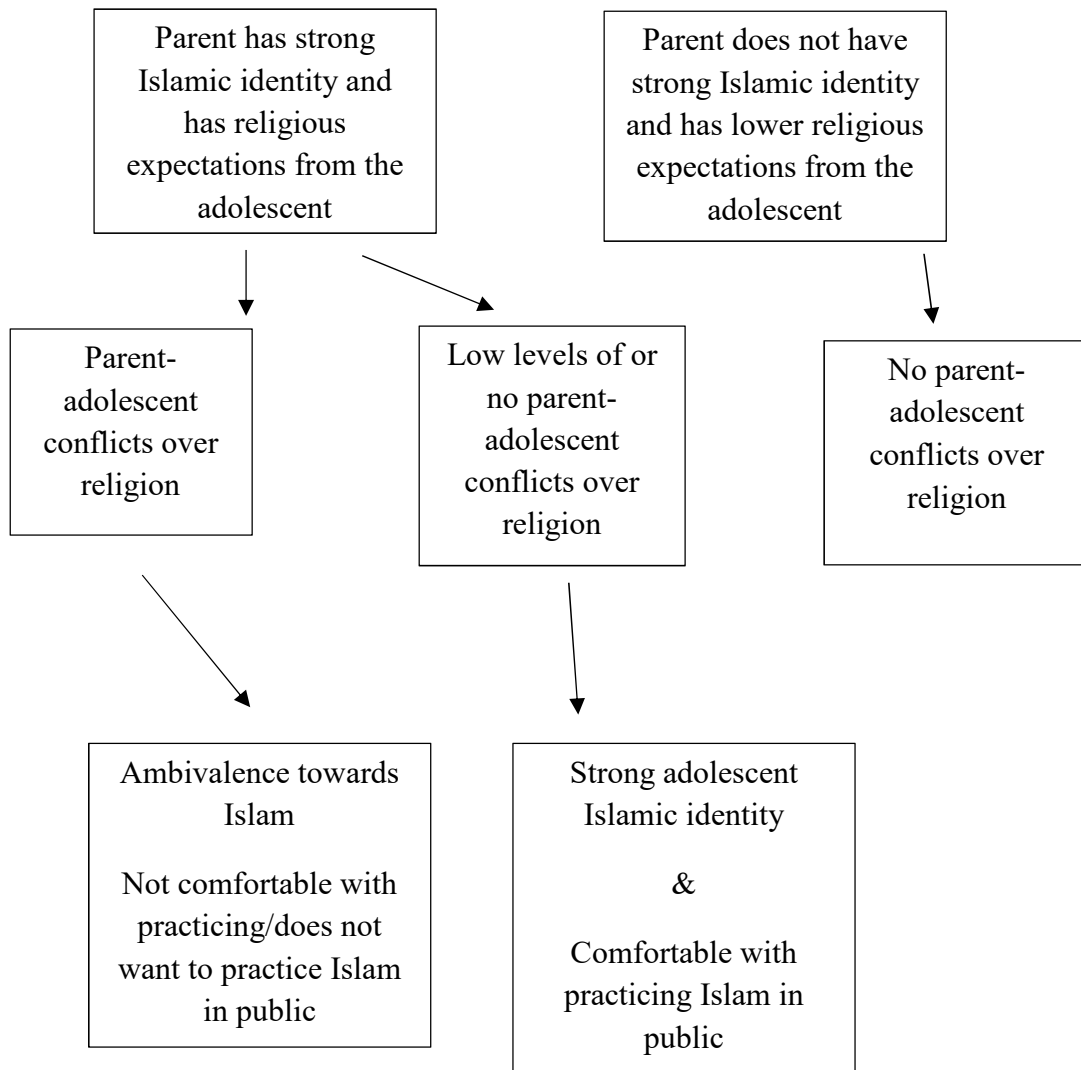


Figure 7. Religion, parenting, and adolescent well-being.

c. Parental monitoring styles and adolescent well-being

As I explained in the section on parent perspectives, all parents practiced a considerable level of parental monitoring of their adolescent children. Monitoring was the result of parents' cultural, moral, and religious concerns. Varying degrees of parental stress due to religious and/or cultural concerns might lead to varying degrees of parental monitoring. It can be argued that there were roughly two categories of parents: (1) Parents who practiced "anxious monitoring" because of high parental stress, (2) Parents who practiced relatively "comfortable monitoring" due to lower levels of parental stress. These parental attitudes and resulting parental practices led to different well-being outcomes for their adolescent children. Parents with comfortable monitoring style felt the courage to give their children more freedom to explore their environments and have new experiences. On the other hand, parents with anxious monitoring style were more restrictive. Both parent and adolescent accounts showed that keeping their adolescent children in "fishbowl" prevented adolescents from developing adequate life skills and independence. Restrictions of anxious monitors could also result in more parent-adolescent conflicts, while more freedom decreased these conflicts and increased adolescents' self-confidence. Figure 7 illustrates these relationships:

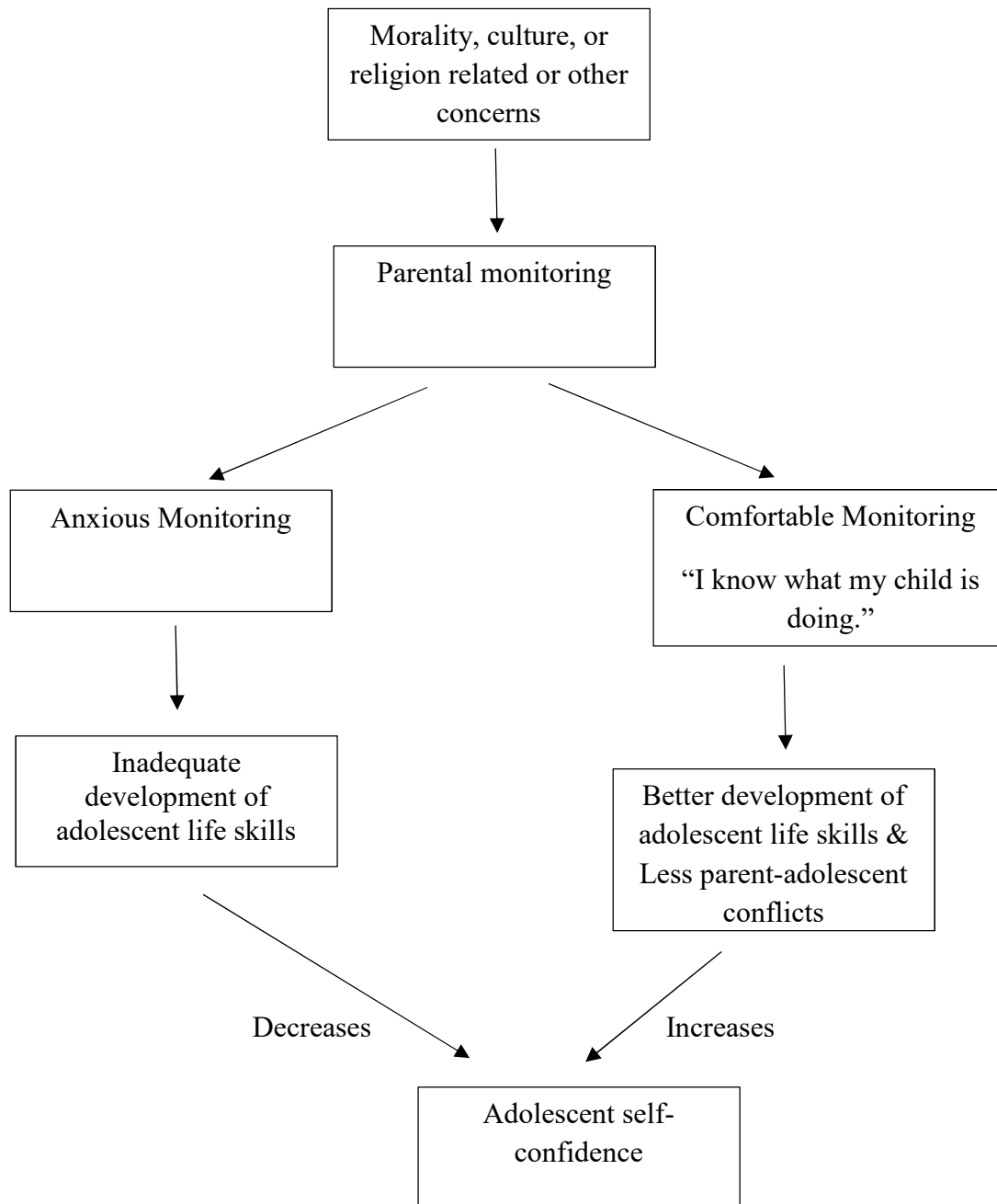


Figure 8. Parental monitoring styles and adolescent well-being.

VI. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of immigration experiences on Turkish immigrant parents and the relationship between parenting and adolescent well-being in the United States. In this qualitative study, two research questions were explored through semi-structured interviews with 15 first generation Turkish immigrant parents and their second generation adolescent children (13 adolescents) from 14 families: (1) How does the immigration experience influence parenting practices, parent-adolescent relationships and the family environment for Turkish immigrant families in U.S.? (2) How do parent-adolescent relationships and family environments affect Turkish adolescents' well-being? In this chapter, the findings of the study in relation to the two research questions are discussed from parents' and adolescents' perspectives, and across families. Second, the ways the two theoretical perspectives, ecological perspective and critical acculturation psychology informed data analysis are presented. Third, the study's implications for social work practice, research, and education are discussed.

A. Parent and Adolescent Perspectives on the Research Questions

1. The effects of immigration on parenting

a. Parent perspectives

The effects of immigration experiences were explored from the parents' perspectives and adolescents' perspectives respectively. I also compared themes across families. According to parent accounts, parents' own socialization experiences in the United States and parents' perceptions on how living in the U.S. would affect their adolescent children's lives influenced parenting practices and parent-child relationships. The fact that parents lacked extended family support that would be available to them if they lived in Turkey made parenting a challenging task

for them. In addition, when parents had a negative image of America in their minds, when they had a strong sense of longing for Turkey, and when coming to America changed their lifestyles drastically, parenting became a difficult task. Some parents also felt uncomfortable because of their concerns about raising children in the U.S. Some of these concerns were related to Turkish culture, more specifically, fears that their children would forget Turkish language, food, and other cultural elements. These findings reveal similarities between Turkish parents and immigrant parents from other cultural backgrounds, who were reported to have similar fears of “losing” their children to America especially when they had a negative perception of American culture (Stodolska, 2008; Ross-Sheriff et al., 2007; Baptiste, 2005). As a response to these concerns, Turkish parents in this study became engaged in efforts to teach Turkish culture to children both at home and in spaces organized by the Turkish community and cultural centers. Parents had varying degrees of religious concerns, depending on their own religiosity. Similar to religious Muslim parents from other ethnic groups (Ross-Sheriff et al., 2007), parents with high degrees of religiosity had more religion related parenting concerns. These parents often felt uncomfortable when the values they taught at home conflicted with what was taught at school, when their children did not abide themselves with “proper” Islamic practices, and when they felt strongly that the outside environment was not supportive of an Islamic life style. Parents were particularly concerned about the negative attitudes their adolescent children were or could be subject to due to the recent association of Muslims with terror and violence. Four parents mentioned their intensive fears of “losing children to America,” which connoted the loss of religious and cultural elements by their children. However, this does not mean that parents carried all negative thoughts and feelings about their children’s ethnic and religious identities. In fact, parents who perceived America as less of a threat and were able to identify desirable

elements in American culture were content that diversity was perceived positively and their children's needs were accommodated. For example, two parents expressed how happy they were when their children were offered spaces for daily prayers. Second, parents with high levels of religiosity had the expectation that their children would represent good Muslims in American society, hence were part of a larger and important mission.

The way parents constructed the relationship between Islam and Turkish culture had a pivotal impact on parents' parenting stress. The more parents perceived religion and culture as inseparable, the more stress they reported. Parents who believed that adaptation to American society did not necessarily mean disclaiming Islam had fewer fears of "losing" their children. Along with religious and culture related concerns, parents were worried that their children could be affected badly from inappropriate friends, who would introduce them to drugs and to early sexuality. Despite these intense concerns, all families but one decided to stay in the U.S. based on the perceived advantages. The foremost advantage parents reported was a good future for their children, which meant education at good universities and influential, well-paid positions. They also felt happy about the extracurricular activities in which their children were participating, thinking that this participation would contribute to their self-confidence.

As children got older, parents had to face occasional parent-child conflicts, which usually stemmed from parent-child acculturation gaps, parents' cultural and religious concerns, and high academic expectations of parents. However, these conflicts were not intense; participating families seemed to experience a relatively low level of conflict. Still, parents practiced high levels of parental monitoring due to their aforementioned concerns. Parents kept their eyes on children's friendships and were pleased that the school system and the regulation of everyday life

allowed them to monitor children closely. However, they also specified high monitoring and adult control as obstacles to adolescents' life skills development.

The low level of conflict was partially the result of parental relationship regulation strategies. Parents endeavored to maintain positive, friendly parent-child relationships, to respect children's increasing privacy demands, and to spend special time with their children. Also, in order to counterbalance their concerns about culture, religion, and possible threats such as drugs, parents mobilized Turkish community resources such as weekend activities with Turkish mentors for adolescents or activities organized by Turkish cultural centers.

b. Adolescent perspectives

Being children of immigrant parents, Turkish adolescents displayed a high level of awareness about their parents' position, concerns, and expectations. While they implied that their parents had high levels of monitoring, most adolescents showed empathy and understanding. A few adolescents reported that they found their parents' worries upsetting. The adolescents who were given more freedom by their parents were mostly older. These older adolescents appreciated the higher degree of freedom and interpreted this as the degree of trust their parents had in them.

The second point adolescents made about the effects of parenting was about cultural practices. Adolescents thought having immigrant parents also meant being exposed to Turkish culture in various forms in America through different means and social spaces. Adolescents were exposed to Turkish culture in their family environments, where parents exposed them to Turkish home life, food, home decoration, and television programs. The other two means to encounter reconstructed forms of Turkish culture were the activities organized by the Turkish community

and transnational experiences, which were visits to Turkey and extended family member visits to the U.S. These visits were especially important to show them that the cultural forms they lived with in America were not the same with the ones in Turkey.

Adolescents also were aware of parents' agency with regard to their stance towards American culture. While adolescents supported and approved parents' encouragement of children's adaptation to American society, they criticized parents who hindered their children's adaptation to American society. For example, adolescents were critical of parents who did not teach English to their children in early ages or who sent their children only to schools operated by the Turkish community.

Figure 9 depicts the findings with regard to the first research question, combining parent and adolescent perspectives.

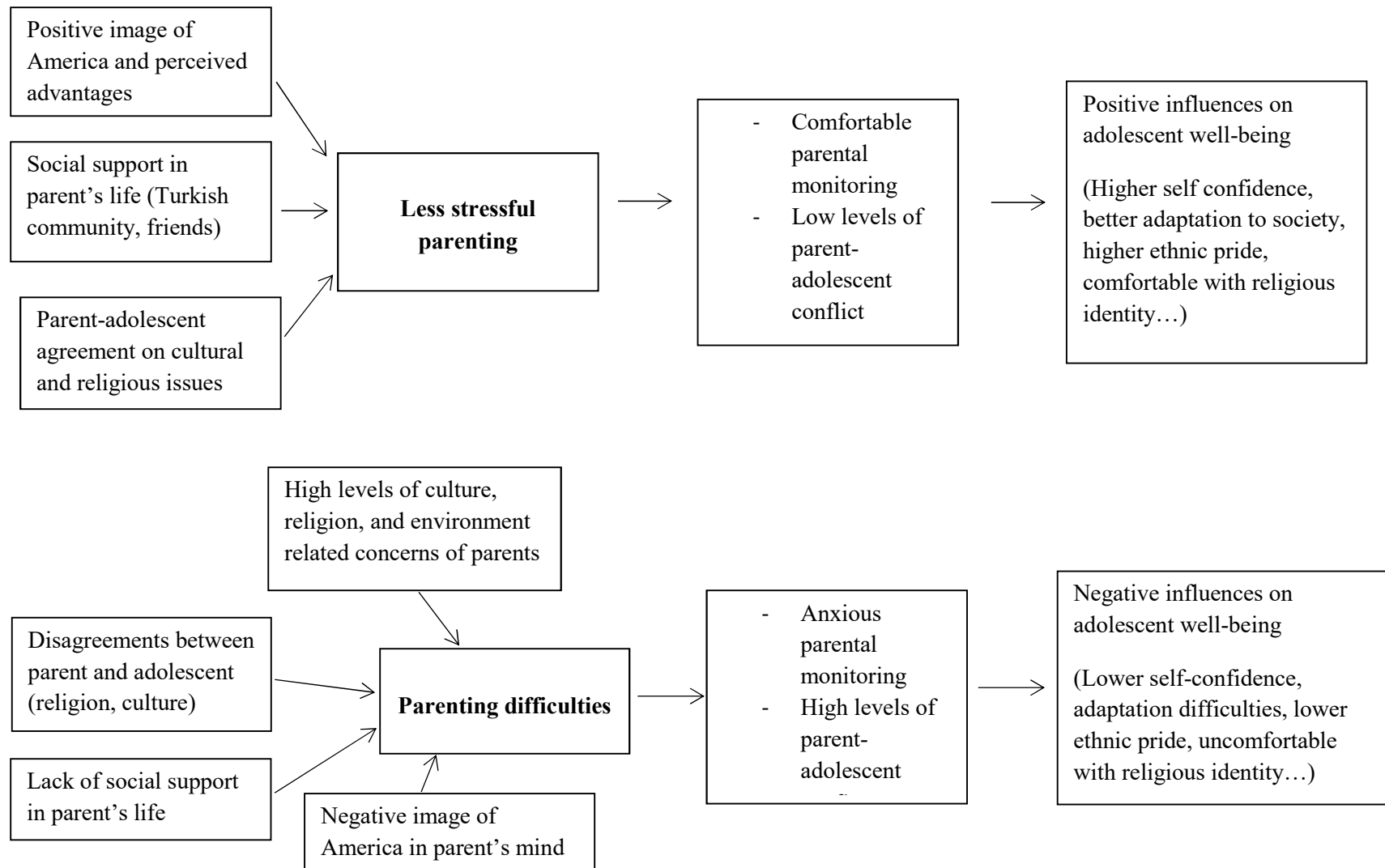


Figure 9. Factors that affect parenting and adolescent well-being outcomes.

2. The effects of parenting on adolescent well-being

a. Parent perspectives

In this study, well-being was conceptualized based on the insight received from the interviews. During the interviews, parents were informed that the study was about parenting and the relationship between parenting and their adolescent children's well-being. To investigate the relationship between parenting and adolescent well-being, the parent interview guide (See Appendix A) was prepared under the light of the ecological perspective. Therefore, I explored parents' views on how different factors affected their children's experiences and well-being in a dynamic and transactional way. Some of these factors were the overall experience of coming to and living in the U.S., parenting practices and the family environment, the school, neighborhood environments and the Turkish community. I did not predefined the concept of well-being and parents mainly focused on parent-child relationship dynamics, adolescent children's overall happiness, adaptation, socialization and academic success while elaborating their children's well-being.

As a result of the across-parent and across family analysis, two prominent themes on the ways direct and indirect parenting practices affected adolescents' well-being were identified. First, most parents described their parental monitoring as overprotectiveness, which they claimed hindered their children's life skills development and independence. In a sense, their children were in "fishbowls" and under too much adult control, often due to the organization of life in American society. Combined with parental overprotectiveness, the American lifestyle, lacking spontaneity and street play, were identified as hindering children's life skills development. Yet, parents took measures to balance these effects through keeping the channels of parent-adolescent interactions open, giving adolescents more freedom as adolescents got older, and encouraging

assertiveness skills and participation in social activities. Parents specifically identified extracurricular activities as important for adolescents' well-being, because these activities were thought to promote independence skills and self-confidence.

The second theme identified as having a substantial effect on adolescent well-being was transnational experiences, which were in the form of visits to Turkey and extended family visits to the U.S. Transnational experiences were the results of parents' deliberate efforts of maintaining ties with Turkey and seemed to affect adolescent well-being positively. Parents put forward that adolescents often enjoyed spending time with their extended family members, who showed special treatment to them. On the other hand, parents did not describe transnational experiences as fully positive. Some parents indicated that as they reached adolescence, their children increasingly felt bored during visits to relatives' homes in Turkey. More importantly, relatives in Turkey found some of the adolescents' behaviors rude or unusual, primarily because adolescents had different norms and codes of respect.

b. Adolescent perspectives

Using the ecological perspective, broad questions were posed to the adolescents during the interviews (See Appendix B and Appendix C) and I analyzed adolescents' evaluations of how their parents, family environments, the immigrant position, and different spheres of life affected their overall well-being. In response to my questions, adolescents described what made them happy, pleased, stressed, or feel successful mainly with regard to their relationships with their parents. They also evaluated what they felt and thought about the ways their parents influenced different spheres of their social lives.

Parents often influenced how adolescents became engaged with Turkish and American cultures. It was parents who provided opportunities for them to learn about Turkish culture, to experience it, and sometimes to represent it. Adolescents got exposed to Turkish culture mainly through three means: (1) their home environments, (2) Turkish community, and (3) transnational experiences (visits to Turkey). In all of these spaces, Turkish culture was often presented to them in represented forms, different from the Turkish culture in Turkey. Therefore, adolescents often experienced Turkish culture very much like tourists and associated it with positive connotations. This, in turn, increased adolescents' ethnic pride. The welcoming multicultural environment in the United States was also found to contribute into adolescents' ethnic pride. As suggested by studies on adolescents from different ethnic groups (Rogers-Sirin and Gupta, 2012; Kiang, Gonzales-Backen, Fuligni, Yip, & Witkow, 2006; Phinney, Cantu, and Kurtz, 1997), ethnic identity had a positive effect on adolescent well-being. Moreover, as adolescents had positive experiences of Turkish culture, parents felt content. This reduced parent-adolescent conflicts, hence increased adolescent well-being.

Adolescents participated in activities organized by the Turkish community such as weekend mentorship programs and Turkish cultural centers' programs. These spaces and events were often created by the Turkish parents, often with the purpose of teaching culture and religion to children. While some adolescents reported to enjoy these activities, some said they were boring and unnecessary. This means that the social spaces provided by parents could have positive or negative influences on adolescent well-being depending on the adolescents' perceptions.

While transnational experiences, which often took the form of summer visits to Turkey, and contact with extended family members were generally described as happy, positive

experiences by the adolescents, they also indicated that they sometimes felt in between in Turkey because extended family members saw them as American. Adolescents reported that they felt more Turkish than their relatives thought. These visits turned into instances that consolidated adolescents' American identity, which seemed to have a positive influence on their well-being, because adolescents were often proud of their American identity.

Parents' views of and practices with regard to American culture were also found to influence adolescents' well-being to a great extent. When parents perceived American culture and Turkish culture as antagonistic, they consciously or unconsciously passed these thoughts and feelings to their children. With or without parent-adolescent conflicts, adolescents experienced ambivalence towards American culture, often despite their willingness to adapt to American society and enjoy mainstream culture. These adolescents felt uncomfortable in majority White American schools, preferred schools where immigrants were in the majority, or defined clear boundaries between themselves and White Americans. Adolescents who received positive messages about American culture or whose adaptation was encouraged by parents despite boundaries, found it easier to reconcile Turkish and American cultures.

Parenting, adolescent well-being, and Muslim identity was a more conflictual and uneasy area for both parents and adolescents. Yet, while parents were open about their worries about religion, adolescents did not address it much, unless it was directly asked. Parents have definitely played a role in adolescents' religious identities and choices. Adolescents sometimes experienced school-home conflicts based on religion, but solved these often with parents' mediation. Adolescents can roughly be categorized in two groups: (1) those who made their religious identities visible through prayers or clothing choices, (2) those made their religious identities largely invisible. The adolescents in the first group often received intensive Islamic education

from their parents or within the community and internalized these views. They were willing to represent the good, true face of Islam in American society. The adolescents in the second group could be children of practicing or nonpracticing Muslims. They usually claimed that religion was not that important for teenagers, although they also reported witnessing or experiencing mild levels of religion-based discrimination. When adolescents came up with contradictory accounts, I interpreted their stance as a blindness or denial strategy to deal with possible tensions over their religious identity and tried to both minimize and ignore the tension created by their religious identities.

Another stressful experience for the adolescents was to try to fulfill parents' high academic expectations. Almost all of the adolescent participants were good students and often enjoyed emotional and material rewards of their academic success. Some adolescents had occasional low grades, which alarmed their parents. These adolescents reportedly experienced stress and even anxiety as a result of their parents' high academic expectations.

Lastly, parental monitoring, usually in the form of overprotectiveness, made a substantial impact on adolescents' lives. While adolescents gave diverse responses to parental monitoring, they usually showed empathy and tolerated it. Also, they attributed it also to parents' immigrant status. Younger adolescents anticipated more freedom as they get older. Older adolescents demanded more freedom and appreciated when they received it, interpreting it as a sign of parents' trust.

Figure 10 depicts the findings with regard to the second research question, combining parent and adolescent perspectives.

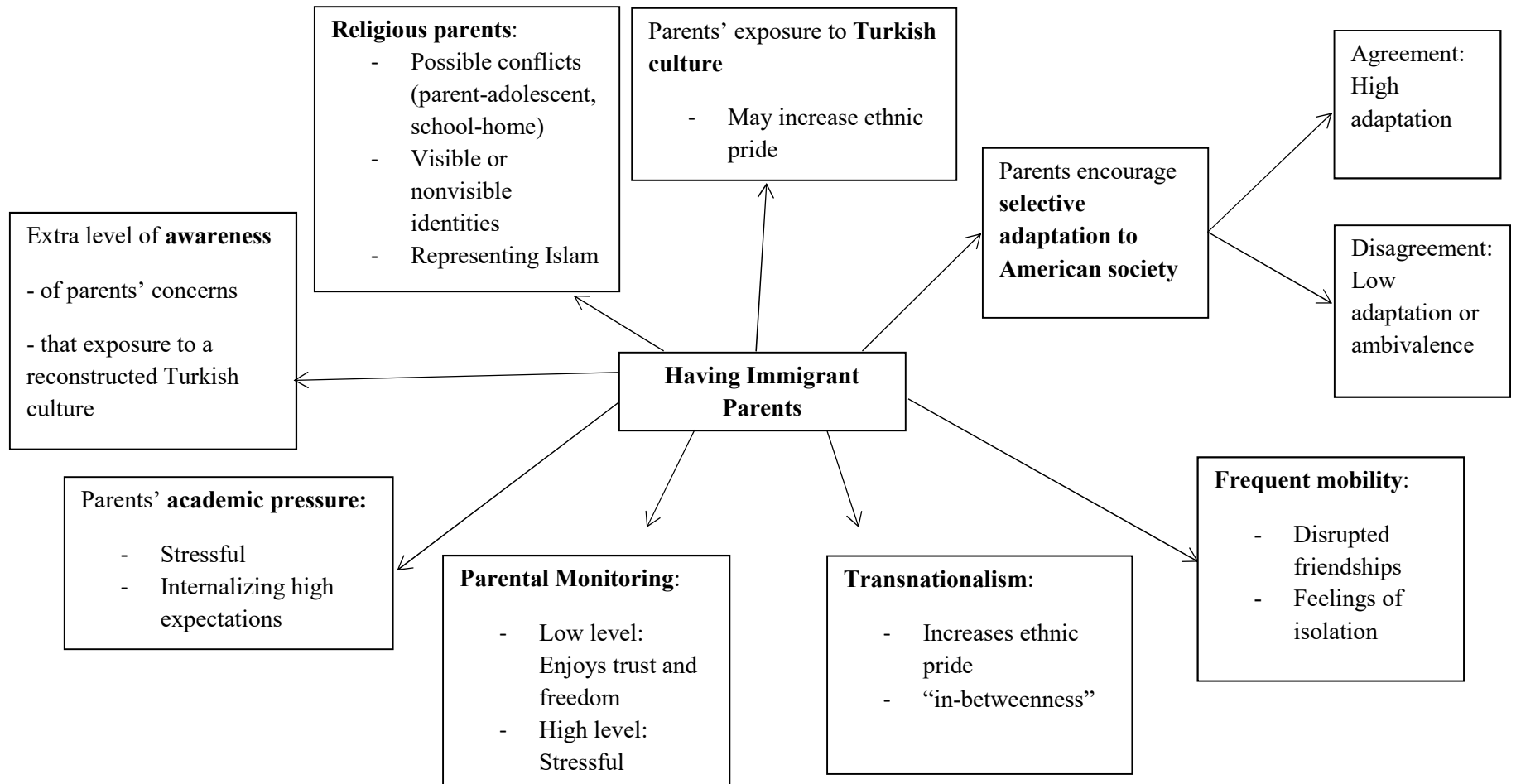


Figure 10. The adolescents' experiences of having immigrant parents.

3. Families in comparison

Grounded theory analysis through across family comparisons allowed me to identify parenting typologies and related adolescent well-being outcomes. Although these are not grand theories, the data analysis allowed me to come up with small scale theories on issues related to culture, religion, parenting, and adolescent well-being. These were explained in detail in the findings section and are summarized here.

a. Religion, parenting and adolescent well-being

There were two categories of families with regard to their religious stance: (1) Parents with high level of religious concerns, (2) Parents with low levels of religious concerns. Low levels of religious concerns resulted in relatively lower levels of parental stress. For parents with high religious concerns, finding opportunities to teach Islam to the adolescent and differentiating Islam and Turkish culture decreased parents' stress. The parents who perceived Islam and Turkish culture as inseparable had an impression that giving up components of Turkish culture could also mean giving up components of Islam. These parents seemed to have higher stress. Parent-adolescent conflicts over religion also tended to increase parenting stress.

When parents had religious expectations for the adolescents, the presence or absence of parent-adolescent conflicts over religion played a decisive role in influencing adolescent outcomes. Differences in parents' and adolescent's levels of religiosity and parents' pressure on the adolescent over religious issues predicted the presence or absence of parent-adolescent conflicts over religion. When children of parents with high religious expectations experienced conflict with their parents, they had ambivalent thoughts about Islam. These adolescents were also reluctant to make their religious identity visible in their social lives. When adolescents

accepted their parents' religious views, they developed strong Muslim identity and wanted to make their religious identity visible. As a result, these adolescents had fewer religion-based parent-child conflicts and reported to feel pleased with their parents. This parent-child relationship harmony seemed to increase adolescent well-being.

b. Culture, parenting, and adolescent well-being

Families also differed in their relationships with Turkish culture. When adolescents had high ethnic pride, they practiced Turkish culture, wanted to represent it in society, and parent-adolescents conflicts over culture decreased. However, when adolescents felt more distant from Turkish culture and closer to American culture, this sometimes led to parent-child conflicts.

Similarly, parents differed in their stance towards American culture and how much they desired their adolescent children to adapt to it. In other words, the boundaries parents drew were different from family to family. When parents and adolescents agreed upon the terms of adaptation, the adolescents adapted to American society better and felt happier about their lives in this country. On the other hand, parent-adolescent conflicts over the terms of adaptation tended to hinder adolescents' socialization. Parents and their adolescent children agreed on the terms of adaptation when they had similar thoughts and feelings about Turkish culture, American culture, and the relationship between culture and Islam.

c. Parental monitoring styles and adolescent well-being

As I explained in the findings chapter, Turkish immigrant parents practiced high levels of parental monitoring. Yet, some of them were more comfortable in their monitoring, while some were anxious and overprotective. Parent and adolescent accounts revealed that the adolescent children of comfortable monitors developed better life skills and consequently had higher levels

of self-confidence. On the other hand, children of overprotective parents experienced greater challenges developing life skills and these adolescents had lower self-confidence.

d. Family adaptation to the American society

There are several factors affecting how well the families adapted to American society. In this study, families that displayed better adaptation to America reported: a positive image of the American culture, low levels of parent-adolescent acculturation gap, low levels of religiosity or clear distinctions between Turkish culture and Islam, and parents with active social lives in American society and adolescents with higher levels of well-being.

B. Conceptual Frameworks Revisited

1. Ecological perspective

The ecological perspective informed my analysis and guided me throughout interpretation of the findings. In this section I discuss micro, meso, macro, and chronosystem level influences and the dynamic interactions among these different influences on on parenting.

a. The micro system

The family system was at the center of the analysis. Within the family system, the relationship dynamics between parents and their adolescent children were examined in depth. Parenting practices within the family system were highlighted under the categories of parental monitoring, conflicts and negotiations, and parental strategies to have good relationships with their adolescent children. In addition, the analysis of parenting situated parents in the center of the ecological model and analyzed the ways different systems affected parenting. The parents' microsystems influenced their image of America, which in turn influenced the parent's thoughts and feelings with regard to their children's life in America. For example, a parent who worked at

a college and lived in an affluent suburban area experienced less stress about raising children compared to other parents with a different experience of America. The work life and the neighborhood atmosphere the parents experienced had a substantial influence on their parenting related thoughts and feelings. In addition, parents' better adaptation to their own micro systems in America decreased their life stress, which decreased their parenting related stress as well.

Micro systemic influences were also important for adolescents' well-being. Adolescents learned Turkish culture in their homes, where families presented a reconstructed Turkish culture. Adolescents also participated in the activities organized by the Turkish community, which were again micro systemic environments where they learned culture and religion. Some adolescents reported to enjoy experiencing Turkish culture in their home and community spheres. These adolescents described Turkish culture as "cool" and seemed to be happy for being connected to Turkish culture. These adolescents also reported to enjoy introducing Turkish culture to their friends and teachers. This perception seemed to increase their ethnic pride, which made a positive contribution to their overall well-being. On the other hand, adolescents had occasional conflicts with their parents sometimes for not participating in activities in the Turkish community or not acting in accordance with their parents in the home sphere. Adolescents reported to experience some discomfort when this happened. The same is true for religious issues: sharing similar religious beliefs and values with their parents made parent-adolescent relationships easier, but religious issues could also lead to parent-adolescent conflicts. Therefore, micro environment dynamics could lead both to positive and negative adolescent well-being outcomes in different families.

b. The meso system

Meso level dynamics were also at the core of the analysis. Turkish immigrant families were in the web of a meso system of adolescents' schools, adolescents' friends, parents' work places, the neighborhoods, the Turkish community, and extended family members, often in Turkey. Not surprisingly, parenting perceptions were considerably influenced by how parents perceived adolescent's school life, friendship circles, relationships with other Muslim, non-Muslim, Turkish, and non-Turkish children. In other words, the dynamic interactions among these different microsystems affected parenting and parent-adolescent relationships. These meso level interactions and their influences on parent-adolescent relationships inevitably influenced adolescent well-being. For example, when parents detected threats to their children's well-being from the school environment such as drugs, their parenting concerns increased, they often become more uptight or too controlling, and their adolescent became annoyed by too much parental monitoring. When the adolescents participated in Turkish communities' events or programs with pleasure, parents felt happy and these positive feelings led to better parent-adolescent relationships. Parents were very much concerned about what messages their children were receiving from the school system. For example, because evolution theory was taught at school, one family felt alarmed and found resources to show their adolescent children that there were alternative religious explanations of creation on earth. Another meso level interaction example was related to parental pressure on children for academic success. Parents perceived academic success and good quality college education as the route to a good life in the U.S. So, they encouraged their children to study hard. As a result, adolescents often studied hard to receive good grades, felt the motivation to prepare for a good college education, but some

adolescents experienced anxiety at the same time, especially when they had difficulties in meeting parents' high academic expectations.

c. The macro system

Parents' perceptions and constructions of Turkish culture, America and American culture, and Islam were three main macro level factors influencing parenting. Parents' culture and religion related perceptions and practices affected parent-adolescent relationships within the family micro systems. For example, the negative image of Islam and Muslims in today's American society inevitably led to parental concerns, parent-child interactions and conflicts, and sometimes too much parental control over the adolescents. Some parents felt uncomfortable thinking that their children would have negative experiences because of their religious identity. For example, one parent felt scared when her son wanted to wear a soldier uniform in school as his Halloween costume. She thought her son's costume could be associated with violence and cause trouble. However, her son thought mother's reaction was an exaggeration. To sum, macro systemic factors influenced parent-adolescent relationships.

d. The chronosystem

It is important to include parents' immigration to America when applying the ecological model in this study, because all parents were first generation immigrations. For the parents, immigration to America was a major chronosystem event, which meant a complete rupture in their lives in that they had to leave their homes, jobs, family environments, and friendship circles in Turkey and initiate a new life. Most parents some parents struggled to hold on to life in the new country, and some mothers became housewives although they had an active work life back in Turkey. Parents had from little to no English proficiency, so they had to learn a new language

and the codes of a new sociocultural environment simultaneously. Leaving their extended families and friendships had crucial implications for the families with regard to parenting and adolescent well-being. Parents indicated that their parenting burden increased as a result of lacking their extended family's support and complained that they had to teach Turkish culture and Islam to their children on their own. They often compared their parenting with those of their relatives in Turkey and concluded that their parenting responsibilities would decrease if they lived in Turkey. Adolescents, too, reported to feel the lack of their extended family members in the U.S. They missed their extended family members in Turkey, felt quite sad when they separated after spending time together, described their time together as "fun." Adolescents especially missed their grandparents and cousins and said that it would be very nice to live closer to them.

e. The exosystem

The only exosystem influence identified in this study was the effect of parents' work lives on the lives of the adolescents. When parents had stable jobs, families were stable financially, provided more extracurricular opportunities for their children, and moved less frequently. These factors resulted in more social activities and long-lasting friendships for the adolescents, which increased their feelings of rootedness in the country and contributed positively to their well-being.

f. Transnationalism

Transnationalism is absent from Bronfenbrenner's framework, but emerged to be an essential factor in this study. The findings consolidated the thoughts that transnationalism should be part of the ecological model when immigrants' experiences are studied. Most adolescents

visited Turkey regularly as a result of their parents' arrangements. During these visits, adolescents learned Turkish culture and realized the differences between Turkish culture lived in Turkey and Turkish culture reconstructed in the United States. These visits increased adolescents' ethnic pride and perceived extended family support, which made a positive contribution to their well-being. Interestingly, they also became aware of their in-between position: They were labeled as "American" in Turkey and had difficulties understanding the nuances in the language and in the cultural codes. While they sometimes felt at odds and uncomfortable, this also consolidated their American identity.

Transnational ties were not limited to adolescents' visits to Turkey, but extended family members also visited families in the U.S. Both parents and adolescents reported to enjoy these visits. Families also communicated with their extended family members often over the phone or the internet. Most parents said they communicated with the extended family members more often than their children did.

2. Critical acculturation psychology

Critical acculturation psychology was the second framework informing my analysis in this study. According to critical acculturation psychology, it is important to understand how subjects define and construct their own realities. This study presented a portrayal of the ways parents and adolescents defined and constructed cultures, religion, and other surrounding realities with specific reference to parenting and adolescent well-being implications. The findings showed that Turkish culture, American culture and Islam could have different meanings for different individuals, who were active agents in constructing these definitions. Parents and adolescents were active in constructing and representing culture and religion in their everyday

lives in America. For example, some parents were active in the Turkish community, participated in cultural/religious events and sometimes became the organizers themselves. Similarly, some adolescents were not passive recipients of culture and religion, but they sometimes were engaged in active efforts of representing culture and religion. For example, one adolescent established a Turkish club in her school to introduce Turkish culture to others. Some others said they talked about Turkish culture and Islam in their schools when opportunities rose. Some of them shared their endeavors to representing “good” Muslims in American society.

The construction of religion and culture were also practiced through parent-adolescent everyday interactions, which included conflicts and negotiations. For instance, adolescents’ definition of Turkish culture, American culture, and Islam were very much constructed in interaction with their parents. Adolescents sometimes had disagreements or conflicts with their parents. The same was true for the parents, who revised their own definitions and strategies based on their adolescent children’s reactions.

The perspective of critical acculturation psychology also gave me the opportunity to reveal the nonstatic and contingent aspects of these constructions and definitions. Both parents and adolescents were in constant processes of evaluation and modification. For example, as parents encountered new challenges of parenting, they constantly evaluated the advantages and disadvantages of raising children in the United States as opposed to raising them in Turkey. Also, some parents were more demanding on their children to make sure children were adopting Turkish cultural practices in their everyday lives, such as eating Turkish food, listening to Turkish music, or reading Turkish books. However, parents sometimes had to accept the fact that their children would not adopt these cultural practices in their everyday lives, at least not in the exact form parents wanted. As a response, parents became more accepting of the cultural

practices of their children such as the music their children listened to, or the books they read. Parents sometimes modified their own cultural practices to make it more appealing to their children. For example, one parent explained how she continued to cook Turkish food at home, but with multicultural flavors and modifications. These processes were often far from smooth and included parent-adolescent conflicts.

Parents' and adolescents' efforts of constructing their social realities as active agents were not limited to their family environments. Some parents and adolescents also perceived themselves responsible and to some extent capable of challenging and deconstructing some hegemonic discourses such as negative rhetorics on Islam and Muslims. For example, some parents indicated that they wanted to represent good Muslims in American society and reconstruct a positive image for Muslims. These parents also encouraged their adolescent children to do so especially through displaying good manners and hard work.

C. Study Limitations

The study had five primary limitations. The first limitation is related to the recruitment process, hence about the study sample. Although I aimed to recruit mothers, fathers, and adolescents from the participating families, I was able to recruit only one father. It could be very informative to include fathers' insights to the analysis and compare mothers' and fathers' accounts. Moreover, in three of the participating families, the adolescents declined to participate. Within case analysis through parent-adolescent interview comparisons was an important part of the analysis and I was not able to make within case analysis for the families in which only parents participated in. Yet, these interviews were still useful in understanding parents' perspectives on the research questions. The adolescents were not as forthcoming as their parents during the face-to-face interviews either. As I explained in the first chapter, there may be several

possible reasons for this. One possible reason is that the adolescents might have viewed me as too aligned with their parents due to my age and motherhood. If that was the case, partnering with youth researchers would help in recruitment and in generating information that the youth in this study may have been reluctant to share with me.

Second, the study might not have grasped the diversity of the Turkish community in the United States for two reasons. First, the participants were recruited primarily from the Chicago metropolitan area. Second, the sample might be biased in that the families who were interested in were probably those with strong identification with their Turkish identity. During the study, I learned from the participants that there were Turkish immigrant families who preferred to detach themselves from their ethnic identities or who could prefer not to have conversations in Turkish. These participants might have heard about the study announcements, but might not have wanted to participate.

Third, data collection methods depended solely on interviews. Informed by critical acculturation psychology, one of the study goals was to explore parent-child interactions, family dynamics, and how meanings and identities are constructed in everyday lives of the families. This interactional focus necessitates the observation of everyday practices such as behaviors and interactions. As a result, methods such as ethnography and observation would be appropriate to use. Because the present study used only interviews, the analyses were based on the participants' accounts and I did not have the opportunity to observe the realities of families' everyday lives. However, my ongoing relationship with Turkish community and my insider position may compensate for this limitation to some extent. In addition, I was able to visit some families in their homes and had the opportunity to see their family environments, on which I reflected upon in detail in my memos.

The fourth limitation is related to the cross-sectional nature of the study. Because adolescence is a process of rapid development, time and development is important as the context of the study's main focus. In order to analyze adolescent identity development in context, a longitudinal study design is highly recommended (Beyers & Cok, 2008). In the present study, the knowledge regarding the development of adolescents and the effect of time as the context of parent-child relationships and adolescent well-being was limited to the retrospective accounts of the participants.

Lastly, the participation rate was low in the member checking process: Five parents and only one adolescent responded to the online member checking survey. This may be a reflection of the adolescents' already existing reluctance to participate in the study. I may have learned more from face to face or focus group member checks, but I was not able to organize these for living in Turkey during the data analysis process.

D. Implications

Despite the limitations, this study has important implications for social work practice, policy, social work education, and future research.

1. Implications for social work practice and policy

This study has implications for practice with Turkish immigrants in the United States. Suggestions for practice with parents, adolescents, and families are discussed below. There may also be a need for policies that facilitate provision of supportive interventions for these families. Some of these policy implications are also discussed.

a. Interventions with parents

As it was elaborated in the findings chapter, parenting in the United States was stressful for most parents participating in this study. Their biggest fear was to “lose” their children in America, both culturally and religiously. As parents adapted well to American society and as they developed a positive image of America in their minds, their stress level was reported to decrease. Several policy and practice measures can be implemented to decrease parents’ fears.

Interventions can be designed to orient Turkish parents to elementary and high school systems in the United States. All Turkish parents who participated in this study were first generation immigrants and had gone to elementary and high schools in Turkey. Consequently, they were quite unfamiliar with the elementary and high school systems in the United States. Having fears about drugs and “inappropriate” friends, this unfamiliarity further triggered parents’ fears. Furthermore, Turkish parents had high academic expectations for their children, who sometimes felt stressed with the fear of not being able to fulfill their parents’ expectations. Hence, it is important to introduce Turkish parents to the school system in the United States both to decrease their parenting worries and to help them balance the level of pressure they put on their adolescent children with high academic expectations.

Interventions can also inform parents about what it means to live as an immigrant adolescent in the United States and their specific experiences. Parents were quite good at understanding adolescence as a stage of development and finding strategies to relate to their children. However, both parent and adolescent accounts revealed that parents sometimes had difficulties understanding their children’s position in the context of American society. Again, both parent and adolescent accounts showed that the most prominent factor behind this was that parents came from a different sociocultural background. While parents were raised and had spent

their adolescence in Turkey, they were raising their children in the United States. Parents did not have enough understanding of youth culture(s) in the United States in general. The unknown seemed to increase parental concerns and fears. It would be beneficial to inform parents about youth cultures in the United States, on what being an immigrant adolescent in the United States could mean and on adolescents' experiences. Parents could greatly benefit from understanding what might promote their children's well-being in the context of the United States. A specific emphasis on parenting and adolescent children's well-being would be useful. It would also be beneficial to share the findings of this study with parents in a conference or group work format.

Parents also need to understand that some of the activities they organize for the adolescents are not appealing to all adolescents. For example, some adolescents said that the weekend activities with Turkish brothers were boring because they had to read Turkish religious books. Parents need to know how to make these activities more appealing for their children or may need to formulate new activities based on adolescents' needs and demands. Furthermore, it is important to inform parents about the effects of overprotectiveness on adolescents and the importance of social activities for adolescents. Parents can be informed that their children will benefit from social activities, either those organized within mainstream American community or by Muslim or Turkish communities.

b. Interventions with adolescents

Turkish immigrant adolescents may benefit from interventions that help parents understand the adolescents. However, specific interventions can also be designed for the adolescents. Individual or group level social work interventions can target Turkish immigrant adolescents that help them negotiate their ethnic and religious identity development processes. In this study, Muslim identity was found to be a sensitive topic for the adolescents. Some of them

reported uncomfortable instances of witnessing negative speeches about Muslims. Adolescents may benefit from being informed about different forms of discrimination and oppression and on how to deal with these experiences.

Interventions in which adolescents mentor other adolescents may also be designed. Older Turkish immigrant adolescents may mentor younger ones. Those who are able to get into college in the United States can especially guide elementary and high school students. Some of the study participants are already mentored by Turkish college students who come from Turkey. However, I believe it is important that the mentors were also raised in the U.S. because they may understand the adolescents' conditions and concerns better. Turkish and/or Muslim adolescent mentors who were raised in the U.S. will greatly understand and empathize with their younger peers. This mentorship will help younger adolescents deal with the academic pressures or challenges coming from immigration or minority status.

This study shows that Turkish adolescents benefit from adaptation to the social life in America and from developing their ethnic identities. However, Turkish families reported difficulties engaging their adolescent children in extracurricular activities, especially during the summer, due to financial constraints. Hence, as a policy level support, schools and community organizations could be funded to design extracurricular activities for immigrant youth in general and Turkish youth in particular. Providing support for Turkish adolescents' participation in social activities is expected to facilitate their adaptation process. Programs could also be designed to provide positive Turkish cultural experiences to Turkish adolescents. The adolescents in this study enjoyed visiting Turkey, but not all are able to do so due to their families' financial constraints. The Turkish government has a department which designs programs for Turkish immigrants in different countries. This department could design summer

camps in Turkey for Turkish adolescents in the United States. Having positive experiences in Turkey, preferably with other Turkish adolescents, may make a positive contribution to adolescents' well-being.

c. Family level interventions

There were not high levels of conflict in the participating families. Yet, families would still benefit from culturally competent social work interventions. Practitioners, preferably those who can speak Turkish and understand the dynamics of the Turkish community, could help families during the transitions they have to manage while their children struggle with their transitions during adolescence. Social work interventions with families, especially with a systemic focus, could help parents and adolescents manage these periods more smoothly. The findings of this study may help practitioners grasp some common dynamics within the Turkish community and design interventions accordingly.

Families' experiences also revealed that the family members were not supported enough when they first came to the U.S. and were trying to adapt to their lives in a new country. Turkish consulates in the U.S. could take a more active role in orienting Turkish families to the culture and systems in the American society. For example, classes could be organized to introduce American society to Turkish families.

d. Policy support for community organizations

The findings suggest that parents greatly benefited from the activities organized by the Turkish community and the cultural centers in teaching Turkish culture and Islam to their children. Because parents already suffered from the lack of extended family support while raising children, the Turkish community was sometimes their sole source of support. The

Turkish community could benefit from policy level support such as new funds to develop better programs to meet the needs of Turkish immigrant parents and their children. This support may either come from the U.S. government as part of the immigration policies or from the Turkish government, which has recently been increasing its funding for Turks living outside Turkey as immigrants.

2. Implications for social work education

The study informs educators on how an ecological perspective and critical acculturation psychology may be used to understand immigrants' experiences. The findings highlight benefits of a comprehensive assessment of immigrant families incorporating micro, meso, and macro level dynamics to grasp their experiences and to design interventions. Moreover, the lenses of critical acculturation psychology will emphasize the importance of paying attention to the complexities of immigrants' lives and not to make overgeneralizations. The study presents a perspective to approach preexisting categories to understand immigrants' experiences with caution. The study may also guide social work educators in preparing students to implement micro, mezzo, and macro practice with immigrant families. Findings from this study provide illustrative examples of diversity which can be very helpful in preparing social work students for practice with diverse populations in the culturally diverse environment of today's American society. Furthermore, educators can follow specific strategies to inform their students about the diverse needs of the Turkish population. For example, educators may establish connections with Turkish cultural centers, invite speakers to their classrooms to talk about the Turkish community, visit these centers with the students, or search for opportunities for community organizing internships.

3. Recommendations for future research

This study was conducted to address a gap in the literature: the lack of empirical knowledge about the experiences of Turkish immigrant families in the United States. The study takes an important step toward understanding Turkish immigrant parents' and adolescents' views of parenting and adolescent well-being. However, the study recruited participants only from and around the Chicago metropolitan area. Furthermore, the participating parents were almost solely mothers. Considering the importance of the localities for the immigrant communities, future research on the same population should recruit participants from other areas of the United States. Also, it is important to include more fathers and find ways to encourage fathers' participation in future studies. It is also important to encourage more adolescent participation. One way to increase adolescent participation may be to receive support of adolescent researchers during the data collection process. Adolescent participants might feel more comfortable with their peers and this would increase adolescent participation in the study.

Large scale quantitative studies can be implemented and survey questions can be designed under the light of the present qualitative study and generalizable data may be obtained. Quantitative research designs can also be used to evaluate the effectiveness of the interventions recommended in the practice implications section. For example, parent psychoeducation and adolescent mentoring programs can be designed and rigorous quantitative methods can be used to test the feasibility, acceptability, efficacy, and effectiveness of these interventions. Moreover, qualitative components can be added to the research designs so that parents, adolescents, and family members can provide feedback to improve the interventions as they are developed and tested.

Other ethnographic data collection methods such as observation and fieldwork can be incorporated in future qualitative studies. This would provide a more in-depth understanding of parent-child interactions, family dynamics, and how meanings and identities are actively constructed in everyday lives of the families. Longitudinal designs would also give the opportunity to observe the effect of time as the context of parent-child relationships and adolescent well-being.

Lastly, member checking, which is an important means to increase trustworthiness of the studies, was conducted online in the present study. Implementing face-to-face member checking would both increase participation and present richer feedback on the study findings. Hence, in-person, individual or focus group member checking are suggested for future studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Parent Interview Guide and Family Demographics Questions

Today, we are going to be talking about your parenting experiences, relationships with your adolescent child, and your child's life in the US. I will use this interview for my research on how living in the U.S. may influence parent-child relationships and how these relationships may affect adolescent well-being. I will not identify your name and will not share the interview with anyone, except the second person who will help me with this study. In order for us to talk without my taking lots of notes, I will be using a tape recorder during the interview. You may ask me to turn off the recorder at any time. I expect that this will take around 2 hours. Do you have any questions or comments before we start?

Interviewer: Turn on the recorder. Test sound level with the participant. Remind the participant to speak clearly.

Initial Open-ended Questions

1. To begin with, could you please tell me when, how, and why did you first come to the United States?

(Probes: prior expectations, work, study, marriage...)

2. Could you tell me your early memories in this country? What were your initial thoughts and feelings when you first arrived?

(Probes: first impressions, differences from Turkey, supportive factors or people, challenges, disappointments, likes and dislikes)

3. What were the initial thoughts and feelings of the other family members?
4. In what ways your life and other family members' lives changed after you came to the U.S.?

(Probes: daily activities, employment, social interactions, friendships)

5. How would you describe your life in America? What is it like to be an immigrant from Turkey in this country?

(Probes: social relationships, relationships with the society in general, relationships with Turkish community, challenges)

6. Do you have connections with Turkey? How often do you go back and how is that experience for you and the other family members?

Intermediate Questions

7. When did you have your children? Has your life been influenced by being a parent? If yes, how?

8. If you had a child before you come to the U.S., could you compare the experience of raising a child in Turkey and in the U.S.?
9. How has your relationship been with your adolescent child before and during adolescence? Have you experienced any differences?
10. Could you describe what it is like to raise an adolescent child in the U.S.?
11. How do you think your neighborhood and Chicago (or their city/town) are for raising a child? How do you think your child is feeling about his/her neighborhood and city/town?
12. How are your relationships with your adolescent child?
13. How is your partner's relationship with your adolescent child?
14. How is your adolescent child's relationships with other family members?

(Probes: parents, siblings, extended family members, relationship dynamics)

15. What is a typical day of your adolescent child like?
16. How would you describe your child's life in general?

(Probes: school, peer relationships, relationships with the community, social activities, strengths, challenges)

17. What do you think living in the U.S. means for your adolescent child?

(Probes: opportunities, challenges)

18. Is your family connected to Turkish culture? In what ways?
19. Is your family connected to American culture? In what ways?
20. How is your adolescent child connected to Turkish and American cultures? How do you feel about his/her choices? (Probes: food, clothing, movies, leisure time activities).
21. How do you think your family identity may be affecting your child's life in the neighborhood, school, Turkish community?

(Probes: Turkish identity, Muslim identity...)

22. How would you describe your child's temperament and personality? How would you describe the overall well-being of your child?

(Probes: satisfaction with life, self-esteem, behavioral issues...)

Ending Questions

23. What are your expectations from your adolescent child? What kind of a person would you like him/her to be? Do you think you are in agreement with your partner over these?
24. What did you learn from raising an adolescent child as an immigrant parent? What would you suggest to other parents in a similar situation?
25. Is there anything that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during this interview?

26. Is there anything else you think I should know to understand your relationship with your child or your parenting experience better?

27. Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Interviewer: Turn the recorder off.

Family Demographics Questions

Now, I would like to ask you some family demographics questions. Again, answering these questions is completely voluntary and you do not have to answer these questions just because you participated in the interview. You may also skip any question or can stop any time. *(If both parents participate in the study, each parent will only answer the questions about himself/herself. Only one parent will answer the questions about children and the household income).* Let us start.

1) Mother's date of birth:

2) Mother's age of entry to U.S.:

3) Mother's city of origin in Turkey:

4) Highest level of education completed by mother:

5) Mother's Occupation:

6) Father's date of birth:

7) Father's age of entry to U.S.:

8) Father's city of origin in Turkey:

9) Highest level of education completed by father:

10) Father's occupation:

11) Number of children:

12) Number of children at home (indicate whether and how many children live with mother and/or father if parents are not together):

13) Ages of children:

14) Grades children attend to:

15) Parents are:

☐ Married

☐ Divorced

☐ Separated

16) Annual household income:

☐ Less than \$25,000

☐ \$25,000 to \$34,999

☐ \$35,000 to \$49,999

☐ \$50,000 to \$74,999

☐ \$75,000 to \$99,999

☐ \$100,000 to \$124,999

☐ \$125,000 to \$149,999

☐ \$150,000 or more

APPENDIX B: Adolescent Interview Guide (First or 1.5 Generation)

Today, we are going to be talking about your life in the United States in general and your relationships with your parents and your family. I will use this interview for my research on how living in the U.S. may influence parent-child relationships and how these relationships may affect adolescent well-being. I will not identify your name and will not share the interview with anyone, except the second person who will help me with this study. In order for us to talk without my taking lots of notes, I will be using a tape recorder during the interview. You may ask me to turn off the recorder at any time. I expect that this will take around 2 hours. Do you have any questions or comments before we start?

Interviewer: Turn on the recorder. Test sound level with the participant. Remind the participant to speak clearly.

Initial Open-ended Questions

1. To begin with, could you please tell me when, how, and why did you first come to the United States?
2. Could you tell me your early memories in this country, if you remember? What were your initial thoughts and feelings when you first arrived?

(Probes: first impressions, differences from Turkey, supportive factors or people, challenges, disappointments, likes and dislikes)

3. What were the initial thoughts and feelings of the other family members?
4. In what ways your life and other family members' lives changed after you came to the US?

(Probes: daily activities, school, social interactions, friendships...)

Intermediate Questions

5. Could you describe me a typical day of yours?
6. How would you describe your life in the US in general? How do you define your identity? What is it like to be an immigrant adolescent from Turkey in this country?

(Probes: social activities, relationships with the society in general, relationships with Turkish community, challenges, opportunities)

7. How are your relationships with your friends at school?

(Probes: best friends, Americans versus other ethnicities, groupings, hostilities, discrimination)

8. How are your relationships with your teachers at school?
9. What do you think about the neighborhood/city you live in?

10. How are your relationships with your parents?

(Probes: conflicts, positive sides)

11. How would you say those experiences with your parents affect you?

(Probes: feels depressed, angry, stronger, happier...)

12. Do you have any siblings? How are your relationships with your sibling(s)?

13. Do you have connections with the Turkish community here? If yes, what are the activities you do within Turkish community?

14. Do you have connections with Turkey? How often do you go back and how is that experience for you? How would you compare Turkey to the U.S.?

15. How much and in what aspects are you and your family members connected to Turkish culture? (Probes: interested in events in Turkey, food, music, clothing, art, literature, movies, leisure time activities)

16. How much are you connected to American culture?

17. How do your parents feel about these choices?

18. How do you think your and your family's life would be different if your family stayed in Turkey?

Ending Questions

19. What makes you content with your life?

20. What would you change in your life if you were given the opportunity?

21. What are your goals in life? What kind of a person do you imagine to be in 10 years, 20 years? Do you think you are in agreement with your parents over these? (Probes: career, marriage, family, where to live).

22. What would you suggest to a child who is about to come to the U.S., as you did?

23. Is there anything that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during this interview?

24. Is there anything else you think I should know to understand your life in the U.S. better?

25. Is there anything else you think I should know to understand relationship with your mother and father better?

26. Is there anything you would like to ask me?

APPENDIX C: Adolescent Interview Guide (Second Generation)

Today, we are going to be talking about your life in the United States in general and your relationships with your parents and your family. I will use this interview for my research on how living in the U.S. may influence parent-child relationships and how these relationships may affect adolescent well-being. I will not identify your name and will not share the interview with anyone, except the second person who will help me with this study. In order for us to talk without my taking lots of notes, I will be using a tape recorder during the interview. You may ask me to turn off the recorder at any time. I expect that this will take around 2 hours. Do you have any questions or comments before we start?

Interviewer: Turn on the recorder. Test sound level with the participant. Remind the participant to speak clearly.

Initial Open-ended Questions

1. To begin with, could you please tell me where were you born and what are your early memories in this country?
2. What are your childhood memories? (Probes: living as an immigrant, parents, religion, ethnicity, neighborhood, school, visits to Turkey).
3. In what ways do you think your parents' or other family members' lives were or might have been affected by coming to the US?

Intermediate Questions

4. Could you describe me a typical day of yours?
5. How would you describe your life in the U.S. in general? (Probes: social activities, relationships with the society in general, relationships with Turkish community, challenges, opportunities)
6. How do you define your identity and your personality? What is it like to be an adolescent in this country?
7. How are your relationships with your friends at school?

(Probes: best friends, Americans versus other ethnicities, groupings, hostilities, discrimination)

8. How are your relationships with your teachers at school?
9. What do you think about the neighborhood/city you live in?
10. How are your relationships with your parents?

(Probes: conflicts, positive sides)

11. How would you say those experiences with your parents affect you?

(Probes: feels depressed, angry, stronger, happier...)

12. Do you have siblings? How are your relationships with your sibling(s)?
13. Do you have connections with the Turkish community here? If yes, what are the activities you do within Turkish community?
14. Do you have connections with Turkey? How often do you go back and how is that experience for you? How would you compare Turkey to the U.S.?
15. How much and in what aspects are you and your family members connected to Turkish culture? (Probes: interested in events in Turkey, food, music, clothing, art, literature, movies, leisure time activities)
16. How much are you connected to American culture?
17. How do your parents feel about these choices?
18. How do you think your and your family's life would be different if your family stayed in Turkey?

Ending Questions

19. What makes you content with your life?
20. What would you change in your life if you were given the opportunity?
21. What are your goals in life? What kind of a person you imagine to be in 10 years, 20 years? Do you think you are in agreement with your parents over these? (Probes: career, marriage, family, where to live).
22. What would you suggest to a child who is growing up in a Turkish immigrant family?
23. Is there anything that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during this interview?
24. Is there anything else you think I should know to understand your life in the U.S. better?
25. Is there anything else you think I should know to understand relationship with your mother and father better?
26. Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX D: Parent Consent and Permission Form for Participation in Research

“Turkish Immigrant Families in the United States: Parenting, Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Well-being”

Why am I being asked?

You are being asked to be a participant in a research study about Turkish immigrant families living in the United States. The study is focused on parenting, parent-adolescent relationships, and adolescent well-being. Azize Aslihan Nisanci, a doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), Jane Addams College of Social Work, is conducting this study. You have been asked to participate in the research because you are from Turkey and have an adolescent child between ages 12 and 19. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the research.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Illinois at Chicago or any other institution. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting any of the relationships that you have with any agency or institution.

I will also ask your permission for your adolescent child(ren)’s participation. If you have more than one adolescent child, I want to invite all of them who are willing to participate. Although I would like to interview both you and your spouse (if you have one), and at least one of your adolescent children, it is perfectly okay if only one parent wants to participate and if you give permission for your child(ren) to participate but they later decide that they do not want to be in the study. I will still include your interview in the study.

Why is this research being done?

This research is being conducted to learn about the effects of the immigration experience on parenting and parent-adolescent relationships; and the effects of parent-adolescent relationships on adolescents' well-being.

What procedures are involved?

If you agree to be in this research, I will ask you to participate in a private interview where you will be asked a series of questions. The total time for this interview is approximately two hours. You will be asked questions about your immigration experience, everyday life, relationships with and feelings and thoughts about your adolescent child(ren), your child(ren)'s experiences at home, school, neighborhood, and your expectations from your child(ren). If your spouse agrees, I will also invite him/her to participate in a separate identical interview. I will also ask you or your spouse a few questions about your family demographics.

I may also ask you to participate in a follow-up interview if I think there are some issues unaddressed in the first interview. You can also request a follow-up interview if you think there are issues you need to add or clarify. Participation in this follow-up interview is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in a possible follow-up interview.

I will also ask you to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of preliminary results of all interviews with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website. No names will be included in this summary. I will ask you to provide your confidential feedback on these preliminary results by replying to questions on the Qualtrics survey. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in member-checking.

Approximately 45 parents and adolescents may be involved in this research.

What are the potential risks and discomforts?

Answering questions about your immigration experiences and your relationships with your children could be unsettling. However, you have the right not to answer any question that you do not want to answer, and you can take a break or stop the interview at any time.

The interviewers are mandated reporters of child maltreatment. If during the interview child abuse and/or neglect is suspected or directly observed, a report to the Department of Children and Family Services will be made. This report of suspected child abuse and/or neglect could result in the removal of any children at risk in the home.

Are there benefits to taking part in the research?

There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study. However, the information gained from your participation may help the Turkish American community to better understand the needs of adolescents and their families. The findings may also guide community organizations in designing programs and interventions for families and their adolescent children.

What about privacy and confidentiality?

The only person who will know that you, your adolescent child(ren) and possibly your spouse are research participants is Azize Aslihan Nisanci, who is conducting this study at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). However, if you prefer the male interviewer, he will also know that your family is taking part in this study. This male interviewer, Zubeyir Nisanci, is my husband, and is a doctoral student at Loyola University Chicago. If a member of the Turkish community or another family which might have participated in this study suggested your family for this research, these people may expect your participation. However, I will not inform anybody whether your family participated in this study or not. Still, there is a risk of breach of privacy, which means that others may know that you are participating in this research.

When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity.

I would like to audio record the interview, so I can remember what we discuss. The electronic audio file will be stored in a password protected file in my password protected, encrypted laptop. I will assign an ID to each participant and family and save the audio files with these IDs. There will not be any names or other identifying information on the audio file name. I will keep the participant name-ID list in a separate password protected file in my laptop. The recorded interview will be transcribed, and then the audio recording will be erased. A second person, Alperen Gencosmanoglu, who is a graduate student in Turkey, will help me transcribe and analyze the interviews. I will upload the audio files in Dropbox so that he can upload the audio files to his computer. He will upload these files to a password protected file in his password protected computer. To protect your identity, please try to use only first names during the interview. Once the interviews are transcribed, all identifying information will be replaced by fake names or the ID number assigned to the participant on the word document. Alperen Gencosmanoglu will delete the audio file from his computer permanently once he finishes transcribing an interview. He will upload the word document of the transcribed interviews to Dropbox. Once he is done with the analysis process, he will also remove all the transcribed word files from his computer permanently. Please note that accidental disclosure of identifiable data may occur despite these precautions.

I will permanently remove all audio files from my laptop once the study is completed.

Study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you will be looked at and/or copied for checking up on the research by UIC OPRS and State of Illinois Auditors.

What are the costs for participating in this research?

There are no costs for your participation in this research.

Will I be reimbursed for any of my expenses or paid for my participation in this research?

You will be given \$15 after completing the interview, even if you decide not to answer all of the questions or if you decide that you cannot complete the entire interview.

Can I withdraw from the study?

You have the right to choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.

Who should I contact if I have questions?

The Principal Investigator conducting this study is Azize Aslihan Nisanci, doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Chicago. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Azize Aslihan Nisanci at 224-795-0893 or by email (anisan2@uic.edu). The UIC faculty member who supervises her dissertation research is Dr. James P. Gleeson. His phone number is 312-996-0042 and his email is jimglee@uic.edu.

What are my rights as a research subject?

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or if you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, including questions, concerns, complaints, or to offer input, you may call the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS) at 312-996-1711 or 1-866-789-6215 (toll-free) or e-mail OPRS at uicirb@uic.edu.

Remember

Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Illinois at Chicago or any other agency. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting these relationships.

You will be given a copy of this form for your information and to keep for your records.

Signature of Subject

I have read (or someone has read to me) the above information. I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research. I have been given a copy of this form.

I am willing to participate in a follow-up interview if needed: Yes ☐ No ☐

I am willing to be contacted via email for member checking: Yes ☐ No ☐

I am willing to have the interview audio tape-recorded: Yes ☐ No ☐

Parent Signature

Printed Name

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date (must be same as participant's)

Printed Name

Parent's Permission for Child to be Interviewed

I also want to ask you to give permission for your child, _____, to be interviewed for this study to learn his/her perspectives on how parenting practices and parent adolescent relationships affect adolescent well-being.

Your child's participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to give permission for his/her participation will not affect your child's or your current or future relations with the University of Illinois at Chicago or any other institution. If you give permission, your child may decide that she/he does not want to be interviewed, and her/his wishes will be respected. If your child agrees to participate, either I can contact your child or she/he can contact

me via phone or email based on your and your child's preference. If your child does agree to be interviewed, she/he can refuse to answer any question and can stop the interview at any time.

If you have more than one adolescent child, I want to invite all of them who are willing to participate. However, it is perfectly okay if you give permission for your child(ren) to participate but they later decide that they do not want to be in the study. I will still include your interview in the study

What procedures will my child be involved in?

I will interview approximately 20 adolescent children for this study. The interview with your child will take approximately two hours. I will ask him/her questions about the immigration experience of your family, her/his everyday life at home, school, neighborhood; relationships with and feelings and thoughts about you as her/his parents, and her/his future plans. Your child will be given \$15 after completing the interview, even if the child decides not to answer all of the questions, if she/he decides that she/he cannot complete the entire interview, or if the researcher withdraws the child from the study.

I may also need to ask your child to participate in a follow-up interview later if I need to explore further some of the issues we discuss in the interview with your child. Your child can also request a follow-up interview if she/he thinks there are issues she/he wants to add or clarify in the first interview. Participation in this follow-up interview is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that your child will participate in a possible follow-up interview. I will ask your child whether she/he is okay to be contacted for a follow-up interview if needed.

If you give your permission, I will also ask your child to participate in member-checking. In member-checking, I will send her/him a member-checking invitation email with the link to a secure online survey website, Qualtrics. This Qualtrics survey website will include a summary of the preliminary findings of all interviews and the member checking survey. I will ask your child to provide confidential feedback about the preliminary findings by responding to this survey. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that your child will participate in member-checking. I will ask your child whether she/he is okay to be contacted via email for member-checking.

What are the potential risks and benefits for my child?

Answering questions about immigration experiences and relationships with parents could be unsettling. I will explain to your child that she/he does not have to answer any question that she/he does not want to answer and that she/he may stop the interview to take a break at any time. Or, if she/he decides that she/he cannot complete the interview because it is too upsetting, the interview will be ended and that is okay too.

The interviewers are mandated reporters of child maltreatment. If during the interview child abuse and/or neglect is suspected or directly observed a report to the Department of Children and Family Services will be made. This report of suspected child abuse and/or neglect could result in the removal of any children at risk in the home.

What are the potential benefits for my child?

There are no direct benefits to your child for participating in this study. However, the information gained from her/his participation may help Turkish American community to better understand the needs of adolescents and their families. The findings can also guide community organizations in designing programs and interventions for families and their adolescent children.

We will keep the information your child gives us confidential.

The only person who will know that your child is a research participant is Azize Aslihan Nisanci. and the second male interviewer (Zubeyir Nisanci), if your child chooses to be interviewed by him.

The interview with your child will be audio taped. The tape-recorded interview will be transcribed, and then the audiotape will be erased. Your child's name will not appear in the transcript. The electronic audio file and the transcript will be stored in a password protected file in my password protected, encrypted laptop. Alperen Gencosmanoglu will upload the audio file(s) of your child's interview to a password protected file in his password protected computer. He will delete the audio file from his computer permanently once he finishes transcribing the interview. Once he is done with the analysis process, he will remove all the transcriptions from his computer permanently. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your child's identity.

Do you have any questions about this research?

I can answer any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Azize Aslihan Nisanci at 224-795-0893.

If you have any questions about your child's rights as a research subject, you may call the Office for Protection of Research Subjects at 312-996-1711.

Signature of the Parent

I give permission for my child to participate in the initial interview? Yes ☐ No ☐

I give permission for my child to participate in the follow-up interview? Yes ☐ No ☐

☐ ☐

I give permission for my child to participate in member-checking? Yes No

Parent's Signature Date

Parent's Printed Name

Interviewer's Documentation of Parental Consent

_____, parent/guardian of _____, read this consent form. I gave the parent the opportunity to ask questions, answered the parent's questions, and believe that the parent understands the purpose, procedures, voluntary nature, risks, and benefits of the child interview portion of the study.

Interviewer's Signature Date

Interviewer's Printed Name

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX E: Adolescent Consent Form for Participation in Research

“Turkish Immigrant Families in the United States: Parenting, Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Well-being”

Why am I being asked?

You are being asked to be a participant in a research study about Turkish immigrant families living in the United States. The study is focused on parenting, parent-adolescent relationships, and adolescent well-being. Azize Aslihan Nisanci, a doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), Jane Addams College of Social Work, is conducting this study. (*If second interviewer is obtaining consent:* My name is Zubeyir Nisanci and I am a doctoral student at Loyola University Chicago. I am conducting some of the interviews for this study.) You have been asked to participate in the research because your parents are from Turkey and you are between ages 12 and 19. Your parents already agreed to your participation in this study. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the research.

Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Illinois at Chicago or any other institution. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting any of the relationships that you have with any agency or institution.

Why is this research being done?

This research is being conducted to find out the effects of the immigration experience on parenting and parent-adolescent relationships; and the effects of parent-adolescent relationships on adolescents' well-being.

What procedures are involved?

If you agree to be in this research, I will ask you to participate in a private interview where you will be asked a series of questions. The total time for this interview is approximately two hours. You will be asked questions about your everyday life, relationships with and feelings and thoughts about your parents, your experiences at home, school, neighborhood, and your future plans. I will be asking similar questions to your parents.

I may also ask you to participate in a follow-up interview if I think there are some issues unaddressed in the first interview. You can also request a follow-up interview if you think there are issues you need to add or clarify. Participation in this follow-up interview is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you have to participate in a possible follow-up interview.

I will also ask you to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of preliminary results of the study with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website, and ask you to share your feedback about these preliminary results by responding to this Qualtrics survey. No names will be included in this summary. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in member-checking.

Approximately 45 parents and adolescents may be involved in this research.

What are the potential risks and discomforts?

Answering questions about your immigration experiences and your relationships with your parents could be uneasy. However, you have the right not to answer any question that you do not want to answer, and you can take a break or stop the interview at any time.

Are there benefits to taking part in the research?

There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this study. However, the information gained from your participation may help the Turkish American community to better understand the needs of adolescents and their families. The findings may also guide community organizations in designing programs and interventions for families and their adolescent children.

What about privacy and confidentiality?

The only person who will know that you and your parents are research participants is Azize Aslihan Nisanci, who is conducting this study at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC). However, if you prefer a male interviewer, he will also know that your family is taking part in this study. This male interviewer, Zubeyir Nisanci, is my husband, and is a doctoral student at Loyola University Chicago. If a member of the Turkish community or another family which might have participated in this study suggested your family for this research, these people may expect your participation.

However, I will not inform anybody whether your family participated in this study or not. Still, there is a risk of breach of privacy, which means that others may know that you are participating in this research.

The interviewers are mandated reporters of child maltreatment. If during the interview child abuse and/or neglect is suspected or directly observed a report to the Department of Children and Family Services will be made. This report of suspected child abuse and/or neglect could result in the removal of any children at risk in the home.

When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity.

I would like to audio record the interview, so I can remember what we discuss. I will transcribe the audio recorded interview and the audio recording will be erased from my laptop permanently once the study is completed. I will assign an ID to each participant and family and save the audio files with these IDs. There will not be any names or other identifying information on the audio file name. I will keep the participant name-ID list in a separate password protected file in my password protected and encrypted laptop. The digital audio file will be stored in a password protected file in my password protected and encrypted laptop. A second person, Alperen Gencosmanoglu, who is a graduate student in Turkey, will help me transcribe and analyze the interviews. I will upload the audio files in Dropbox, which is a secure file transfer program, so that he can upload the audio files to his computer. He will upload these files to a password protected file in his password protected computer. To protect your identity, please try to use only first names during the interview. Once the interviews are transcribed, all identifying information will be replaced by fake names or the ID number assigned to the participant on the word document. Alperen Gencosmanoglu will delete the audio file from his computer permanently once he finishes transcribing an interview. He will upload the word document of the transcribed interviews to Dropbox. Once he is done with the analysis process, he will also remove all the transcribed word files from his computer permanently. Please note that accidental disclosure of identifiable data may occur despite these precautions.

Study information which identifies you and the consent form signed by you will be looked at and/or copied for checking up on the research by UIC OPRS and State of Illinois Auditors.

What are the costs for participating in this research?

There are no costs for your participation in this research.

Will I be reimbursed for any of my expenses or paid for my participation in this research?

You will be given \$15 after completing the interview, even if you decide not to answer all of the questions or if you decide that you cannot complete the entire interview.

Can I withdraw from the study?

You have the right to choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences. You may also refuse to answer any **questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study.**

Who should I contact if I have questions?

The Principal Investigator conducting this study is Azize Aslihan Nisanci, doctoral student at the University of Illinois at Chicago. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact Azize Aslihan Nisanci at 224-795-0893. The UIC faculty member who supervises her dissertation research is Dr. James P. Gleeson. His phone number is 312-996-0042 and his email is jimglee@uic.edu.

What are my rights as a research subject?

If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or if you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, including questions, concerns, complaints, or to offer input, you may call the Office for the Protection of Research Subjects (OPRS) at 312-996-1711 or 1-866-789-6215 (toll-free) or e-mail OPRS at uicirb@uic.edu.

Remember

Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Illinois at Chicago or any other institution. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting these relationships.

You will be given a copy of this form for your information and to keep for your records.

Signature of Participant

I have read (or someone has read to me) the above information. I have been given an opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research. I have been given a copy of this form.

I am willing to have the interview audio recorded: Yes ☐ No ☐

I am willing to be contacted by email or phone to be invited to participate in a follow-up interview if needed: Yes ☐ No ☐

I am willing to be contacted via email to be invited to participate in for a member checking survey: Yes ☐ No ☐

Adolescent Signature

Printed Name

Date

Signature of Researcher

Date (must be same as participant's)

Printed Name

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX F: Assent to Participate in Research

“Turkish Immigrant Families in the United States: Parenting, Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Well-being”

My name is _____ (interviewer’s name). I am talking with many adolescents whose parents are from Turkey. I am a student at the University of Illinois, where I am doing research about Turkish adolescents and their parents to learn their experiences and needs better.

(If the second interviewer is conducting the interview: Aslihan Nisanci, who is a student at the University of Illinois, is doing research about Turkish adolescents and their parents to learn their experiences and needs better. My name is Zubeyir Nisanci and I am a doctoral candidate at Loyola University Chicago and conducting some of the interviews for this study.)

If you agree to talk with me, I will ask you questions about what it is like to live in the U.S. as an adolescent, your everyday life, relationships with your parents, and your future plans. I am interested in the way you see your daily life experiences and your relationships with your parents. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions I will ask you. I am interested in learning about how you see things. This will take about two hours.

Please talk this over with your parents before you decide whether or not to participate. I already received your parent’s permission for your participation. However, you can still decide not to participate and your parent’s permission does not mean that you should say “yes” to me. Remember, being in this study is up to you and no one will be upset if you don’t want to participate or even if you change your mind later and want to stop. Your parents can still be part of the study even if you refuse to participate.

I know that talking about this may not be easy. If you agree to talk with me about some of these things no one will know what you said because your name will not be used. If at any time there is a question that you don’t feel like answering, you don’t have to. We can stop our talk at any time. I have plenty of time to talk with you in case you need longer to answer a question. OK?

I would like to record our conversation on this audio recorder, if this okay with you. This will help me remember what we talked about. Either I or a person helping me with my study will type up what is on the recorder, and then the recording will be erased. We will make sure that your name and the names of people you may mention when we talk, are replaced with fake/make believe names. Still, it is better if you do not mention any names during our conversation.

You will be given \$15 after completing the interview, even if you decide not to answer all of the questions or if you decide that you cannot complete the entire interview.

Do you have any questions about the research or about talking with me?

I may also want to talk to you again if I need further details on some of your answers to the questions I ask you in our first conversation. Participation in this follow-up interview is also completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you have to participate in a possible follow-up interview.

I will also ask you to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of preliminary results of the study with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website for you to give feedback. No names will be included in this summary. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary. You can decide whether to participate in a follow-up interview or member-checking later, when you are invited to participate in each of these.

Signing your name on this assent form means that you agree to be in this study. You and your parent will be given a copy of this form after you have signed it. I will also ask you to sign if you agree to allow me to tape record the interview.

I agree to be interviewed for this research project: Yes ☐ No ☐

I am willing to have the interview audio recorded: Yes ☐ No ☐

I am willing to be contacted by email or phone to be invited to participate in a follow-up interview if needed: Yes ☐ No ☐

I am willing to be contacted via email to be invited to participate in for a member checking survey: Yes ☐ No ☐

Adolescent Signature

Printed Name

Signature of Researcher

Printed Name

Date

Date (must be same as participant's)

APPENDIX G: Email Announcement

Dissertation Research Study: Turkish Immigrant Families in the United States: Parenting, Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Well-being

I am conducting a research study on Turkish families in the United States. This study is on Turkish adolescents (age 12-19) and their parents. The study will explore the effects of immigration experience on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescents' well-being.

In order to participate in the study, families should meet the following criteria: (1) Both parents originate from Turkey, (2) At least one parent was born in Turkey and came to U.S. after age 12, and currently resides in the United States, (3) The adolescent child can be either born in Turkey or in the U.S. (4) At least one parent (the one born in Turkey if the other parent is not) and the adolescent child should have lived in the U.S together for a minimum of two years.

I will conduct separate, individual, face-to-face interviews with the adolescent and at least one of her/his parents. The interviews will last approximately 2 hours. During the interviews, I will ask the adolescent questions on her/his daily life experiences, relationships with her/his parents, relationship with Turkish and American cultures, adaptation to society, and future life goals. Similarly, I will ask the parents questions on their daily life experiences in the United States and the experience of raising an adolescent child in this country. At the end of the interview, each participant will receive \$15 cash.

Participation in this study is voluntary and the information that families share with me, including the names of the participants, will be kept confidential.

For more information, please contact Aslihan Nisanci.

Phone: (224) 795-0893

Email: anisan2@uic.edu

APPENDIX H: Phone Recruitment Script for Parents

Hi,

This is Aslihan Nisanci. Do you remember that we met at (*the location I saw the person*)? It has been a while since that day. I hope you are doing well.

I am calling you about a research study I am conducting. As you probably know, I am a doctoral student at Jane Addams College of Social Work at University of Illinois at Chicago and conducting my dissertation research project on Turkish families in U.S. I am trying to learn about Turkish families with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19. I know that you have an adolescent child/children in this age range and thought your family could be interested in participating in my study. You may be eligible to be included in the study if:

1. You and your spouse (if you have one) originate from Turkey,
2. You have an adolescent child between ages 12 and 19, whom you believe would be willing to participate in the study,
3. Either you or your spouse were born in Turkey and have come to U.S. after age 12,
4. The parent who was born in Turkey lived in the U.S. with her/his adolescent child for a minimum of two years.

If you think you meet these criteria, I would like to invite you, your spouse and your adolescent child(ren) to be part of this study.

Although I would like to interview both you and your spouse (if you have one), and at least one of your adolescent children, it is perfectly okay if only one parent wants to participate and if you give permission for your child(ren) to participate but they later decide that they do not want to be in the study.

Would you like me to continue?

The person says "no": Okay, Thank you so much for giving me your time. Hope to see you again!

[Record on the "eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form"]

The person says "yes": Thank you.

The study will explore the effects of immigration experiences on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescents' well-being. I am asking each adolescent and parent to participate in a separate, individual, face-to-face interview, which is expected to last approximately 2 hours. The adolescent child, mother and father will be interviewed individually.

During the interview with your adolescent child, I will ask questions about her/his relationships with you, experiences at home, school, neighborhood, and her/his connections with other Turkish people and culture.

During the interview with each parent, I will ask about your experiences in this country, your relationships with and thoughts and feelings about your adolescent child and her/his life. If you prefer, you, your spouse, and/or your child can choose to be interviewed by a male interviewer, who is my husband. In addition, I will ask one parent a few family demographics questions at the end of the interview.

I may ask you, your spouse, and/or your child to participate in a follow-up interview if I need further exploration on the issues we discuss in the first interview. Just like the first interview, participation in this follow-up interview is also completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in a possible follow-up interview.

I will also ask you, your spouse and your child to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of my preliminary results with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website, and ask you to provide your confidential feedback by responding to this survey. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary.

Approximately 45 participants will be involved in this research. I will interview you, your spouse and your child separately in your home or in another place you prefer such as a café or a library room.

The information you share with me and the other interviewer will be kept confidential. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. The information your child provides will also be kept confidential with me.

If you agree to participate, you and your spouse will each be given \$15 respectively after completing the interview. Your child will also be given \$15 after the interview.

Do you think you might be willing to participate?

The person says "no": Thank you so much for giving me your time. Hope to see you again!

The person says “yes”: If you think you need some time to make your decision, you can call me later. Otherwise, we can arrange a day and time to meet and review the consent and parent permission form. In the meantime, could you please ask your child and your spouse if they also want to participate in the study? After we meet in person and talk about the details of the study, we can discuss whether I can contact your child(ren) and spouse and how. Please note that each family member can prefer a female (me) or a male interviewer (my husband).

Would you like to arrange a meeting date and place now, or would you like me to contact with you later?

The person wants to arrange a date and place: Where and when would you like to meet to go over the consent and parent permission form? This place can be your home, a café, or a library room, or another place you suggest.

The person wants to be contacted later: Would you like me to call or email you to make this arrangement?

Do you have any other questions or anything else to say?

Listen to the person carefully and answer the questions.

Hope to talk to you again soon. Good bye!

[Record on the "eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form"]

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX I: Phone Response Script for Parents

Hi,

(If the person left a voice message on my phone: This is Aslihan Nisanci. I received your message about my research study on Turkish immigrant families in the U.S.). Thank you for your interest in my study. I want to give you some further information about the study if that is okay for you.

I am a doctoral student at Jane Addams College of Social Work at University of Illinois at Chicago and this study is my dissertation research. In the study, I am exploring the experiences of immigrant Turkish families with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19. You may be eligible to be included in the study if:

1. You and your spouse (if you have one) originate from Turkey,
2. You have an adolescent child between ages 12 and 19, whom you believe would be willing to participate in the study,
3. Either you or your spouse were born in Turkey and have come to U.S. after age 12,
4. The parent who was born in Turkey lived in the U.S. with her/his adolescent child for a minimum of two years.

Do you think your family meets these criteria?

The person says "no": Thank you for your interest in my study again. Good bye!

[Record on the "eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form"]

The person says "yes": Thank you. This means that you, your spouse and your adolescent child(ren) can be part of this study. Although I would like to interview both you and your spouse (if you have one), and at least one of your adolescent children, it is perfectly okay if only one parent wants to participate and if you give permission for your child(ren) to participate

but they later decide that they do not want to be in the study. I want to give you some brief information about the study.

[Record on the "eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form"]

The study will explore the effects of immigration experiences on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescents' well-being. I am asking each adolescent and parent to participate in a separate, individual, face-to-face interview, which is expected to last approximately 2 hours. The adolescent child, mother and father will be interviewed individually.

During the interview with your adolescent child, I will ask questions about her/his relationships with you, experiences at home, school, neighborhood, and her/his connections with other Turkish people and culture.

During the interview with each parent, I will ask about your experiences in this country, your relationships with and thoughts and feelings about your adolescent child and her/his life. If you prefer, you, your spouse, and/or your child can choose to be interviewed by a male interviewer, who is my husband. In addition, I will ask one parent a few family demographics questions at the end of the interview.

I may ask you, your spouse, and/or your child to participate in a follow-up interview if I need further exploration on the issues we discuss in the first interview. Just like the first interview, participation in this follow-up interview is also completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in a possible follow-up interview. I will also ask you, your spouse and your child to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of my preliminary results with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website, and ask you to provide your confidential feedback by responding to this survey. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary.

Approximately 45 participants will be involved in this research. I will interview you, your spouse and your child separately in your home or in another place you prefer such as a café or a library room. If you think your child is willing to participate in this study, I will ask you to give her/him my contact information so that s/he can call me or write an email to me. If your child is under 18, I need your permission for your child's participation in the study.

The information you share with me and the other interviewer will be kept confidential. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. The information your child provides will also be kept confidential with me.

If you agree to participate, you and your spouse will each be given \$15 respectively after completing the interview. Your child will also be given \$15 after the interview.

Can you ask your spouse and your child whether they are willing to participate or not?

The person says “no”: Thank you for your interest in my study again. Good bye!

The person says “yes”: Thank you. Would you like to arrange a meeting date and place now, or would you like me to contact with you later?

Please note that each family member can prefer a female (me) or a male interviewer (my husband).

Would you like to arrange a meeting date and place now, or would you like me to contact with you later?

The person wants to arrange a date and place: Where and when would you like to meet to go over the consent and parent permission form? This place can be your home, a café, or a library room, or another place you suggest. In the meantime, could you please ask your child and your spouse if they also want to participate in the study? After we meet in person and talk about the details of the study, we can discuss whether I can contact your child(ren) and spouse and how.

The person wants to be contacted later: Would you like me to call or email you to make this arrangement?

Thank you so much for your interest in my study again. I will be happy to answer any questions you have either via email or phone. You already know my phone number and my email address is anisan2@uic.edu.

Do you have any other questions or anything else to say?

Listen to the person carefully and answer the questions.

Hope to talk to you again soon. Good bye!

[Record the potential participant's decision to participate or not to "*eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form.*"]

APPENDIX J: Email Recruitment Script for Parents

Hi,

This is Aslihan Nisanci. Do you remember that we met at (*the location I saw the person*)? It has been a while since that day and I hope this email finds you well.

I am writing you about a research I am conducting. As you probably know, I am a doctoral student at Jane Addams College of Social Work at University of Illinois at Chicago and conducting my dissertation research project on Turkish families in U.S. I am trying to learn about Turkish families with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19. I know that you have an adolescent child/children in this age range and thought your family could be interested in participating in my study. You may be eligible to be included in the study if:

1. You and your spouse (if you have one) originate from Turkey,
2. You have an adolescent child between ages 12 and 19, whom you believe would be willing to participate in the study,
3. Either you or your spouse were born in Turkey and have come to U.S. after age 12,
4. The parent who was born in Turkey lived in the U.S. with her/his adolescent child for a minimum of two years.

If you think you meet these criteria, I would like to invite you, your spouse (if you have one) and your adolescent child(ren) to be part of this study. Although I would like to interview both you and your spouse (if you have one), and at least one of your adolescent children, it is perfectly okay if only one parent wants to participate and if you give permission for your child(ren) to participate but they later decide that they do not want to be in the study. I want to give you some brief information about the study.

The study will explore the effects of immigration experiences on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescents' well-being. I am asking each adolescent and parent to participate in a separate, individual, face-to-face interview, which is expected to last approximately 2 hours. The adolescent child, mother and father will be interviewed individually.

During the interview with your adolescent child, I will ask questions about her/his relationships with you, experiences at home, school, neighborhood, and her/his connections with other Turkish people and culture.

During the interview with each parent, I will ask about your experiences in this country, your relationships with and thoughts and feelings about your adolescent child and her/his life. If you prefer, you, your spouse, and/or your child can choose to be interviewed by a male interviewer, who is my husband. In addition, I will ask one parent a few family demographics questions at the end of the interview.

I may ask you, your spouse, and/or your child to participate in a follow-up interview if I need further exploration on the issues we discuss in the first interview. Just like the first interview, participation in this follow-up interview is also completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in a possible follow-up interview. I will also ask you, your spouse and your child to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of my preliminary results with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website and ask you to share your confidential feedback by responding to this Qualtrics survey. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary.

Approximately 45 participants will be involved in this research. I will interview you, your spouse and your child separately in your home or in another place you prefer such as a café or a library room. If you think your child is willing to participate in this study, I will ask you to give her/him my contact information so that s/he can call me or write an email to me. If your child is under 18, I need your permission for your child's participation in the study.

The information you share with me and the other interviewer will be kept confidential. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. The information your child provides will also be kept confidential with me.

If you agree to participate, you and your spouse will each be given \$15 respectively after completing the interview. Your child will also be given \$15 after his/her interview.

If you think that you might be interested in being part of this study, we can arrange a day and time to meet and go over the consent and parent permission form with you. This place can be your home, a café, or a library room, or another place you suggest.

In the mean time, you can ask your spouse and your child(ren) whether they are also willing to participate. Once we go over the consent and parent permission form with you, we can discuss whether I can contact your child(ren) and spouse and how. Please note that each family member can prefer a female (me) or male interviewer (my husband).

Thank you so much for giving me your time! I will be happy to answer any questions you have either via email or phone. My number is 224-795-0893.

Whether you are willing to participate in or not, I hope to see you!

Best,

Aslihan

[Record the potential participant's decision to participate or not to "*eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form*".]

APPENDIX K: Email Response Script for Parents

Hi,

Thank you for your interest in my study on Turkish families in the United States. I want to give you some further information about the study. I am a doctoral student at Jane Addams College of Social Work at University of Illinois at Chicago and this study is my dissertation research. In the study, I am exploring the experiences of immigrant Turkish families with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19. You may be eligible to be included in the study if:

1. You and your spouse (if you have one) originate from Turkey,
2. You have an adolescent child between ages 12 and 19, whom you believe would be willing to participate in the study.
3. Either you or your spouse were born in Turkey and have come to U.S. after age 12,
4. The parent who was born in Turkey lived in the U.S. with her/his adolescent child for a minimum of two years.

If you think you meet these criteria, I would like to invite you, your spouse (if you have one) and your adolescent child(ren) to be part of this study. Although I would like to interview both you and your spouse (if you have one), and at least one of your adolescent children, it is perfectly okay if only one parent wants to participate and if you give permission for your child(ren) to participate but they later decide that they do not want to be in the study. The study will explore the effects of immigration experiences on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescents' well-being. I am asking each adolescent and parent to participate in a separate, individual, face-to-face interview, which is expected to last approximately 2 hours. The adolescent child, mother and father will be interviewed individually.

During the interview with your adolescent child, I will ask questions about her/his relationships with you, experiences at home, school, neighborhood, and her/his connections with other Turkish people and culture.

During the interview with each parent, I will ask about your experiences in this country, your relationships with and thoughts and feelings about your adolescent child and her/his life. If

you prefer, you, your spouse, and/or your child can choose to be interviewed by a male interviewer, who is my husband. In addition, I will ask one parent a few family demographics questions at the end of the interview.

I may ask you, your spouse, and/or your child to participate in a follow-up interview if I need further exploration on the issues we discuss in the first interview. Participation in this follow-up interview is also completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in a possible follow-up interview. I will also ask you, your spouse and your child to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of my preliminary results with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website, and ask you to share your confidential feedback via this Qualtrics website. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary.

Approximately 45 participants will be involved in this research. I will interview you, your spouse and your child separately in your home or in another place you prefer such as a café or a library room. If you think your child is willing to participate in this study, I will ask you to give her/him my contact information so that s/he can call me or write an email to me. If your child is under 18, I need your permission for your child's participation in the study.

The information you share with me and the other interviewer will be kept confidential. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. The information your child provides will also be kept confidential with me.

If you agree to participate, you and your spouse will each be given \$15 respectively after completing the interview. Your child will also be given \$15 after the interview.

If you think that you want to be part of this study, please contact me again to arrange a day and time to meet and go over the consent and parent permission form with you. This place can be your home, a café, or a library room, or another place you suggest.

In the meantime, you can ask your spouse and your child(ren) whether they are also willing to participate. Once we go over the consent and parent permission form with you, we can discuss whether I can contact your child(ren) and spouse and how. Please note that each family member can prefer a female (me) or male interviewer (my husband).

Thank you so much for your interest in my study again. I will be happy to answer any questions you have either via email or phone. My number is 224-795-0893.

Best,
Aslihan

[Record the potential participant's decision to participate or not to *"eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form"*].

APPENDIX L: Initial Adolescent Phone/Face-to-face Contact Script

If the adolescent called (after parental permission is obtained): Hi! Thank you for your interest in my study. As your mother/father mentioned to you, I am doing interviews with parents and adolescents. I want to give you some further information about the study if that is okay with you.

If the adolescent left a voice message on my phone (after parental permission is obtained): Hi! This is Aslihan. I received your message about my research study on Turkish immigrant families in the U.S. and am returning your call. Thank you for your interest in my study. As your mother/father mentioned you, I am doing interviews with parents and adolescents. I want to give you some further information about the study if that is okay with you.

If I meet the adolescent child at home (after the parent interview at home and after getting the parent's permission): Hi! Thank you for your interest in my study. As your mother/father mentioned you, I am doing interviews with parents and adolescents. I want to give you some further information about the study if that is okay for you.

I am conducting this research as part of my doctoral studies at Jane Addams College of Social Work at University of Illinois at Chicago. I am trying to learn about Turkish families living in the United States with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. This means that you can freely decide not to participate any time and no one will be upset. Your decision will not affect any of the relationships with the University of Illinois at Chicago, with anyone, or any other organization. *(If the adolescent is under 18: the fact that I received your parent's permission for your participation should not affect your decision.)* Please remember that even if you decide not to participate, your family can still be part of this study. This means that I can still talk to your parent(s) even if you refuse to talk to me. In addition, I will not inform your parent(s) about whether you decided to participate or not. It is up to you whether to share this information with your parents or not.

I am asking each adolescent and parent to participate in one face-to-face interview, which is expected to last approximately 2 hours. The adolescent child, mother and father will be interviewed individually.

I will ask you questions about what it is like to live in the U.S. as an adolescent, your everyday life, relationships with your parents, and your future plans. I am interested in the way you see your daily life experiences and your relationships with your parents. There will be no right or wrong answers to the questions I will ask you. I am interested in learning about how you see things. I will ask similar questions to your parent(s).

I may also ask you to participate in a follow-up interview if I think there are some issues unaddressed in the first interview. You can also request a follow-up interview if you think there are issues you need to add or clarify. Participation in this follow-up interview is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you have to participate in a possible follow-up interview.

I will also ask you to participate in member-checking, which means that I will share a summary of preliminary results of the study with you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website, and ask you to provide your feedback by responding to this survey. No names will be included in this summary. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in member-checking.

Approximately 20 adolescents will be involved in this research. I will interview you and your parents separately in your home or in another place you prefer such as a café or a library room.

I know that talking about this may not be easy. If you agree to talk with me about some of these things no one will know what you said because your name will not be used. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. Real names will be replaced by fake/make believe names.

The information gained from your participation may help the Turkish American community to better understand the needs of adolescent children and their families. As a result, services can be designed for adolescents like you and families like yours.

If you agree to participate, you will be given \$15 after completing the interview.

Please note that you and your parents can choose to be interviewed by a male interviewer.

You can either make your decision now, or you can think about it and we can communicate later. Do you think you might be willing to participate?

If the adolescent says “no”: Thanks for your time. It was a pleasure to talk to you.

[Record the adolescents decision to participate or not on the eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form. Remove the youth’s name from the form.]

If the adolescent asks for some time to decide: Thanks for your time. You can call or email me when you make your decision.

[Record the adolescents decision on the on the eligibility screening, and contact information, and tracking form.]

If the adolescent says “yes” in face-to-face contact: Thank you. We can review the assent/consent form now or we can arrange another time to review the forms. If you are under 18, you will sign the assent form. If you are 18 or over, you will sign a consent form. We can meet in your home, in a café, library, or another place you suggest. If you prefer you can be interviewed by a male interviewer. *If the adolescent signs the consent/assent form and is willing to be interviewed by the PI:* We can either go ahead and do the interview now, or arrange another time for that.

[Record the adolescents decision to participate or not on the eligibility screening and contact information form.]

If the adolescent says “yes” in phone contact: Thank you. If you like, we can arrange a day and time to go over the assent/consent form. If you are under 18, you will sign the assent form. If you are 18 or over, you will sign a consent form. We can meet in your home, in a café, library, or another place you suggest to review the forms. Also, please let me know if you prefer a female (me) or male interviewer, who is my husband. He can meet with you to review the consent/assent forms and to do the interviews if you agree to participate.

If the adolescent signs the consent/assent form and is willing to be interviewed by the PI: We can either go ahead and do the interview now, or arrange another time for that.

[Record the adolescent’s decision to participate or not on the eligibility screening, contact information, and tracking form]

Thank you so much for listening to what I had to say. I will be happy to answer any questions you have now or later via phone or email. My number is 224-795-0893 and my email is anisan2@uic.edu.

Hope to see you soon! Good bye!

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX M: Initial Adolescent Email Contact Script

If I initiate contact: Hi! My name is Aslihan Nisanci. Your mother/father told me that you are interested in participating in my study on Turkish immigrant families in the U.S. Thank you for your interest in my study. In order to facilitate your decision, let me give you some information about the study.

If the adolescent initiates contact: Thank you for your interest in my study. Let me give you some information about the study.

I am conducting this research as part of my doctoral studies at Jane Addams College of Social Work at University of Illinois at Chicago. I am trying to learn about Turkish families living in the United States with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19.

Participation in the study is completely voluntary. This means that you can freely decide not to participate any time and no one will be upset. Your decision will not affect any relationships you may have with the University of Illinois at Chicago, or any other organization. (*If the adolescent is under 18:* Even though your parent gave permission for me to invite you to participate in the study, you can still decide whether you want to participate or not.) I will not inform your parent about your decision to participate or not and even if you decide not to participate, your parents can still be part of the study.

I am asking each adolescent and parent to participate in one face-to-face interview, which is expected to last approximately 2 hours. Each adolescent child and parent will be interviewed individually.

If you agree to be interviewed, I will ask you questions about what it is like to live in the U.S. as an adolescent, your everyday life, relationships with your parents, and your future plans. I am interested in the way you see your daily life experiences and your relationships with your parents. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions I will ask you. I am interested in learning about how you see things. I will ask similar questions to your parent(s).

I may also want to talk to you again if I need further details on some of your answers to the questions I ask you in our first conversation. Just like the initial interview, participating in a second interview is also voluntary. You do not have to talk to me again just because you participate in the first interview.

I also want to send a summary of the preliminary results of all adolescent interviews to you via Qualtrics, which is a secure online survey website. No names will be included in this summary. I will ask you to provide your confidential feedback on these preliminary results by replying to questions on the Qualtrics survey. Again, participation in member-checking is completely voluntary and participating in the first interview does not mean that you will participate in member-checking.

Approximately 20 adolescents will be involved in this research. I will interview you and your parents separately in your home or in another place you prefer such as a café or a library room.

I know that talking about this may not be easy. If you agree to talk with me about some of these things no one will know what you said because your name will not be used. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity. Real names will be replaced by fake/make believe names.

The information gained from your participation may help the Turkish American community to better understand the needs of adolescent children and their families. As a result, services can be designed for adolescents like you and families like yours.

If you agree to participate, you will be given \$15 after completing the interview.

If you like, you can choose to be interviewed by a male interviewer.

If you think you might be willing to participate, we can arrange a day and time to meet and tell you more about the study. If you agree to be in the study, I will ask you to sign the assent/consent form and do the interview. If you are under 18, you will sign the assent form. If you are 18 or over, you will sign a consent form. We can meet in your home, in a café, library, or another place you suggest. Also, please let me know if you prefer a female (me) or male interviewer.

Thank you so much for your time. I will be happy to answer any questions you have now or later via phone or email. My number is 224-795-0893 and my email is anisan2@uic.edu.

Best,

Aslihan

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX N: Follow-up Interview Invitation Scripts

Follow-up Interview Invitation Script (Email)

Hi,

This is Aslihan Nisanci. I am writing this email to you because you participated in my study on Turkish families in the U.S. and agreed that I could contact you to invite you to participate in a follow-up interview if needed. After I reviewed your interview, I realized that there are some issues I need to clarify or explore further. Participation in this second interview is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate in the follow-up interview, either I or a male interviewer can meet you and do the interview at a place you prefer. I will be happy to answer any questions you have either via email (anisan2@uic.edu) or phone. My phone number is 224-795-0893.

Best,

Aslihan Nisanci

Follow-up Interview Invitation Script (Phone)

Hi,

This is Aslihan Nisanci. I am calling you because you participated in my study on Turkish families in the U.S. and agreed that I could contact you to invite you to participate in a follow-up interview if needed. Do you remember the first interview you participated in?

(The participant says "no"): Remind the participant of the study and the interview.

(The participant says "yes"): Okay.

After I reviewed your interview, I realized that there are some issues I need to clarify and explore further. Participation in this second interview is completely voluntary. Would you like to decide now or prefer to be called/call me later?

(The participant wants to be called later): Okay, thank you for your time. Hope to talk to you again.

(The participant wants to continue): If you agree to participate in the follow-up interview, either I or a male interviewer can meet you and do the interview at a place you prefer. Would you like to participate in the interview?

(The person agrees to participate): Thank you. We can arrange a time and date to do the interview now or later. Would you prefer to be interviewed by me or a male interviewer?

Record participant's decision on "Eligibility Screening, Contact Information, and Tracking Form." If participant agrees to be interviewed by PI, schedule time and place for interview, or if participant prefers to schedule later, arrange a call-back time. If participant prefers a male interviewer, indicate that the male interviewer will call back to arrange a time and place for the interview.

(The participant declines to participate): Okay, thank you for your time.

Record participant's decision on "Eligibility Screening, Contact Information, and Tracking Form."

APPENDIX O: Snowball Sampling Information Script (For Participants)

Script for when the principal investigator asks participants distribute study flyers to potential participants of study:

Thank you again for being part of my study. Do you know other families like yours who may be interested in participating in my study? As you are already familiar, this study is my dissertation project at UIC Jane Addams College of Social Work. The participants are Turkish families with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19. I am exploring the effects of immigration experiences on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescents' well-being. If you already know such families or meet them, could you please hand them the study flyers? Here are the hard copies of the study flyer. I can also email an electronic copy of the study flyer to you if you think you may email it to potential participants.

Please do not give me the names of any potential participants. I am not allowed to receive any names and approach these families directly. The parent(s) who learn about the study can call or email me if they are interested. I will tell them further details about the study if they contact me. In addition, I am not allowed to invite adolescent children to the study until their parents give permission. So, please do not ask adolescent children if they are interested. Give the flyers to their parents.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions or concerns. Thank you so much for your help.

Snowball Sampling Information Script (For Friends)

Script for when the principal investigator asks friends distribute study flyers to potential participants of study:

Hi _____ (*name of friend*). As you know, I am a doctoral student at UIC Jane Addams College of Social Work and doing my dissertation study on Turkish families with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19. I am exploring the effects of immigration experiences on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships

affect adolescents' well-being. If you already know such families or meet them, could you please hand them the study flyers? Here are the hard copies of the study flyer. I can also email an electronic copy of the study flyer to you if you think you may email it to potential participants. My contact information is on the flyer.

Please do not give me the names of any potential participants. I am not allowed to receive any names and approach these families directly. The parent(s) can call or email me if they are interested. I will tell them further details about the study. In addition, I am not allowed to invite adolescent children to the study until their parents give permission. So, please do not ask adolescent children if they are interested. Give the flyers to their parents.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions of concerns. Thank you so much for your help.

Snowball Sampling Information Script (For friends at TCCII)

Hi _____ (*name of friend*). As you know, I am a doctoral student at UIC Jane Addams College of Social Work and doing my dissertation study on Turkish families with adolescent children between ages 12 and 19. I am exploring the effects of immigration experiences on parenting practices and parent-adolescent relationships; and how parent-adolescent relationships affect adolescents' well-being. If you already know such families or meet them at your cultural center, could you please hand them the study flyers? Here are the hard copies of the study flyer. I can also email an electronic copy of the study flyer to you if you think you may email it to potential participants. My contact information is on the flyer.

Please do not give me the names of any potential participants. I am not allowed to receive any names and approach these families directly. The parent(s) can call or email me if they are interested in the study. I will tell them further details about the study. In addition, I am not allowed to invite adolescent children to the study until their parents give permission. So, please do not ask adolescent children if they are interested in the study.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any questions of concerns. Thank you so much for your help.

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX P: Member Check Invitation Script (Email)

Hi,

This is Aslihan Nisanci. I am writing this email to you because you participated in my study on Turkish families in the U.S. and agreed to be contacted via email so I could invite you to participate in a member check survey. Participation in the member check survey is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate, please click on the following link to the Qualtrics secure survey website to review the summary of the preliminary study findings and provide your feedback. Your feedback will be confidential.

Link to Qualtrics Member Check Survey: [insert link here]

I will be happy to answer any questions you have either via email (anisan2@uic.edu) or phone. My number is 224-795-0893.

Best,

Aslihan Nisanci

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX Q: Family Eligibility Screening, Contact Information, and Tracking Form

Family Eligibility Checklist

Name of Potential Participant: _____

Eligibility Criteria (All four criteria must be met for inclusion):

- ☐ You and your spouse (if you have one) should originate from Turkey,
- ☐ You have an adolescent child between ages 12 and 19, whom you believe would be willing to participate in the study.
- ☐ Either you or your spouse should be born in Turkey and have come to U.S. after age 12,
- ☐ The parent who was born in Turkey should have lived in the U.S. with her/his adolescent child for a minimum of two years.

Eligibility Determination: ☐ Yes ☐ No

Parent Name*	Contact Method	Who initiates contact	Needs time to decide	Decision to participate or not	Phone Number*	Email Address*

**Black out names and contact information if family is not eligible and for family members who decline. Retain the form to track numbers of families considered but not eligible and number of declinations.*

If the parent agrees to participate, the PI asks:

- Would you be willing to participate in a possible follow-up interview? *(Explain details)*
- Would you be willing to be contacted via email for a member-check survey? *(Explain details)*

Parent Name**	Agreed to be contacted for follow-up interview	Agreed to be contacted for member check	Invited to Follow-up Interview	Agreed to follow up interview	Responded to online member check survey

***Black out names for family members who decline to participate both follow up interview and member check survey.*

Adolescent Screening and Contact Information

Adolescent Name***	Contact Method	Who initiates contact	Needs time to decide	Decision to Participate or not	Phone Number**	Email Address**

*** Black out names and contact information if family is not eligible and for family members who decline. Retain the form to track numbers of families considered but not eligible and number of declinations.

If the adolescent(s) agree(s) to participate, the PI asks:

- Would you be willing to be participate in a possible follow-up interview? (Explain details)
- Would you be willing to be contacted via email for the online member-check survey? (Explain details)

Name**	Agreed to be contacted for follow-up interview	Agreed to be contacted for member check	Invited to Follow-up Interview	Agreed to follow up interview	Responded to online member check survey

*****Black out names for family members who refuse to participate both follow up interview and member check survey.*

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX R: Study Flyer

STUDY FLYER STARTS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE



Research Study on Turkish Families in the U.S.

***Are you from Turkey and have a child between ages 12 and 19?
Please help me understand the experiences of Turkish families in the U.S.!**

I am conducting this research at the University of Illinois at Chicago and doing interviews with parents and adolescents to learn about parenting experiences, parent-child relationships and adolescent well-being.



To learn more, contact Azize Aslıhan Nişancı.
Phone: 224-795-0893
Email: anisan2@uic.edu

Each interviewee will
receive \$15.

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX S: Study Flyer (Turkish)

STUDY FLYER STARTS ON THE FOLLOWING PAGE



ABD’de Yaşayan Türk Aileler Üzerine Araştırma

**12 - 19 yaşlar arasında çocuğu olan Türk ailelerden misiniz? Amerika’da
yaşayan Türk ailelerin deneyimlerini anlamama yardımcı olabilirsiniz!**

University of Illinois at Chicago bünyesinde yürütölen
araştırma kapsamında anne babalar ve ergen gençlerle
görüşüyor; ebeveynlik deneyimleri, ebeveyn-çocuk
ilişkileri ve ergen genç psikolojisi üzerine konuşuyoruz.



Daha fazla bilgi için Azize Aslıhan Nişancı ile irtibata geçiniz.
Tel: 224-795-0893
E-posta: anisan2@uic.edu

Her katılımcıya 15\$
verilecektir.

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX T: YOUTH AND FAMILY RESOURCES IN CHICAGO

RESOURCES FOR YOUTH

SGA Youth & Family Services

11 East Adams Street, Suite 1500 | Chicago,
IL 60603
Phone: 312-663-0305
Fax: 312-663-0644
admin@sga-youth.org
<http://www.sgayouth.org/>

Teen programs addressing dating violence,
depression, and communicating with
parents.

Youth Outreach Services

5910 W. Division St.
Chicago, Illinois 60651
773-777-7112
www.yos.org

Prevention and counseling services for
youth.

City of Chicago Family and Support Services

Youth services

Phone: 312-743-0208
<http://www.cityofchicago.org/city/en/depts/fss/provdrs/youth.html>

After school programs, internships, career
programs, summer youth employment and
mentoring programs.

Group, individual and family counseling
sessions for youth ages 6-18.

ASM- After School Matters

Phone: 312.742.4182
<http://www.afterschoolmatters.org/teens>

Teens must be Chicago residents at least 14
years of age and currently enrolled in a
Chicago Public Schools high school.

Skills training in arts, science, sports,
technology, communications, career
readiness.

Alternatives Inc.

4730 North Sheridan Road Chicago, IL 60640

Phone: (773) 506 – 7474

Fax: (773) 506 – 9420

E-mail: info@alternativesyouth.org

<http://www.alternativesyouth.org/>

Career and employment services, youth empowerment program to address substance use, gender-specific and age-appropriate programming for girls and young women ages 10 to 18.

Chicago Public Library - Teen Volume Programs

http://www.chipublib.org/eventsprog/programs/teen_volume.php

Free financial literacy programs designed especially for teens ages 13 and older, parents, and educators.

Book discussions, creative writing programs, author visits and other literary-based programs for teens ages 14 through 19.

Chicago Youth Centers – Teen Leadership Development Program

Central Office:

218 S. Wabash Avenue, Suite 600

Chicago, IL 60604

Phone: (312) 913-1700

Fax: (312) 913-1800

<http://chicagoyouthcenters.org/teen-leadership-development-2/>

Clubs on leadership development, skill development, service learning, extended learning, mentoring, and college and career readiness (ages 13-18).

Chicago Summer Business Institute

Chicago Summer Business Institute

P.O. Box 64445

Chicago, Illinois 60664

Phone: 312-545-7855

Fax: 312-252-3099

info@chicagobusinessinstitute.com

<http://www.chicagobusinessinstitute.com/>

A not-for-profit organization providing paid summer internships, business and financial literacy education and scholarships to Chicago high school students.

Chicago Youth Programs

5350 South Prairie Ave

Chicago, IL 60615

Phone: (773) 924-0220

Fax: (773) 924-0222

<http://www.chicagoyouthprograms.org/>

Teen Career program focuses on College Prep/Placement for youth in 10th-12th grade through one-on-one volunteer assistance. Activities include: career mentoring, ACT/SAT prep; job & skills development; and researching/applying for financial aid and college or trade school.

Greater West Town Community Development Project – Youth Education and Career Development

534 N Sacramento Blvd.

Chicago, Illinois 60612

Phone: (312) 563-9044

Fax: (312) 563-9672

<http://www.gwtp.org/>

Greater West Town Project provides a broad array of youth focused education and workforce development services designed to provide the skills.

West Town Academy as an alternative high school for students between the ages of 17 and 21 who are not enrolled in a traditional high school or GED program, and wish to return to school and obtain their high school diploma.

Howard Area Community Center - Youth Services

1527 W. Morse Avenue, Chicago, IL.
Phone: (773) 381-3652.
Email: rconlon@howardarea.org
<http://howardarea.org/youth-services/>

Computer club house and technology center (ages 14-18), summer camp (3rd- 8th grades), after school reading program, career and employment exploration.

Job Corps

<http://www.jobcorps.gov/Youth.aspx>
(800) 733-JOBS or (800) 733-5627.

Byron Zuidema
Regional Administrator
U.S. Department of Labor/ETA
230 South Dearborn Street, 6th floor
Chicago, IL. 60604
Phone: (312) 596-5400

Paul Simon Chicago Job Corps Center

3348 S. Kedzie Avenue
Chicago, IL 60623
Phone: (773) 847-9820
Fax: (773) 847-9823
<http://paulsimonchicago.jobcorps.gov>

Youth are provided training, education, allowance, and job placement for up to a year after the program (ages 16-24).

Jobs for Youth Chicago

50 East Washington Street
Fourth Floor
Chicago, IL 60602
Phone: (312) 499-4778

Jobs for youth provides young adults age 17-24 with job placement assistance, GED preparation, and job skills training.

Youth Guidance

122 South Michigan Avenue Suite 1510
Chicago, IL 60603
Phone: (312) 253-4900

<http://www.youth-guidance.org/>

After school programs, individual, group and family counseling, education and career programs.

Youth Service Project

3942 West North Avenue
Chicago, IL 60647
Phone: (773) 772-6270

YSP has many youth-focused programs, including training, referrals and placement.

Youth Job Centers of Evanston

Evanston, IL 60201
Phone: (847) 864-5627

Serve youth ages 14-25, for success in the workplace, through job readiness, placement and employment support in partnerships with employers.

RESOURCES FOR MUSLIM YOUTH

**Inner City Muslim Action Network
(IMAN)**

2744 West 63rd St.
Chicago, IL 60629
Phone: (773) 434-IMAN (4626)
Fax: (773) 303-8858

Community advocacy and some direct services to the Chicago Muslim community. Youth forums and council, drumming and storytelling, movie nights.

Muslim Women Resource Center

Y-CARE & Youth Empowerment Services

6349 N. Western Ave. Chicago, IL 60659
Phone: (773) 764-1686
Fax: (773) 764-6753

Educational assistance, leadership skills, team building strategies, career explorations, cultural celebrations, field trips for youth (ages 6-18).

PARENTING SUPPORT

C4 - Community Counseling Centers of Chicago

C4 Clark
4740 North Clark St.
Chicago, IL, 60640
Phone: (773) 769-0205
<http://www.c4chicago.org/services/parenting-challenges>

Parenting programs.

Neighborhood Parents Network

<http://www.npnparents.org/>
NPN, 2647 N. Western Ave., Suite #99, Chicago, IL 6064
Phone: 312-476-9351
Fax: 312-278-0102.

Connects a diverse community of families with the resources they need to navigate parenting in the city. Has a group with a focus on middle school children.

Mothers & More

DuPage Chapter
P.O. Box 2462
Glen Ellyn, Illinois 60138-2462
Phone: (630) 415-0421
Email: DuPageMandM@yahoo.com

<http://www.mothersandmore.org/>

A non-profit organization that provides opportunities for mothers to connect with one another in ways that assist them in developing their unique identities as women and help them move through the transitions that affect their family, work and life.

Chicago Psychological Health and Wellness
-Circle of Security Parent Groups

**53 West Jackson Boulevard
Chicago, Illinois 60604**

Phone: (773) 733-4037

Eight-week empirically based parent training group.

Patricia Robbins

Parenting Education

110 Schiller St.
Suite 206A
Elmhurst, Illinois 60126
(630) 640-1885

Parenting Education group addresses the challenges of parenting following the Positive Discipline model (service fee).

Dr. Michael J Banks

Parenting From the Heart

Pope John XXIII School
1120 Washington
Evanston, Illinois 60202
Phone: (773) 312-3462

4-evening course on parenting (service fee).

Rachel H Prendergast

Parent Support Group

400 Linden Ave
Wilmette, Illinois 60091
(847) 416-0230

Monthly support group for parents ((service fee).

PSYCHOTHERAPY/COUNSELING FOR YOUTH AND FAMILIES

The Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis Center for Child and Adolescent Psychotherapy

Chicago Institute for Psychoanalysis
122 South Michigan Avenue, Suite 1300
Chicago, IL 60603
Phone: (312) 922.7474
Fax: (312) 922.5656
Email: admin@chicagoanalysis.org

<http://chicagoanalysis.org/content/center-child-and-adolescent-psychotherapy>
Psychotherapy for adolescents and their families (service fee).

Chicago Center for Family Health

Chicago Center For Family Health
20 N Wacker Drive: Suite 1442
Chicago, IL 60606
Phone/Fax: 312-372-4731
Email: ccfh.admin@ccfhchicago.org
<http://ccfhchicago.org/>

Resilience-based practice approaches to strengthen families facing persistent challenges and to address adolescent behavior problems (service fee).

The Family Institute at Northwestern University

618 Library Place
Evanston, IL 60201
Phone: (847) 733-4300
Email: contactus@family-institute.org

Parenting skills trainings and adolescent group therapy. A psycho-education and support group for [middle school girls](#) struggling with confidence and self-image.

Chicago, Illinois:

The Family Institute at Northwestern University
8 South Michigan Avenue, Suite 500

(Corner of Madison Street and Michigan Avenue)
Phone: (312) 609-5300

Northbrook, Illinois:

The Family Institute at Northwestern University
666 Dundee Road, Suite 1501
Northbrook, IL 60062
Phone: (847) 733-4300

LaGrange Park, Illinois:

The Family Institute at Northwestern University
335 North LaGrange Road
LaGrange, IL 60525
Phone: (847) 733-4300

Naperville, Illinois - Satellite Office:

The Family Institute at Northwestern University
300 E. Fifth Ave, Suite 235
Naperville, IL 60540
Phone: (847) 733-4300

Prairie Family Therapy

122 S. Michigan Avenue, Suite 1025
Chicago, Illinois 60603
Phone: (630) 579-8070
Email: info@prairiefamilytherapy.com

Fifth Avenue Station
300 E. Fifth Avenue, Suite 235
Naperville, Illinois 60563

<http://www.prairiefamilytherapy.com/>

Support to couples and families experiencing distress.

Evanston Family Therapy Center

[1212 1/2 Elmwood Avenue, Evanston, IL 60202.](#)

[Phone: \(847\) 866-7879](#)

[Fax: \(847\) 328-1212](#)

Email: Narrativetherapy@sbcglobal.net
<http://www.narrativetherapychicago.com/>

Narrative therapy for individuals and families.

Perspectives Counseling

20 N. Clark Street (Suite 2650)
Chicago, Illinois 60602
Phone: 1.866.296.5262
Fax: 1.312.558.1570
Email: help4u@perspectivesltd.com
<http://www.perspectives-counseling.com/chicago-family-therapy.html>

(service fee)

Family Therapy
CORE Center of Relational Empowerment, PC

180 N. Michigan Ave. Suite 531
Chicago, IL
[http://www.core-chicago.com/](http://www.core-chicago.com/info@core-chicago.com)
info@core-chicago.com
Phone: (312) 470-4302
Fax: (312) 470-4303

Individual, family, and group therapy to children, adolescents, and adults (service fee).

Cornerstone Counseling Center of Chicago

[1111 N Wells St., Suite 400](#)
[Chicago, IL 60610](#)
Phone: (312) 573-8860
<http://www.chicagocounseling.org/>

Individuals, family, and group therapy
(service fee).

**Northside Center for Relationship
Counseling**

1770 Berteau Avenue, Suite 302A
Chicago, IL 60613
Phone: (855) 212-8731

2150 N. Lincoln Park West
Chicago, IL 60614
<http://www.ncrcchicago.com/>

Individuals, couples, and family therapy
(service fee).

Metropolitan Family Services

One North Dearborn, Suite 1000
Chicago, IL 60602
Phone: 312-986-4000
Email: contactus@metrofamily.org

<https://www.metrofamily.org/programs-and-services/child-and-youth-development/default.aspx>

Programs and services promote academic achievement and social and emotional development among children, youth and families. Counseling for children, adults and families.

Chicago:

235 East 103rd Street
Chicago, Illinois 60628
773-371-3600

Midway:

3843 West 63rd Street
Chicago, Illinois 60629
773-884-3310

North:

3249 North Central Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60634
773-371-3700

Southeast Chicago:

3062 East 91st Street
Chicago, Illinois 60617
773-371-2900

DuPage:

222 East Willow Avenue
Wheaton, Illinois 60187
630-784-4800

Naperville:

600 South Washington Street, Suite 302
Naperville, IL 60540
Phone: 630-717-0447

Elmhurst City Hall:

209 North York Road, 1st Floor
Elmhurst IL 60126
Phone: 630-833-1353

Woodridge:

1999 75th Street
Woodridge, IL 60517
Phone: 630-784-4979

Treasure House Resale Shop:

497 Pennsylvania Avenue
Glen Ellyn, Illinois 60137
630-469-6907

Evanston/Skokie Valley:

820 Davis Street, Ste. 450
Evanston, Illinois 60201
847-425-7400

Skokie:

5210 Main Street

Skokie, Illinois 60077
847-425-7400

Southwest:

10537 South Roberts Road
Palos Hills, Illinois 60465
708-974-2300

Children's Home and Aid

<http://www.childrenshomeandaid.org/page.aspx?pid=345>

Children's Home + Aid
Family Centered Services
5958 S. Marshfield Avenue
Chicago, IL 60636
773-918-8600

Children's Home + Aid
Early Childhood Services
Mitzi Friedheim Englewood Child + Family Center
1701 W. 63rd Street
Chicago, IL 60636
773-476-6998

Children's Home + Aid
Clinical & Community Services
100 N. Western Ave., 2nd Floor
Chicago, IL 60612
312-455-5200

Children's Home + Aid
403 South State Street
Bloomington, IL 61701
309-827-0374

Children's Home + Aid
910 2nd Avenue
Rockford, IL 61104
815-962-1043

Children's Home + Aid
2133 Johnson Road
Suite 104
Granite City, IL 62040
618-452-8900

Programs designed to help families that have been impacted by abuse or neglect, domestic violence, mental illness, substance abuse, high conflict divorce, or education performance issues.

Family counseling and crisis intervention to runaway and lockout youth between the ages of 11 to 17.

Family Focus

Family Focus, Inc.
310 S. Peoria Street
Suite 301
Chicago, IL 60607
312-421-5200
Fax: 312-421-8185
mail@family-focus.org
<http://www.family-focus.org/how-we-help/programs-services>
Other locations: Aurora, DuPage, Englewood, Evanston, Lawndale.

Educating parents about healthy behaviors for themselves and their children, tutoring, career planning, leadership training for youth.

Smart Love Family Services

Chicago Office: 800 W. Buena Avenue, 2nd Floor, Chicago, IL 60613

Seminars: 800 W. Buena Avenue, 1st Floor, Chicago, IL 60613

Oak Park

Office: [Rush Medical Office Building, 610 S. Maple, Oak Park, IL 60304](#)

Phone: 708.660.4300
Fax: 708.660.4301

Oak Brook

Office:

[Oakbrook Professional Building, 120
Oakbrook Center, Oak Brook, IL 60523](#)

<http://www.smartlovefamily.org/counseling.php>

Child and Adolescent Therapy, parent counseling, individual adult therapy.

RESOURCES FOR MUSLIM FAMILIES

ICNA (Islamic Circle of North America) Chicago Family Services ICNA Family Services

1702 Bloomingdale Rd
Glendale Heights, IL 60139
Phone: (866) 552-ICNA(4262)
Email: info@icnafs.org
<http://icnafs.org/>

Parenting programs, premarital training, youth development programs, family conflict resolution, out-of-court settlement, life coaching and counseling, social and leadership skills training, women empowerment and career development programs, community outreach and interfaith projects, and character-building education.

Hamdard Center

Main Suburban Office
228 East Lake St.
Addison, IL 60101

Ph: (630) 835-1432
Fax: (630) 835-1433

Main Chicago Office:

1542 West Devon Avenue
Chicago, IL 60660
Phone: (773) 465-4600

Counseling services to South Asian, Middle Eastern, and the Bosnian communities.

Inner City Muslim Action Network (IMAN)

2744 West 63rd St.
Chicago, IL 60629
Phone: (773) 434-IMAN (4626)
Fax: (773) 303-8858

Community advocacy and some direct services to the Chicago Muslim community. Behavioral health counseling services including brief family therapy, parent education and training, adolescent therapy and counseling.

Chicago Muslim Parents blog

<http://chicagomuslimparent.blogspot.com/>

A blog offering parenting tips, ideas, resources, reviews and more from a Muslim perspective.

TURKISH COMMUNITY CENTERS IN CHICAGO AREA

Turkish American Cultural Alliance (TACA)

3845 N. Harlem Ave. Chicago, IL 60634
Phone: (773) 530-1388
Fax: (509) 695-1487

Community organizing in Turkish community.

Turkish American Society of Chicago
(TASC)

501 Midway Dr. Mt. Prospect, IL, 60056.

Phone: (847) 640 7272

Fax: (847) 640 7250

Community organizing in Turkish
community.

Leave box empty - For office use only

APPENDIX U: YOUTH AND FAMILY RESOURCES IN INDIANAPOLIS AREA

The Indiana Youth Institute

603 E. Washington Street, Suite 800.
Indianapolis, Indiana, 46204-2692.
Phone: (317) 396-2700.
Toll Free: (800) 343-7060.
Fax: (317) 396-2701.
Email: iyi@iyi.org
<http://www.iyi.org/>

Releases monthly newspaper columns on youth topics. Website includes statistics on youth in your county or school district, the list of youth mentoring programs for youth between ages 11-18, short reports on the website on physical health and safety and academic achievement of youth, reading resources for youth at various grade levels.

National Youth Advocate Program (NYAP)

429 N Pennsylvania St, Indianapolis, IN, 46204.
Phone: (312) 475-9294
Toll free: 471-4795
<http://www.nyap.org/indiana/4576181149>

Provides behavioral and mental health services including assessment services, individual therapy, group therapy, crisis

intervention and support, and psychological testing (for youth and adults). Weekly parenting classes.

Youth Mentorship Program United Way of Madison County, Inc.

1201 E. 5th Street, Suite 1019
P.O. Box 1200
Anderson, IN 46015-1200
Phone: (765) 643-7493
www.unitedwaymadisonco.org
Contact: Kate Buenger

Youth mentorship program for youth in grades 7-9 in Anderson, Indiana. Matches will meet once a week for one hour on school grounds. Goals are to increase academic success both in the short and long term.

Murphy Mentoring Group, Inc.

609 E 29th Street Room 102 Indianapolis IN 46205
Phone: (317) 292-5123.
Indianapolis, IN 46235
www.murphymentoring.net

Age group: 8-18

Educational services and mentorship to youth and families in a variety of settings including schools, churches, community centers. Services include one-to-one mentorship, group mentoring for youth, families, and couples, specialized behavioral health services, character building workshops.

Youth Philanthropy Initiative of Indiana

32 E. Washington Street, Suite 1100
Indianapolis, IN 46204
Phone: (317) 630-5200
<http://www.ypin.org/>
Program Consultant: Jerry Finn
812.945.4332
jfinn@ypin.org

Offers programs to help youth get involved in philanthropy in their local communities. Website includes a list of organizations that provide volunteer opportunities for youth:
<http://www.ypin.org/Resources/HelpfulLinks.aspx>

Reach for Youth, Inc.

Center Township Office
3505 N. Washington Blvd.
Indianapolis, IN 46205
Phone: (317) 920-5900
Fax: (317) 920-5911
<http://www.reachforyouth.org/>

Behavioral health services for youth and family (Individual Therapy, Family Therapy, Consultant Therapy, Insight: Alcohol, Tobacco and Other Drug Treatment, Outpatient Psychiatry, Therapy for Victims of Abuse, Behavioral Treatment for Youth in the Juvenile Justice System) and education support services).

MCCOY **Marion County Commission on Youth**

3901 N. Meridian St. Suite 201 Indianapolis, IN 46208.

Phone: (317) 921-1266
Fax: (317) 921-1298
<http://www.mccoyouth.org/>

Connects youth to positive activities. Website has a directory on volunteer opportunities, educational enrichment, summer camps, fun family activities, and a searchable online database of youth activities and opportunities in Central Indiana.

Choices: Families **Reaching for Rainbows**

4701 N. Keystone, Ste. 150
Indianapolis, IN 46205
Phone: (317) 408-1274
DMcNair@ChoicesTeam.org
www.choicesteam.org/rainbows.html

Supports caregivers including biological, foster parents, grandparents & anyone else who cares for a child with mental, emotional or behavioral health needs. Offers a variety of programs to serve youth & families: parent support groups, common sense parenting, wellness recovery action plan for youth, community & childcare supervision, respite services & tutoring, parenting mentoring.

Catholic Charities

1400 N. Meridian St.
Indianapolis, IN 45202
Phone: (317) 236-1500
www.catholiccharitiesindpls.org

Counseling for adolescents (10-18 yrs) & adults, family & marital counseling.

Community Addiction **Services of Indiana (CASI)**

1125 Brookside Ave., Ste 1
Indianapolis, IN 46202
Phone: (317) 536-7100
www.communityaddictionservices.org

Adult & adolescent anger management support groups; compulsive gambling assessments & treatment; outpatient addiction counseling
Sliding scale based on income.

**Community Health
Network Behavioral Health
Services**

7165 Clearvista Pkwy.
Indianapolis, IN 46256
317.621-7619
TMattioda@ecomunity.com

Care is provided to adolescents experiencing acute psychiatric and behavioral problems that require crisis stabilization. There is a unit for adolescents.

**Gallahue Outpatient
Youth Services**

6950 Hillsdale Ct. & 2040 N. Shadeland Ave., Ste 200
Indianapolis, IN
317.621-7647; intake 317.621-5719

Clients are seen in individual, group or family therapy for issues including depression, anxiety, stress & anger management, substance abuse, attention deficit hyperactive disorder or medical evolution & management.
5 yrs. + up / Year round

Gallahue Mental Health Services

6950 Hillsdale Ct.
Indianapolis, IN
46250

317.621-7740
www.ecommunity.com/behavioralcare

Short-term residential crisis programs; on-site school services; intensive outpatient age-based programs
Sliding scale based on income

Connections, Inc.

711 S. East St.
Indianapolis, IN 46225
317.423-1000
info@connections-inc.net
www.connections-inc.net

A provider of behavioral health care services, youth mentoring services, school based treatment services, parenting support services.

**Cummins Mental
Health Center**

2345 S. Lynhurst Dr., Ste 205
Indianapolis, IN 46241
317.247-8900
email via website
www.cumminsbhs.org

Behavioral services for youth (assessment and evaluation, community based services, psychiatric services, individual, group, and family therapy sessions, case management and skills training. Private insurance or sliding scale based on income

**Families Reaching for
Rainbows Support Group**

4701 N. Keystone, Ste. 150
Indianapolis, IN 46205
317.726-2130
DMcNair@choicesTeam.org
www.choicesteam.org

Monthly gathering run by families; support, education, assistance & advocacy for family well-being; topics & speakers chosen by families
No cost

Family Service Association

615 N. Alabama St., Ste 320
Indianapolis, IN 46204
317.634-6341
info@familiesfirstindiana.org
www.family-service-inc.org

Parent education classes; outpatient drug & alcohol treatment; family counseling; financial counseling; challenged adult program
Sliding scale based on income

Indianapolis Institute for Families

618 N. High School Rd
Indianapolis, IN
46214
317.381-0355
http://www.indplsinsitute.com

Individual family therapy for victims of child abuse and neglect. Services for special needs, foster and adoptive children. Support on parental and other issues provided.
Serves from age 3 to adults.

Meridian Youth Psychiatric Center Outpatient Therapy for Children & Teens

210 E 91st St., Ste. C
Indianapolis, IN 46240
317.844-0055
mimi.brittingham@sbcglobal.net
www.meridianyouth.com

We provide diagnostic evaluations

psychiatric assessments, medication evaluation & management, psychological assessments, ADHD testing, & therapy. Career testing & counseling is available. Therapy for parents is available/Year round.

Midtown Mental Health Services-Crisis Center

10001 W. 10th S.
Indianapolis, IN 46208
317.630-8485
www.wishard.edu

Anger management groups, home based counseling, family preservation and reunification, social skills group, school-based outreach, sexual abuse counseling.

Promising Futures Youth Service Bureau

294 S 9th St.
Noblesville, IN 46060
317.773-6342

The Teen Anger Management Group.
The group is open & ongoing, interested youth may begin at any point.
13-17 yrs./Year round

Salvation Army Harbor Lights Center

2400 N. Tibbs Ave.
Indianapolis, IN 46222
317.972-1450
david_tompson@usc.salvationarmy.org
www.usc.salvationarmy.org/ind

Individual & group therapy; family counseling & support groups; computer training classes; educational programs; GED classes
Sliding scale based on income

St. Vincent Stress Center
Youth Outpatient
Mental Health

8401 Harcourt Rd.
Indianapolis, IN 46260
800.872-2210
jlbrodow@stvincent.org

A variety of therapy programs for mental health & chemical dependency issues.
6-25 yrs; Year round

Fairbanks Hospital

8102 Clearvista Pkwy.
Indianapolis, IN 46256
317.572-9382
www.fairbanksd.org

Adolescent residential living program provides adolescents struggling with alcohol, drug abuse, and addiction. Programs for life skills development (dealing with emotions, communication skills, employment, volunteering and developing a life-long recovery support network).

LEARN to LIVE!
Life Enhancement Consulting

P.O. Box 26558
Indianapolis, IN 46226
317.238-0307
learnllive@yahoo.com info@learnllive.com
www.learnllive.webs.com

On-site life skills sessions and workshops, events and info resources that enhance personal growth, better relationships, the means to make a positive impact within the community.
Grouped by ages: 13-17; 18-23; 24+

Foundation
for the Future

40 W. 40th St, MKL Center
Indianapolis, IN 46208
317.923-4581
www.mlk-msc.org

Job placement assistance, Microsoft Office certification testing, GED prep, basic computer skills.
No cost, but 7 week commitment required.

Goodwill Industries
of Central Indiana

1635 W. Michigan St.
Indianapolis, IN 46222
317.524-4313
goodwill@goodwillindy.org
www.goodwillindy.org

Adult basic ed, GED prep, English as second language class, employment assistance, career exploration, job placement, self-esteem building and goal setting, job skills and computer training.
No Cost

Indy Reads

2450 N. Meridian St.
Indianapolis, IN 46208
317.275-4040
www.indyreads.org

Provides free literacy tutoring to adults (18 & older) who read at or below a 6th gr. level. Tutor pairs meet twice a week for about an hour & half each time at a branch of the library or other public space. Prospective students must call to enroll
18 yrs.+ up
No cost, Year round

IndyPence
Job Corps Center

222 E. Ohio St., Ste 300
Indianapolis, IN 46204
317.524-6788
penick.cortney@jobcorps.org
www.indypence.jobcorps.gov

Job training, high school diploma
classes, GED prep, bi-weekly pay for
time spent in class, 8-16 month program.
No Cost

IPS Manual

2405 Madison Ave., Rm. 112
Indianapolis, IN 46225
317.226-2231

Evening classes offered on reg.basis at
beginning, intermed. & advanced levels.
Students are tested in their first class;
GED prep
No cost

Promising Futures
Youth Service Bureau

294 S. 9th St.
Noblesville, IN 46060
317.773.6342
www.promisingfutures.org

(formerly Hamilton Centers Youth
Service Bureau) Program for Pregnant
Teens: residential & community-based;
parent classes; anger management
classes.

Midwest Center & South Shore Academy
Direct Line – (219) 766-2999
Midwest Center Main Fax Line – (219) 766-
2704
HR Fax Line- (219) 766-3190

Residential services (Dialectical Behavior
Therapy) for youth with mental healyh,
emotional/behavioral problems and DBT
classes for parents who raise children with
emotion regulation issues.

Eskenazi Health Youth Services

3171 N. Meridian St.
Indianapolis, IN.
317.880.8491
<http://www.eskenazihealth.edu/>

Home-based counseling, mental health
screenings, office-based counseling (anger
management, social skills, trauma, School-
based services, Adolescent addictions
counseling (individual, family, group,
CAPRTF (Community Alternatives to
Psychiatric Residential Treatment
Facilities), Mental health services at our
Juvenile Detention Center.

Muslim Alliance of Indiana

Indiana Interchurch Center
1100 W. 42nd St., Ste. 125
Indianapolis, IN 46208
765.577.1153
<http://www.indianamuslims.org/>
info@indianamuslims.org

Internship/job bank, leadership series, and
volunteer opportunities for youth.

**TURKISH COMMUNITY CENTERS IN
INDIANA**

ATA-IN
American Turkish Association of Indiana
<http://www.ata-in.org/>
ATA INDIANA
P.O. BOX 441431
Indianapolis, IN 46244
ata-indiana@ata-in.org

TASINDIANA

Turkish Cultural Center of Indiana

<http://www.tasindiana.org/>

12960 Old Meridian St, Carmel 46032,
Indiana.

(317) 979-83 53

info@tasindiana.org

APPENDIX V: TURKISH CONSULATE GENERAL LETTER OF COMMITMENT

TURKISH CONSULATE GENERAL LETTER OF COMMITMENT



*Consulate General of the Republic of Turkey
455 N. Cityfront Plaza Drive
Suite 2900
Chicago, IL 60611*

November 27, 2013

To Whom It May Concern,

This is hereby to inform you that upon the request of the Turkish citizen, Azize Aslihan NISANCI, the Turkish Consulate General in Chicago will provide assistance for facilitating the announcement of her ongoing study at the University of Illinois, on "Turkish Immigrant Families in the United States: Parenting, Parent-Adolescent Relationships and Adolescent Well-being," within the Turkish community in Chicago, through its available channels of network.

If any further information is needed, please do not hesitate to contact me at 312 263 0644 ext.29 or through elif.okutucu@mfa.gov.tr

Kind Regards,

ELİF OKUTUCU
Muavin Konsolos
Vice Consul



VITA

NAME: Azize Aslihan Nisanci

EDUCATION

Ph.D student, Jane Addams College of Social Work, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2011-present.

MSW, Jane Addams College of Social Work, University of Illinois at Chicago, 2011.

MA, Department of Sociology, Bogazici University, 2007.

M.A Thesis: *Transformation of a Sufi Tradition in Contemporary Istanbul: The Case of Cemalnur Sargut's Group*, Bogazici University Sociology Department, 2007.

BA, Department of Political Science, Department of Sociology (Double Major), Bogazici University, 2004.

AREAS OF INTEREST

Immigrant and refugee youth and families, disability studies, social work with Muslims, human rights, social welfare history and policies, international social work.

POSITIONS

Social Work Intern, University of Illinois at Chicago Institute on Human Development and Disability Family Clinics, 2010 – 2011.

Individual and group therapy with adult clients with developmental disabilities.

Social Work Intern, Little Brothers Friends of the Elderly, January – May 2010.

Home visits to elderly clients, Individual and mezzo level interventions to address their needs.

Social Work Intern, City of Evanston, Department of Health and Human Services Commission on Aging Intern, September – December 2009.

Worked as an ombudsman in nursing homes for the elderly. Duties included: regular visits to nursing homes and taking action on behalf of the elderly.

Social Worker, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Health and Social Services, Directorate for People with Disabilities Employment Department, Istanbul, Turkey, 2007 - 2008.

Career counseling for clients with disabilities through seminars, individual counseling and group work. Duties included: implementing consciousness raising programs for employers, grant writing to European Union and to state agencies, collaboration with non-profit agencies.

Researcher, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Department of Health and Social Services, Directorate for People with Disabilities Research Department, Istanbul, Turkey, 2006 - 2007.

Responsible for research in the area of social work with individuals with disabilities, collaborating with other agencies in Turkey and abroad, writing projects.

Researcher, Foundation for Humanitarian Relief Organization (*IHH İnsani Yardım Vakfı*), 2002 – 2005

Editor of monthly human rights bulletin *Dusunce Gundem*. Duties included: making research on human rights violations in the world, writing books, reports and articles.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

Research Assistant, University of Illinois at Chicago Jane Addams College of Social Work, 2011-2013.

2011-2012: Supervised by Jennifer Wheeler-Brooks.

2012-2013: Supervised by Gina Gaston.

Masters project, Bogazici University Sociology Department, 2006 – 2007.

Conducted a 9-month qualitative research which included participant observation and open-ended interviews.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Social Work with Immigrants and Refugees, Fall 2016

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Human Behavior and the Social Environment, Fall 2016

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Social Work Practice with Individuals and Families, Fall 2016

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Research Methods in Social Work, Spring 2016

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Social Work History, Spring 2016

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Social Work History, Spring 2015

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Social Work Practice with Individuals and Families, Fall 2015

Instructor, Istanbul 29 Mayıs University, Human Behavior and the Social Environment, Fall 2015

Instructor, UIC Jane Addams College of Social Work, Human Behavior and the Social Environment, Fall 2014

Instructor, UIC Jane Addams College of Social Work, Human Behavior and the Social Environment, Fall 2013

Guest lecture on “Social Work with Muslims”, SocW 519 Practice III (Community Health and Urban Development Concentration), Fall 2012.

SCHOLARSHIPS

International Student Scholarship, Philanthropic Education Organization for Women, 2010-2011.

Turkish Petroleum Foundation (*Türk Petrol Vakfı*) Scholarship, 2010-2011.

Bogazici Managers Foundation Scholarship (*Bogazici Yöneticiler Vakfı*), 2002-2003.

PUBLICATIONS

Peer-reviewed Journal Articles

Nisanci, A. (2016) Continuity or Shift?: A Multiple Streams Framework Analysis of the Family Policy in Turkey, *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*.

Nisanci, A, Gaston, G. (2016). Perceptions of Black Americans’ Mental Health. *Social Work in Mental Health*.

Gaston, G. B., Guitierrez, S. M., Nisanci, A. (2014). Interventions that Retain African Americans in HIV/AIDS Treatment: Implications for Social Work Practice and Research. *Social*

Work.

Other Articles

"Sufism Practices under Transformation: An Evaluation on a Group of Sufi Women in Turkey", (*Turkiye'de Donusen Tasavvuf Pratikleri: Bir Grup Kadin Sufi Uzerine Bir Degerlendirme*), In Nazife Sisman (Ed.), *Women: Letter by Letter (Harf Harf Kadinlar)*, Istanbul: Klasik Publishings, 2008.

Book review: Mercy: Last Call for Return to the Heart (*Merhamet: Kalbe Donus icin Son Cagri*) by Kemal Sayar, Journal of Center for Values Education (*Degerler Egitim Merkezi Dergisi*), 2008.

Monthly articles on global human rights violations, *Dusunce Gundem*, 2004-2006.

"A Generation Grown up with War" In *Cecenistan: Yasak Ulke Kayip Vicdan (Chechnya: Forbidden Country, Lost Conscience)*, Foundation for Humanitarian Relief Publications, 2005.

"A Forgotten, Hopeless War", Interview with Anne Nivat, In *Cecenistan: Yasak Ulke Kayip Vicdan (Chechnya: Forbidden Country, Lost Conscience)*, Foundation for Humanitarian Relief Publications, 2005.

Books

Azerbaijan: Young Country of Ancient Geography (Azerbaycan: Kadim Cografiyanin Genc Ulkesi), Ilke Publications, 2005.

Booklet: *Interaction with Individuals with Disabilities (Ozurlu Bireylerle Iletisim)*, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Directorate for Disabled People, 2006.

Translated Books

Louis Boyd Cadwell (2011), Reggio Emilia Yaklasimiyla Harika Cocuk Yetistirmek, Kaknus Publishing. (Original book: Louis Boyd Cadwell (1997), *Bringing Reggio Emilia Home: An Innovative Approach to Early Childhood Education*, Teachers College Press).

Donna M. Ashcraft (2009), *Kişilik Vaka İncelemeleri*, Kaknüs Publishing. (Original book: Donna M. Ashcraft (2002), *Personality Theories Workbook*, Wadsworth Publishing).

PRESENTATIONS

Council of Social Work Education (CSWE) Annual Conference (November 2, Texas, Dallas).
Presentation Title: The Relevance of the Sufi Paradigm for Social Work Practice: accepted.

Sufism Practices under Transformation: An Evaluation on a Group of Sufi Women in Turkey, Islam and Gender Symposium, Science and Art Foundation, Istanbul, Turkey, 2007.

Sufism in a New Age Form: Representation of *Mercan Dede* in Turkish Popular Media, Questioning Culture, Religion and Identities across Turkey and Netherlands workshop, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands, 2005.

Sufism in Britain, "Islam in the West" summer workshop, Erfurt, Germany, 2003.

PROFESSIONAL SERVICE

Participation in Disability Congress (*Ozurluler Surasi*) on behalf of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, organized by the Prime Ministry Administration for Disabled People in Turkey, Istanbul, Turkey, 2007.

Site visit to *International Bund* (IB), a social service organization in Hessen, Germany, on behalf of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Fall 2006.

Participation in "International NGOs of the Islamic World Conference" on behalf of Foundation for Humanitarian Relief, organized by The Foundation of Volunteer Organizations of Turkey, Istanbul, April 30 – May 1, 2005.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

Participation in *Earthquake and Social Solidarity Seminar* at Bogazici University after the Marmara earthquake and volunteer work towards earthquake survivors in temporary housing, Turkey, August-September 1999.

TRAININGS

Family focused trauma therapy training, Couple and Family Therapies Association (ÇATED), Istanbul, October 24-25, 2015.

Project Cycle Management Training for EU projects, Deleeuwe International and Middle East Technical University, Istanbul, August 14-19, 2007.

NGOs and Project Writing Training, Center for Education Counseling and Research (*EDAM*), Istanbul, Turkey, December 2004.

Leadership and management, team work, entrepreneurship and creativity, personal development and emotional intelligence seminar, Bogazici University, March 26 - April 3, 2001