EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURAL LIFE SCRIPT IN TÜRKİYE: ADOLESCENTS FROM URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

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ABSTRACT

EXAMINATION OF THE CULTURAL LIFE SCRIPT IN TÜRKİYE: ADOLESCENTS FROM URBAN AND RURAL AREAS

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The present study aimed to investigate the cultural life script characteristics of adolescents in Türkiye who reside in urban and rural areas based on adolescents' demographic characteristics (school level, gender, settlement type) and maternal socioeconomic characteristics (education level, working status, and past settlement type). To investigate the life script properties of Turkish adolescents further, the written scripts are examined based on social/relational and individual/achievement themes. This study is conducted under the scope of a larger national project, supported by TÜBİTAK, with 445 students from 55 cities around Türkiye. The cultural life scripts are collected via The Cultural Life Script Questionnaire developed by Berntsen and Rubin (2004). The data was analyzed using descriptive analyses and three-way MANOVAs depending on the hypotheses. Results showed that there is a temporal bump in adolescents' cultural life scripts, and they heavily consist of positive events. For the script theme analyses, there was an age difference found for both social/relational and individual/achievement themes. No difference was found for gender or settlement type. For maternal socioeconomic characteristics, an interaction

effect was found for individual/achievement themes. Overall, the findings support the cultural life script in Turkish adolescents and expand on existing literature by examining script themes within age, gender, settlement type, and maternal socioeconomic characteristics. The findings were discussed within the autobiographical memory and cultural life script literature, including the contributions, strengths, limitations, and future suggestions.

Keywords: cultural life script, adolescents, urban-rural, maternal demographics

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE'DE ERGENLERİN KÜLTÜREL YAŞAM SENARYOSUNUN KENT VE KIRSAL BÖLGE BAĞLAMINDA İNCELENMESİ

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Bu çalışmada, Türkiye'de kentsel ve kırsal bölgede yaşayan ergenlerin kültürel yaşam senaryosu özelliklerinin, ergenlerin demografik özellikleri (okul düzeyi, cinsiyet, yerleşim yeri) ve annelerinin sosyoekonomik özellikleri (eğitim düzeyi, çalışma durumu ve geçmişteki yerleşim yeri) temel alınarak incelenmesi amaçlanmıştır. Ergenlerin yaşam senaryosu özelliklerini daha detaylı incelemek için, yazılan senaryolar sosyal/ilişkisel ve bireysel/başarı temaları temelinde incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye genelinde 55 ilden 445 öğrencinin katıldığı, TÜBİTAK tarafından desteklenen daha büyük bir ulusal proje kapsamında yürütülmüştür. Kültürel yaşam senaryoları Berntsen ve Rubin (2004) tarafından geliştirilen Kültürel Yaşam Senaryosu Anketi aracılığıyla toplanmıştır. Veriler, hipotezlerin gerektirdiği yöntem doğrultusunda betimsel analizler ve üç yönlü MANOVA kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir. Sonuçlar, ergenlerin kültürel yaşam senaryolarının gerçekleşmesi beklenen yaş dağılımında anı tümseğine benzer bir tümsek olduğunu ve bu senaryoların ağırlıklı olarak olumlu olaylardan oluştuğunu göstermiştir. Senaryoların tema analizlerine bakıldığında hem sosyal/ilişkisel hem de bireysel/başarı temalarında yaş farkı

bulunurken, cinsiyet ve yerleşim yeri türüne göre herhangi bir farklılık bulunamamıştır. Annenin sosyoekonomik özellikleri açısından bireysel/başarı temalarında annenin eğitimi, çalışma durumu ve geçmiş yerleşim yeri değişkenlerinin etkileşim etkisi bulunmuştur. Bu çalışmanın bulguları, Türk ergen örnekleminde kültürel yaşam senaryosunu destekleyerek var olan literatüre katkı sağlamıştır. Buna ek olarak, senaryoların tematik olarak kodlanıp yaş, cinsiyet, yerleşim yeri ve anne sosyoekonomik özellikleri bakımından incelenmesi çalışmanın özgün niteliğini ortaya koymaktadır. Çalışmanın bulguları otobiyografik bellek ve kültürel yaşam senaryosu literatürü çerçevesinde katkıları, güçlü yanları, kısıtlılıklar ve gelecek çalışmalara öneriler göz önünde bulundurularak tartışılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: kültürel yaşam senaryosu, ergenler, kent-kır, anne demografik özellikleri

to my family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ÇEGEL	Çocuk ve Ergen Gelişimi Laboratuvarı
METU	Middle East Technical University
SES	Socioeconomic Status
TAÇEP	Türkiye Aile, Çocuk ve Ergen Projesi
TÜBİTAK	The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye
TÜİK	Turkish Statistical Institute

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Overview

"Life can only be understood backward, but it must be lived forwards" (Kierkegaard, 2019/1843). This famous quote captures an essential part of human nature, as we make sense of ourselves and our lives with the help of past experiences. We gather these experiences and memories, integrate them into the autobiographical memory system, and recall them upon need. Autobiographical memory is a widely researched memory system that consists of one's personal past experiences, as well as narrative and emotional substances (Fivush, 2010; Fivush et al., 2011). It allows us to create and uphold a consistent representation of the self (Conway, 2005; Habermas & Bluck, 2000; McAdams, 1992), creates countless opportunities for us to socialize by reminiscing our past with others (Nelson & Fivush, 2004; Nelson, 1993; Pillemer, 1998), and gives us lessons to learn from and guide our future behaviors (Pillemer, 2003). Additionally, studying autobiographical memories yielded an interesting pattern where most recalled memories from the past are usually cumulated around the first two decades of life (Glück & Bluck, 2007; Rubin & Schulkind, 1997), which is named the reminiscence bump. In the light of these findings and functions, we understand life better, and by this understanding, we create various schemas shaped by repeated collective experiences and cultures. The cultural life script results from this creation and acts as a pre-existing template that orders important life events (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004; Dickson et al., 2011). The cultural life scripts are about cultural expectations and their specific timings (Munawar et al., 2018; Thomsen & Berntsen, 2008), so they differ from the life stories, which are the product of lived experience (Brewer, 1996; Habermas & Bluck, 2000). Despite their fundamental differences in definition, life stories and life scripts are studied together in various studies (Bohn, 2010; Rubin et al., 2009) because they are not isolated from each other as they mutually

affect one another (Collins et al., 2007; Romianuk & Romaniuk, 1982; Schroots & Assink, 2005). Also, examining them together helps the researchers to compare the scripts with the experienced lifespan, understanding their differences and similarities better.

The cultural life script is extensively investigated in different contexts regarding the culture, different age and gender groups. There are numerous studies that support the existence of cultural life scripts in various cultures with common features such as the events being positive transformative events occurring around young adulthood years (Koppel & Berntsen, 2015; Özdemir et al., 2021). In some studies, there were some culture-related differences as the culture-specific events made into the script (Bohn & Bundgaard-Nielsen, 2021; Coleman, 2014; Kawasaki & Uhera, 2020) However, in these studies, culture is taken as an overarching concept, ignoring the possible sub-cultural differences coming from diverse factors such as the urbanized or ruralized settlement type. Moreover, the majority of studies are conducted with Western culture, causing a low representation of other cultures and, hence, low generalizability of the findings related to cultural life script. Also, cultural life script studies usually approach the scripts as a list of events and group the events into categories that do not reflect any cultural value, such as simply putting events into "school, marriage, job," and so on. In order to understand the cultural nuances better, we need to apply more culture-reflecting thematic coding of events based on literature. The current study suggests a new categorizing approach based on Kağıtçıbaşı's autonomous-relational self-model (1996) and assigning the script events to the individual-achievement theme and social-relational theme according to their content themes. The details of the coding process will be explained in the further chapters.

Age is another important factor in cultural life scripts, as it has a crucial role in memory development (Bird & Reese, 2006; Gathercole, 1998). The previous research showed that with age, the ability to produce coherent memories increases (Habermas & Bluck, 2000; McAdams, 2001). This ability also helps produce life scripts because coherence means putting the events into order both chronologically and thematically (Friedman, 1992; Habermas & Reese, 2015). With age, children are able to write scripts similar to adult scripts, and when they reach adolescence, their scripts are more in line with the typical cultural life scripts (Bohn & Berntsen, 2008). Literature reveals that adolescents, despite their lack of experience, can nominate the typical life events in

their script; however, their timing and importance attribution differs from the adults (Umanath & Berntsen, 2020). Adolescence is also the hallmark of building a unique self and identity formation, so investigating how the cultural expectations of important events play out during these years is an important issue for the current study.

Investigating gender differences in cultural life scripts is one of the obvious routes in research to follow, but as much as it seems obvious, it is also complicated because of the similarity in their nature. Both gender and life scripts are culturally assembled social concepts, and they are so intrinsic to the fabric of society that it is difficult to detect the source of differences. Perhaps due to this situation, the gender difference regarding the cultural life script is contradicting in the literature. In some studies, there are gender differences where girls write specific themes more than boys or vice versa, while in others, no difference at all was found. Trying a more thematic method in event categorizing could give us a more nuanced display of gender differences, which is one of the purposes of this study.

In addition to these most studied factors, the cultural life script literature usually ignores the transmission of scripts, while, in fact, the transference of the scripts was the main aspect of this phenomenon. Based on the previous literature, we know that mothers are the prominent transmitters of cultural values, and via mother-child talk, they can share these values, direct their children's future behavior, and define the emotional texture of their perception of the surrounding world (Fivush et al., 2019). Again, the studies show that maternal socioeconomic characteristics play a role in shaping the nature of mother-child talks (Fivush et al., 2006), and we would like to explore the same dynamic in the life script context with this study.

The motive to replicate the previous findings, to fill in the gaps, and to explore new horizons in cultural life script sparked off the current study. In concordance with previous literature and its deficiencies, we aim to investigate the cultural life script characteristics of adolescents from Türkiye and examine the cultural, age, gender, maternal socioeconomic characteristics differences in scripts with a thematic coding approach (i.e. individual-achievement-theme, social-relational theme).

1.2. Autobiographical Memory: Characteristics and Functions

Every individual carries a collection of past events that construct a personal history to be recalled when needed. These events can be gathered under autobiographical

memory, a widely researched memory system from various perspectives. In other words, autobiographical memory is the recollection of one's self within the context of past events (Conway, 2005; Conway et al., 2005). This general definition provides the essence of autobiographical memory, yet its intrinsic and complex nature requires further exploration. The main characteristics of an autobiographical memory include being an episodic sequence that can be declared, explicit with a specific time frame and place such that the event can be relived upon recollection (Bluck & Habermas, 2001; Conway, 1996; Nelson & Fivush, 2004). They could involve anything related to our five senses while having various emotional and narrative substances (Rubin, 2005).

Previous research systematically showed that autobiographical memory is interwoven with the self-concept, as the self is both the component of these memories and shaped by them (Harley & Reese, 1999; Conway & Pleydell-Pierce, 2000; Conway & Rubin, 1993). Since the self is an inseparable part of autobiographical memories, this memory system facilitates self-continuity and self-coherence, eventually creating a unique individual history (Piefke & Fink, 2005). Besides, recalling memories has an exceptional composition of self and social components, as people share these memories with others to present themselves within a specific context (Harley & Reese, 1999; Nelson, 1993). As much as the self and social functions of autobiographical memories are accepted as the prominent elements (Bluck & Alea, 2002), autobiographical memory system also provides a crucial tool for future planning and behavior directing (Pillemer, 2003). Past experiences have a teaching value that gives way to adopting new problem-solving skills and a blueprint for the future (Kuwabara & Pillemer, 2010).

Another essential part of memory research is the examination of autobiographical memory patterns across the lifespan. It is constantly found and supported by research that when people are asked to recall memories from their past, they recall more from the period between ages 10 to 30 than other periods, which is called the reminiscence bump (Gluck & Bluck, 2007; Hyland & Ackerman, 1988; Rubin & Schulkind, 1997). Moreover, the content of these memories is found to be transitional events, as they seem more memorable than mundane everyday events (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002), and the reminiscence bump was present when cued by positive emotions (Rubin &

Berntsen, 2003; Haque & Hasking, 2010). Numerous approaches have been offered in the literature to explain the reminiscence bump. Some of these approaches focus on the timing of these memories and their relationship with the self and identity. The identity formation account proposed by Conway (2005) and the self-narrative account proposed by Fitzgerald (1988, 1996) suggest that our identity begins to be shaped during adolescence and young adult years, which also happens to be the period that identity-shaping, impactful, emotionally charged and highly vivid events mainly occur (Conway el al., 2004). Similar to these accounts, the cognitive account also suggests that the second and third decades of life are where the most novel experience happens, and since these new experiences are used as a reference to similar events, they are strongly encoded and frequently recalled (Pillemer, 2001).

All these accounts emphasize different aspects of autobiographical memory, yet they are unable to address the difference in temporal distribution upon cueing method (Janssen & Haque, 2015). The cultural life script, however, accentuates that when people are specifically asked to recall the most important life events or their life story, they apply a structure built with semantic information of lifetime events to their recollection process of personal memories (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002; Rubin & Berntsen, 2003).

1.3. Cultural Life Script

Cultural life script account employs culture as a driving force of recalling processes and utilizes life script. Life scripts are cognitive schemas shaped by culture and are about transitional autobiographical events and their anticipated temporal location in one's lifespan (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002; Berntsen & Rubin, 2004; Rubin et al., 2009). Berntsen and Rubin (2004) outline the concept of cultural life script by using the story script concept of Schank and Abelson (1977) and the cultural expectations of age norms concept of Neugarten, Moore and Lowe (1965). This combination offers a framework with a premise of cultural expectation regarding the age norms of life events, which eventually shapes the individuals' assumptions and actions.

Story scripts are defined as a formation of successive events or behaviors that create a representation of a specific scene, such as going to a restaurant (Schank & Abelson, 1977). While sharing a story, people apply this formation so that both parties (the

speaker and the listener) can follow and understand the story. According to Schank and Abelson, the speaker and listener have prior knowledge of story scripts, so they do not need to introduce all the details of an event, as they can fill in the blanks correctly with this knowledge and follow the narrative (1977). If we return to the well-trodden example of restaurant script, we would not need to describe every element of going to a restaurant and giving an order while sharing an event that happened to us at a restaurant because, typically, the other person will assume those parts. Of course, there could be exceptions where the event does not follow the generally agreed scripts, yet the general acceptance is that a consensus exists about the story scripts (Janssen & Haque, 2015). Starting from this point, the life script account presumes a mutual understanding of the types of important events that should be experienced during a lifetime. According to the life script approach, life scripts are used to retrieve autobiographical memories, as they organize the generic life events chronologically and indicate both the individuals' semantic knowledge and the cultural expectations (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004). It is further claimed that these cultural norms and expectations may influence and alter the content and timing of reminiscence bump events. Considering that the reminiscence bump is found even when people are asked to list the events a hypothetical person would experience in their lifetime (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004), it is natural to assume cultural expectations have a pivotal role in composing life scripts.

There are ten characteristics of the cultural life scripts defined, six of which come from Schank and Abelson's story script (1977) with an addition of four features from Berntsen and Rubin's work (2004; Rubin et al., 2009). First, life scripts are not episodic personal memories but are the semantic knowledge of expected life events. To exemplify, consider going to school. A life script of this event would be "the first day of school" or "starting to school" but not an episodic narrative such as "I went to the same school with my sister across the street." Secondly, the life scripts are a sequence of temporally organized life events. Continuing with the school example, we would expect that starting school would come before graduation, having a job and/or getting married. Third, life scripts are hierarchically ordered, nested events building up to a higher order transitional event. Similar to the previous example, we would expect starting school to lead to graduation, which leads to having a job as they are connected to successive events. Fourth and fifth, the life script events can be expressed with 'time

slots' (i.e. the culturally important and transitional life event) and their requirements (i.e. culturally important timing of the event). For example, getting married can be defined as an important event that needs to occur around the age of 25 to 30, indicating a time window for this life event. Sixth, the life scripts served as a tool to process life stories; again, they are a semantic representation of the episodic autobiographical memories. In other words, when a person is asked to recall an important event from their past, they would first think of the scripts to reconstruct their memories. Seventh, the life scripts do not depict the standard life, but they present an idealized life story, causing the scripts to exclude some typical and significant events. Eighth, by being a semantic knowledge of the events and representing an idealized life, the scripts are not derived from personal experiences; they are transferred through traditions of the culture lived in. Thus, young people who have yet to go through the major milestones of their lives already know about the scripts and requirements of their culture. The ninth and tenth characteristics of the life scripts are that the scripts predominantly consist of positive events expected around early adulthood.

The cultural life script creates a unique combination of autobiographical memory functions and cultural factors in exploring the nature of personal memories. As mentioned, these culturally shared expectations contextualize and create the individual experience (i.e., self-function), shared and learned through socializing (i.e., social function), and determine the general expectations on appropriate events and their timing (i.e., directive function). Thus, exploring the autobiographical memory characteristics via the cultural life script approach provides valuable insight and an exceptional study tool in memory research.

The methodology of the cultural life script can be altered in line with the researcher's purpose. There are mainly two directions to investigate the script structure: we either time travel to the past by cueing autobiographical memories with emotion words (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002; Rubin & Berntsen, 2003; Haque & Hasking, 2010) or take a step back and look at a hypothetical average lifetime filled with cultural expectations and their timings (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004; Erdoğan et al., 2008). To prompt personal memories with emotional words, participants are asked to recall the happiest, saddest, most traumatic, and most important events of their lives (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002). Another method to cue similar memories would be asking them to recollect when they

felt most afraid, jealous, proud, angry, or in love and evaluate this memory by its emotional valence (i.e., positive or negative) (Rubin & Berntsen, 2003). These approaches have shown a reminiscence bump cumulated between 10 and 30 years old, and there is no clear bump for the negatively charged events (Haque & Hasking, 2010). On the other hand, the second method to cue life script is asking the participants to think of an imaginary infant who shares the same gender and culture as them. Then, they would be asked to write the seven most important events that will occur within the lifetime of this infant and evaluate these events by their importance, valence, age, and prevalence (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004). Again, for the same purpose, Erdoğan and colleagues (2008) suggested a slightly different approach, where the participants were either thinking of the future lifetime of a newborn or the past lifetime of an elderly person. These studies have also found that the participants generate more positive events than negative events and a similar temporal location of reminiscence bump. In addition, when the participants imagine a newborn baby, they nominate more events from the first two decades than the group thinks of an old person.

In summary, the cultural life script is an important part of autobiographical memory research. It needs to be researched in different contexts to understand its underlying mechanisms and better grasp autobiographical memory.

1.3.1. Cultural Life Script in Different Contexts

1.3.1.1. Cultural Life Script and Culture

Reminiscence bump is investigated through cultural life scripts in various samples from distinct cultures such as American (Rubin et al., 2009), Danish (Rubin et al., 2009; Bohn, 2010), Dutch (Janssen & Rubin, 2011), and Turkish (Erdoğan et al., 2008). These studies supported the idea that cultural life scripts share some characteristics, such as a high prevalence of positive and transitional events, agreement upon the timing of events, and disagreement on the timing of negative events.

Cross-culturally, the most nominated events are major positive events, like marriage and having children. Since these cultures are more homogenous and reflect Western culture, to increase the generalizability of cultural life script, it is crucial to involve minority cultures and Eastern cultures in cultural life script research. In a study by Coleman (2014), the life script characteristics of African Americans were investigated,

and although there is the inclusion of adverse events or specific events related to being an African American, overall reminiscence bump features were compatible with previous literature. However, one of the most nominated events in literature, marriage, has a lower prevalence in the African American sample as statistically, there is a higher number of never-married women in this population (Coleman, 2014). Again, in another study conducted with Japanese adolescents, the listed events involved culture-reflecting events such as joining Japanese societal activities and falling out with family or friends (Kawasaki & Uhera, 2020). To investigate a truly non-WEIRD (Western Educated Industrialized Rich Democratic) sample, Bohn and Bundgaard-Nielsen (2021) studied a small group of Indigenous people from Australia (called *Nunggubuyu*). They found that, similar to other cultures, Nunggubuyu people attributed importance to positive events. Nonetheless, there are notable differences in the reminiscence bump as the peak of the bump was between the ages 6-15 years with the content of culture-specific skill learnings, and there was a second bump in later ages, emphasizing the importance of the grandparent-grandchildren relationship.

Although the thorough examination of cultural differences in life scripts, more deliberate factors, such as living in an urban or rural area, are ignored in the literature. Moreover, the conducted research on cultural differences in life scripts is sampled from well-educated participants who usually live in industrialized cities. Various social classes, subcultures, and urban-rural differences may have a substantial role in script characteristics (Bluck & Habermas, 2000; Taras et al., 2010).

To our knowledge, few studies incorporate urban-rural comparison in life scripts, yet they also investigate the subcultural factors rooted in being a migrant (Hatiboğlu & Habermas, 2016). Despite the lack of rural-urban comparisons in cultural life scripts, we can build a theoretical framework based on systematic differences between urban and rural areas incorporated with suggestions of Kağıtçıbaşı (2012). For instance, the rural lifestyle may be more conservative and emphasize stricter interpersonal relations that would influence individuals' daily lives and expectations about their future. In contrast, the urban lifestyle would outline more autonomy-focused social expectations with various lifestyles (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). Thus, it is crucial to investigate differences between rural vs. urban areas to understand the cultural differences in life scripts and their effects on autobiographical memory.

1.3.1.2. Cultural Life Script and Age

Various studies show that children can recall autobiographical events early, and their proficiency at narrating these events is enhanced from preschool to primary school (Fivush et al., 1995; Nelson & Fivush, 2004; Reese, 2002). However, turning these narrations into a coherent life story is another skill that is thought to be formed during childhood and peaked around adolescence (Habermas & Bluck, 2000; McAdams, 2001; Singer, 2004). We need to use autobiographical reasoning to produce a coherent life story from past experiences (Habermas & Bluck, 2000). Autobiographical reasoning consists of four types of coherence, which are also utilized in constructing life scripts: temporal coherence, thematic coherence, causal coherence, and cultural coherence (Bohn & Berntsen, 2008). Temporal coherence, as the name implies, refers to the chronological organization of events and is developed during preschool years (Friedman, 1992; McCormack & Hoerl, 1999). Thematic coherence is the ability to build general themes within narratives and draw similarities between different events (Habermas & Reese, 2015). Causal coherence is acquired during middle and late adolescence (Habermas & Paha, 2001), refers to a narrative armored with causes and motives (Habermas & Bluck, 2000), and is closely related to composing an identity in adolescence years (Erikson, 1968). And finally, maybe the most adjacent to cultural life script, cultural coherence indicates a culturally shared and expected chain of life events (Habermas & Bluck, 2000). Comparing these definitions with cultural life scripts' characteristics, one can safely suggest that autobiographical reasoning is necessary to dictate a cultural life script. Various studies from different disciplines also align with this suggestion since the culturally shared expectation of appropriate events is a repeated finding (Berntsen & Rubin, 2002, 2004; Habermas & Bluck, 2000; Neugarten et al., 1965). Specifically, Ramsgaard and Bohn (2021) found that life story coherence for both past and future events is significantly linked with the cultural life script. Considering this established juxtaposition of autobiographical reasoning and cultural life script acquisition, it is undeniable that investigating the cultural life script with different age groups is important.

Age is a crucial factor in cultural life scripts since the experience increases with age and affects the content of memories and expected events. Supporting this conclusion, Bohn and Berntsen (2008) found that children demonstrate more typical life scripts as

their age increases. This implies that cultural expectations are learned and increasingly stated through childhood to adolescence; hence, they acquire the cultural life script by the time they reach adolescence. The literature on cultural life scripts and age focused on different characteristics of the scripts. In a comparison of three age groups (i.e., adolescents, young adults, and older adults) in Turkish culture, it is found that despite the overlap in scripts between age groups, older adults list more typical and more positive events than the younger groups (Tekcan et al., 2012). Bohn (2010) compared the young and older adult groups' scripts and found that younger participants wrote more positive events than older participants, yet the older group's scripts were more realistic. In a Netherlands sample with young adults, middle-aged and older adults' life scripts also overlapped regarding the positivity and type of events (Janssen & Rubin, 2011). In another study, participants aged 38-76 were asked to nominate future events a person at their age would experience, and since these participants lived past the reminiscence bump ages, their lists still contained scripted events with positive aspects, and the timing of the events was agreed between the participants (Grysman & Dimakis, 2018). In more recent research, the comparison of recalled past events of older adults with an average of 80 years old and anticipated future events of younger adults with an average of 18 years old revealed that younger participants nominate more events from the second decade of a lifetime with more frequent negative events than the older participants (Carle et al., 2024). Interestingly, the research by Kawasaki and Uhera (2020) depicts a compelling pattern in Japanese adolescents' scripts. Despite the adolescents' list of culturally shared typical events, the importance of the events did not overlap with the prevalence. In another study, young adults aged 18 to 23 shows agreement with the older adults on the importance of the life scripts (Umanath & Berntsen, 2020). This shows that cultural life scripts are well known by all ages but carry different importance for each age group.

A different line of research focuses on the effect of cultural life script on young adults' life satisfaction; this is to say, positive thoughts and beliefs about the expected life events affect the younger individuals' well-being in their life trajectories (Shanahan & Busseri, 2016; Liao et al., 2021) as they have more positive outlook for future (Staudinger et al., 2003). Shanahan et al. (2016) found that believing that life gets better with age results in a more positive cultural life script, which positively impacts young adults' life satisfaction. Liao et al. (2021) also investigated the relationship

between cultural life script and life satisfaction, but instead of belief, they explored the sense of control over life events and found that an increased sense of control brings more positive outcomes in the life satisfaction of younger adults. To our knowledge, this notion was not assessed with adolescents; however, adolescent years are known as the identity-formation years (Erikson, 1968), which would be the root of the abovementioned positive belief and agency on life events. Taking together all these research findings and theoretical literature, exploring the cultural life script with adolescents would bring out numerous contributions and help us understand the different aspects of the relationship between culture, individual, and script.

1.3.1.3. Cultural Life Script and Gender

Another aspect to evaluate with the cultural life scripts is the gender differences. Gender, apart from biological expression, is a socially constructed concept where gender roles are framed within social expectations (Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Best & Puzio, 2019). Gender roles are taught at a young age through family values and socialization (Mischel, 1966; Cheung, 1997; Lippa, 2002), and it shapes the behavior of an individual (Bem, 1975; Hefner et al., 1975; Galambos, 2004). Deviation from the gender expectation of the culture is usually frowned upon by society and even penalized in various ways (Rudman & Glick, 2021). As a result, they are highly internalized and rarely altered. Being the norm and the expectation of culture is the not-so-invisible string that ties the gender and the cultural life script. They are both learned at an early age and expected to be performed at appropriate times. However, despite the cultural norms seeming like they are entrenched in society's tapestry, they can also change with social transformations happening in the long term (Varnum & Grossman, 2017). These changes happened regarding gender roles numerous times with the increased role of women in various areas with the help of the feminist movement (Twenge, 1997; Thornton & Young-DeMarco, 2001; Inglehart & Welzel, 2005; Varnum & Grossmann, 2016). Thus, we would expect the cultural life script to reflect these changes and beliefs.

The literature yields various findings regarding gender differences in cultural life scripts. According to Kawasaki and Uhera (2020), adolescent girls display more shared life scripts with their same-sex peers, while girls and boys nominated the same events (e.g., marriage and having children) at different prevalence. Japanese adults also

display gender differences, as adult Japanese women give lower priority to retirement and the death of a partner (Janssen et al., 2014). In a study conducted with Qatari men and women, the content of events shows differences by gender as the Qatari men state more Qatari-specific and religious events in their life scripts than Qatari women (Ottsen & Berntsen, 2014). The gender differences in life script research are ignored or studied with adolescents and adults. However, there is one study that examined the gender differences in children's scripts, and no significant difference was found (Bohn & Berntsen, 2008).

1.3.1.4. Transfer of the Cultural Life Script: Maternal Socioeconomic Characteristics

The cultural life scripts are the shared expectations and beliefs about normative events and their timings. These schemas are created by society and learned through culture. One of the most prominent cultural transmission paths is a vertical transmission that occurs between an older and younger generation, specifically the parent and the child (Cavalli-Sforza, 1988; Euler et al., 2001). As Wang (2013) suggested, child-parent conversations have a significant role in shaping the culturally approved self-identity of the child, as well as their autobiographical memory construction. Through these conversations, children learn and embark on culturally accepted scripts. In autobiographical memory research, maternal characteristics are thoroughly investigated to see how mothers' individual differences (Alkış et al., 2024) and socioeconomic status (Wu & Jobson, 2019) affect the child's memory characteristics. In general, the research usually focuses on the positive effect of high SES on the cognitive and language abilities of children (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1989; Küntay & Ahtam, 2004; Davis-Kean, 2005; Lareau, 2011). As a result, research on maternal characteristics and cultural life scripts is lacking because the scripts are usually explored in a cultural context, excluding family interactions focusing on individual socioeconomic characteristics. Furthermore, these conducted studies in autobiographical memory usually recruited participants from middle and high-socioeconomic backgrounds, reducing the generalizability of the findings. There are limited studies conducted with a lower socioeconomic background where negative and non-typical events in the script were higher than previous findings (Coleman, 2014).

As a mother's employment status, education level, and cultural background would define their parenting approach and interaction with their child (Fivush, 2011; Leyva

et al., 2009), one would also expect that the maternal socioeconomic characteristics would play a role in learning the culturally expected experiences and their time slots. It is important to understand the transmission of the cultural life scripts to the next generation within the context of the family. Since the family environment is one of the main spheres where identity is shaped, and cultural values are taught, it is logical to combine the two concepts together in the mother-child culture transmission, which is what this study aims to do.

1.4. The Current Study

Previous literature reveals that investigating the cultural life script is crucial in understanding the autobiographical memory system, its functions, and its effects on lifespan. The cultural life script is a compelling phenomenon that depicts the real-life reflections of autobiographical memory and reminiscence bump. Hence, examining its validity and characteristics in diverse circumstances is vital. However, past research on the cultural life script was conducted with well-educated people from industrialized areas. In addition, the cultural differences were considered by diluting the nuances into general cultural patterns, which creates an overgeneralizing frame that ignores the cultural variety. Since the data of this study were collected from a large population with various socioeconomic, educational, and cultural backgrounds, the findings will yield more nuanced and inclusive results.

Furthermore, as a part of autobiographical memory, cultural life scripts are learned in and through socialization. Mother-child conversations are a prominent way of teaching social and cultural values (Wang, 2013); thus, studying the adolescents' cultural life script within maternal characteristics would reveal valuable insight into its features. Considering the differences in cultural life scripts provided by adolescents and adults (Tekcan et al., 2012; Janssen & Rubin, 2011), this study will present a unique case of adolescent scripts that will allow us to examine the similarities and differences to previous findings.

Furthermore, the previous research focused on the scripts at their face value instead of grouping them into more general themes to display a pattern. The current study aims to examine the cultural life script with two themes based on its content theme: social-relational theme and individual achievement theme. We believe this approach will give

us a more nuanced depiction of life scripts representing the culture. Considering the literature review, the current study aims to compensate for the gap regarding rural-urban comparison, age differences, and gender-related factors in cultural life script. Within this frame, our hypotheses are as follows:

H1- Overall, we expect an age bump temporally located in the first and second decades of life, in line with the previous literature. The events would consist of transitional and positive events in both adolescents' life scripts.

H2- We expect grade-level differences in the content of the cultural life scripts. As the grade level increases, the individual/achievement theme would increase significantly.

H3- We expect gender differences in the content of the cultural life scripts. Girls would write more social/relational-themed scripts than boys.

H4- We expect urban and rural differences in the content of the cultural life scripts. As it was not specifically investigated before, the analysis will be in an explorative nature.

H5- We expect differences between the adolescents' scripts based on their mothers' socioeconomic status. Adolescents whose mothers have a higher education would write more individual/achievement-themed scripts than students with a mother who has a lower education. Adolescents whose mothers are employed would write more individual/achievement-themed scripts than students with mothers who are unemployed. Adolescents whose mothers lived in a city/metropolis would write more individual/achievement-themed scripts than those whose mothers lived in a village/town settlement.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1. Participants

This study was conducted within the scope of a second phase of a nationwide research project, The Effects of Parenting Attitudes and Parent-Child Interaction on Child and Adolescent Developmental Outcomes (TAÇEP - Project code: 118K033), funded by The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye (TÜBİTAK). The project aimed to investigate child and adolescent development concerning familial and environmental factors in Türkiye within a representative sample designated by the Turkish Statistical Institute (TÜİK). The project's second phase was planned to be conducted with 5988 mothers and 6211 children and adolescents (from grade 1 to grade 12) from 66 cities in Türkiye. However, due to large-scale earthquakes that occurred in Eastern Türkiye on February 6th, 2023, participants from 11 cities of the affected area (Adana, Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Kilis, Malatya, Osmaniye and Şanlıurfa) were excluded from the data collection. In addition, the students who graduated from primary and middle school were visited at their new schools. Considering our sample size, many schools needed to be visited; thus, a selection based on logistics and participants' willingness to join the second phase was applied to data collection. As a result, 648 schools were visited for data collection, and a total of 3955 mothers and 4315 children and adolescents participated in the project's second phase. The number of mother-child pairs is 3678 (i.e., both mother and child participate in the second phase), equating to 56% of the sample.

As a part of project planning, exclusion criteria were determined by the main researchers. To qualify for the study, the children must have lived with their biological

mother, know Turkish, and not have a learning difficulty-related diagnosis (e.g., dyslexia, autism, down syndrome). For mothers to qualify for the study, they must have known Turkish and had no physical or psychological health problems that would prevent them from filling out the survey. If a mother has more than one child suitable for participation, only one of them would be included in the study based on the alphabetic list of class lists.

The data for this study were collected from 3255 students in 5th to 12th grades ($M_{Age} = 12.38,\ SD = 3.09$) and 3955 mothers ($M_{Age} = 39.15,\ SD = 5.70$) from 55 cities in Türkiye. 53.8% of the students were girls ($N_{Girls} = 1742, N_{Male} = 1496$). Mother participants of students from all grade levels were asked to fill out The Cultural Life Script Events Questionnaire. Participants' education distribution is as follows: 22.7% were primary school graduates, 17.4% were junior high graduates, 30.5% were high school graduates, 21.6% own a university degree, and 2.2% own a post-graduate degree. While 2.1% of mother participants did not graduate from any level of school, they were literate, and 2% of mothers were illiterate. Only 31% of mothers were working at the time of the study. Mother participants were also asked about which type of settlement they lived in most of their lives. More than half of them lived in a city/metropolis (56.8%), and 41.6% lived in a village/town. Their current residential settlement at the time of their participation depicts a different distribution, as 71.3% of the participants reside in urban areas. Before the analysis, due to the coding process requiring high effort and time limitation, a representative 40% sub-sample was chosen from the whole sample. The main goal of the project was to recruit 10 students from each grade level of each school included in the study. During the second phase of the study, this goal was not maintained for every school; thus, we decided that choosing four students from each grade level of each school would be the most optimal number for a subsample. Following the data coding process, 445 students were eligible for the analysis. The details of the participants' choosing process were explained further in the results section.

2.2. Measures

2.2.1 Demographic Information Form

The mothers were asked to fill out a demographic information form with questions about their age, education level, and their employment status. The students were also

given a shorter demographic information form. They provided information about their age, grade, and their parent's education level (Appendix C).

2.2.2. The Cultural Life Script Events Questionnaire

The life script characteristics of mothers and their children were assessed through the Turkish version of the Cultural Life Script Events Questionnaire, initially developed by Berntsen and Rubin (2004). The Turkish adaptation was completed by Aytaç and Şahin-Acar (2019) within the scope of an unpublished master's thesis, which can be seen in Appendix B. Consisting of 29 items, this questionnaire can be filled out as a form or utilized in an interview. The participants were asked to think of an imaginary child of the same gender as them living in their own culture (i.e., Turkish culture). Then, they would write the seven most important life events that this child would hypothetically experience during their lifetime. Following, the participants would rate each event on prevalence (the percentage of people who would experience this event), importance (the level of significance on a 7-item Likert scale), age (anticipated age that the event will likely to be experienced), and emotional valence (emotional tone of an event as positive, negative, or neutral on a 7-item Likert scale).

2.2.3. Urban-Rural Area Definition

The urban-rural categorization of the participants was one of the crucial aspects of the project from which this study was derived. Thus, multiple sources were used to assign an urban-rural definition. These sources were the official numbers the Turkish Statistical Institute provided, the field reports of researchers who evaluated the area, and the online maps of the areas. Since the urban-rural qualities of a settlement can change even within the cities, this approach was preferred to ensure the official information matches practical, real-life situations.

2.3. Procedure

As the present study was conducted under the main project funded by TÜBİTAK, ethical and legal approvals were received to collect the data. Ethical approval was obtained from the Human Subjects Ethics Committee of Middle East Technical University (Appendix A). Legal permission was achieved from the Ministry of Education in Türkiye for data collection in schools. The research teams of Middle East

Technical University, Ege University, and Boğaziçi University collected the data between March and June 2023.

The schools that collaborated in the first phase were contacted in the first step. They were informed about the second phase of data collection. They were asked to provide additional information about the current education status of students (e.g., whether they are still at the same school). After, the mothers who participated in the first phase were contacted and informed about the study's second phase. Those who accepted to participate in the second phase were sent Qualtrics links to complete the surveys online. If a mother had no access to internet and/or a device to complete the study, or they were illiterate, the researchers invited them to their children's school so they could be aided appropriately. If a mother did not want to participate but allows their child to participate, they were sent an online link of a consent form to fill out (Appendix D). On the dates designated in accordance with the schools' schedule, researchers visited the schools during lecture hours. Students completed their surveys at their school via tablets. After completion, students and their mothers were given small thank-you gifts.

Following the data collection, extensive data cleaning and control processes were conducted between July and October 2023 on all of the project datasets to ensure the data quality and participant integrity. After finalizing the data review, the Life Script Events Questionnaire answers were specifically reviewed and categorized for the analysis.

2.3.1. Content Coding of the Events

In the first step, to get familiar with the data and understand the nature of the answers, all of them were reviewed and divided into binary categories based on their script qualities (i.e., align with script literature or do not align). To categorize an event, it needed to be nominated by more than four percent of the participants, represent a semantic knowledge of an event, and be temporally ordered and located (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004). The answers that fell outside these criteria were coded as 0 and excluded from the analyses. For a participant to qualify for inclusion, they need to write at least four events that are within the criteria; otherwise, they are excluded from the analysis as well. Then, each event the participants wrote was divided into three theme categories: sub-theme, mid-theme, and main theme. These themes reflect a

hierarchical categorization of events from detailed to general. The purpose of this coding was to organize the scripts so that we could see the repeating patterns more easily and use them in analysis if needed. The sub-theme is the one with the most detail, almost like an English translation of the answers. Mid-theme is less detailed and acts as a standardization tool for the sub-themes of the answers. For example, the participants may give a variety of answers, such as "starting school," "going to school," or "school," so these answers would gather under the mid-theme of "going to school" as they imply the same event. The main theme represents the collection of mid-themes and serves as an umbrella for similar mid-themes. For example, "going to school," "starting university," and "graduation" were all education-related themes, so they were assigned to the main theme named "academic." Additionally, each event's follow-up questions were reviewed to ensure the answers were in the expected format (i.e., numeric or string). Also, the non-event answers' follow-up questions were coded as missing to exclude them from the analysis.

In the final stage of content coding, each event was coded as "individual-achievement" or "social-relational" based on its theme. For example, events with a more interpersonal focus, such as "getting married," "having a child," and "making the first friend," which can be gathered under "romantic relationships", "family", and "social relationships" main themes were coded as social-relational. The events with individual and goal-oriented themes, such as "graduating from the university," "having a job," and "buying a house/car," were coded as individual-achievement. Continuing with the example above, an academic-themed event would be coded as an "individual-achievement theme" in this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

The analyses of the current study were conducted with the IBM Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 28.0.0). The data screening analyses were followed by the descriptive analysis of the sample characteristics, correlations of study variables, and finally, the main analyses.

3.1. Data Screening

Following the data cleaning process of the complete data of the project, a sub-sample was chosen consisting of 40% (N= 2657) of the full sample. The selection was made by choosing the first four students from each grade level of each school. Since the project data also included the primary school students and the Cultural Life Script Events Questionnaire was filled by junior high and high school students, our final sample for content coding was reduced to 1630 students. 63 students did not complete the life script questions and were excluded from the analysis. After the elimination of non-script answers, only 28.40% (N= 445) of the students' answers were eligible as a life script event. Of these 445 students, 185 were matched with their mothers on giving a life script event. In conclusion, 445 participants were examined regarding the content and the characteristics of their cultural life script events. Since the data collection was administered online via Qualtrics survey and the settings of questions required an answer to continue the survey, the participants could not skip a question; thus, there were no missing values in the data. Furthermore, the elimination of non-script answers and the thematic coding of the remaining responses allow us to obtain only validly filled-out answers for the investigation. The dataset was checked for univariate and multivariate outliers for the total scores of social-relational themes and individual-achievement themes. The results of univariate outliers revealed that there were no outliers for the individual-achievement and social-relational theme total scores, as the scores were in the expected range. Additionally, the results of multivariate outliers by Mahalanobis Distance indicated no outlier in the data as all the cases were above the

p <.001 value. For the next step, the normality and linearity assumptions were examined with the Shapiro-Wilk test, skewness, and kurtosis values with the addition of histogram plots, normal Q-Q plots, and box plots. The Shapiro-Wilk test values showed that social-relational theme scores and individual-achievement theme scores were not normally distributed (p < .001). For the social-relational theme scores, the values for skewness and kurtosis were within the range of -1 and +1 with a slightly flatter than normal distribution due to a negative kurtosis. For the individual-achievement theme scores, the values for skewness and kurtosis were within the range with a flatter-than-normal distribution. Lastly, to assess the normality visually, histograms, normal Q-Q plots, and box plots were created. The social-relational theme score histogram showed positively skewed data distribution, and the normal Q-Q plot and box plot supported the normality of the data. The individual-achievement theme score histogram displayed a slightly positively skewed normally distributed data and, again, normal Q-Q plot and box plot visually supported a normal distribution. The Box's M test was also conducted for homogeneity, and the result indicated that the homogeneity of variance assumption was met (p > .05). Furthermore, the variance inflation factors (VIF) demonstrate that there was no multicollinearity among the dependent variables as all the VIF values were below 1.5.

3.2. Descriptive Analyses

Descriptive analyses were carried out to assess the sample characteristics. Table 1 shows the frequency and percentage information of the study variables, and Table 2 displays the mean, standard deviation, minimum, and maximum values of the study variables. Lastly, Table 3 depicts the frequency of the most written ten themes by the event order.

Table 1
Frequency and Percentage Information of the Study Variables

Variables		**Frequency** n	**Percentage** %
Student gender			
	Girl	238	53.5
	Boy	207	46.5
Child school level			
	Junior high	223	50.1
	High school	222	49.9

Table 1 (continued)

Child grade level			
	5th Grade	67	15.1
	6th Grade	54	12.1
	7th Grade	65	14.6
	8th Grade	37	8.3
	9th Grade	50	11.2
	10th Grade	49	11.0
	11th Grade	66	14.8
	12th Grade	55	12.4
	High School Preparation	2	.4
Maternal education			
	No formal education	5	1.1
	No formal education but literate	11	2.5
	Primary school	105	23.6
	Junior high	73	16.4
	High school	130	29.2
	University	105	23.6
	Postgraduate degree	7	1.5
Maternal working			
	Unemployed	286	64.3
	Employed	135	30.3
Mothers' Type of Settlement (past)			
	Village	79	17.8
	Town/County	93	20.9
	City	154	34.6
	Metropolis	108	24.3
	Abroad	2	.4
Type of settlement (current)			
	Rural	114	25.6
	Urban	331	74.4

Table 2

Mean, Standard Deviation, Minimum and Maximum Values of the Study Variables

Variables	**M**	**SD**	**Min**	**Max**
Student Age (in months)	169.98	28.45	119.00	233.00
Mother Age	40.66	5.32	26	59.00
Social-Relational Theme Total Score	1.75	1.33	.00	6.00
Individual-Achievement Total Score	4.00	1.57	.00	7.00

Table 3.

Frequency of the Most Written 10 Themes by the Event Order (Students, N= 445)

Themes	First Event		Second Event		Third Event		Fourth Event	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Academic	169	38.0	133	29.9	120	27.0	94	21.1
Being Born	33	7.4	0	0	0	0	0	0
Career	18	4.0	29	6.5	39	8.8	53	11.9
Developmental	48	10.8	56	12.6	28	6.3	16	3.6
Family	19	4.3	19	4.3	14	3.1	26	5.8
Others' Death	3	0.7	5	1.1	4	0.9	6	1.3
Own Death	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.4
Romantic relationships	14	3.1	21	4.7	36	8.1	39	8.8
Skill learning	6	1.3	7	1.6	9	2.0	4	0.9
Social relationships	18	4.0	45	10.1	49	11.0	35	7.9
Traveling	15	3.4	13	2.9	13	2.9	18	4.0

Table 3. (continued)

Themes	Fifth Event		Sixth Event		Seventh Event	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Academic	81	18.2	41	9.1	26	5.8
Being Born	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Career	57	12.8	61	13.7	42	9.4
Developmental	9	2.0	9	2.0	12	2.7
Family	36	8.1	50	11.2	65	14.6
Others' Death	2	0.4	5	1.1	8	1.8
Own Death	0	0	1	0.2	27	6.1
Romantic relationships	51	11.5	59	13.3	33	7.4
Skill learning	10	2.2	8	1.8	6	1.3
Social relationships	15	3.4	21	4.7	19	4.3
Traveling	14	3.1	15	3.4	9	2.0

3.3. Correlation Analyses

Bivariate correlation analyses were conducted via SPSS to check the correlation between the study variables. The results are presented in Table 4.

There was a significant positive correlation between child gender and maternal education level ($r = .10$, $p = .036$). The school level was positively correlated with the type of settlement where mothers spent most of their lives ($r = .11$, $p = .023$), current type of settlement ($r = .11$, $p = .018$), social-relational theme total score ($r = .20$, $p < .001$).

As we look at the variables regarding mother characteristics, maternal education level was positively correlated with maternal working status ($r = .30$, $p < .001$), the type of settlement where mothers spent most of their lives ($r = .37$, $p < .001$), the current type of settlement ($r = .24$, $p < .001$). Furthermore, maternal working status was positively correlated with the type of settlement where mothers spent most of their lives ($r = .15$, $p = .003$), the current type of settlement ($r = .11$, $p = .028$), and social-relational theme total score ($r = .10$, $p = .049$).

The variables regarding the types of settlements were also examined, and the type of settlement where mothers spent most of their lives was found to correlate with the current type of settlement ($r = .45$, $p < .001$).

The social-relational theme total score was negatively correlated with the individual-achievement theme total score ($r = -.55$, $p < .001$).

Table 4.
Correlations between study variables

Variable Names		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	Child Gender	1							
2	Child School Level	-.04	1						
3	Maternal Education Level (Binary)	.10*	-.05	1					
4	Maternal Working Status	.007	.06	.30**	1				
5	Mothers' Type of Settlement (Spent Most of their life)	.09	.11*	.37**	.15**	1			
6	Type of Settlement (Current)	.03	.11*	.24**	.11*	.45**	1		
7	Social-Relational Theme Total Score	-.03	.20**	.04	.10*	.06	.08	1	
8	Individual-Achievement Theme Total Score	-.04	-.07	-.007	-.07	-.04	.003	-.55**	1

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

3.4. Main Analyses

Two sets of descriptive analyses and two sets of factorial Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) were conducted to test the current study's hypotheses. First, the distribution of the expected age of the cultural life scripts was checked to confirm the existence of the reminiscence bump in the current dataset. Then, to understand the characteristics of this bump, we checked the positive and negative event frequencies.

Lastly, we carried out a 2 x 2 x 2 Factorial MANOVA for both the social-relational theme and individual-achievement theme of the adolescents' life scripts.

3.4.1. The Distribution of Expected Age for Cultural Life Scripts

For the first hypothesis, we checked whether there was a bump in the expected age of nominated events. As Figure 1. displays, there is a bump between the first and second decades (ages 3 to 25) with slight decreases around ages 9 and 17 (M = 13.07, SD = 7.57). When we look at the bump characteristics for each of the seven events, more than 70% of events were positive events, except for the seventh event which still has a higher number of positive events (Table 5).

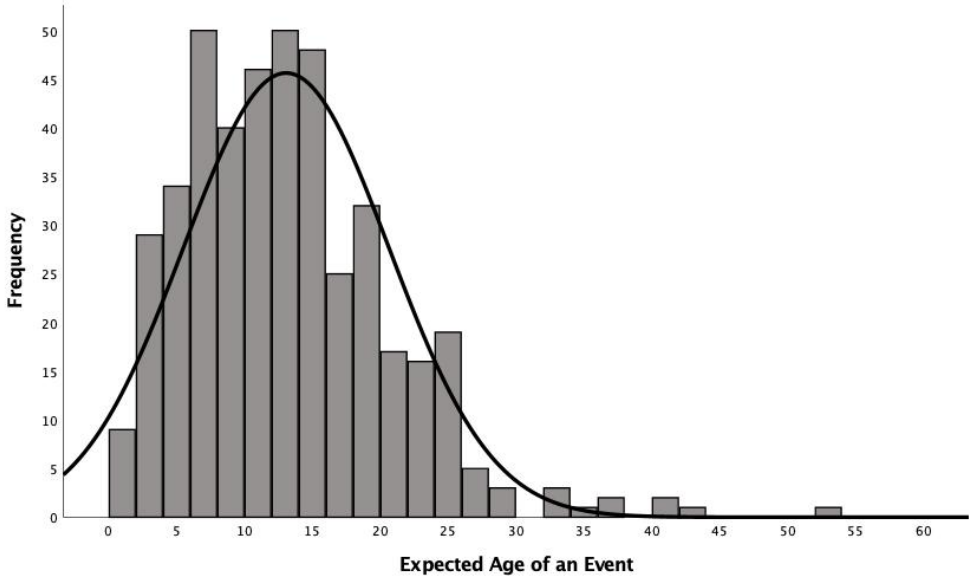


Figure 1
The Histogram of the Expected Age of Nominated Events

Table 5
The Frequencies and Percentages of Positive and Negative Events

Event Order	Positive Event		Negative Event	
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage
	n	%	n	%
First Event	359	82.9	19	4.4
Second Event	358	82.7	30	6.9
Third Event	326	75.3	27	6.2
Fourth Event	316	73.0	32	7.4
Fifth Event	312	72.1	27	6.2
Sixth Event	306	70.7	22	5.1
Seventh Event	257	59.4	49	11.3

3.4.2. Three-Way Factorial MANOVA For Adolescents' Demographic Characteristics: Gender, School-Level, and Settlement Type

A 2 x 2 x 2 MANOVA was performed on adolescent demographic characteristics as independent variables, which were gender (0= girls, 1= boys), school level (2= junior high, 3= high school), and settlement type (0 = rural, 1= urban) and the life script themes total scores as dependent variables (social-relational themes and individual-achievement themes).

There was a non-significant small multivariate effect of gender on dependent variables (*Wilks' Lambda* =1.00*, F* (2, 398) = .18, *p* = .837, *partial η2* = .001), and settlement type (*Wilks' Lambda*= 1.00*, F* (2, 398) = .60, *p* = .552, *partial η2* = .003). However, there is a significant effect of school level on dependent variables (*Wilks' Lambda* = .98*, F* (2, 398) = 4.96, *p* = .007, *partial η2* = .02). Between-subject effect analysis results display that school level has an effect on both the social-relational theme score (*F* (1, 399) = 9.81, *p* = .002, *partial η2* =.02) and individual-achievement theme score (*F* (1, 399) = 6.57, *p* = .011, *partial η2* =.02).

Descriptive examination reveals that high school students wrote higher social-relational themed scripts (*M* = 2.24, *SD* = .12) than the junior high students (*M* = 1.74, *SD* = .11). Furthermore, individual-achievement theme total scores of junior high students (*M* = 4.12, *SD* = .12) were higher than the individual-achievement theme total scores of high school student (*M* = 3.70, *SD* = .13).

When we checked the multivariate effects of interactions, the results yielded non-significant effects for gender and school level interaction (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00, *F* (2,398) = .27, *p* = .761, *partial η2* = .001); gender and settlement type interaction (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00, *F* (2, 398) = .78, *p* = .458, *partial η2* = .004); and school level and settlement type (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00, *F* (2, 398) = .21, *p* = .813, *partial η2* = .001). Finally, the interaction effect of all three independent variables (gender, school level, and settlement type) was also found non-significant (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00, *F* (2,398) = .03, *p* = .974, *partial η2* = .000). In summary, the results indicate extremely small effect sizes with non-significant values. Detailed results are shown in Table 6, with the mean and standard variation values in Tables 7 and 8.

Table 6.

MANOVA Results for the Interaction between Gender, School Level, Settlement Type on Adolescents' Cultural Life Script Theme

	Social-Relational Theme				Individual-Achievement Theme			
Variables	**SS**	**MS**	***F* (1,399)**	**η²**	**SS**	**MS**	***F* (1, 381)**	**η²**
Gender	.17	.17	.09	.000	.03	.03	.02	.000
School Level	17.53	17.53	9.81*	.002	13.62	13.62	6.57*	.02
Settlement Type	.99	.99	.55	.001	4.59	4.59	.000	.000
Gender X School Level	.13	.13	.07	.000	.92	.92	.44	.001
Gender X Settlement Type	.23	.23	.13	.000	2.40	2.40	1.16	.003
School Level X Settlement Type	.74	.74	.41	.001	.51	.51	.24	.001
Gender X School Level X Settlement Type	.04	.04	.02	.000	.000	.000	.000	.000

Table 7.

Social-Relational Theme by Child Gender, School Level and Current Settlement Type

		Rural			Urban		
Gender	**School Level**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**
Girls	Junior High	1.68	1.20	37	1.82	1.29	65
	High School	2.29	1.30	24	2.27	1.45	95
Boys	Junior High	1.59	1.40	22	1.89	1.35	72
	High School	2.17	1.20	18	2.22	1.31	74

Table 8.

Individual-Achievement Theme by Child Gender, School Level and Current Settlement Type

		Rural			Urban		
Gender	**School Level**	**M**	**SD**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**N**
Girls	Junior High	4.14	1.50	37	4.23	1.44	65
	High School	3.50	1.41	24	3.77	1.51	95
Boys	Junior High	4.18	1.50	22	3.92	1.36	72
	High School	3.78	1.35	18	3.68	1.41	74

3.4.3. Three-Way Factorial MANOVA For Mothers' Socioeconomic Characteristics

A 2 x 2 x 2 MANOVA was performed on the mothers' socioeconomic characteristics as independent variables, which were the settlement type in which they spent most of their life (0= village or town, 1= city or metropolis), mother's employment status (0= unemployed, 1= employed), and mother's education level (0 = lower education, 1= higher education) and the life script themes total scores as dependent variables (social-relational themes and individual-achievement themes).

There was a non-significant small multivariate effect of mothers' past settlement type on dependent variables (*Wilks' Lambda* =1.00*, F* (2,380) = .31, *p* = .732, *partial η2* = .002), mothers' working status (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00*, F* (2,380) = .70, *p* = .497, *partial η2* = .004), mothers' education level (*Wilks' Lambda*= 1.00*, F* (2,380) = .67, *p* = .511, *partial η2* = .204). The results indicate that the groups are not distinguishable from each other due to non-significant small effect sizes and Wilks' Lambda values closer to 1 (Warner, 2013).

When we checked the multivariate effects of interactions, the results yielded non-significant effects for mothers' past settlement type and working status interaction (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00, *F* (2,380) = .31, *p* = .658, *partial η2* = .002); mothers' past settlement type and education level interaction (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00, *F* (2,380) = .78, *p* = .459, *partial η2* = .004); and working status and education level interaction (*Wilks' Lambda* = 1.00, *F* (2,380) = 1.82, *p* = .164, *partial η2* = .009). In summary, the results indicate extremely small effect sizes with non-significant values. Additionally, the interaction effect of all three independent variables (past settlement type, working status, and education level) was found non-significant (*Wilks' Lambda* = .99, *F* (2,380) = 2.94, *p* = .054, *partial η2* = .02) but the tests of between-subjects effect results show that the interaction of mothers' past settlement, working status, and education level has a significant small effect on the individual-achievement theme score (*F* (1, 381) = 5.45, *p* = .020, *partial η2* =.01). (Figure 2).

Detailed results are shown in Table 9, with the mean and standard variation values in Tables 10 and 11.

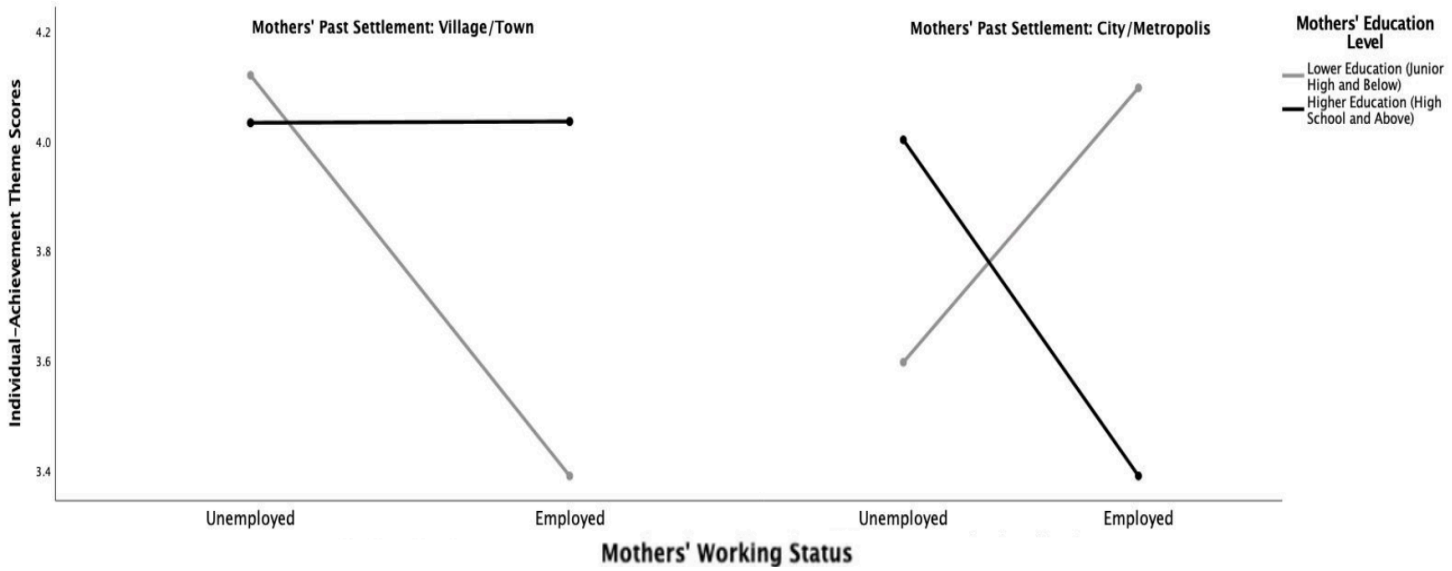


Figure 2

The Line Graph of the Interaction of Mothers' Past Settlement Type, Working Status and Education Level

Table 9.

MANOVA Results for the Interaction between Mothers' Pat Settlement Type, Working Status and Education Level on Adolescents' Cultural Life Script Theme

Variables	Social-Relational Theme				Individual-Achievement Theme			
	SS	MS	*F* (1,381)	η²	SS	MS	*F* (1, 381)	η²
Mothers' Past Settlement Type	.84	.84	.46	.001	1.00	1.00	.047	.000
Mothers' Working Status	1.03	1.03	.57	.001	2.81	2.81	1.38	.004
Mothers' Education Level	.28	.28	.16	.000	.42	.42	.21	.001
Mothers' Past Settlement Type X Mothers' Working Status	.86	.86	.47	.001	1.71	1.71	.84	.002
Mothers' Past Settlement Type X Mothers' Education Level	.47	.47	.26	.001	2.70	2.70	1.33	.003
Mothers' Working Status X Mothers' Education Level	3.87	3.87	2.13	.003	.10	.10	.05	.000
Mothers' Past Settlement Type X Mothers' Working Status X Mothers' Education Level	2.84	2.84	1.56	.004	11.08	11.08	5.45*	.01

Table 10.
Social-Relational Theme by Past Settlement Type, Working Status and Education Level

Variables		Lower Education			Higher Education		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Village/Town	Unemployed	1.85	1.28	75	1.80	1.45	30
	Employed	2.06	.94	18	2.07	1.41	28
City/ Metropolis	Unemployed	2.20	1.41	60	1.90	1.32	72
	Employed	1.76	1.15	17	2.36	1.42	89

Table 11.
Individual-Achievement Theme by Past Settlement Type, Working Status and Education Level

Variables		Lower Education			Higher Education		
		M	SD	N	M	SD	N
Village/Town	Unemployed	4.12	1.52	75	4.03	1.33	30
	Employed	3.39	1.38	18	4.04	1.11	28
City/ Metropolis	Unemployed	3.72	1.39	60	4.04	1.54	72
	Employed	4.12	.70	17	3.55	1.49	89

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

In this section, the current study's findings will be discussed within the literature. In the following parts, the aims of the current study, the contributions of the study, limitations, future direction, and conclusions will be provided.

The current study aimed to examine the cultural life script characteristics of adolescents in Türkiye who reside in urban and rural areas. For this purpose, first, we checked whether there is a temporal bump for the expected age of the life script events and how these events are characterized by their emotional valence. Then, to investigate the life script properties of Turkish adolescents further, we studied the themes of the nominated events based on social/relational and individual/achievement themes. In order to understand how these themes are affected by various factors, we explored the differences and similarities based on adolescents' demographics, which were their age, gender, and current settlement type. Finally, we aimed to understand how maternal demographics may affect the themes of script events; thus, we examined the maternal education level, working status, and past settlement type. By grouping the demographics into two sets, we also had the chance to explore their interaction effects.

For the first hypothesis, the students were asked at what age the script they wrote would be experienced. The histogram graphic was created from the answers, and an age bump was present located between the ages of 3 and 25, with slight dips around ages 9 and 17. This finding is congruent with previous research as the reminiscence bump usually occurs in the first and second decades of a lifetime (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004; Janssen & Haque, 2015). In the current study, the age at which the bump starts is earlier than usual, probably due to the high number of developmental themes written, which includes scripts like starting to walk and talk. Additionally, considering the participants were junior high and high school students, they nominated more events

temporally closer to their current age. For this reason, the age at which the bump dramatically decreases is around 25.

For each script, the participants nominated positive events with a much higher percentage than negative events. This finding is in line with the previous research (Janssen & Haque, 2015). However, from the first script to the last script, the percentage of positive events decreased to 59.4% from 82.9%. Since the cultural life script serves as a schema for an ideal life consisting of sequences, the scripts are generally written in chronological order. As the age increases, the chance of experiencing negative events such as losing loved ones, getting fired, or getting divorced increases. Thus, when thinking about a lifetime from an outsider's point of view, the later scripts include more negative events, resulting in a lower frequency of nominating positive events. This pattern is compatible with when older people were asked about important life events; they wrote more negative experiences than younger participants (Bohn, 2010). Nevertheless, the positive transitional events continue dominating the current study's bump.

For the second hypothesis, the school-level differences in the themes of life scripts were investigated to understand the age's effect on cultural life scripts. The high school students wrote more events with social-relational themes than the junior high students, while the junior high students nominated events with individual-achievement themes. This finding is interesting because during adolescence, identity formation becomes prominent, and the importance of autonomy increases, so a higher frequency of individual-achievement themes would be expected in high school students. However, in the current study, we found an opposite pattern. The high school students included more romantic relationship theme events such as first love and having a girlfriend/boyfriend. Thus, their social-relational theme score was higher than junior high students. On the other hand, junior high students who are in their early to mid-adolescence were more academically focused with their scripts as they wrote events like starting school and preparing for high school exams. Considering that the data for this research was collected at schools where children filled out the survey during lecture hours, it is not surprising the academic themes were the primary focus of junior high students. The same situation applies to the high school students; however, due to their advanced age and cognitive capacity, we would expect them to easily separate

the task from the physical context they were in. Thus, they could nominate scripts other than academic themes.

For the third hypothesis, the gender differences regarding the themes of life scripts were examined. We did not find gender differences in the themes of the girls and the boys which means that their scripts were similar regardless of their gender. Considering the literature on gender differences contradicted each other, our research weighed the no gender difference side. Since cultural life script represents an idealized life in general, it is normal that gender-related differences are not observable in the scripts. We know from previous research that there are numerous important events that might not make it into the list of life scripts, but this does not mean these events are not experienced in high frequency; they are just not a pronounced part of the semantic structure of scripts. Furthermore, with the changes in the social zeitgeist, gender roles are not as strictly divided as they used to be. Thus, one must be careful in seeking gender differences as the differences or similarities found may fail to represent the actual effect of gender.

For the fourth hypothesis, we aimed to explore the urban-rural differences in the script themes. The results indicated that there was no difference in the settlement type. Defining and detecting cultural differences is a complex task; within the limits of this study, a connection between settlement type and culture was made based on Habermas and Hatiboğlu's previous research (2015). It was suggested that living in urbanized places would differ from living in rural areas as they create disparate spheres, resulting in sub-cultures. Hence, this difference would reflect on the participants' script themes. However, individual differences are also critical in understanding the effect of larger cultures. Thus, combining self-construal with settlement type could have yielded more nuanced findings regarding the life scripts. On the other hand, finding that there is no difference between urban and rural areas showcases that there is a generally accepted cultural life script, a chronologically ordered shared knowledge of important events regardless of settlement type. In a way, it is a remarkable result that adolescents both from urban and rural areas expect the same course of life aside from their living status. We would like to suggest that there is a silver lining in this finding as it both supports the existence of cultural life script and demonstrates the unity and the resistance of adolescents' script themes against the differences in settlement type.

For the fifth hypothesis, we investigated maternal socioeconomic characteristics such as education level, working status, and where they spent most of their life. Despite the lack of significant differences individually in the characteristics, their interaction was meaningful for the individual-achievement themes. The adolescents of unemployed mothers with lower education who spent most of their lives in a village or a town wrote more scripts with individual-achievement themes. This can be interpreted as having a mother with low SES increases the goal-oriented scripts, such as going to university and having a job, which increases the individual achievement theme score. If the mother has a higher education in the same scenario, the scripts show almost no difference in the individual achievement theme scores, regardless of mothers' working status, implying that higher mother education has a crucial role in script themes of adolescents.

Interestingly, the adolescents of employed mothers with higher education who spent most of their lives in a city or a metropolis achieved lower scores of individual-achievement-themed scores. Due to a lack of related literature, we could only speculate the reasons for this finding. As we discussed above, writing more romantic relationship themes decreases the individual achievement theme scores. Having a mother with a higher SES could imply a warmer and more accepting parenting style; hence, the adolescents could be more open to exploring and expecting romantic relationships in a hypothetical life story. Furthermore, if a mother who spent most of their life in a city or metropolis has a lower education level and is unemployed, their children write fewer scripts that includes individual-achievement themes. This finding shows that the maternal education level and employment status together can have a role in adolescents' script themes.

Apart from the findings related to our hypotheses, due to its novel and explorative nature, this study reveals some interesting results that can be further examined in future research. This study was conducted with a large sample, yet at the final stage, only 28% percent of the participants were eligible for analysis, meaning that most of them could not produce a script in line with the previous literature. Despite this study's aim being to examine the content and characteristics of the life script, investigating non-script answers could also give us some insight as well. This result could be due to a limitation of this research, as it was part of a larger project with many surveys collected

at schools during lecture hours, which will be discussed in the limitations sections, causing the participants to be distracted or misunderstand the instructions. Regardless, we would suggest that studies on cultural life scripts also include non-script answers and their features in articles to depict the real nature of cultural life scripts. In our study, the non-script answers were mostly personality-attributing wish-like writings, as if the participants were asked to imagine a baby and decide what she or he would be like/ live like. To exemplify, a participant would write, "she needs to be a good person," "he needs to be honest," "she becomes happy and healthy," and so on. This could be due to a misunderstanding of the question but also could be a reflection of Turkish culture. When we asked the most important seven events a person would live, we drew strict limitations with a serious question that could be surprising for the participants and cause them to recede into more non-definite answers as if saying more tangible achievements reflect something they did not intend to. More accurate implications require more research in this subject, so that we can really found a reflection of culture in the scripts.

4.1. Contributions

This study has contributed to the literature in various ways. First, the temporal bump for the expected age of events is found and confirmed. Additionally, the content of the scripts was mainly positive, supporting the previous literature. It is important to replicate the main findings in different contexts to understand and investigate them further. Second, the current study was novel in representing adolescent cultural life script characteristics in Türkiye. The scale of the research was major, and recruiting students and their mothers from various socioeconomic backgrounds is the most important aspect of this research. Also, collecting data from all grades allowed us to create two different age groups, junior high and high school students, to examine the cultural life script with age differences in a more nuanced sample. Third, various characteristics such as urban and rural differences and maternal socioeconomic characteristics were investigated within the cultural life script. To our knowledge, there is limited research on urban-rural differences in the cultural life script, and maternal SES is not considered in life script acquisition. Since the cultural life script is learned through socialization and cultural transference mainly occurs through mother-child conversations, this study presents a good start for including these factors in life script

research. Lastly, this study has another novel feature where the scripts were investigated within two overarching themes: social-relational and individual-achievement themes. This categorization was based on Kağıtbaşı's self-construal research (2005), and Habermas & Hatiboğlu's sub-culture research (2015). The idea was that adolescence is an era of challenging authority and culture in a quest for self-discovery, while the cultural life script is a preordained book of how life must be lived; how would these two interact? So, we decided to analyze the scripts with a more social developmental perspective and assigned them to either social-relational themes or individual-achievement themes. We believe that this approach opens a new possibility for life script research. There is already a mountain of research repeating the same scripts and characteristics across various conditions, but with the current study, we also show the scripts' interaction with social and developmental factors. We believe that our findings strengthen the cultural life script approach.

4.2. Limitations and Future Suggestions

There are numerous limitations to the current study. The first limitation comes from one of the strengths: that this research was conducted under a larger nationwide project.

Due to the main project's wide scope and research questions, the participants needed to complete long surveys that took 40 to 60 minutes. The cultural life script questionnaire was one of the last surveys that came up; naturally, the participants' enthusiasm to complete the questionnaire was lower as they got tired and disinterested. This situation might have increased the number of non-script answers in addition to the usual non-script curve we would expect and affected the content of the scripts. Moreover, previous surveys focused on various aspects of child development, parent-child relationships, and school-related subjects, which could have created a priming effect on the scripts. Hence, the increased frequency of developmental themes and academic themes, with an earlier start at age bump, was found in the results. In this study, cultural differences were defined by settlement type, which was divided into urban and rural areas. This approach could be insufficient in detecting cultural differences, as people also create and live by their own beliefs that may or may not comply with their culture. Besides, mobilization between urban and rural areas is

common; thus, it is difficult to assume that urban and rural areas represent a homogenous subculture in the scripts. A better indicator of culture needed to be defined for better results.

Also, assigning the maternal working status has also issues in this study. Despite the careful sampling of the population, the project sample mostly has a low SES background. In the literature, employment is seen as a positive factor that increases socioeconomic status and benefits parenting style (Lareau, 2011); however, in our study, some mothers work as seasonal workers and blue-collar workers. Working physically demanding jobs has a risk of lacking the benefits we expect (Peterson et al, 2018).

For future research, replicating a study specific to cultural life script with cultural and maternal SES characteristics would provide more precise findings to evaluate. Also, since the current study displays an interesting picture regarding age, gender, urban and rural differences, and maternal SES characteristics, additional measures focusing on gender role, self-construal, and cultural perspective could help us better understand the script characteristics and their interaction with various factors. On a final note, a study on non-script answers could provide a valuable contribution to the literature.

4.3. Conclusions

The aim of the current study was to explore the cultural life script characteristics of adolescents in Türkiye. The scripts created an age bump around the first and second decades of a lifetime. Also, the content of the scripts was heavily positive events. These two findings supported the previous research on reminiscence bump and the cultural life script. Moreover, the adolescents' scripts were investigated on two themes: social-relational theme and individual-achievement theme. The differences were examined based on age group, gender, the current settlement type, and maternal SES characteristics. The results showed that there is an age difference; junior high students wrote more scripts with the individual-achievement themes, while high school students wrote more scripts with the social-relational themes.

The study indicates there is no gender difference in the themes of scripts as both girls and boys write similar events with similar themes. With an explorative nature, the

urban and rural differences were investigated to see whether the settlement type influences the script themes, yet the findings yielded no difference. These findings generally summarize the individual features affecting the cultural life script, as age is the most prominent one. Then, the mothers' socioeconomic characteristics were investigated, and the results showed that the mothers' education level, working status, and the settlement type in which they spent most of their lives affected the content of the cultural life scripts altogether. Maternal low SES (lower education, unemployment, and spending life in rural areas) results in higher individual achievement themes in the scripts of adolescents, while higher education in the same situation leads to the same level of individual-achievement-themed scripts, hinting at the role of maternal education level in the cultural life scripts. On the contrary, higher maternal SES (higher education, employment, and spending life in urban areas) produced scripts with higher social-relational theme scores. These results require further investigation with more precise measurements for maternal socioeconomic characters and culture. We suggest future research to specifically investigate the cultural life script with relational and individual themes to replicate the findings of this study.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

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MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

Sayı: 28620816 /

09 ARALIK 2021

Konu : Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Sibel KAZAK BERUMENT ve Dr.Öğr.Üyesi Başak Şahin ACAR

"Ebeveynlik Tutumlarının ve Ebeveyn-Çocuk İletişim Özelliklerinin Çocuk ve Ergen Gelişimine Etkisi" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **498-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof.Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkan

B. THE CULTURAL LIFE SCRIPT EVENTS QUESTIONNAIRE (TURKISH ADAPTATION)

Kendi kültüründe yeni doğmuş ve senin cinsiyetinde sıradan bir çocuğu hayal et. Bu çocuğun, yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli 7 olayı yaz.

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____
5. _____
6. _____
7. _____

Şimdi her bir olayı aşağıdaki maddeler için değerlendir:

1. Birinci Olay:

Bu olayın bir insanın yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli olaylardan birisi olduğuna ne kadar eminsin?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hiç emin değilim Tamamen eminim

Bu olay sence insanların yüzde kaçı tarafından tecrübe edilir/ deneyimlenir? _____

Bu olay ne kadar önemlidir?

1 2 3 4 5

Hiç önemli değil Çok önemli

Bu olayın kaç yaşında tecrübe edilmesi/deneyimlenmesi beklenir? _____

Bu olayı duygusal olarak nasıl tanımlarsın?

1 2 3 4 5

Çok olumsuz Çok olumlu

2. İkinci Olay:

Bu olayın bir insanın yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli olaylardan birisi olduğuna ne kadar eminsin?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hiç emin değilim Tamamen eminim

Bu olay sence insanların yüzde kaçı tarafından tecrübe edilir? _____

Bu olay ne kadar önemlidir?

1 2 3 4 5

Hiç önemli değil Çok önemli

Bu olayın kaç yaşında tecrübe edilmesi beklenir? _____

Bu olayı duygusal olarak nasıl tanımlarsın?

1 2 3 4 5

Çok olumsuz Çok olumlu

3. Üçüncü Olay:

Bu olayın bir insanın yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli olaylardan birisi olduğuna ne kadar eminsin?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hiç emin değilim Tamamen eminim

Bu olay sence insanların yüzde kaçı tarafından tecrübe edilir? _____

Bu olay ne kadar önemlidir?

1 2 3 4 5

Hiç önemli değil Çok önemli

Bu olayın kaç yaşında tecrübe edilmesi beklenir? _____

Bu olayı duygusal olarak nasıl tanımlarsın?

1 2 3 4 5

Çok olumsuz Çok olumlu

4. Dördüncü Olay:

Bu olayın bir insanın yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli olaylardan birisi olduğuna ne kadar eminsin?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hiç emin değilim Tamamen eminim

Bu olay sence insanların yüzde kaçı tarafından tecrübe edilir? _____

Bu olay ne kadar önemlidir?

1 2 3 4 5

Hiç önemli değil Çok önemli

Bu olayın kaç yaşında tecrübe edilmesi beklenir? _____

Bu olayı duygusal olarak nasıl tanımlarsın?

1 2 3 4 5

Çok olumsuz Çok olumlu

5. Beşinci Olay:

Bu olayın bir insanın yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli olaylardan birisi olduğuna ne kadar eminsin?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hiç emin değilim Tamamen eminim

Bu olay sence insanların yüzde kaçı tarafından tecrübe edilir? _____

Bu olay ne kadar önemlidir?

1 2 3 4 5

Hiç önemli değil Çok önemli

Bu olayın kaç yaşında tecrübe edilmesi beklenir? _____

Bu olayı duygusal olarak nasıl tanımlarsın?

1 2 3 4 5

Çok olumsuz Çok olumlu

6. Altıncı Olay:

Bu olayın bir insanın yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli olaylardan birisi olduğuna ne kadar eminsin?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hiç emin değilim Tamamen eminim

Bu olay sence insanların yüzde kaçı tarafından tecrübe edilir? _____

Bu olay ne kadar önemlidir?

1 2 3 4 5

Hiç önemli değil Çok önemli

Bu olayın kaç yaşında tecrübe edilmesi beklenir? _____

Bu olayı duygusal olarak nasıl tanımlarsın?

1 2 3 4 5

Çok olumsuz Çok olumlu

7. Yedinci Olay:

Bu olayın bir insanın yaşamı boyunca deneyimleyeceği en önemli olaylardan birisi olduğuna ne kadar eminsin?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Hiç emin değilim Tamamen eminim

Bu olay sence insanların yüzde kaçı tarafından tecrübe edilir? _____

Bu olay ne kadar önemlidir?

1 2 3 4 5

Hiç önemli değil Çok önemli

Bu olayın kaç yaşında tecrübe edilmesi beklenir? _____

Bu olayı duygusal olarak nasıl tanımlarsın?

1 2 3 4 5

Çok olumsuz Çok olumlu

C. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION QUESTIONS

ANNE DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ FORMU:

Kaç Yaşındasınız? _____

Hayatınızın büyük bölümünü nerede geçirdiniz?
a. Köy
b. Kasaba/İlçe
c. Şehir
d. Büyükşehir
e. Yurtdışı

En son tamamladığınız eğitim seviyesi?
a. Tamamlamadım; okuryazar değilim.
b. Tamamlamadım; fakat okuryazarım.
c. İlkokul mezunu
d. Ortaokul mezunu
e. Lise mezunu
f. Üniversite mezunu
g. Yüksek Lisans mezunu
h. Doktora mezunu

Şu an çalışıyor musunuz?
1. Çalışıyorum
2. Çalışmıyorum (Ev hanımıyım / Emekliyim)

ÇOCUK DEMOGRAFİK BİLGİ FORMU:

Yaşın: _____

Cinsiyetin:
o Kız
o Erkek

Kaçıncı sınıfa gidiyorsun, lütfen seç.
• 5. Sınıf
• 6. Sınıf
• 7. Sınıf
• 8. Sınıf
• 9. Sınıf
• 10. Sınıf
• 11. Sınıf
• 12.Sınıf

D. CONSENT FORMS

ANKETİN BAŞINDA GELECEK ONAM (ANNE):

Sevgili Anneler,

Boğaziçi, Ege, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversiteleri ve Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı iş birliğiyle yürüttüğümüz "**Türkiye Aile, Çocuk ve Ergen Projesi'ne (TAÇEP)**" katılmayı kabul ettiğiniz için size çok teşekkür ederiz.

Geçtiğimiz sene çocuğunuzla birlikte katıldığınız araştırmanın tamamlanması için bu sene de sizin desteğinizi rica ediyoruz. Katılımı kabul ettiğiniz takdirde sizlerden geçen yıl olduğu gibi çevrim içi bir anket doldurmanız istenecektir. Çocuğunuzla ise okulunda bir görüşme sağlanacaktır.

Bu çalışmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz ya da araştırmayla ilgili sorularınız olursa e-posta adresinden bize ulaşabilirsiniz.

Saygılarımızla,

Prof. Dr. Sibel Kazak Berument, Proje Yürütücüsü, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin Acar, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Prof. Dr. Aysun Doğan, Ege Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Deniz Tahiroğlu, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve kendimin ve çocuğumun bu araştırmaya gönüllü olarak katılmasına,

- İzin veriyorum.
- İzin vermiyorum.

TEK BAŞINA ONAM (SADECE ÇOCUĞUN KATILIMI İÇİN):

Sevgili Anneler,

Boğaziçi, Ege, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversiteleri ve Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı iş birliğiyle yürüttüğümüz "**Türkiye Aile, Çocuk ve Ergen Projesi'ne (TAÇEP)**" katkılarınız için size çok teşekkür ederiz.

Geçtiğimiz sene çocuğunuzun katıldığı araştırmanın tamamlanması için bu sene de sizin ve çocuğunuzun desteğini rica ediyoruz. Çocuğunuzun araştırmaya katılımını kabul ettiğiniz takdirde çocuğunuzla okulunda bir görüşme sağlanacaktır.

Bu çalışmayla ilgili daha fazla bilgi almak isterseniz ya da araştırmayla ilgili sorularınız olursa e-posta adresinden bize ulaşabilirsiniz.

Saygılarımızla,

Prof. Dr. Sibel Kazak Berument, Proje Yürütücüsü, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Doç. Dr. Başak Şahin Acar, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Prof. Dr. Aysun Doğan, Ege Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Deniz Tahiroğlu, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Psikoloji Bölümü

Yukarıdaki bilgileri okudum ve çocuğumun bu araştırmaya katılmasına,

- İzin veriyorum.
- İzin vermiyorum.

E. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

"Yaşam sadece geriye bakarak anlaşılabilir; ancak o ileriye doğru bakarak yaşanmalıdır." (Kierkegaard, 1843). Kierkegaard'ın günlüklerinden alınan bu ünlü alıntı, insan doğasının önemli bir özelliğini ele almaktadır: kendimizi ve hayatımızı anlamlandırmak ancak geçmiş deneyimlerimizi değerlendirerek daha iyi anlayabiliyoruz. Bu geçmiş deneyimler ve anılar otobiyografik bellek sistemimizde yerini alır ve çeşitli durumlarda ihtiyaç duyduğumuzda onları hatırlarız. Otobiyografik bellek, kişisel deneyimlerin duygusal ve anlatısal özellikleriyle birlikte depolandığı oldukça yaygın çalışılan bir bellek sistemidir (Fivush, 2010; Fivush et al., 2011). Bu çalışmalar sonucunda otobiyografik belleğin önemli işlevleri olduğu bulunmuştur: otobiyografik bellek sayesinde tutarlı ve sürdürülebilir bir benlik yaratırız (Conway, 2005; Habermas & Bluck, 2000; McAdams, 1992); anılarımızı ve deneyimlerimizi çeşitli amaçlarla paylaşarak diğer insanlarla sosyalleşiriz (Nelson & Fivush, 2004; Nelson, 1993; Pillemer, 1998); ve geçmiş deneyimlerden yola çıkarak gelecek davranışlarımızı planlayıp değiştiririz (Pillemer, 2003). Bu işlevlere ek olarak, otobiyografik anıların karakteristiklerine de sıklıkla bakılmıştır ve en çok hatırlanan anıların hayatın ilk iki on yılı etrafında toplanan bir "anı tümseği" oluşturduğu bulunmuştur. Anı tümseğini çalışmak için kullanılan bir yaklaşım olan kültürel yaşam senaryosu, bu işlevlerin ve özelliklerin birleşiminden ortaya çıkan bilişsel bir şemayı ifade etmektedir. Tanımlamak gerekirse, kültürel yaşam senaryosu, kısaca kültürel olarak paylaşılan beklentileri ifade etmektedir. Yani, bu olguyu bir kişinin hayatı boyunca hangi olayları yaşaması beklenir ve bu olayların kaç yaşında gerçekleşmesi beklenir sorusuna verilen ortak bir cevap olarak değerlendirebiliriz. Yaşam senaryoları semantik bilgi içeren bir beklentiyi ifade ettiği için, yaşanmış olayların bir sonucu olarak üretilen yaşam hikayelerinden farklıdır (Brewer, 1996; Habermas & Bluck, 2000). Yapı olarak birbirlerinden farklı olsa da birbirlerini etkileyebildikleri için yaşam senaryoları ve yaşam hikayeleri sıklıkla birlikte çalışılmıştır (Bohn, 2010; Rubin et al.,

2009). Böylece idealize bir yaşamın gerçekten yaşanmış bir yaşam ile ne kadar örtüştüğü çalışılmaktadır.

Kültürel yaşam senaryosu kültürler arası farklılıklar, cinsiyet ve yaş farklılıkları gibi çeşitli bağlamlarda sık sık çalışılmıştır. Birçok çalışma kültürel yaşam senaryosunun farklı kültürlerde var olduğunu desteklerken, bu senaryoların genç yetişkinlik yıllarında deneyimlenen olumlu ve hayatın akışını değiştiren olaylardan oluştuğunu ortaya koymuştur (Koppel & Berntsen, 2015; Özdemir et al., 2021). Az sayıda çalışmada ise kültüre has olayların senaryolarda olay olarak yazıldığı bulunmuştur (Bohn & Bundgaard-Nielsen, 2021; Coleman, 2014; Kawasaki & Uhera, 2020). Ancak yürütülen bütün bu çalışmalarda, kültür genel anlamıyla ele alınmış ve yaşanan bölgenin özelliklerinden gelen muhtemel alt-kültür farklılıkları değerlendirmeye alınmamıştır. Bu çalışmaların çoğunluğu Batı ülkelerinde yüksek sosyoekonomik statüdeki insanlarla yürütülmüş olması kültürel yaşam senaryosuna dair bulguların genellenebilirliğini düşürmektedir. Ayrıca, araştırmacılar, kültürel yaşam senaryosu çalışmalarında yazılan senaryolara bir olay listesi olarak yaklaşıp bu olayları kültürel nitelik yansıtmayan genel olaylar altında kategorilere ayıran bir yöntem izlemişlerdir. Örneği yazılan olayları benzerliklerine göre gruplayıp sadece "okul, evlilik, iş" gibi kategorilere ayırdıkları sınırlı bir yaklaşım vardır. Kültürel farklılıkları daha iyi anlayabilmek için kültüre dair ögeleri yansıtan kategoriler kullanmanın gerekli olduğu düşünülmüştür. Bu amaçla, Kağıtçıbaşı'nın özerk-ilişkisel benlik modelinden (1996; 2005) yola çıkılarak yazılan senaryo olaylarını, içeriğine göre değerlendirerek bireysel/başarı teması ve sosyal/ilişkisel tema altında toplamak bu çalışmanın önerdiği bir yenilik olarak uygulanmıştır.

Yaş, bellek gelişiminde önemli bir faktör olması nedeniyle, kültürel yaşam senaryosunun oluşmasında ve niteliğinin belirlenmesinde rol oynar (Bird & Reese, 2006; Gathercole, 1998). Yaşın artmasıyla birlikte tutarlı anı oluşturma becerisi de artmaktadır (Habermas & Bluck, 2000; McAdams, 2001). Bu beceri olayları kronolojik bir sıraya koyup tematik olarak tutarlı anlatılar yaratmamızı sağladığı için yaşam senaryolarının türetilmesine de yardımcı olur. Birçok çalışmada da çocuklarda yaş arttıkça yetişkinlerin ürettiği yaşam senaryolarına benzer yaşam senaryoları oluşturduğu, ergenliğe gelindiğinde artık senaryoların tipik olarak yazılan senaryolarla birebire örtüştüğü görülmüştür (Bohn & Berntsen, 2008). Ergenlik döneminin benlik

ve kimlik oluşumu için önemi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda kültürel yaşam senaryolarının bu dönemde nasıl şekillendiğini incelemek oldukça önemli bir konudur. Yaş kadar önemli olan bir diğer faktör de cinsiyet olmakla birlikte, cinsiyet rollerinin tıpkı yaşam senaryoları gibi kültürel olarak öğrenilen bir olgu olması yaşam senaryolarında cinsiyet farklılıklarının tam olarak tespit edilmesini zorlaştıran bir durumdur. Literatürde de bazı çalışmalar yaşam senaryolarında cinsiyet farkı bulurken bazılarında hiçbir fark bulunamamıştır. Bu noktada senaryoların tematik olarak incelenmesinin bize cinsiyet farklılıklarına dair daha nüanslı bir çerçeve çizebileceği düşünülmektedir.

Bu sık çalışılan temel faktörler dışında, bellek gelişimi literatüründe ele alınan ama kültürel yaşam senaryosu literatüründe neredeyse hiç bulunmayan bir diğer konu ise annelerin muhtemel senaryo aktarımını etkileyen sosyoekonomik karakteristikleridir. Kültürel değerleri bir sonraki nesle aktaran birincil kişi konumunda bulunan anneler, yine kültürel bir olgu olan yaşam senaryosu aktarımında değerlendirilmemişler ve bu önemli bir eksik olarak bulunmuştur. Annenin sosyoekonomik statüsünün çocuklarıyla yaptıkları anı konuşmalarında rol oynadığı bulunmuştur. Mevcut çalışma bu dinamiğin kültürel yaşam senaryosu bağlamında da olabileceğini varsayarak annenin eğitim, çalışma durumu ve hayatının büyük kısmını geçirdiği yerleşim tipini çalışmaya dahil etmiştir.

Geçmiş çalışmaların bulgularını tekrarlamak, literatürdeki boşlukları doldurmak ve kültürel yaşam senaryosunda yeni boyutlar keşfetmek amacıyla Türkiye'deki ergenlerin kültürel yaşam senaryosunun detaylı bir incelemesini yapmayı hedefleyen bu çalışmada beş hipotez ortaya çıkmıştır:

H1: Yazılan olayların gerçekleşmesinin beklendiği yaşların yaşamın ilk iki on yılında yer alan bir yaş tümseği beklenmektedir. Bu tümseğin içeriğindeki olayların olumlu olaylardan oluşması beklenmektedir.

H2: Kültürel yaşam senaryolarının temasında, yaşa bağlı olarak, okul seviyesi farklılığı beklenmektedir. Sınıf düzeyi arttıkça bireysel/başarı temasının anlamı bir şekilde artması beklenmektedir.

H3: Kültürel yaşam senaryolarının temasında, cinsiyet farklılığı beklenmektedir. Kız öğrencilerin erkek öğrencilere göre daha fazla sosyal/ilişkisel temalar yazması beklenmektedir.

H4: Kültürel yaşam senaryolarının temasında, alt kültürün bir belirteci olarak, kırsal-kentsel bölge farklılığı beklenmektedir. Daha önce araştırılmamış olması nedeniyle bu hipoteze dair analizler keşfedici nitelikte olacaktır.

H5: Kültürel yaşam senaryolarının temasında, öğrencilerin annelerinin sosyoekonomik durumuna göre farklılık olması beklenmektedir. Annede daha yüksek eğitim, çalışıyor olmak, ve hayatının büyük kısmını şehir/metropolde geçirmiş olmanın daha fazla bireysel/başarı tema yazılmasıyla ilişkili olması beklenmektedir.

Bu çalışma, Türkiye genelinde yürütülen ve TÜBİTAK tarafından desteklenen Türkiye Aile, Çocuk ve Ergen Projesi (TAÇEP, Proje nu: 118K033) adlı araştırma projesinin ikinci aşaması kapsamında tamamlanmıştır. Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) tarafından belirlenen temsili bir örneklemde, Türkiye'deki çocuk ve ergen gelişimini ailevi ve çevresel faktörler çerçevesinde araştırmayı amaçlayan bu projenin 66 ilden 5988 anne ve 6211 çocuk ve ergen ile yürütülmesi planlanmıştır. Ancak, 6 Şubat 2023'te Türkiye'nin doğusunu etkileyen büyük ölçekli depremlerin ikinci zaman veri toplama sürecine denk gelmesi nedeniyle bölgedeki 11 ildeki (Adana, Adıyaman, Diyarbakır, Elazığ, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kahramanmaraş, Kilis, Malatya, Osmaniye ve Şanlıurfa) katılımcılar veri toplamanın dışında bırakılmıştır. Katılımcı sayısını etkileyen bir diğer faktör de ikinci zaman veri toplama sürecinde ilkokul ve ortaokuldan mezun olmuş olan öğrencilerin yeni okullara gitmesi olmuştur. Örneklemin büyüklüğü göz önüne alındığında, bu süreçte birçok yeni okulun ziyaret edilmesi ve bu sürecin belirlenen süre zarfı içinde tamamlanacak şekilde planlanması gerekliliği meydana gelmiştir. Bu planlama yapılırken, okulların mesafesi ve ulaşılabilirliği ile katılımcıların ikinci aşamaya katılma isteklerinin göz önünde bulundurulduğu maksimum sayıda katılımcıya ulaşma hedefine uygun bir veri toplama işlemi takip edilmiştir. Sonuç olarak ikinci aşamada 648 okul ziyaret edilerek projeye 3955 anne ve 4315 çocuk-ergenin katılması sağlanmıştır. İkinci aşamaya katılan eşleşen anne-çocuk çiftlerinin sayısı 3678 gibi yüksek bir sayıyla örneklemin %56sına denk gelmektedir.

Çalışmaya katılım için belirlenen dışlama kriterleri iki veri toplama sürecinde de titizlikle uygulanmıştır. Çalışmaya katılabilmek için çocukların biyolojik anneleriyle birlikte yaşamaları, Türkçe bilmeleri ve anketleri doldurmalarına engel olabilecek

öğrenme güçlüğü ile ilişkili bir tanıya (disleksi, otizm, Down sendromu vb.) sahip olmamaları gerekmekteyken, annelerin de Türkçe bilmesi ve anketi doldurmalarına engel olabilecek fiziksel/psikolojik bir sağlık sorunlarının olmaması çalışmaya katılmaları için yeterli görülmüştür. Bir annenin çalışmaya katılmaya uygun birden fazla çocuğunun olması durumunda, sınıf listelerinin alfabetik sırasına göre seçilecek bir çocuğun katılmasına karar verilmiştir.

Mevcut çalışmanın verileri Türkiye'nin 55 ilinden 5.- 12. sınıflar arasındaki 3255 öğrenciden ve 3955 anneden toplanmıştır. Ancak, analiz öncesinde, kodlama sürecinin çok fazla emek ve zaman gerektirmesi nedeniyle, tüm örneklemden temsili %40lık bir alt örneklem seçilmiştir. Projenin temel amacı, çalışmaya dahil edilen her okulun her sınıf seviyesinden 10 öğrencinin çalışmaya katılmasını sağlamak olsa da çalışmanın ikinci aşamasında, bu hedef her okul için korunamamıştır; bu nedenle, her okulun her sınıf seviyesinden dört öğrenci seçmenin alt örneklem için en uygun sayı olacağına karar verildi. Veri kodlama sürecinin ardından ise 445 öğrenci analiz için uygun bulundu. Katılımcıların analize dahil edilme sürecinin ayrıntıları hem işlem hem de sonuçlar bölümünde daha ayrıntılı olarak açıklanmıştır.

Bu çalışmada ölçek olarak demografik bilgi formu ve Kültürel Yaşam Senaryosu Ölçeği kullanılmıştır. Buna ek olarak kırsal ve kentsel bölge ayrımının nasıl yapıldığı da konunun önemi nedeniyle açıklanmıştır.

Anne ve çocukların demografik karakteristiklerini öğrenmek amacıyla demografik bilgi formu kullanılmıştır. Anne eğitim seviyesi ve çalışma durumu ile çocuk yaş, cinsiyet ve okul seviyesi bilgileri sorulmuştur.

Bu çalışmada, Berntsen ve Rubin tarafından geliştirilen Kültürel Yaşam Senaryosu Ölçeği'nin (2004), Türkçe adaptasyonu kullanılmıştır (Aytaç & Şahin-Acar, 2019). Katılımcıların içinde yaşadıkları kültürde yeni doğmuş, kendileriyle aynı cinsiyette bir bebek düşünmeleri ve bu bebeğin yaşayacağı en önemli yedi olayı yazmaları istemiştir. Tamamlayıcı sorularda da her bir olayı yaygınlık, önem, duygusal ton ve olayın deneyimlenmesi beklenen yaş üzerinden değerlendirmeleri beklenmiştir.

Bu çalışmanın yürütüldüğü projenin en önemli özelliklerinden birisi kır-kent kategorizasyonunun yapılmasıdır. Bu kategorizasyonun doğruluğundan emin olmak

ve doğru bir tanım yapmak için birden fazla kaynağa başvurulmuştur. Bu kaynaklar, TÜİK tarafından sağlanan resmi sayılara ek olarak sahaya giden araştırmacıların gözlemlerini içeren saha raporları ve bölgelerin çevrimiçi harita görüntülerinden oluşmaktadır. Yerleşim yerlerinin kır ve kent nitelikleri aynı şehir içinde bile değişebildiği göz önünde bulundurularak, resmi bilgilerin gerçek yaşam durumlarıyla eşleşmesini sağlamak amacıyla bu yaklaşım tercih edilmiştir.

Veri toplama aşamasına geçilmeden önce Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu'ndan etik izin onayı alınmıştır. Okullarda veri toplanabilmesi için gerekli olan yasal izinler ise Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı'ndan alınmıştır. ODTÜ, Ege ve Boğaziçi Üniversitesi'nin araştırma ekipleri tarafından Mart-Haziran 2023 tarihleri arasında veri toplama süreci tamamlanmıştır.

İlk aşamada çalışmaya katılan okullarla tekrar iletişime geçilerek çalışmanın ikinci aşaması hakkında bilgilendirmeler yapılırken, öğrencilerin güncel eğitim durumları (örneğin hala aynı okulda olup olmadıkları) hakkında da bilgi alışverişi yapılmıştır. Bu görüşmelerin ardından, ilk aşamaya katılan annelerle iletişime geçilerek yine aynı bilgilendirme yapılmıştır ve çalışmaya tekrar katılmayı kabul eden annelere Qualtrics üzerinden oluşturulan anketlerin bağlantı linkleri gönderilmiştir. Annenin katılmak istememesi ve sadece çocuklarının katılımını kabul etmeleri durumunda ebeveyn onam formunun bağlantı linki gönderilmiştir. Annelerin katılımı tamamlandıktan sonra, okulların programına göre belirlenen tarihlerde araştırmacı koordinatörler tarafından yönetilen saha ekipleri ders saatleri içinde okulları ziyaret ederek öğrencilerden veri toplama işlemini gerçekleştirmiştir. Öğrenciler anketleri ekipler tarafından götürülen tabletlerde çevrimiçi olarak doldurmuşlardır. Veri toplama süreci tamamlandıktan sonra öğrencilere ve anneler küçük teşekkür hediyeleri (kalem, şal/ küçük çanta vb.) verilmiştir.

Veri toplama işlemini takiben, veri kalitesini ve sağlıklı katılımcı oranını sağlamak için Temmuz ve Ekim 2023 arasında tüm proje verisinde kapsamlı bir veri temizleme ve kontrol süreçleri yürütülmüştür. Bu veri incelemesi tamamlandıktan sonra Kültürel Yaşam Senaryosu Olayları anketi analiz için ayrı olarak incelenip kategorize edilmiştir.

Kodlama aşamasına geçmeden önce ilk olarak veri setine hâkim olmak ve cevapların genel niteliğini anlamak için bütün cevaplar incelenerek kültürel yaşam senaryosu

literatürü çerçevesinde "senaryo" ve "senaryo değil" şeklinde ikili kategorizasyon ile bölünmüştür. Yazılan bir olayın senaryo olarak kabul edilebilmesi için katılımcıların en az yüzde dördünün o olayı yazmış olması, olayın semantik anı bilgisi içermesi ve kronolojik olarak sıralanabilmesi gerekmektedir (Berntsen ve Rubin, 2004). Bu kriterlerin dışında kalan cevaplar "senaryo değil = 0" olarak kodlanmıştır ve analize dahil edilmemiştir. Bir katılımcının analize dahil edilebilmesi için, yazdığı yedi olaydan dört tanesinin "senaryo = 1" olarak kodlanması gerekmiştir. Bir sonraki aşamada senaryo olarak kabul edilen cevaplar üç tema kategorisiyle kodlanmıştır (alt tema, ara tema, ana tema). Bu temalar yazılan olayın en ayrıntılı olandan en genele doğru uzandığı hiyerarşik bir kategorizasyon şemasını oluşturmaktadır; bu kodlamanın temel amacı cevaplarda tekrar eden örüntüleri daha kolay görebilmemiz ve gerektiğinde analize kolayca dahil edebilmek için senaryolar düzenlemektir. Daha anlaşılır bir şekilde ifade etmek gerekirse, alt tema cevapların neredeyse birebir İngilizce çevirisi olacak şekilde en ayrıntılı temaları ifade etmektedir. Ara tema, görece daha az ayrıntılı olan, alt temaları ortak başlıklar altında toplayan bir araç işlevi görmektedir. Örneğin, katılımcılar "okula başlamak", "okula gitmek" veya "okul" gibi çeşitli cevaplar verdiğinde bu cevaplar okul ile ilişkili aynı olayı ima ettikleri için "okula gitmek" ara teması altında toplanmıştır. Ana tema ise, ara temaları altında toplayan bir şemsiye işlevi gören en genel temadır. Örneğin, "okula gitmek", "üniversiteye başlamak" ve "mezuniyet" gibi cevapların hepsi eğitimle ilgili temalar olduğu için "akademik" tema olarak kodlanmıştır.

İçerik kodlamanın son aşamasında her olay temasına göre "bireysel/başarı" veya "sosyal/ilişkisel" olarak kodlanmıştır. Örneğin, "evlenmek", "çocuk sahibi olmak" ve "ilk arkadaş" gibi daha kişilerarası olaylara odaklı cevaplar, ana tema olarak "romantik ilişkiler", "aile" ve "sosyal ilişkiler" altında toplanırken, son aşamada "sosyal/ilişkisel" tema olarak kodlanmıştır. Öte yandan, "üniversiteden mezun olmak", "iş sahibi olmak" ve "ev/araba satın almak" gibi bireysel ve hedef odaklı temalara sahip olaylar, "bireysel/başarı" teması olarak kodlandı. Önceki örneğimizle devam edersek, akademik temalı bir olay bu çalışmada "bireysel başarı teması" olarak kodlanacaktır.

Çalışma hipotezlerini test etmek amacıyla betimleyici analizler ve faktöriyel çok değişkenli varyans analizi (MANOVA) kullanılmıştır. İlk olarak kültürel yaşam senaryosu olaylarının gerçekleşmesinin beklendiği yaşların dağılımı incelenmiştir.

Sonrasında tespit edilen yaş kümelenmesinin özelliklerini daha iyi anlamak amacıyla pozitif ve negatif olayların frekans değerlerine bakılmıştır.

Son olarak da ergenlerin kültürel yaşam senaryolarının sosyal/ilişkisel tema ve bireysel/başarı tema niteliklerini incelemek amacıyla 2 x 2 x 2 faktöriyel MANOVA analizi yürütülmüştür.

İlk hipotezi test etmek için, yazılan olayların gerçekleşmesinin beklendiği yaşların bir tümsek oluşturup oluşturmadığına bakılmıştır ve 3 ila 25 yaşları arasında bir yaş tümseği oluştuğu görülmüştür. Tümsek olaylarının karakteristiklerine bakıldığında, yedi olay için de ağırlıklı olarak pozitif olayların yazıldığı bulunurken, yedinci olaya gelindiğinde pozitif olay oranının önceki olaylara göre daha düşük olduğu bulunmuştur. Buna karşın yine de pozitif olaylar negatif olaylardan çok daha fazla yazılmıştır.

Ergen katılımcıların cinsiyet, okul seviyesi ve yerleşim tipi özelliklerinin bağımsız değişken ve yaşam senaryosu temalarının (sosyal/ilişkisel ve bireysel/başarı) bağımlı değişken olarak seçildiği bir 2 x 2 x 2 faktöriyel MANOVA işleminin sonucunda cinsiyet ve yerleşim tipine bağlı anlamlı bir farklılık bulunamazken okul seviyesinde hem sosyal/ilişkisel tema skorunda hem de bireysel/ilişkisel tema skorunda anlamlı bir farklılık bulunmuştur. Bu sonuca göre, lise öğrencileri ortaokul öğrencilerinden daha fazla sosyal/ilişkisel tema içeren olay yazmıştır. Ortaokul öğrencileri ise lise öğrencilerinden daha fazla bireysel/başarı teması içeren olay yazmıştır.

Anne katılımcıların sosyoekonomik özelliklerinin (eğitim, çalışma durumu, geçmiş yerleşim tipi) ergen katılımcıların yaşam senaryosu temalarında nasıl bir farklılık oluşturduğunu anlamak amacıyla tekrarlanan üç yönlü faktöriyel MANOVA analizi sonucunda annelerin sosyoekonomik özelliklerinden hiçbirinin senaryo temalarında tek başına anlamlı bir farklılık yaratmadığı bulunmuştur. Ancak, anne eğitim, anne çalışma durumu ve annenin geçmiş yerleşim tipi özelliklerinin etkileşiminin ergen katılımcıların bireysel/başarı senaryo temalarında anlamlı bir farklılık oluşturduğu bulunmuştur. Düşük eğitimli, çalışmayan ve hayatının büyük kısmını kırsal bölgede geçirmiş olan annelerin çocukları daha yüksek bireysel/başarı tema skoru elde ederken, yüksek eğitimli, çalışan ve hayatının büyük kısmını kentsel bölgede geçiren annelerin çocukları daha düşük bireysel/başarı tema skoru elde etmişlerdir. Ayrıca,

annenin hayatının büyük kısmını kırsal bölgede geçirdiği, yüksek eğitimli olduğu durumda, anne çalışsa da çalışmasa da bireysel/başarı tema skorlarının aynı seviyede olduğu görülmüştür.

Kültürel yaşam senaryolarının gerçekleşmesinin beklendiği yaş dağılımında yaşamın ilk iki on yılında (bu çalışma özelinde 3-25 yaş arasında) bir kümelenme bulunması daha önce yapılan çalışmalarla uyumlu bulunsa da (Berntsen & Rubin, 2004; Janssen & Haque, 2015), tümseğin 3 yaş gibi erken bir yaştan başlamasının bu çalışma özelinde "yürümeye başlamak", "konuşmaya başlamak" gibi gelişimsel temalı olayların oldukça fazla yazılmasından dolayı olduğu düşünülmektedir. Ayrıca örneklemin ortaokul ve lise öğrencilerinden oluştuğu göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, yazılan olayların kendi yaş gruplarına yakın olaylar olması bu tümseğin karakteristiğini belirleyen önemli bir etken olmuş olabilir, ki bu tümseğin neden 25 yaştan sonra keskin bir düşüş yaşadığını da açıklamaktadır.

Her senaryo için pozitif olayın negatif olaydan daha çok yazılmış olması da yine önceki çalışmalarla uyumlu bir bulgudur (Janssen & Haque, 2015). Fakat, birinci olay için yazılan pozitif olayların oranı %82.9 gibi yüksek bir sayı iken, yedinci olaya geldiğimizde pozitif olayların oranı %59.4'e kadar düşmektedir. Kültürel yaşam senaryosunun ideal yaşam olaylarının sıralandığı bir şema işlevi görmesi yazılan olayların kronolojik sırayla yazılmasına sebep olmaktadır. Böylelikle, yedinci olaya geldiğimizde yazılan olayın yaşanacağı yaş büyümüş oluyor ve yaş ilerledikçe boşanma, işten kovulma, sevdiklerini kaybetme gibi olumsuz olayların yaşanma ve senaryo olarak yazılma ihtimali arttığı için bu durum yazılan son senaryolara daha düşük sayıda pozitif olay olarak yansımaktadır. Bu örüntü, yaşlı katılımcılara hayatlarının en önemli olaylarının sorulduğu çalışmalarla da benzerlik göstermektedir; yaşlı katılımcılar, genç katılımcılara kıyasla daha çok negatif olay raporlamıştır (Bohn, 2010). Ancak bununla beraber, bu çalışmada bulunan yaş tümseğinde pozitif olaylar her olay için daha çok aday gösterilmiştir.

Kültürel yaşam senaryolarının temalarında bulunan yaş farklılığı bu çalışmanın ilginç bulgularından birini oluşturmaktadır. Lise öğrencilerinin ortaokul öğrencilerine kıyasla daha fazla sosyal/ilişkisel tema içeren olaylar yazması, ergenlik döneminde öne çıkan kimlik oluşumu ve otonomi isteği ile çelişen bir durum gibi görünmektedir çünkü bu süreçlerin etkisinin bireysel/başarı tema skorunu yükseltmesi beklenirdi. Bu

çalışmada, lise öğrencilerinin ilk aşk, kız arkadaş/erkek arkadaş sahibi olmak gibi romantik ilişki temalarına ağırlık vermesi onların sosyal/ilişkisel tema skorlarının ortaokul öğrencilerinden daha yüksek olmasına yol açan bir etken olduğu düşünülmektedir. Öte yandan, erken-orta ergenlik yaşlarında olan ortaokul öğrencilerinin akademik tema odaklı olaylar (ortaokula başlamak, sınavlara hazırlanmak vb.) yazması bireysel/başarı tema skorlarının daha yüksek olması ile sonuçlanmıştır. Mevcut çalışmanın verisinin okullarda ve ders saatleri esnasında toplanmasının öğrencilerin senaryo cevaplarına akademik temaların artışı olarak yansıması oldukça beklenen bir sonuç olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Lise öğrencilerinin verisinin aynı koşullarda toplanması ancak böyle bir etki görülmemesinin sebebi ise yaşça daha büyük olan lise öğrencilerinin bilişsel becerileri de daha gelişkin olacağından yaptıkları işi bulundukları fiziksel ortamın bağlamından ayırmakta güçlük çekmeden anketleri doldurmaları olarak açıklanabilir.

Mevcut çalışmada cinsiyet farkı bulunmaması kız ve erkek öğrencilerin senaryo temalarının benzer olduğu anlamına gelmektedir. Geçmiş literatürde de senaryolarda cinsiyet farkına dair birbiriyle çelişen bulgular bulunmaktadır, bu çalışma cinsiyet farkı olmayan tarafta yer almıştır. Kültürel yaşam senaryosu, idealize edilmiş bir yaşam akışını temsil ettiği için cinsiyet farkını belirginleştirecek olayların senaryolarda yer almaması beklenebilecek bir durumdur. Önceki araştırmalardan da bildiğimiz gibi, birçok önemli yaşam olayı katılımcıların yazdığı yaşam senaryolarında yer bulamaması bu olayların yaygın olarak yaşanmadığını değil sadece yaşam senaryolarının semantik yapısı içinde kendine yer bulamadığını göstermektedir. Dahası, sosyal değişimlerin sürekliliği cinsiyet rollerini de etkileyen bir süreç olmuştur. Bu nedenle araştırmalarda cinsiyet farklılık ve benzerlikleri araştırırken dikkatli olmak gerekir çünkü bulgular gerçekten de cinsiyetin etkilerini yansıtmıyor olabilir.

Yaşam senaryosu temalarında yerleşim tipine bağlı bir kırsal-kentsel bölge farklılığı bulunmaması bu çalışmanın yenilikçi bulgularından biri olmuştur. Mevcut çalışmada, kırsal- kentsel bölge ayrımı alt kültürün bir göstergesi olarak kullanılmıştır. Habermas ve Hatiboğlu'nun (2015) çalışmasında, yaşanılan bölgenin kırsal veya kentsel bölge olmasının bölgeler arasında önemli farklılıklar yaratarak alt-kültürlerin oluşmasına yol açabileceği öne sürülmektedir. Haliyle bu farklılığın yaşam senaryolarına da

yansıyabileceği varsayılmıştır. Ancak bu süreçte bireysel farklılıklar da rol oynadığı için yaşam senaryolarında kültürel farklılıkları araştırırken benlik kurgusu ve yerleşim tipini birleştiren bir yaklaşım daha incelikli bulgular elde edilmesini sağlayabilir. Bunlar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, mevcut çalışmada kullanılan kırsal-kentsel bölge ayrımının alt kültür indikatörü olarak yetersiz kaldığı söylenebilir. Ancak bölgeler arasında senaryo temalarının farklılık göstermemesi, genel olarak kabul edilen ve kullanılan bir kültürel yaşam senaryosunun varlığına işaret etmesiyle önemli bir bulgudur. Yani, yerleşim tipinden bağımsız olarak bütün katılımcıların kültürel olarak paylaşılan, kronolojik sıralı, önemli yaşam olaylarının bilgisine sahip olduğu görülmüştür. Bu bulgunun hem kültürel yaşam senaryosunu destekleyen bir bulgu olması, hem de Türkiye'deki ergenlerin yaşam koşullarından bağımsız olarak idealize bir hayattan beklentilerinin aynı olması, diğer deyişle yaşam senaryolarının yerleşim tipi gibi çevresel koşullara karşı bütünlük ve direnç göstermesi bakımından oldukça kıymetli olduğu kanısına varılmıştır.

Önceki kültürel yaşam senaryosu araştırmalarında anne sosyoekonomik karakteristiklerinin (eğitim, çalışma durumu ve hayatının büyük kısmını geçirdiği yerleşim tipi) incelendiği bir çalışma bulunmamakla birlikte, bu çalışmanın ilgili bulguları gelişim ve bellek literatürlerinden yola çıkarak yorumlanmıştır. Mevcut çalışmada, annenin sosyoekonomik özelliklerinin senaryo temalarında tek başına bir etkisi bulunmamakla birlikte, bu üç özelliğin etkileşimi bireysel/başarı tema skorları için anlamlı bulunmuştur. Düşük eğitimli, çalışmayan ve hayatının büyük kısmını kırsalda geçirmiş annelerin çocukları yazdıkları senaryolarda bireysel/başarı temalı olaylara daha çok ağırlık vermiştir. Bu bulgu, düşük sosyoekonomik statüdeki anneye sahip olmanın ergenlerde bireysel/başarı tema puanını yükseltecek, hedef odaklı senaryoların (üniversiteye gitmek, iş sahibi olmak vb.) daha sık yazıldığını göstermektedir. Kırsal bölgede yaşamış annenin yüksek eğitimli olması ise, bireysel/başarı tema skorlarının çalışma durumundan bağımsız olarak çocukların bireysel/başarı tema skorlarının neredeyse aynı seviyede olması ile sonuçlanmıştır. Bu bulgu da annenin eğitiminin, çalışma ve geçmiş yerleşim tipi ile etkileşim içinde, çocuğunun senaryo temalarında önemli bir rolü olduğunu göstermektedir. Diğer yandan. Daha yüksek eğitimli, çalışan ve hayatının büyük kısmını şehir/metropol yerleşiminde geçirmiş annelerin çocukları bireysel/başarı tema skorlarında daha düşük puanlar elde etmiştir. Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi, romantik ilişki, arkadaşlık gibi

temaların daha sık yazılması bireysel/başarı tema skorlarının düşmesine yol açmaktadır. Yüksek sosyoekonomik statülü bir annenin daha sıcak ve kabullenici bir ebeveynlik stilini beraberinde getireceği düşünüldüğünde, böyle annelere sahip ergenlerin ilişkisel temalara sahip olayları keşfetmeye ve ideal bir yaşam hikayesinde beklemeye daha açık olması beklenebilir. Eğer hayatının büyük kısmını şehir/metropolde geçirmiş bir anne düşük eğitimliyse ve çalışmıyorsa, çocuklarının bireysel/başarı tema skorlarının düştüğünün gözlemlenmesi anne eğitim ve çalışma durumunun ergenlerin yaşam senaryolarında önemli bir rolü olduğunu göstermektedir.

Bu çalışma, hipoteze ilişkin bulguların yanı sıra, özgün ve keşfedici niteliği nedeniyle ilginç bulgular da ortaya koymuştur. İlk olarak, oldukça büyük bir örneklemden veri toplanmasına karşın katılımcıların yalnızca %28'i analize dahil edilebilmiştir. Bir diğer deyişle, katılımcıların çoğu literatürde belirtilen özelliklere sahip bir senaryo üretememiştir. Mevcut çalışmanın amacı yazılan yaşam senaryolarının niteliklerini araştırmak olduğu için senaryo olmayan cevaplar analiz dışı kalsa da bu cevapların araştırılması bize kültürel yaşam senaryosu için daha fazla bilgi sağlayabilir. Kısıtlılıklar kapsamında daha detaylı tartışılacak olsa da bu bulgunun sebebi çalışmanın uzun bir anketin parçası olması, katılımcıların yorulması veya yönergeyi yanlış anlaması sonucu farklı cevaplar vermesine yol açmış olabilir. Senaryo olmayan cevaplara genel olarak bakıldığında temenni içeren veya bir insanın nasıl olması/yaşaması gerektiğine dair direktifler içeren cevapların sık yazıldığı görülmüştür. Bunun, sorunun yanlış anlaşılmasının bir sonucu olabileceği gibi Türk kültürünü yansıtan bir örüntü olabileceği de düşünülmektedir. "Bir insanın hayatı boyunca yaşayacağı en önemli yedi olay" sorulduğunda katılımcılara muhtemelen beklemedikleri bir çerçeve çizerek onların bir anlamda kesin cevaplar vermesini istemek, katılımcıları daha soyut cevaplar vermeye itmiş olabilir; belki de katılımcılar bu soruya somut ve net cevaplar vermenin "büyük konuşmak" gibi istenmeyen bir durumu yansıtabileceğini düşünerek farklı cevaplar yazma yoluna gitmiş olabilir. Bu yorumlamalar literatürden çok spekülasyon odaklı olsa da, kültürün senaryolara tam olarak nasıl yansıdığını anlamak için önemli bir içgörü sağladığı düşünülmektedir.

Mevcut çalışmanın özgün niteliği beraberinde önemli katkıları da getirmiştir. İlk olarak, bir yaş kümelenmesinin bulanması, yazılan olayların pozitif olması ve senaryoların temasında yaş farkının bulunması literatürü destekleyen ve tekrarlayan

bulgular olmuştur. Buna ek olarak, Türkiye genelinde yaşayan ergenlerin kültürel yaşam senaryolarını inceleyen, kırsal-kentsel bölge farklılıklarını ve anne sosyoekonomik özelliklerinin senaryolardaki rolünü araştıran bir çalışma olmasıyla mevcut literatüre önemli katkı sağlayan bir çalışma ortaya konmuştur. Son olarak, bu çalışma kültürel yaşam senaryolarını tematik olarak (sosyal/ilişkisel ve bireysel/başarı temaları) inceleyen ilk çalışma olarak da öncü bir konumda yer almıştır.

Kısıtlılıklardan daha önce bahsedilse de özetlemek gerekirse, bu çalışmanın büyük bir proje kapsamında yürütülmesi onun hem güçlü yanı hem zayıf yanı olmuştur. Ebeveyn çocuk ilişkisini ve çocuğun gelişimini etkileyen bireysel ve çevresel birçok faktörü değerlendirmeye alan çok sayıda anket katılımcılara doldurmaları için verilmiştir ve bu anketlerin belli temalar (gelişimsel, sosyal, akademik) etrafında toplanması senaryo soruları için bir ön hazırlama etkisi yaratmış olabilir. Son olarak, her ne kadar temsil gücü yüksek bir örneklem seçilmesi için titizlikle çalışılsa da kültürel yaşam senaryosu için analize uygun bulunan örneklem için özellikle anne çalışma durumunun temsil gücünün düşük olduğu söylenebilir. Çalışmamızda çok sayıda mavi yakalı çalışan veya mevsimlik işçi bulunduğu için, annenin çalışıyor olmasından beklediğimiz olumlu yönleri bu çalışmada tam olarak yakalayamamış olabiliriz.

Bütün bu katkı ve kısıtlılıklar göz önünde bulundurulduğunda gelecek çalışmalarda cinsiyet rolü, benlik kurgusu ve kültürel algı gibi bireysel faktörleri daha iyi entegre eden modellerle kültürel yaşam senaryolarını araştırmak bize daha detaylı bilgi sağlayacaktır. Bu çalışmanın en özgün ve kıymetli yanı olan tematik analizin de yaygınlaştırılması kültürel yaşam senaryolarında tekrarlayan örüntüleri ve ince detayları daha iyi fark edeceğimiz bir yöntem olarak ön plana çıkabileceği düşünülmektedir.

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