

ARTICLE

High school and university students' reasoning about decision-making autonomy and parental authority legitimacy in child–mother conflicts

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Email: nilaykuyel@gmail.com**Abstract**

This study investigated youths' reasoning about personal autonomy and maternal authority in hypothetical emerging adult child–mother conflicts in Türkiye. High school and university students ($N = 138$, $M_{\text{age}} = 19.72$ years) from secular and religious schools completed a self-report questionnaire including eight conflict scenarios where the mother opposes her child's decision to marry a non-Muslim or get a tattoo. Maternal opposition in hypothetical scenarios was presented in the forms of maternal advice and maternal use of haram opposition. Haram opposition implies the declaration of maternal accrued rights (a concept deeply rooted in Turkish culture) as haram. The results showed that participants were more likely to subordinate child autonomy to maternal authority when the mother in hypothetical scenarios was depicted as using haram opposition. Authoritative parenting appeared to strengthen this effect. This study has shown that haram opposition is a psychological control mechanism to subordinate child autonomy to maternal authority.

KEYWORDS

child–parent conflict, decision-making autonomy, parental authority, parental psychological control, parenting styles

INTRODUCTION

Adolescents' (decision-making) autonomy has received much attention from developmental psychologists (Wray-Lake et al., 2010). Adolescent–parent conflicts are prevalent due to parents' desire for authority and adolescents' desire to maintain jurisdiction over their lives (Smetana, 1988). Social domain researchers have shown that parents and adolescents in the United States agree that parents should have the legitimate authority to regulate moral issues (concerning others' welfare, rights and fairness), conventional issues (concerning arbitrary and contextually relative social norms) and prudential issues (risks to one's safety or well-being) and that adolescents should have some control over personal issues (personal preferences not subject to right or wrong) (Smetana et al., 2014). Adolescents and parents

Statement of Contribution

- This study explored the concept of maternal accrued rights and the effect of maternal opposition on high school and university students' reasoning about youths' decision-making autonomy in Turkish culture.
- Results indicated that participants had a greater tendency to subordinate child autonomy to maternal authority when the mother used haram opposition rather than advice opposition. Authoritative parenting strengthened the effect of haram opposition on both religious and secular university participants.
- Even though participants had a greater tendency to yield to the mother when the mother used haram opposition, they viewed haram opposition as a psychological control mechanism.

dispute 'most over whether parents have the right to control multifaceted issues' (issues involving domain overlap) that adolescents treat as personal and parents view as conventional or prudential (Assadi et al., 2011, p. 424). Over time, the scope of the personal domain expands to include more multifaceted issues (Smetana et al., 2015).

Research has indicated a link between authoritarian parenting that leads to restrictions on adolescents' personal domains and intense adolescent-parent conflicts (Smetana, 1995). Compared to adolescents with authoritative parents who place a high value on autonomous self-will while controlling and guiding their children, adolescents with authoritarian parents who value obedience and use punishment for conformity (Baumrind, 1966) have a lesser tendency to endorse the legitimacy of parental authority (Smetana, 1995), desire more autonomy (Baumrind, 1991) and have a greater tendency to resist parental advice (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Adolescent-parent conflicts around personal matters are common not only in Western settings but also in non-Western settings, such as China (Chen-Gaddini et al., 2020; Yau & Smetana, 2003), Japan (Hasebe et al., 2004), India (Neff, 2001), Brazil (Milnitsky-Sapiro et al., 2006), Iran (Assadi et al., 2011), Jordan with Arab refugee adolescents (Smetana et al., 2015), and Türkiye (Acar, 2017). Girls in non-Western societies are less likely than boys to resist parental interference in their personal lives (Chen-Gaddini et al., 2020; Hasebe et al., 2004), and boys are accorded greater autonomy (Wainryb, 2006). Adolescent-mother conflicts in Muslim culture have also drawn much attention (Assadi et al., 2011). Muslim mothers usually hold significant power and authority (Nasr, 2004). Secular Turkish adolescent girls are shown to be more likely than their religious counterparts to endorse individual autonomy in hypothetical daughter-mother conflicts (Acar, 2017). Young adults today are considered only 'semi-autonomous' (Wray-Lake et al., 2010), and making autonomous decisions is crucial for being considered an adult (Arnett, 2000). With a population of approximately 85 million, Türkiye has a higher youth population (ages 15–24) percentage than 27 European Union countries. Approximately 70% of the youth population in Türkiye is in the 18–24 age group (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2024), in which emerging adults explore the possibilities in love, work and worldviews and increasingly gain control over their own lives (Arnett, 2002). Factors affecting Turkish youths' reasoning about emerging adults' decision-making autonomy should be investigated.

The goal of our study is to introduce the concept of 'maternal accrued rights' in Turkish culture and examine how 'mothers' declaration of their maternal accrued rights as haram' (haram refers to actions God forbids) influences secular and religious Turkish students' judgements about personal autonomy and the legitimacy of maternal authority in hypothetical emerging adult child–mother conflicts. The study makes two main contributions: First, it extends the investigation of reasoning about adolescents' decision-making autonomy in child–mother conflicts in Türkiye (Acar, 2017) further into emerging adulthood. Second, it examines whether the declaration of maternal accrued rights as haram is a significant cultural factor that may lead to the subordination of child autonomy to maternal authority among youths, even secular youths, in Türkiye. More broadly, this study connects cultural factors with the

developmental dynamics of autonomy in Turkish youth. Examining maternal accrued rights and the use of haram opposition, it aims to highlight how strong maternal influence is related to autonomy development in both secular and religious youth in Türkiye.

The concept of maternal accrued rights within Turkish culture

The Qur'an has made it clear that Muslim children are expected to treat their mothers with love and respect. According to Hadith [a record of the words and actions of the Islamic Prophet (Esposito, 2011)], the Prophet highly esteemed mothers and had said that 'Heaven lies under mothers' feet' (Nasr, 2004, p. 191).

The concept of 'maternal accrued rights' over the child is well recognized in Turkish culture. Maternal accrued rights differ greatly from the mother's legal rights on the child or from the mother's own human or legal rights. A mother accrues maternal rights over her child by childrearing throughout the child's life to adulthood. The child owes the mother a lifelong debt. Justice requires the child to pay this debt, and the mother ultimately decides if she releases the child from this debt. Haram refers to actions prohibited in the Qur'an, whereas halal refers to actions permitted in the Qur'an (Nasr, 2004). Suppose the mother expresses an overall sense of joy by declaring all her maternal accrued rights as halal. In that case, it implies that the child has paid their debt and that raising the child has served a good cause (e.g., the child has conformed to religion and performed morally good actions). It is assumed that children who obtain their mothers' halal may feel peaceful in their conscience and believe they are likely to gain God's contentment and reward on Earth and in the Hereafter. Rights being declared as haram signifies that the mother's arduous work of parenting has not served a good cause because the child did not pay the debt and made wrong choices in life. Children may feel guilty and believe that they are likely to incur God's discontent and punishment.

Prior research has documented that Turkish mothers exert more control over their children than Turkish fathers (Sunar & Fişek, 2005). Some Turkish mothers may declare their maternal accrued rights as haram or halal to assert control over their children's personal choices. Such parenting would fall within what has been called 'psychological control' (intrusive parental behaviours such as guilt induction). Parental engagement in psychological control is considered to interfere with youths' developing sense of identity and autonomy (Barber et al., 2012).

The root of the accrued rights concept is assumed to be linked to the justice perspective, which has been shown to be strong among Turkish college students (Kuyel & Glover, 2010). In many life situations, reciprocity cannot fully exist, such as in the relationship between the mother and the child. Accrued rights emerge from such cases where full reciprocity is not present. On the other hand, even if the root of the concept can be tied to justice, the manifestation of the concept in Turkish society is predominantly social conventional, as religious beliefs and social conventions emphasize the importance of maternal accrued rights and getting the mother's halal.

The present study

Using Social Domain Theory (Nucci, 1996; Turiel, 1983), this study examined secular and religious high school and university students' reasoning about youths' decision-making autonomy in two multifaceted issues, interfaith marriage and tattooing, in Türkiye. Participants' reasoning was investigated by hypothetical scenarios depicting emerging adult child–mother conflicts. Hypothetical scenarios were designed to determine whether participants endorse the child protagonist's autonomy (to marry a non-Muslim and get a tattoo) and the legitimacy of maternal opposition.

Both issues of interfaith marriage and tattooing can be considered multifaceted, which causes individuals to interpret behaviours and decisions from different domains, leading to conflicting priorities. For example, interfaith marriage is a multidimensional issue because it is built on a personal choice and is subject to conventional and religious regulations, which carry significant social and psychological consequences. Tattooing is a multifaceted issue because it involves a personal choice to have a permanent

mark or design on the skin. It is viewed as a deviation from social norms in some cultures (Rapp, 2010) and is even subject to legal and religious regulations. Tattooing also has a prudential component as it involves health risks. Conflicts between the child protagonist and the mother in the hypothetical scenarios occur as the child protagonist (as implied in the scenarios) treats the issues of choosing a non-Muslim spouse and getting a tattoo as personal and within their jurisdiction. The mother treats them as conventional and contingent on parental authority.

Both hypothetical scenarios of marrying a non-Muslim and getting a tattoo had two versions. In each version, the child protagonist's mother was portrayed as using a different parenting style (authoritative or authoritarian). In each parenting style category, the mother was depicted as opposing her child's decision in two different ways (giving advice and threatening to declare her maternal accrued rights as haram).

Interfaith marriage and tattooing in Türkiye

A Muslim man, according to the Qur'an, may marry a non-Muslim woman if she is a member of the People of the Book (i.e., Jewish or Christian), whereas a Muslim woman may not marry a non-Muslim (Esposito, 2011). Muslim countries that follow civil law jurisdiction (e.g., Türkiye) however, allow women to marry non-Muslim men through secular laws. Social norms may still lay strict restrictions on inter-religious marriages in secular countries even if the law does not see religion as an impediment to marriage. For example, interfaith marriage in Türkiye has been seen as a significant cultural taboo even until the last 10–15 years, even though marriages between Muslims and non-Muslims have increased since the previous decade (Beylunioglu & Kaymak, 2021).

In the Islamic world, tattoos are believed to invalidate ablution, which involves bodily cleanliness required before performing Namaz (daily five-time prayers) every time (Nasr, 2004). Many Muslim scholars have argued that tattooing is haram (forbidden) based on the Hadith (Larsson, 2011). In 2007, it was reported that the Directorate of Religious Affairs in Türkiye was 'determined to combat local traditions that accepted the practice of tattooing and curb its recently renewed popularity, especially among Turkish youths' (Larsson, 2011, p. 239).

Hypotheses

Decisions affecting health are mostly made by parents and adolescents together in late adolescence (Wray-Lake et al., 2010). Participants were expected to endorse the tattoo decisions less than the marriage decisions (Hypothesis 1) and view maternal opposition to tattoo decisions as more acceptable than maternal opposition to marriage decisions (Hypothesis 2).

Consistent with findings on parenting style and autonomy (Baumrind, 1991; Smetana, 1995), participants were expected to grant the child protagonist more decision-making autonomy when the mother was portrayed as authoritarian rather than authoritative (Hypothesis 3). Participants were also expected to endorse maternal opposition more when the mother was portrayed as authoritative rather than authoritarian (Hypothesis 4).

Participants were expected to endorse the child protagonist's decision less when the mother was portrayed as using haram opposition rather than advice opposition (Hypothesis 5). Because it may lead to extreme guilt in the child, participants may see haram opposition as parental psychological control. Based on the evidence that youth view parental psychological control as an unacceptable behaviour (Chen-Gaddini et al., 2020), participants were expected to view haram opposition as less legitimate than advice opposition (Hypothesis 6). Participants within each school were expected to give the child protagonist minimal decision-making autonomy in the context where the authoritative mother was portrayed as using haram opposition (Hypothesis 7).

Consistent with findings on autonomy development in Türkiye (Acar, 2017), secular high school and secular university participants were expected to endorse the child protagonist's decision more

(Hypothesis 8) and the legitimacy of maternal opposition less than religious high school and religious university participants (Hypothesis 9).

Based on previous research (Chen-Gaddini et al., 2020; Hasebe et al., 2004), males were expected to endorse the child protagonist's decision more than females (Hypothesis 10) and females were expected to endorse the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males in each of the interfaith marriage scenarios (Hypothesis 11).

METHOD

Participants and procedure

A total of 138 participants were recruited for this study ($M_{\text{age}} = 19.72$ years, $SD = 4.33$). Fifty-one per cent ($n = 71$) of the participants were from religious schools (high school and university participants combined) ($M_{\text{age}} = 19.24$ years, $SD = 5.02$), and 49% ($n = 67$) were from secular schools ($M_{\text{age}} = 20.25$ years, $SD = 3.35$). Forty-three per cent ($n = 59$) of the participants were male ($M_{\text{age}} = 20.11$ years, $SD = 5.45$), and 57% ($n = 79$) were female ($M_{\text{age}} = 19.44$ years, $SD = 3.31$) (see the details on participants in Appendix S1).

MEF University's Institutional Review Board reviewed and approved the present study. All the participants were recruited through contact with instructors. Course instructors and the participants expressed consent prior to data collection. Participants were informed that their participation was voluntary. They were given a packet of materials containing the self-report and demographic questionnaires (including instructions). Participants were asked to take the packet home, read all the scenarios and complete the questionnaires. After participants returned the completed questionnaires to their instructors, the instructors forwarded them to the principal investigator. The questionnaires were printed in Turkish.

Measures and design

The self-report questionnaire consists of eight hypothetical scenarios portraying conflicts between a mother and her emerging adult child (the child protagonist) on two issues of interfaith marriage and tattooing (see the designs for the two issues in Appendix S2 and the details on the self-report questionnaire in Appendix S3). Participants' sex was matched with the child protagonists' sex in the scenarios.

Participants responded to two questions after reading each scenario. The first question concerns participants' judgements and justifications for endorsing the child protagonist's decision despite the mother's opposition. The second question concerns participants' judgements and justifications for endorsing the maternal opposition. Participants evaluated the endorsement questions on a 3-point Likert-type scale (Not OK, OK to some extent, OK) and provided a written justification for their judgements: (1) Do you think it is OK for Zeynep (the child protagonist) to decide to marry her non-Muslim boyfriend (or get a tattoo) despite her mother's advice (despite her mother's saying she will declare her maternal accrued rights as haram)? Why? (2) Do you think it is OK for Zeynep's mother to advise Zeynep not to marry her non-Muslim boyfriend (or get a tattoo) [Do you think it is OK for Zeynep's mother to say she will declare her maternal accrued rights as haram if Zeynep marries her non-Muslim boyfriend (or gets a tattoo)]? Why? (see the hypothetical scenarios in Appendix S4).

Coding

Judgements for the endorsements of the child protagonist's decision and maternal opposition were coded on a 3-point scale: Not OK (1), OK to some extent (2), OK (3). Participants' justifications were first coded into three categories: (a) moral, (b) social conventional and (c) personal (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 Justification categories provided by participants.

| Domain | Description |
|---------------------|---|
| Moral | Justice, fairness, equality of all human beings, reciprocity between parents and children Rights Welfare of others (references to psychological harm to others) |
| Social conventional | Respect for maternal authority inherent to the maternal role Faith in mothers' knowledge about other cultures, social relationships, behaviours resulting in sins and actions leading to health problems Respect for maternal accrued rights and maternal halal Maternal duty to enforce societal and religious rules and regulate the child's behaviour Reference to the quality of mother–child relationships and affective family interactions |
| Personal | Personal autonomy Individuation Personal choices, preferences, desires |

Since participants' justifications for endorsements of the child protagonist's decision and maternal opposition included more than one domain, we developed two other coding schemes to analyse the coordination between judgements and justifications for each question. The analyses of justifications for the endorsement of the child protagonist's decision included three categories: (a) social conventional, (b) personal, (c) social conventional and personal (unresolved conflict). The analyses of justifications for the endorsement of maternal opposition (i.e., advice and haram oppositions) also included three categories: (a) social conventional, (b) moral, (c) social conventional and moral (unresolved conflict) (see Table 2).

The prudential domain was not used in the coding system. In the hypothetical scenarios, the first question examined if the participant endorsed the child protagonist's decision (due to personal concerns) or the mother's opposition (due to social-conventional reasons). Some participants reported that it was not OK for the child protagonist to get a tattoo despite the mother's advice (or haram) opposition because they believed that the mother should have the legitimate authority to regulate issues pertaining to harm to the self and, thus, they were classified into 'social-conventional category' in the coding system. In our sample, we did not find evidence of the prudential domain, where the participant did not endorse the tattoo decision primarily due to health reasons, while finding the mother's approval unimportant.

A second rater coded 33% of the responses for justification categories to establish inter-rater reliability. Cohen's κ ranged from 0.82 to 1.00 (see the inter-rater agreements on justifications in Appendix S6).

Data analytic plan

Analysis of judgments about endorsements of child protagonist's decision and maternal opposition

Participants' judgement score for endorsing the child protagonist's decision was called the 'Decision Endorsement (DE)' score. Similarly, the participants' judgement score for endorsing the maternal opposition was called the 'Maternal Opposition Endorsement (MOE)' score.

Repeated measures ANOVA and MANOVA analyses

We used the repeated measures ANOVA technique to test Hypotheses 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8 and 9. More specifically, we performed two (separate) repeated measures ANOVAs to investigate the effects of five independent variables: content of the issue (interfaith marriage, tattooing), type of maternal opposition

TABLE 2 Characteristics of the participants' justifications for endorsements of child protagonist's decision and maternal opposition.

| Characteristics of the participants' justifications for endorsement of child protagonist's decision | | |
|--|--|---|
| Social conventional | Personal | Social conventional and personal (unresolved conflict) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Viewed interfaith marriage (or tattooing) as (mainly) an issue of social convention and legitimately subject to maternal authority | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Viewed interfaith marriage (or tattooing) as (mainly) an issue of personal domain and within the child's jurisdiction | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Endorsed both the child protagonist's decision and the mother's opposition to the same degree |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rejected the child protagonist's decision [i.e., It is <i>not</i> OK for the child protagonist to marry a non-Muslim (or get a tattoo)] | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Endorsed or agreed with the child protagonist's decision [i.e., it is <i>OK</i> for the child protagonist to marry a non-Muslim (or get a tattoo)] | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suggested that the child protagonist and the mother must find a middle (or compromised) way |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Either focused exclusively on social-conventional concerns or included a predominant emphasis on social conventions, with the subordination of personal concerns (to social conventions) (for the percentages and examples from the participants' justifications, see Appendix S5) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Either focused exclusively on personal concerns or included a predominant emphasis on personal concerns, with the subordination of social-conventional concerns (to personal concerns) (for the percentages and examples from the participants' justifications, see Appendix S5) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Included a conflict regarding how best to conceptualize the issues of marrying a non-Muslim and getting a tattoo and did not show a clear resolution between social-conventional and personal considerations (for the percentages and examples from the participants' justifications, see Appendix S5) |
| Characteristics of the participants' justifications for endorsement of maternal opposition | | |
| Social-conventional | Moral | Social-conventional and moral (unresolved conflict) |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Endorsed or agreed with the mother's advice (or haram) opposition | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rejected the mother's advice (or haram) opposition | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Both endorsed and rejected the mother's advice (or haram) opposition |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focused exclusively on social-conventional considerations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focused exclusively on moral considerations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Justifications included both social-conventional and moral considerations |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants viewed maternal opposition as necessary to enforce societal and religious rules, regulate the child's behaviour and protect the child from engaging in actions leading to health problems and resulting in sins (for examples from the participants' justifications, see Appendix S5) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants viewed maternal opposition as parental intrusion over the personal domain, as unfair, and considered the child's welfare (for examples from the participants' justifications, see Appendix S5) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Included a conflict regarding how best to conceptualize the boundaries of maternal authority in the context of interfaith marriage and tattooing and did not show a clear resolution between social-conventional and moral considerations (for examples from the participants' justifications, see Appendix S5) |

(advice, haram), parenting style (authoritative, authoritarian), school type (secular high school, religious high school, secular university, religious university) and sex (male, female), on the dependent variables, the overall DE score and the overall MOE score.

We used the MANOVA technique to test Hypothesis 10 (i.e., males were expected to endorse the child protagonist's decision more than females in each of the interfaith marriage scenarios) and Hypothesis 11 (i.e., females were expected to endorse the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males in each of the interfaith marriage scenarios). More specifically, we used a two-way MANOVA

to examine the effects of two independent variables, school type and sex, on the eight dependent variables, the mean DE scores for the authoritative mother/advice opposition (AA), authoritative mother/haram opposition (AH), authoritarian mother/advice opposition (ANA) and authoritarian mother/haram opposition (ANH) conditions of marrying a non-Muslim and tattoo scenarios (the test of Hypothesis 10). A separate two-way MANOVA was performed for the mean MOE scores (the test of Hypothesis 11) (even though not related to our hypotheses directly, school type was also included in the MANOVA analyses to assess the effect of school type on the mean DE and mean MOE scores in detail).

Before performing the MANOVAs, we conducted Pearson correlations among dependent variables. For both sex and school type, ANOVAs were conducted for each dependent variable as follow-up tests to the MANOVA. After significant ANOVA effects were found, post-hoc pairwise comparisons were performed. We used Bonferroni as a post-hoc procedure to control for Type 1 error across pairwise comparisons.

Paired samples t-test analyses

Our hypothetical scenarios include four conditions: AA (Authoritative mother/Advice opposition), AH (Authoritative mother/Haram opposition), ANA (Authoritarian mother/Advice opposition) and ANH (Authoritarian mother/Haram opposition). To test Hypothesis 7 (i.e., Participants within each school were expected to give the child protagonist minimal decision-making autonomy in the context where the authoritative mother was portrayed as using haram opposition—AH condition), we first calculated the mean DE (decision endorsement) scores for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH conditions (the answers for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH conditions of marrying a non-Muslim and getting a tattoo scenarios were combined for this analysis). Then, within each school sample, a paired samples *t*-test was performed between the lowest and the second-lowest mean DE scores to determine whether the lowest mean DE score obtained among the four conditions was statistically significantly lower than the second-lowest mean DE score. A significant result suggested that participants endorsed the child protagonist's decision less in the condition with the lowest mean DE score than in the condition with the second-lowest mean DE score [judgements for the endorsement of the child protagonist's decision were coded on a 3-point scale: Not OK (1), OK to some extent (2), OK (3)].

If the paired samples *t*-test indicated that the lowest mean DE score was statistically significantly lower than the second-lowest mean DE score, we assumed the lowest mean DE score would also be lower than the other two mean DE scores. Therefore, we conducted a paired samples *t*-test between the lowest and the second-lowest mean DE scores only.

Analysis of justifications about endorsements of child protagonist's decision and maternal opposition

Some secular and religious high school participants did not provide a written justification for their judgments. The results of chi-square tests of independence indicated that secular high school and secular university students' reasoning was more similar than different. Religious high school and religious university students also provided similar justifications for their judgments. Therefore, secular high school data was combined with secular university data, and religious high school data was combined with religious university data before the justifications were analyzed (see the specifics on the chi-square tests in Appendix S7).

We examined predictors of participants' justification categories with the Generalized Linear Model Technique (GLLM) since it expands linear regression to categorical dependent variables (Lindsey, 2000). More specifically, we ran two separate Generalized Linear Models with SPSS 23 to test the predictors of personal justifications for the endorsement of the child protagonist's decision and the predictors of social-conventional justifications for the endorsement of the maternal

opposition. In other words, we treated domains as DVs, and scenario (issue's content) \times mothering styles, school type and sex as IVs.

RESULTS

Analysis of judgments about endorsement of child protagonist's decision (DE scores)

Analysis of DE scores based on repeated measures ANOVA

Main effects

Results confirmed Hypotheses 1, 3, 5 and 8. The issue's content, type of maternal opposition, parenting style and school type had a significant main effect on DE scores overall, $F(1, 130) = 30.15, p < .001, \eta^2 = .19$, power = 1.00; $F(1, 130) = 73.59, p < .001, \eta^2 = .36$, power = 1.00; $F(1, 130) = 26.59, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$, power = 1.00; $F(3, 130) = 22.20, p < .001, \eta^2 = .34$, power = 1.00, respectively. The marriage decisions were endorsed more than the tattoo decisions ($p < .001$). Participants endorsed the child protagonist's decision more when the mother was portrayed as authoritarian rather than authoritative ($p < .001$). They endorsed the child protagonist's decision less when the mother used haram opposition rather than advice opposition ($p < .001$). Secular high school and secular university participants endorsed the child protagonist's decision more than religious high school ($p < .001$) and religious university ($p < .001$) participants. Sex did not have a significant ($p > .05$) main effect on DE scores overall, $F(1, 130) = 3.01, p = .09, \eta^2 = .02$, power = 0.41 (see Table 3) (see the interaction effects for DE scores in Appendix S8).

Analysis of DE scores for eight scenarios using two-way MANOVA

Pearson correlations among the DE scores are shown in Table 4.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was found. Results of Pillai's Trace indicated statistically significant differences between males and females on a linear combination of the eight dependent variables, $F(8, 123) = 3.91, p < .001$, power = 0.99. The Multivariate effect size was estimated at 0.203. Results of Pillai's Trace also indicated statistically significant differences among the four types of schools on a linear combination of the eight dependent variables, $F(24, 375) = 4.01, p < .001$, power = 1.00. The Multivariate effect size was estimated at 0.204.

For both sex and school type, we conducted ANOVA for each dependent variable as follow-up tests to the MANOVA (see the ANOVA results, Tables and Figures for school type in Appendix S8).

Sex had a statistically significant effect on the mean DE scores for the AA [$F(1, 130) = 23.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .15$, power = 1.00], AH [$F(1, 130) = 5.21, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04$, power = 0.62] and ANA [$F(1, 130) = 6.61, p = .01, \eta^2 = .05$, power = 0.72] conditions of marrying a non-Muslim scenario. Results, however, were non-significant ($p > .05$) for the ANH [$F(1, 130) = 2.35, \eta^2 = .02$, power = 0.33] condition. Sex did not have a statistically significant ($p > .05$) effect on the mean DE scores for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH conditions of the tattoo scenario.

Hypothesis 10 was partially confirmed. With respect to marrying a non-Muslim scenario, post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction indicated that males ($n = 59$) ($M = 2.25$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% CI [2.08, 2.42]) endorsed the child protagonist's decision more than females ($n = 79$) ($M = 1.68$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% CI [1.52, 1.83]) ($p < .001$) for the AA condition. Males ($M = 1.64$, $SE = 0.08$, 95% CI [1.49, 1.80]) endorsed the child protagonist's decision more than females ($M = 1.40$, $SE = 0.07$, 95% CI [1.26, 1.54]) ($p = .02$) for the AH condition. Males ($M = 2.23$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% CI [2.05, 2.42]) also endorsed the child protagonist's decision more than females ($M = 1.91$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% CI [1.74, 2.07]) ($p = .01$) for the ANA condition. There was no difference ($p > .05$) in mean DE scores between males

TABLE 3 Means, standard errors and 95% confidence intervals of DE and MOE scores by content of the issue, type of maternal opposition, parenting style, school type and sex.

| DE scores | 95% CI | | | | | MOE scores | 95% CI | | | | |
|-----------|--------|------|------|------|------|------------|--------|------|------|------|------|
| | N | M | SE | LB | UB | | N | M | SE | LB | UB |
| MD | 138 | 1.82 | 0.05 | 1.73 | 1.91 | MOMD | 138 | 1.87 | 0.04 | 1.78 | 1.95 |
| TD | 138 | 1.57 | 0.05 | 1.48 | 1.66 | MOTD | 138 | 2.08 | 0.04 | 2.00 | 2.16 |
| AO | 138 | 1.86 | 0.04 | 1.77 | 1.94 | AO | 138 | 2.39 | 0.04 | 2.31 | 2.47 |
| HO | 138 | 1.53 | 0.05 | 1.45 | 1.62 | HO | 138 | 1.55 | 0.05 | 1.45 | 1.66 |
| AVM | 138 | 1.6 | 0.04 | 1.52 | 1.68 | AVM | 138 | 2.03 | 0.04 | 1.95 | 2.1 |
| ANM | 138 | 1.79 | 0.05 | 1.7 | 1.89 | ANM | 138 | 1.92 | 0.04 | 1.84 | 2.00 |
| SUP | 44 | 1.98 | 0.08 | 1.83 | 2.13 | SUP | 44 | 1.75 | 0.07 | 1.61 | 1.88 |
| RUP | 41 | 1.51 | 0.07 | 1.37 | 1.65 | RUP | 41 | 2.17 | 0.06 | 2.04 | 2.29 |
| SHSP | 23 | 2.05 | 0.09 | 1.87 | 2.24 | SHSP | 23 | 1.59 | 0.09 | 1.42 | 1.76 |
| RHSP | 30 | 1.24 | 0.08 | 1.07 | 1.4 | RHSP | 30 | 2.38 | 0.08 | 2.23 | 2.53 |
| Males | 59 | 1.77 | 0.06 | 1.65 | 1.88 | Males | 59 | 1.86 | 0.06 | 1.75 | 1.97 |
| Females | 79 | 1.63 | 0.05 | 1.52 | 1.73 | Females | 79 | 2.09 | 0.05 | 1.99 | 2.18 |

Abbreviations: ANM, Authoritarian mother; AO, Advice opposition; AVM, Authoritative mother; DE, Decision endorsement; HO, Haram opposition; LB, Lower bound; MD, Marriage decisions; MOE, Maternal opposition endorsement; MOMD, Maternal opposition to marriage decisions; MOTD, Maternal opposition to tattoo decisions; RHSP, Religious high school participants; RUP, Religious university participants; SHSP, Secular high school participants; SUP, Secular university participants; TD, Tattoo decisions; UB, Upper bound.

TABLE 4 Correlations among the DE scores for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH conditions of marrying a non-Muslim and getting a tattoo scenarios.

| Dependent variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|-----------------------|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| (1) DE, Marriage, AA | 1 | .589** | .637** | .527** | .416** | .369** | .353** | .407** |
| (2) DE, Marriage, AH | | 1 | .530** | .611** | .432** | .520** | .337** | .540** |
| (3) DE, Marriage, ANA | | | 1 | .613** | .378** | .241** | .495** | .442** |
| (4) DE, Marriage, ANH | | | | 1 | .371** | .321** | .415** | .597** |
| (5) DE, Tattoo, AA | | | | | 1 | .543** | .525** | .586** |
| (6) DE, Tattoo, AH | | | | | | 1 | .427** | .674** |
| (7) DE, Tattoo, ANA | | | | | | | 1 | .545** |
| (8) DE, Tattoo, ANH | | | | | | | | 1 |

Note: $N = 138$; ** $p < .01$ (correlation is significant at the 0.01 level, two-tailed).

Abbreviations: AA, Authoritative mother/advice opposition condition; AH, Authoritative mother/haram opposition condition; ANA, Authoritarian mother/advice opposition condition; ANH, Authoritarian mother/haram opposition condition; DE, Decision endorsement score; Marriage, Marrying a non-Muslim scenario; Tattoo, Getting a tattoo scenario.

($M = 1.82$, $SE = 0.10$, 95% CI [1.63, 2.01]) and females ($M = 1.63$, $SE = 0.09$, 95% CI [1.46, 1.80]) for the ANH condition (see Figure 1).

The paired samples *t*-test analysis

Each of the four schools received the lowest mean DE score for the AH condition and the second-lowest mean DE score for the ANH condition (except that religious high school participants received the lowest mean DE score for the AH condition and the second-lowest mean DE score for the AA condition).

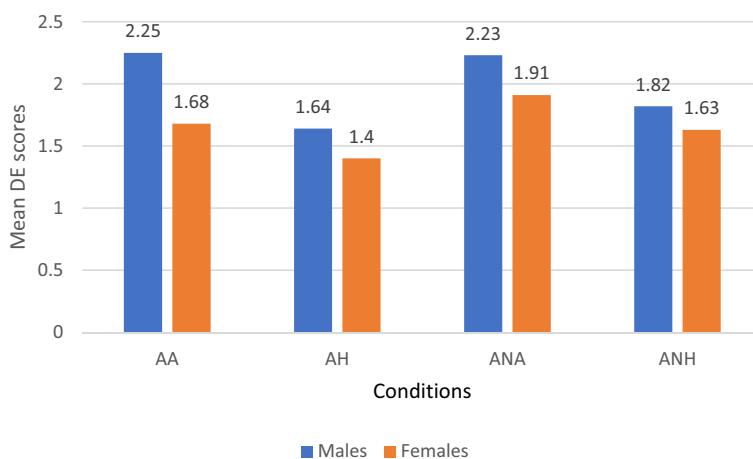


FIGURE 1 Mean DE Scores by Sex for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH Conditions of Marrying a non-Muslim Scenario (AA, Authoritative mother/Advice opposition; AH, Authoritative mother/Haram opposition; ANA, Authoritarian mother/Advice opposition; ANH, Authoritarian mother/Haram opposition).

Hypothesis 7 was partially confirmed. For secular university participants, the mean DE score for the AH condition ($M = 1.73$, $SD = 0.64$) was statistically significantly lower than the mean DE score for the ANH condition ($M = 1.96$, $SD = 0.70$), $t(43) = -2.93$, $p = .005$. Cohen's d was estimated at 0.52. The 95% confidence interval of the difference between the means ranged from -0.39 to -0.07 . For religious university participants, the mean DE score for the AH condition ($M = 1.20$, $SD = 0.34$) was also statistically significantly lower than the mean DE score for the ANH condition ($M = 1.44$, $SD = 0.47$), $t(40) = -3.17$, $p = .003$. Cohen's d was estimated at 0.48. The 95% confidence interval of the difference between the means ranged from -0.39 to -0.09 . However, for secular high school participants, the test indicated no significant ($p > .05$) difference between the mean DE score for the AH condition ($M = 1.76$, $SD = 0.69$) and the mean DE score for the ANH condition ($M = 1.86$, $SD = 0.66$), $t(22) = -1.39$. For religious high school participants, the test also indicated no significant ($p > .05$) difference between the mean DE score for the AA condition ($M = 1.20$, $SD = 0.31$) and the mean DE score for the AH condition ($M = 1.10$, $SD = 0.31$), $t(29) = 1.24$.

Analysis of judgments about endorsement of maternal opposition (MOE scores)

Analysis of MOE scores based on repeated measures ANOVA

Main effects

Results confirmed Hypotheses 2, 4, 6 and 9. The issue's content, type of maternal opposition, parenting style, school type and sex had a significant main effect on MOE scores overall, $F(1, 130) = 27.76$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .18$, power = 1.00; $F(1, 130) = 207.20$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .61$, power = 1.00; $F(1, 130) = 13.92$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .10$, power = 0.96; $F(3, 130) = 23.02$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .35$, power = 1.00; $F(1, 130) = 9.35$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .07$, power = 0.86, respectively. Maternal opposition to tattoo decisions was evaluated more positively than maternal opposition to marriage decisions ($p < .001$). Participants endorsed the maternal opposition more when the mother was portrayed as authoritative rather than authoritarian ($p < .001$). They evaluated advice opposition more positively than haram opposition ($p < .001$). Secular high school ($p < .001$) and secular university ($p < .001$) participants endorsed the legitimacy of maternal opposition less than religious high school and religious university participants. Females endorsed the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males ($p = .003$) (see Table 3) (see the interaction effects for MOE scores in Appendix S9).

TABLE 5 Correlations among the MOE scores for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH conditions of marrying a non-Muslim and tattoo scenarios.

| Dependent variables | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|------------------------|---|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| (1) MOE, Marriage, AA | 1 | .247** | .596** | .237** | .352** | .184* | .518** | .211* |
| (2) MOE, Marriage, AH | | 1 | .426** | .729** | .131 | .639** | .264** | .633** |
| (3) MOE, Marriage, ANA | | | 1 | .460** | .317** | .291** | .431** | .308** |
| (4) MOE, Marriage, ANH | | | | 1 | .221** | .626** | .321** | .677** |
| (5) MOE, Tattoo, AA | | | | | 1 | .265** | .510** | .183* |
| (6) MOE, Tattoo, AH | | | | | | 1 | .326** | .746** |
| (7) MOE, Tattoo, ANA | | | | | | | 1 | .384** |
| (8) MOE, Tattoo, ANH | | | | | | | | 1 |

Note: $N=138$; ** $p<.01$ (correlation is significant at the 0.01 level, two-tailed); * $p<.05$ (correlation is significant at the .05 level, two-tailed). Abbreviations: AA, Authoritative mother/advice opposition condition; AH, Authoritative mother/haram opposition condition; ANA, Authoritarian mother/advice opposition condition; ANH, Authoritarian mother/haram opposition condition; Marriage, Marrying a non-Muslim scenario; MOE, Maternal opposition endorsement score; Tattoo, Getting a tattoo scenario.

Analysis of MOE scores for eight scenarios using two-way MANOVA

Pearson correlations among the MOE scores are shown in Table 5.

A statistically significant MANOVA effect was found. Results of Pillai's Trace indicated statistically significant differences between males and females on a linear combination of the eight dependent variables, $F(8, 123) = 2.68, p = .009$, power = 0.92. The multivariate effect size was estimated at .149. Results of Pillai's Trace also indicated statistically significant differences among the four types of schools on a linear combination of the eight dependent variables, $F(24, 375) = 3.21, p < .001$, power = 1.00. The multivariate effect size was estimated at 0.170.

For both sex and school type, we performed ANOVA for each dependent variable as follow-up tests to the MANOVA (see the ANOVA results, Tables and Figures for school type in Appendix S9).

Sex had a statistically significant effect on the MOE scores for the AA [$F(1, 130) = 5.31, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04$, power = 0.63], AH [$F(1, 130) = 5.89, p = .02, \eta^2 = .04$, power = 0.67], ANA [$F(1, 130) = 14.89, p < .001, \eta^2 = .10$, power = 0.97] and ANH [$F(1, 130) = 4.76, p = .03, \eta^2 = .04$, power = 0.58] conditions of marrying a non-Muslim scenario. The results were insignificant ($p > .05$) for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH conditions of the tattoo scenario.

Hypothesis 11 was confirmed. With respect to marrying a non-Muslim scenario, post-hoc pairwise comparisons using the Bonferroni correction indicated that females ($n = 79$) ($M = 2.45, SE = 0.09, 95\% CI [2.28, 2.62]$) endorsed the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males ($n = 59$) ($M = 2.16, SE = 0.10, 95\% CI [1.97, 2.35]$) ($p = .02$) for the AA condition. Females ($M = 1.62, SE = 0.08, 95\% CI [1.46, 1.78]$) endorsed the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males ($M = 1.33, SE = 0.09, 95\% CI [1.16, 1.50]$) ($p = .02$) for the AH condition. Females ($M = 2.43, SE = 0.09, 95\% CI [2.26, 2.60]$) endorsed the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males ($M = 1.93, SE = 0.10, 95\% CI [1.74, 2.12]$) ($p < .001$) for the ANA condition. Females ($M = 1.63, SE = 0.08, 95\% CI [1.47, 1.79]$) also endorsed the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males ($M = 1.37, SE = 0.09, 95\% CI [1.20, 1.55]$) ($p = .03$) for the ANH condition (see Figure 2).

Analysis of justifications for endorsement of child protagonist's decision

We ran a generalized linear model to understand the correlates of the personal domain justification about endorsing the child protagonist's decision. The model was significant, $\chi^2(9) = 212.90, p < .001$. The Likelihood ratio chi-square tests associated with the predictor variables were also significant. School type significantly affected justifications, $\chi^2(1) = 126.98, p < .001$. Secular school participants (81%) were more likely than religious school participants (19%) to use personal domain justifications

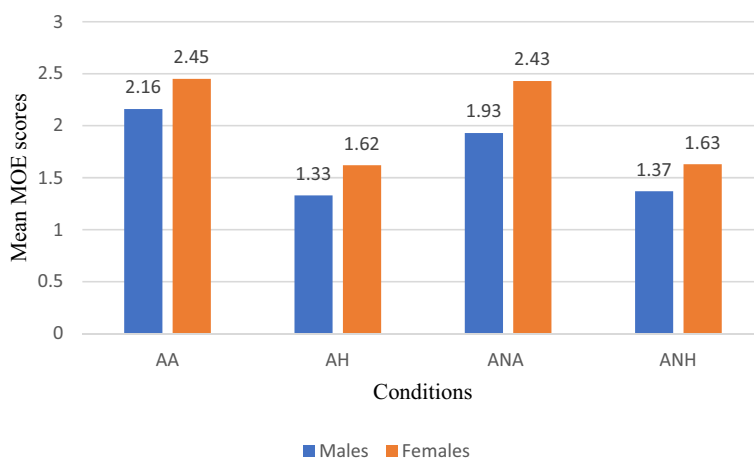


FIGURE 2 Mean MOE Scores by Sex for the AA, AH, ANA and ANH Conditions of Marrying a non-Muslim Scenario (AA, Authoritative mother/Advice opposition; AH, Authoritative mother/Haram opposition; ANA, Authoritarian mother/Advice opposition; ANH, Authoritarian mother/Haram opposition).

across all scenarios. Sex was also associated with the justification categories, $\chi^2(1) = 5.74, p < .02$, such that female participants (60%) were more likely to use social-conventional justifications than male participants (40%).

The issue's content significantly affected justifications, $\chi^2(7) = 74.56, p < .001$. When personal domain justifications for 'Tattoo, ANH' was our reference category (See Table 6), participants provided significantly more personal justifications for Tattoo, ANA, $B = 0.86, CI [0.27-1.46], p < .01$, Tattoo, AH, $B = 0.86, CI [0.27-1.46], p < .01$, Marriage, ANA, $B = 1.05, CI [0.27-1.46], p < .01$. However, Marriage AH was less associated with personal justifications, $B = -0.86, CI [-1.49 to 0.22], p < .01$.

Analysis of justifications for endorsement of maternal opposition

Another generalized linear model was conducted to assess the predictors of social-conventional justifications for endorsing the maternal opposition. The model was significant, $\chi^2(9) = 167.63, p < .001$. The Likelihood ratio chi-square tests associated with each predictor variable were also significant. There was a main effect of sex, $\chi^2(1) = 30.11, p < .001$. Females (42%) were more likely to use social-conventional justifications than males (33%). Furthermore, school type significantly affected justifications, $\chi^2(1) = 98.81, p < .001$. Religious participants were more likely to use social-conventional justifications (51%) than secular participants (25%). The issue's content also significantly affected justifications, $\chi^2(7) = 111.15, p < .001$. When the reference category was social-conventional justifications for 'Tattoo, ANH' (see Table 7), participants were significantly more likely to use social-conventional justifications in Tattoo, ANA, $B = 2.52, CI [1.91-3.13], p < .001$, Tattoo, AH, $B = 3.75, CI [3.03-4.47], p < .001$, Marriage, ANA, $B = 1.98, CI [0.49-1.64], p < .001$ and Marriage AA, $B = 2.35, CI [0.30-1.75], p < .001$.

DISCUSSION

The effect of the content of the issue, parenting style and type of maternal opposition

Participants made differentiated judgements about interfaith marriage and tattoos. As expected, students endorsed the marriage decisions more than the tattoo decisions. Also, maternal opposition to

TABLE 6 Justifications (%) for endorsement of child protagonist's decision across scenarios.

| | Social conventional | Social conventional and personal (unresolved conflict) | Personal |
|---------------|---------------------|--|----------|
| Marriage, AA | 59 | 21 | 20 |
| Marriage, AH | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| Marriage, ANA | 40 | 26 | 34 |
| Marriage, ANH | 55 | 28 | 17 |
| Tattoo, AA | 70 | 14 | 16 |
| Tattoo, AH | 81 | 11 | 8 |
| Tattoo, ANA | 51 | 14 | 36 |
| Tattoo, ANH | 63 | 18 | 19 |

Abbreviations: AA, Authoritative mother/Advice opposition condition; AH, Authoritative mother/Haram opposition condition; ANA, Authoritarian mother/Advice opposition condition; ANH, Authoritarian mother/Haram opposition condition; Marriage, Marrying a non-Muslim scenario; Tattoo, Getting a tattoo scenario.

TABLE 7 Justifications (%) for endorsement of maternal opposition across scenarios.

| | Moral | Social conventional and moral (unresolved conflict) | Social conventional |
|---------------|-------|---|---------------------|
| Marriage, AA | 21 | 21 | 58 |
| Marriage, AH | 20 | 70 | 11 |
| Marriage, ANA | 19 | 29 | 52 |
| Marriage, ANH | 18 | 73 | 10 |
| Tattoo, AA | 11 | 6 | 83 |
| Tattoo, AH | 14 | 65 | 21 |
| Tattoo, ANA | 24 | 15 | 61 |
| Tattoo, ANH | 24 | 65 | 11 |

Abbreviations: AA, Authoritative mother/Advice opposition condition; AH, Authoritative mother/Haram opposition condition; ANA, Authoritarian mother/Advice opposition condition; ANH, Authoritarian mother/Haram opposition condition; Marriage, Marrying a non-Muslim scenario; Tattoo, Getting a tattoo scenario.

tattoo decisions was considered more acceptable than maternal opposition to marriage decisions. Participants may have a greater tendency to view marrying a non-Muslim as within the jurisdiction of personal autonomy than getting a tattoo. Endorsing more personal autonomy over the marriage decision seems to be consistent with the cultural change in modern times from traditional collectivism to interdependent individualism (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005; Sunar & Fişek, 2005).

The present study shared similarities with previous research on parenting styles and conceptions of parental authority in Western settings (Smetana, 1995). The findings showed that Turkish youth evaluated authoritarian parenting negatively (e.g., psychologically harmful, lacking reciprocity and causing intense youth-parent conflicts). In contrast, they valued the strong emotional bond between authoritative parents and their children and authoritative parents' sensitivity to their children's needs. As expected and consistent with prior research (Smetana, 1995), participants were more likely to endorse the child protagonist's decision-making autonomy when the mother was depicted as authoritarian rather than authoritative. Also, participants were more likely to endorse maternal opposition when the mother was depicted as authoritative rather than authoritarian. This finding aligns with parenting style research, suggesting that children exposed to authoritative parenting styles are more likely to endorse the legitimacy of parental authority (Smetana, 1995) and take parental advice seriously (Baumrind, 1991; Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Furthermore, participants were less likely to endorse the child protagonist's decision-making autonomy when the mother was depicted as using haram opposition rather than advice opposition, consistent

with expectation (see quotes 1 and 2 in Appendix S10). Moreover, participants viewed haram opposition as less legitimate than advice opposition, as expected. Even religious university participants have tended to view haram opposition as a way of controlling youth behaviour, which is intrusive and forces emerging adults to deny their rights (see quote 3 in Appendix S10).

The influence of school type and sex

The present study documented that compared to their religious counterparts, secular high school and secular university students were more likely to endorse the child protagonist's autonomy based on personal concerns and less likely to accept maternal opposition based on conventional justifications, consistent with prior findings in Türkiye (Acar, 2017). Secular students had a greater tendency to interpret maternal opposition to the child protagonist's personal choices as a lack of parental respect for the individuality of emerging adult children. This finding supports the argument (Nucci, 2014; Nucci et al., 2005) that maintenance of a personal area of jurisdiction is a psychological necessity and essential for individual identity and autonomy development.

When compared to religious high school participants, secular high school and secular university participants were more likely to view haram opposition as intrusive, coercive and a guilt induction mechanism to manipulate the child's conscience. Therefore, they judged it unfair and psychologically harmful (see quote 4 in Appendix S10).

Some secular school participants rejected the legitimacy of haram opposition in the context of interfaith marriage by emphasizing the equality of all human beings and the unfairness of judging people based on religion, culture and ethnicity. Similar arguments were also observed in a small number of religious school participants.

In the context of haram opposition, religious high school and religious university participants rejected the child protagonist's decision out of fear of maternal authority by referring to the sacred value of maternal accrued rights and maternal halal. Religious participants reported that the child protagonist had to get maternal halal, independent of whether the child protagonist felt like it. Analysis of justifications has suggested that maternal halal may function as an assurance of a good life on Earth and salvation in the Hereafter for religious participants. The mother's use of haram opposition (in the scenarios) has caused fear and anxiety in religious participants' judgments (see quotes 5 and 6 in Appendix S10).

However, secular school participants, mainly secular university students, were not immune from the influence of haram opposition in the context of authoritative parenting. Secular university participants were more likely to give the child protagonist minimal decision-making autonomy when the authoritative mother was depicted as using haram opposition. Some secular university participants reasoned that the child protagonist should not marry a non-Muslim or get a tattoo without getting the halal of their mother, who is loving, supportive and generous; otherwise, the child protagonist's actions may make the (authoritative) mother deeply sad, which may cause the child protagonist to experience psychological problems (e.g., guilt). In an extreme case, a secular university student reported that the child protagonist might even think about committing suicide if the child protagonist cannot get the halal of their mother, who is compassionate and caring. Additionally, some secular university students' reasoning in the context of the authoritative mother using the haram opposition was not independent of religious considerations. Apart from emphasizing the necessity of getting the halal of a supportive, authoritative mother, they reasoned that maternal accrued rights and maternal halal carry a sacred value, and that haram opposition has implications for God's punishment on Earth and in the Hereafter. The same trend was also observed among religious university students. Obtaining halal from a generous, devoted and compassionate mother seemed crucial for secular and religious university participants in this research. This finding is a key result of the present study.

Among the four groups, however, religious high school students were more likely to accept maternal opposition and less likely to pay attention to the nuances of parenting styles across all scenarios. Compared to secular participants, religious high school students had a greater tendency to endorse the

legitimacy of haram opposition because they believed that it was the mother's duty to dissuade her child from marrying a non-Muslim and getting a tattoo. Religious adolescents viewed haram opposition as a disciplinary method to protect the child from committing sins and, thus, suffering torment in the Hereafter (see quote 7 in Appendix S10).

An important finding was that religious university students were more likely than religious high school students to consider the parenting style when reasoning about personal autonomy in the face of maternal advice, particularly in the context of interfaith marriage. Religious university students, like secular participants, endorsed the choice of a non-Muslim spouse more than religious high school students when the authoritarian mother advised against interfaith marriage. However, like religious high school students, they endorsed the child protagonist's decision less than secular participants when the mother was depicted as using haram opposition. These findings may suggest that (in certain situations) the idea of personal autonomy under authoritarian parenting may emerge in the minds of religious Turkish youth during their college years. However, this newly emerged idea of autonomy may disappear when religious young adults are exposed to maternal use of haram opposition. Considering that decision-making autonomy increases over time during adolescence (Smetana et al., 2004), maternal use of haram opposition seems to have a significant impact on the development of religious Turkish students' decision-making autonomy.

As expected, males endorsed child autonomy more than females, and females were more likely than males to yield to maternal opposition, particularly in interfaith marriage scenarios. Results of the present study are consistent with prior findings that boys are accorded greater autonomy and personal entitlements than girls in non-Western patriarchal societies (Wainryb, 2006) and that girls are less likely than boys to resist parental interference in their personal lives (Chen-Gaddini et al., 2020; Hasebe et al., 2004). When boys are granted greater independence and freedoms within the social hierarchy, they may feel encouraged to resist their mothers' restrictions to obtain more autonomy (Assadi et al., 2011).

Limitations and directions for future research

The results of this study cannot be generalized to all ages and populations in Türkiye, or to other Muslim-majority countries, especially Islamic law-based countries, as Türkiye has been a secular and democratic nation since 1923, even though after the 1990s, 'religion, religious life, and the religious person became more public' and visible in the country (Ağilkaya-Şahin, 2015, p. 68). The small sample size limits generalization and responses to hypothetical scenarios may not match the real-life experiences of participants.

Future research can use face-to-face interviews to collect in-depth information from Turkish youths regarding the link between maternal use of haram opposition and personal autonomy. Face-to-face interviews with Turkish mothers should be also included in future research. Moreover, maternal accrued rights in other Muslim countries can be investigated. In addition, future research can examine the link between personal autonomy and the declaration of accrued rights as halal, which is more common than the declaration of accrued rights as haram in Turkish society. Declaration of accrued rights as halal is such an important concept in Turkish culture that when a Turkish person dies, during the farewell ceremony in the mosque, the preacher (imam) asks the whole congregation loudly, 'Are you declaring all your rights on this person as halal?' and the entire congregation shouts in unison, 'We declare our rights as halal!'

CONCLUSION

The present study introduced the concept of 'maternal accrued rights' in Turkish culture. It investigated the effect of the 'declaration of maternal accrued rights as haram' on Turkish participants' reasoning about youths' decision-making autonomy. Given the important role of personal autonomy in psychological

TABLE 8 Summary of major findings.

| Independent variables | Major findings |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Content of the issue | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tattooing is more likely to be seen as an issue open to negotiation with opposing mother due to social-conventional concerns with respect to the issue of interfaith marriage |
| Maternal use of haram opposition | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The declaration of maternal accrued rights as haram is viewed by the participants as a psychological control mechanism to intrude into Turkish youths' personal domain Some participants claim that haram opposition causes psychological harm (e.g., guilt, anxiety, fear) |
| Parenting style | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Participants tend to endorse child autonomy more when the mother is depicted as authoritarian Participants tend to endorse maternal opposition more when the mother is depicted as authoritative When haram opposition is used by an authoritative and loving mother, even secular university participants tend to subordinate child autonomy to maternal authority |
| Sex | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the context of interfaith marriage, males endorse child autonomy more than females and females endorse the legitimacy of maternal opposition more than males |
| School type | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Secular school participants and some religious school participants (mostly religious university students) recognize the unfair and coercive nature of interference with the child's individual freedom of choice by the mother using haram opposition Among all the participants, religious high school participants are most likely to subordinate child autonomy to maternal authority Findings suggest that during college years in which students are encouraged to develop critical thinking skills, religious youth may start questioning beliefs they once unquestioningly accepted. To have the opportunity to increase decision-making autonomy, a college education may be a significant factor for students coming from religious public high schools in Türkiye |

well-being, excessive maternal psychological control through haram opposition may be associated with anxiety and depressive symptoms among Turkish youth. This finding seems consistent with previous studies (Chen-Gaddini et al., 2020; Hasebe et al., 2004) indicating a link between adolescents' perceptions of parental control over personal issues and adolescent internalizing disorders (e.g., depression, anxiety). Parent education in Türkiye could benefit from research exploring the potential adverse effects of haram opposition on youth's well-being. The major findings are shown in Table 8.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Nilay Kuyel: Conceptualization; investigation; writing – original draft; methodology; validation; writing – review and editing; formal analysis; software. **Melike Acar:** Investigation; writing – original draft; methodology; validation; writing – review and editing; software; formal analysis.

CONFLICT OF INTEREST STATEMENT

The authors have no conflict of interest to declare.

DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

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SUPPORTING INFORMATION

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section at the end of this article.

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