THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-CONSTRUAL AND ATTACHMENT STYLE WITH MENTALIZATION CAPACITY AS A MODERATING VARIABLE

ESRA AKHÜSEYİNOĞLU GÜLER

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

2022

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SELF-CONSTRUAL AND ATTACHMENT STYLE WITH MENTALIZATION CAPACITY AS A MODERATING VARIABLE

Thesis submitted to the

Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Psychology

by

Esra Akhüseyinoğlu Güler

Boğaziçi University

2022

The Relationship Between Self-Construal and Attachment Style With Mentalization Capacity As a Moderating Variable

The thesis of Esra Akhüseyinoğlu Güler

has been approved by:

Asst. Prof. Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen _____
(Thesis Advisor)

Prof. Güler Okman Fişek _____

Prof. Ali İzzet Tekcan _____

Asst. Prof. Nur Soylu Yalçınkaya _____

Prof. Nebi Sümer _____

June 2022

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Esra Akhüseyinoğlu Güler, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date .....

ABSTRACT

The Relationship Between Self-Construal and Attachment Style With Mentalization Capacity As a Moderating Variable

The main goal of the study was to investigate the relationship between attachment, self-construal and reflective functioning within two different Turkish samples and an American sample. The second aim of the study was to look at how these three concepts differ among the three samples. Online surveys consisting of the Experiences in Close Relationships Questionnaire-Revised (ECR-R), the Autonomous-Related Self Scale (ARS) and the Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ-54) with a short demographic form were carried out and data analysis was done with a total of 538 college students whose ages ranged from 18 to 26. The cultural comparison results showed that the Turkish participants scored higher in attachment anxiety, autonomous self and autonomous relational self than the American participants who scored higher in attachment avoidance. In all samples, a significant association between attachment and self-construal was found, while the hypothesized moderator role of reflective functioning was not present. A post hoc analysis was conducted with Turkish samples to explore the mediator role of reflective functioning on the link between attachment and self-construal. The results revealed that reflective functioning partially mediated the relationship between attachment avoidance and autonomous relational self while fully mediated the link between attachment anxiety and autonomous relational self. Thus, it was concluded that secure attachment seems to facilitate the integration of autonomy and relationality needs through the ability to understand and reflect on one's own needs. All findings were discussed in view of the existing literature.

ÖZET

Ilimlaştirici Değişken Olarak Zihinselleştirme Kapasitesi Ile Benlik Kurgusu Ve Bağlanma Stilleri Arasindaki Ilişki

Bu araştırmanın temel amacı, bağlanma, benlik kurgusu ve yansıtıcı işlevsellik arasındaki ilişkiyi iki farklı Türk örnekleminde ve bir Amerikan örnekleminde incelemektir. Çalışmanın ikinci amacı ise, bu üç kavramın örneklemler arasında nasıl farklılaştığına bakmaktır. Yakın İlişkilerde Yaşam Envanteri - II (YİYE-II), Özerk İlişkili Benlik Ölçeği (ÖİB) ve Yansıtıcı İşleyiş Ölçeği (YİÖ-54) ile kısa bir demografik formdan oluşan çevrimiçi anketler gerçekleştirilmiş ve veri analizi yaşları 18 ile 26 arasında değişen toplam 538 üniversite öğrencisi ile yapılmıştır. Örneklemler arası karşılaştırma sonuçları, Türk katılımcıların bağlanma kaygısı, özerk benlik ve özerk ilişkisel benlik puanlarında, bağlanmada kaçınmasında daha yüksek puan alan Amerikalı katılımcılardan daha yüksek puan aldıklarını göstermiştir. Tüm örneklemlerde, bağlanma ve benlik kurgusu arasında anlamlı bir ilişki bulunurken, yansıtıcı işleyişin varsayılan moderatör rolü mevcut değildir. Bağlanma ve benlik kurgusu arasındaki ilişkide yansıtıcı işleyişin aracı rolünü araştırmak için Türk örneklemleriyle bir post hoc analizi yapılmıştır. Sonuçlar, yansıtıcı işleyişin bağlanma kaçınması ve özerk ilişkisel benlik arasındaki ilişkiye kısmen aracılık ederken, bağlanma kaygısı ile özerk ilişkisel benlik arasındaki bağlantıya tam aracılık ettiğini ortaya koymuştur. Böylece, güvenli bağlanmanın, kişinin kendi ihtiyaçlarını anlama ve yansıtma kapasitesi üzerinden özerklik ve ilişkisellik ihtiyaçlarının entegrasyonunu kolaylaştırdığı sonucuna varılmıştır. Tüm bulgular mevcut literatür ışığında tartışılmıştır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I am heartily grateful to my advisor, Güler Okman Fişek for her guidance and endless support. She was a sensitive attachment figure for me during this challenging process. She was always responsive and sensitive to me whenever I needed. I was so lucky to have had the opportunity to work with her.

I am also thankful to Ali İzzet Tekcan for his valuable comments. At a point where I got stuck on a statistical issue, I was able to continue with his support. And, I am thankful to Hamit Coşkun and Paul Strand for helping me in data collection for the two samples of the study. Thanks to their help, the study gained a cultural perspective. Moreover, I would like to thank The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK) for providing me with financial support during my master's degree.

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my professor Nur Yeniçeri for her support and wisdom. I listened to her lectures like watching an exciting film or reading a fast-moving book and learned a lot from her both in my undergraduate and graduate years. She will always have a special place in my heart and shed light on my way to becoming a psychotherapist. I am also truly grateful to my supervisor Serra Müderrisoğlu for her guidance and wisdom.

I was so lucky to walk this path with my lovely friends and colleagues Asya, Feyza, İpek, Gizem, Özlem, Romina and Selen. We were stronger together in this journey. Moreover, I would like to thank my undergrad friends Tuğçe, Melissa and Havva for their genuine support and presence. We are the team "Shining Stars".

I would like to express my gratitude to my best friend Gamze Nur Caferoğlu for the companionship we have maintained since primary school. She was always there to calm me down whenever I felt burned out. Moreover, I would like to thank my dear friends, Eda, Zeynep, Yasin, Hüseyin, Çağdaş, Buğra, Simge and Murat. Our friendships provided an excellent social support system for me where I can recharge myself.

Finally, I always felt the endless support and love of my mother, Ayşen, my father, Ahmet, my brother, İhsan, and my sister, Ece in my life. My nephew, Ilgaz was always my source of joy and happiness. I always knew that they had my back even if we are far away. I am so grateful for their presence in my life. And, I am foremost thankful to my husband, Muhammed Güler who has provided me with the secure base I can explore and the safe haven I can turn to when I need. He has enormous contribution to my achievements in high school, undergrad and grad degrees with his remarkable problem-solving skills and emotion regulation capacity. His presence was my primary protective factor for my mental health in this long and challenging journey.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Attachment 1

1.2 Self-construal 12

1.3 Mentalization 23

1.4 Overview of the present research: General aims and hypotheses 29

CHAPTER 2: METHOD 31

2.1 Participants 31

2.2 Instruments 34

2.3 Procedure 37

CHAPTER 3: RESULTS 38

3.1 Descriptive statistics and reliability analyses of the scales 39

3.2 Group comparisons on the study variables 40

3.3 The relationship between attachment, self-construal and reflective functioning……..41

3.4 Factors predicting self-construals and the moderator role of reflective functioning 47

3.5 Additional analysis: An investigation of the mediator role of reflective functioning 59

3.6 Overview of the results 61

CHAPTER 4: DISCUSSION 64

4.1 Discussion of the findings 64

4.2 Contributions and implications of the study 75

4.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for future studies 76

4.4 Conclusions 78

APPENDIX A: PERSONAL INFORMATION FORM 79

APPENDIX B: THE EXPERIENCES IN CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS-REVISED (ECR-R) QUESTIONNAIRE 80

APPENDIX C: AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF SCALE 82

APPENDIX D: REFLECTIVE FUNCTIONING QUESTIONNAIRE – 54 ITEMS 83

APPENDIX E: ETHICAL APPROVAL 85

APPENDIX F: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (FOR BOUN STUDENTS) 86

APPENDIX G: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (FOR IBU STUDENTS) 88

APPENDIX H: INFORMED CONSENT FORM (FOR WSU STUDENTS) 90

REFERENCES 92

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Samples 33

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Group Differences on the Study Variables..... 40

Table 3. Bivariate Correlation Results in the BOUN Sample..... 42

Table 4. Self-construal*Attachment Style Crosstabulation in the BOUN Sample... 43

Table 5. Bivariate Correlation Results in the Abant İzzet Baysal University Sample 44

Table 6. Self-construal*Attachment Style Crosstabulation in the IBU Sample 45

Table 7. Bivariate Correlation Results in the Washington State University Sample 46

Table 8. Self-construal*Attachment Style Crosstabulation in the WSU Sample 47

Table 9. Regression Results for Autonomous Relational Self in the BOUN Sample 52

Table 10. Regression Results for Autonomous Relational Self in the IBU Sample . 55

Table 11. Regression Results for Autonomous Relational Self in the WSU Sample 57

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARS:	Autonomous-Related Self Scale
BOUN:	Boğaziçi University
CFI:	Comparative Fit Index
ECR-R:	Experiences in Close Relationships Questionnaire-Revised
IBU:	Abant İzzet Baysal University
RF:	Reflective Functioning
RFQ:	Reflective Functioning Questionnaire
RMSEA:	Root Mean Square Error of Approximation
SES:	Socioeconomic Status
SPSS:	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
TLI:	Tucker-Lewis Index
USA:	United States of America
WSU:	Washington State University

,

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

It is a widely held view that attachment, self-construal and mentalization are interrelated (Fonagy, Gergely, Jurist, & Target, 2002). However, researchers have not dealt with empirical studies directly investigating the relationship between the three. Moreover, culture appears as a variable which has been subjected to heated debates in the literature, especially in relation to the constructs of attachment and self-construal (Keller, 2013; Roland, 1988; Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000). Therefore, this research has two main purposes; one is to examine the relationship between attachment styles, self-construal and mentalization ability. The other is to investigate how these three concepts differ culturally within two different Turkish samples and an American sample. This section presents a review of the three main constructs respectively.

1.1 Attachment

An inborn need to attach to someone is primary for humankind as well as many other species to survive. As a result of this need, a baby comes into the world ready to bond to her/his caregiver. This bond to the caregiver is derived from not only a need to be fed but also a need of closeness, warmth and care of the caregiver (Harlow, 1958). Although the need to be attached to a caregiver is common for all human beings, there are individual differences in how attachment occurs between the baby and the caregiver (Ainsworth, 1979). Ainsworth and her colleagues observed infants' attachment behaviors while interacting with their caregivers, especially how the infants behave during separation and reunion times, which is the Strange Situation

Task (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 2015). According to their observations, they suggested a phenomenon they called attachment styles and suggested three clusters which are secure, avoidant and ambivalent/anxious attachment. If the baby uses the caregiver as a secure base while exploring the environment, shows little distress in separation and is soothed easily at the reunion, secure attachment is present. If the baby shows great distress in separation and hardly calms down at reunion, these babies might be classified under anxious/ambivalent attachment. If the baby doesn't seem stressful and ignores the caregiver at the reunion, we might be talking about avoidant attachment (Ainsworth, 1979). Main and Solomon (1990) observed a different set of behaviors which couldn't fit in any of the three categories and proposed a disorganized type which includes babies who generally do not show coherent behaviors.

Infants begin to internalize what they experience in their relationship with the caregiver (Bowlby, 1973). These internalizations mainly come together in two clusters as images about the other and images about the self. If the infant experiences responsive and sensitive caregiving when needed, the infant develops an image of others who are reliable and helpful, and an image of the self who deserves and expects to receive support from others (Bowlby,1973). Moreover, these internal working models constitute the core of the inferences about how early experiences with the caregiver affect relationships in adulthood (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Initially, the three attachment styles were used to explain adult attachment as secure, anxious/ambivalent and avoidant attachment (Hazan & Shaver, 1987). Later, based on Bowlby's conceptualization of two main internal representations as the self and others, Bartholomew and Horowitz (1991) who worked on adult attachment came up with four attachment styles deriving from two dimensions as avoidance and

dependence which was later conceptualized as an anxiety dimension (Brennan, Clark & Shaver, 1998). They argued that people who have both a positive image of the self and others can rely on both others and themselves, which corresponds to secure attachment. When the person has a negative model of self but a positive model of others, she or he constantly seeks approval from others since he or she cannot rely on self-support. This style corresponds to ambivalent attachment (Hazan & Shaver, 1987) and is called as preoccupied attachment. Adults who have a positive model of the self but a negative model of others have difficulties in relying on others with a fear of rejection, rather self-dependence is more comfortable. This style is called dismissing-avoidant and it was suggested as corresponding to avoidant attachment (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Fearful-avoidant is the fourth category which involves people who have both a negative model of self and others. Although they look for affirmation and acceptance from others, they cannot come close to anybody due to a fear of rejection. This category was considered as related with the disorganized attachment category as Main and Solomon (1990) suggested.

Bartholomew began to use the concepts of avoidance and anxiety as a negative model of others and a negative model of self, respectively (Scharfe, 1996). Further studies also (Brennan, Clark & Shaver, 1998) proposed that attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety underlie most of the attachment studies (Ainsworth et al., 2015; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). Attachment avoidance can be broadly described as uneasiness with closeness and dependency so autonomy and emotional distance are preferable while attachment anxiety refers to a desperate need for closeness and deep anxiety about whether the significant other will be responsive or abandoning. Parallel to Bartholomew and Horowitz's study (1991), a two-dimensional conceptualization like attachment

avoidance and anxiety allows for four attachment categories including the disorganized type which Main and Solomon (1990) observed, as opposed to three as Ainsworth (1978) and Hazan and Shaver (1987) had proposed. In terms of measurement, secure attachment corresponds to having low scores in both attachment avoidance and anxiety, while fearful attachment is related to having high scores in both attachment anxiety and avoidance. When attachment anxiety is high but attachment avoidance is low, we are talking about the preoccupied type. On the other hand, if attachment avoidance is high but attachment anxiety is low, the dismissing type appears (Brennan, Clark & Shaver, 1998).

1.1.1 Attachment and culture

The following section will discuss how attachment shows up different cultures and theoretical attempts to explain cultural differences.

From an evolutionary perspective, it seems obvious that being attached to a caregiver is universal. However, when attachment classifications show up, cultural differences accompany them. Even Mary Ainsworth, who came up with different attachment styles first, accepted certain cultural differences after deliberating on her observations in Uganda (Ainsworth, 1967; Ainsworth & Marvin, 1995). Thus, the cross-cultural validity of attachment theory has been investigated widely (Mesman, van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 2016; van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 1999, 2008) and discussed critically (Harwood, Miller, & Irizarry, 1995; Rothbaum et al., 2000) and a heated debate still continues (Keller, 2013; 2018; Mesman, Minter, Angnged, Cissé, Salali, & Migliano, 2018; Mesman, 2018)

One of the initial and main cross-cultural examinations of attachment theory was made by van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999) with an extensive review including

studies from Africa, East Asia, Middle East and Latin America. They tested four main hypotheses of attachment theory cross-culturally: the universality, normativity, sensitivity and competence hypotheses. Firstly, the universality hypothesis was found to be the most supported among the four hypotheses, which assumes all infants can attach to one or multiple caregivers when the circumstances are fair. The normativity hypothesis, which assumes secure attachment is the most prevalent type among attachment styles due to its adaptive function, was also supported in almost all cross-cultural samples (van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 1999). However, they stated that there are regional variations in attachment styles among different cultures, although this elaboration is out of the scope of the normativity hypothesis (Mesman, van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 2016). For example, while avoidant attachment (Group A) was found more prevalent in Western European countries, anxious attachment (Group C) was more common in Israel and Japan (van IJzendoorn & Kroonenberg, 1988). The sensitivity hypothesis assumes that attachment security is derived from the caregiver's responsiveness to the infant's signals and the competence hypothesis claims that secure attachment results in socially competent infants who can freely explore their environment. These last two hypotheses were not directly assessed in most of the studies in the review; still, the sensitivity hypothesis was somewhat supported on the basis of the studies focusing on the relationship between maternal sensitivity and attachment security but not as much as the universality and normativity hypotheses. The competence hypothesis, on the other hand, had the weakest support (van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 1999) and its cross-cultural validity is still questionable (Mesman, van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 2016). In brief, the cross-cultural validity of attachment theory was supported (van Ijzendoorn & Sagi, 1999) and it

was concluded that intracultural differences are more substantial than intercultural differences (van IJzendoorn & Kroonenberg, 1988).

Although there are some studies that are in line with the above-mentioned argument (Posada et al., 2013; Mesman et al., 2018, Mesman, 2018), the cross-cultural validity of attachment theory has been vigorously questioned in the past (Harwood et al., 1995; Rothbaum et al., 2000) and continues to be criticized in recent years by a number of writers (Keller, 2013, 2018; Sakman, 2016; Strand, 2019, 2020). Considering the cultural variations among attachment styles, Harwood, Miller and Irizarry (1995) suggested a close examination of the environmental and cultural context where the child grows up and what parental behaviors and socializing goals in the child's community exist, rather than a pursuit for the universality claim which endangers a valid assessment of attachment behaviors.

Some cultural studies illustrate this point clearly: The high prevalence of avoidant attachment, for example in North German infants, is attributed to the cultural emphasis on the child's independence (Grossmann, Grossmann, Spangler, Suess, & Unzner, 1985) which results in comfort with separation, and less distress in the separation part of the Strange Situation is not a big surprise. On the other hand, the high rate of anxious attachment, for instance in Japanese infants, is based on the cultural value of emotional interdependence within the family. As a result, a diminished separation experience from the caregiver is present so heightened anxiety in the separation part of the Strange Situation is observable (Miyake, Chen, & Campos, 1985). Therefore, the cultural setting affects the infants' behaviors in the Strange Situation Task (Harwood et al., 1995).

A harsher criticism of the universality assumption of attachment theory came from Rothbaum and his colleagues (2000) and they discussed cultural differences

over three main aspects of attachment theory similar to van Ijzendoorn and Sagi (1999). The first one is the sensitivity hypothesis which emphasizes the importance of mothers' availability to the child's signals and needs. They argued that what is meant by being available to the child's needs and how this is achieved are the main points where the cultural difference becomes obvious. For example, they reported that Japanese mothers expressed their sensitivity through physical touch whereas American mothers use eye-to-eye contact. Moreover, it is sensitive for the Japanese infant if the mother anticipates the child's need before he or she expresses it, yet it might be perceived as engulfing for American children and evaluated as the opposite of the idea that children should express themselves freely by American mothers. The competence hypothesis, as the second aspect of their examination, reflects the fact that secure infants become more socially and emotionally competent. However, Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, and Morelli (2000) discussed that the definition of competence differs between West and East. For instance, while the concept of competence means individuation, autonomy and independence for the West, it means social competence for the East which requires self-effacement so as to provide harmony within the group. Lastly, they discussed the cultural differences over the secure base hypothesis which assumes that the mother should be a secure base while the infant is exploring the environment. They argued that although most attachment researchers emphasize the importance of exploration of the environment as a healthy outcome of secure attachment, explorative behavior in Japanese infants was not found prevalent as much as in American infants. From a Western view of attachment assessment, one can draw the conclusion that most Japanese infants are anxiously attached. Yet, from a cultural perspective, one can see that unlike American mothers,

Japanese mothers prioritize exploration towards themselves rather than the environment, which leads to a lack of separation experience (Rothbaum et al., 2000).

In addition to this striking cultural criticism of attachment theory, Schmitt et al. (2004) made a cross-cultural study on adult romantic attachment using 62 samples from different cultures and showed that in spite of the presumption of secure attachment as normative universally, it was found normative within 79% of the cultures in the study. For example, preoccupied attachment is found more prevalent in some East Asian cultures than secure attachment (Schmitt et al., 2004). Parallel to these cross-cultural studies on attachment theory, there are valuable quantitative studies on adult attachment, which demonstrate that the prevalence of attachment anxiety in Eastern cultures is also present in Turkey (Sümer & Güngör, 1999).

If secure attachment is an ideal or optimal way of relating for mental health and insecure attachment is related with adverse outcomes (Mikulincer & Shaver, 2007) and if we consider attachment as serving survival, how can insecure attachment be prevalent in certain cultures? Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, Doron and Shaver (2010) called this issue as the attachment paradox. Indeed, many evolutionary psychologists have already been pursuing an answer to this question and argue that insecure attachment may carry adaptive value in the domains of reproductive fitness and group survival (Belsky, Steinberg, & Draper, 1991; Chisholm, 1996). Yet, a most recent interpretation of the attachment paradox can be found in the social defense theory discussed by Ein-Dor, Mikulincer, Doron and Shaver (2010). The theory defends that each attachment style has a unique advantage in serving group survival. For example, since anxiously attached people tend to be hypervigilant, especially in a threatening situation, and seek support or protection from others, they can be more sensitive to real threats and their overemphasizing of threats may serve

as an early escape alarm (Sakman, 2016). Avoidant people, on the other hand, are more prone to self-protection which leads to less distraction from their environment. Due to their sharp focus, they can find an escape plan faster and easier although their intention may not be helping others. Therefore, all these attachment strategies can be evaluated as useful under certain circumstances for the individual's and the group's survival (Ein-Dor et al., 2010).

Another view holds that if an insecure attachment style is prevalent and normative within a specific culture or group, that attachment style would not be maladaptive. Friedman et al. (2010) called this idea as the culture-fit hypothesis and proposed that attachment avoidance, for example, would not have adverse outcomes for individualist cultures as much as for collectivist cultures since self-reliance is perceived as normative in individualist cultures. On the other hand, attachment anxiety would not be a huge risk factor for collectivist cultures since relational dependence is seen as normal and functional. This view is further supported in a Turkish study investigating parenting behaviors as a possible explanation for cultural differences and it was found that maternal avoidance rather than anxiety is the main risk factor for maternal sensitivity (Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Selçuk et al., 2010). This result is in line with Rothbaum and his colleagues' (2000) arguments about cultures valuing relationality and emotional closeness, maternal avoidance can be easily perceived as cold and rejecting whereas maternal anxiety can be tolerated better since dependence and emotional closeness are adaptive in Eastern cultures. Moreover, they looked at certain parental behaviors supposed to have negative outcomes for the child's well-being like overprotection, intrusion and guilt induction and found that overprotection and guilt induction do not predict attachment insecurity, which is explained by psychological and emotional interdependence in

Turkish culture. They concluded that it is crucial to understand which form of maternal sensitivity is normative culturally (Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010). In addition, Sakman (2016) who carried out an experimental study among Turkish and American samples showed that one evaluates a certain type of insecure attachment as functional if he or she belongs to the culture in which that type of insecure attachment is prevalent.

When it comes to the current debates about the cross-cultural validity of attachment theory, Heidi Keller who is a cultural psychologist leads the way and has serious objections to the universality assumption of attachment theory (Keller, 2018) and argues that one single theory cannot explain all child behaviors and way of relating which differ from each other considering the rich cultural diversity around the world (Keller, 2021). She claims that attachment theorists ignored both evolutionary psychologists' discourses stating that contextual variability has to be considered in the service of adaptation and cultural psychologists' discourses defending that each society has different socialization goals and strategies which inevitably affect the way of relating. Therefore, it is important to investigate parent and child relationships with careful consideration of the cultural context where they live otherwise ethical problems occur while implementing theoretical accumulation into the field (Keller, 2013). In addition to Keller, some other cultural psychologists also opposed the universality assumption of attachment theory by criticizing the notion that there is just one ideal parenting style which is valid for all parent and child relationships and adding that the description of ideal parenting in attachment theory is a Western product and not necessarily applicable to collectivist cultures (LeVine, 2014; Lancy, 2015). In contrast to cultural psychologists' criticism, attachment theorists have recently reemphasized the universality claim but add that

there is no uniformity among child-parent relationships across cultures (Mesman et al., 2018). They pointed out the fact that detailed and descriptive attachment behaviors had not been suggested for sensitivity and responsiveness in the original definition, rather it is mentioned that reading and understanding the child's signals and needs and responding to them are the key points for sensitivity. What changes across cultures is the manifestation of sensitive behaviors. For example, while eye-contact and talking to the child were more present in individualist cultures, physical contact or non-verbal responses to the child are more prevalent in collectivist cultures. Nonetheless, this difference doesn't mean that eastern styles of relating are insensitive. The point is whether the caregiver is following the child's cues and responding to them, it doesn't matter how he or she responds (Mesman et al., 2018; Mesman, 2018).

A recent study suggests a reconciliation between attachment theorists and cultural psychologists by emphasizing the fact that a common evolutionary impulse which is security-seeking underlies attachment in all cultures (Strand, 2020). He suggests that the distribution of attachment styles within a society determines the classification of cultures like individualist and collectivist. There is a bidirectional relationship between attachment and culture, which interacts closely while providing stability for each other (Strand, 2020). Likewise, the relationship between attachment avoidance and individualism; attachment anxiety and collectivism has been indicated in many studies (Schmitt et al., 2004; Sakman & Sümer, 2018). Therefore, one kind of attachment style is not necessarily better or healthier than others. It is true that secure attachment is more flexible in terms of changing situations but not the most adaptive strategy for all cultures. As mentioned above, the two insecure attachment styles serve better in their contingent culture (Strand, 2020; Keller, 2018).

This section has reviewed cultural differences in attachment insecurity, the studies discussing the cross-cultural validity of attachment theory, and different theoretical attempts to explain the relationship between attachment and culture. Even though different voices rise, all agree that there are definitely cultural differences in the distribution of attachment styles. This study also investigates the distribution of attachment styles culturally and their relation with one's self-construal and mentalization ability.

1.2 Self-construal

Self-construal is broadly used to define one's perception and awareness about one's self and includes one's descriptive statements beginning with 'I' or 'me' (Smith et al., 2006). This topic has generated much interest in social and cultural psychologists. Kağıtçıbaşı's comprehensive analysis of self-construal can be regarded as the starting point for approaching different construals of self within a family and socio-cultural context and will be briefly described below; and later, based on the idea that "*Psychic life is made equally of inner and outer worlds."* (Dimen, 2012, p.3), cultural variation among different construals of self will be examined briefly within both social psychological and psychoanalytic perspectives. Lastly, the relationship between attachment and self-construal will be discussed in light of existing research studies.

Kağıtçıbaşı (1996; 2005) proposed a concept of autonomous related self-construal by defending that both autonomy and relatedness are two crucial needs for human psyche. She pointed out the fact that there is no sense in approaching autonomy and relatedness as conflictual terms that cannot come together. Rather, Kağıtçıbaşı (2017) focused on the term autonomy in the service of reconciliation

with relatedness and proposed two underlying dimensions of autonomy as an interpersonal distance and an agency dimension as a result of her questioning the assumption that one can achieve a sense of agency only if separation from the caregiver takes place. The agency dimension reflects one's ability to act with his or her own will and ranges from heteronomy where an individual acts according to the other's opinion to autonomy at the other pole where an individual is his or her own person who governs herself/himself. The interpersonal dimension, on the other hand, is related to one's relations with others and includes the degree of separation from the other or connectedness with the other reflecting the poles of the dimension. Kağıtçıbaşı (2017) argued that using these two distinct dimensions interchangeably leads to a misunderstanding of autonomy as if only the people who are distant or separate from others can be agentic or autonomous. Therefore, she claimed that it is important to make a distinction between these two underlying concepts so that relationality and autonomy wouldn't be mutually exclusive.

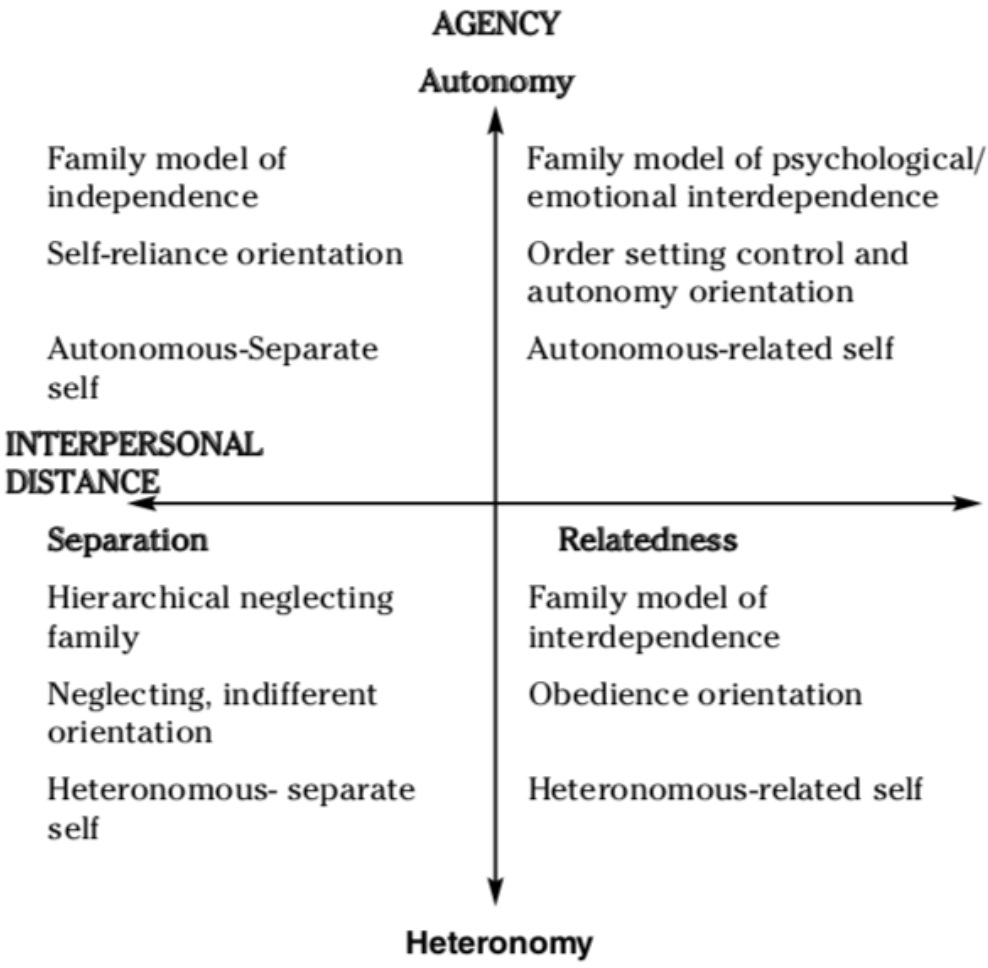

Figure 1. Agency and interpersonal distance dimensions and the types of self-construal (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005)

A matrix of two dimensions leads to four patterns of self-construal; autonomous relational self in which autonomy can be achieved within connectedness, heteronomous-separate self in which both the needs of autonomy and relatedness are not satisfied, autonomous-separate self in which the need for closeness is not fulfilled and heteronomous-related self in which the need for autonomy is not met. Kağıtçıbaşı (2017) argued that these four self-construals are related to certain family dynamics and childrearing practices (see Figure 1.). Autonomous-related self can be considered as the healthiest self-construal because both autonomy and relationality needs are satisfied, whereas since these two needs

are lacking, heteronomous separate self might be an important risk factor for human psyche. When it comes to the heteronomous related self and autonomous–separate self, each of them underestimates one crucial need and relies on just one of them.

1.2.1 Cultural differences in self-construal

The definition of self-construal varies from culture to culture (Fişek, 2018). Mostly, social psychologists have touched on this issue and have used concepts such as "Individualistic-Collectivistic" (Triandis et al., 1989), "Autonomous-Related" self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005), "Independent-Interdependent" self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) to describe the differences they observed. Likewise, clinical psychologists also proposed some binary conceptualizations describing the observed cultural differences such as "Referential-Indexical" self (Landrine, 1992), "Individualized-Familial" self (Roland, 1995), and "Relatedness-Self-definition" (Blatt, 2008). Moreover, there are some psychoanalytic ideas attempting to go beyond binary conceptualizations (Fişek, 2018; Beebe & Lachmann 2002), and imply that human beings could be universally relational (Stern, 1985; Lyons-Ruth, 1991; Gallese, 2009) entailing a convergence of autonomy and relatedness. Some of the social and clinical psychologists' approaches to cultural differences in self-construal will be discussed below by adding recent psychoanalytic ideas which can be helpful to reach a convergence in terms of self-construal. Lastly, the condition of self-construal in Turkey will be argued.

1.2.1.1 Cultural differences in self-construal within socio-cultural perspective

There is a consensus among most of the theories of self-construal that the self is influenced by the environment and takes form by the interplay with the society

(Triandis, 1989). Since the individualism and collectivism paradigm was seen as the main dimension examining cultural differences in human behavior (Triandis et al., 1985), cultural differences regarding self-construal were also studied within the individualism-collectivism paradigm (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). To explain apparent cultural differences in the concept of self, the first tendency was to define individualism in a different manner, rather than proposing a new terminology. Sampson (1988), for example, explained cultural differences in the concept of self by making a distinction within the individualism paradigm. He proposed a self-contained individualism for more Western society, especially the American concept of self where one has strict self-boundaries; and ensembled individualism as an alternative construal of self which reflects permeable self-boundaries. One can easily notice that this conceptualization doesn't exclude individualism even while trying to provide an alternative way to explain a different concept of the self. Moreover, using the individualism-collectivism (I-C) paradigm may not be the best way to describe cultural differences in self-construal because it contains not only self-oriented explanations but also reflects the cultural values, norms and rules of groups (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997). Therefore, focusing on self and other relations in terms of separateness and relatedness gives a better understanding of self-construal at the culture level (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2017).

Considering separateness and relatedness as a psychological dimension of individualism and collectivism, one can draw a broad distinction as a self-contained, self-sufficient self with strict boundaries against the other is akin to a separate and more individualist self; and a self with permeable boundaries corresponds to a related self reflecting a more collectivist self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2017). In order to describe similar distinctions between different self-construals, an independence and interdependence

dimension also were proposed (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These dimensions were frequently used to explain certain cultural differences in self-construal. Markus and Kitayama (1991), for example, stressed the strong distinction between two self-construal styles as independent self for American culture and interdependent self for Asian cultures considering the fact that the importance of the other defining one's self is based on whether one's culture prioritizes separation from the other or connectedness with the other. It has been discussed that while American parents emphasize the importance of self-sufficiency and autonomy, Japanese parents stress the relations with the others and harmony with the community. Autonomy was considered secondary while relatedness was primary for the interdependent self (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

On the other hand, a detailed analysis of underlying aspects of self-development was regarded as necessary to comprehend this cultural diversity rather than bipolar conceptualizations. The proposal of an interpersonal distance and agency dimension allows us not only to comprehend cultural diversity in self-construal according to where people stand in each dimension but also to raise a possibility of convergence where autonomy can be achieved within connectedness (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2005). One person can have both independent and interdependent orientations but she or he might rely on them interchangeably according to different situations and times (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2017).

Moreover, Kağıtçıbaşı (2017) argued that global social change also leads to a convergence of autonomy and relatedness. Urbanization, for example, has led to an important shift in lifestyles such as increasing opportunities for education and employment for both genders. As a result, economical interdependency and hierarchy in families decreased, creating more room for autonomy. However,

Kağıtçıbaşı (2017) also points out the influence of globalization (e.g., mass media) on self-construal in different cultures. Since mass media is under the influence of American industry mostly, the spreading view would be independence and autonomous-separate self. For example, it is claimed that there is a growing tendency toward being more autonomous, especially among young adults in developing countries (Mayer, 2013).

1.2.1.2 Psychoanalytic ideas about different construal of self

Classical psychoanalytic theory has been considered as having a very Western approach to selfhood (Roland, 1995) and thus not attending to other ways of being a self; for example, Mahler's (1972) separation and individuation hypothesis posited the importance of separation in order to develop a healthy and individuated sense of self. However, relational psychoanalysis showed that the role of relationality is indispensable for the human psyche (Greenberg & Mitchell, 1983). This approach signified a shift in recent psychoanalytic studies from a one-person psychology to a two-person psychology where relationality matters (Fişek, 2009). For example, Daniel Stern, a psychoanalyst who worked on mostly infant research, challenges the widely held view of Mahler's individuation and separation hypothesis. According to his research on infancy, the baby has already had a view of self and others as separate soon after birth; they are not fused as Mahler (1975) and Jacobson (1964) suggested. These views eventually come together and create a sense of self which is separate but connected with the other (Stern, 1985). Another infant researcher, Lyons-Ruth added that Mahler defined an actually deviant condition as a normative developmental stage (1991) and she pointed out a general relational model, claiming that current findings emphasize relational patterns rather than separation issues in

development. In addition, she stated that multiple pathways can be normative in relational arrangements and developmental processes (Lyons-Ruth, 1991). Thus, she opened up the possibility of approaching cultural differences in a more inclusive way (Fişek, 2018).

More recent findings in psychoanalytic thinking while approaching different construals of self come from infant research and neuroscience. The findings in general seem to support the importance of relatedness. For example, Gallese et al. (1996) realized that the same neuron is fired both when doing a certain behavior by oneself or watching someone doing it. The discovery of mirror neurons showed how deeply relatedness exists in human the human psyche (Gallese, 2009). Moreover, a cultural neuroscience approach (Han & Northoff, 2009) sheds light on cultural differences in self-development. While the medial prefrontal cortex is responsible for the self only for Westerners referring to people from England, America, Australia, and Canada, the same area represents both the individual and the significant others in a Chinese sample (Zhu & Han, 2008).

Regarding infancy research, Beebe and Lachmann (2002) presented a progressive view of the discussion on the self and other, based on their close examination of infant-mother relationships. They criticized generic terms like self or other; independent or interdependent; autonomous or relational as terms which are value-laden and condemned to polarization. Instead, they suggest a non-linear "dyadic system" in which the infant relies sometimes on the self; "self-regulation" and sometimes on the other "interactive regulation". This perspective sheds light on the variations among self-construals by providing a continuum for individuals where they can prefer one process over the other as a result of their individual differences. Therefore, they approach the concepts of autonomy and relatedness as co-

constructed terms rather than as two separate concepts. Nonetheless, the convergence claim towards an autonomous relational self might not mean that cultural differences disappear, we can still talk about cultural differences over the different modes of coordinating self or interactive regulation in terms of preferred regulatory tilts (Fişek, 2009).

An individuality emphasis in self-development was also challenged, maybe most seriously, by the psychoanalyst Alan Roland with his cross-cultural study of different self-construals (1988). His research in Asia (especially India and Japan) on self-development led to the proposition of a familial self in which symbiosis-reciprocity is the essence of relationships. Caregivers are extremely responsive to their infants' cues and almost never frustration is experienced by their infants. Therefore, there is no encouragement of separation which become a necessity generally when it is socially expected due to age. In addition to a familial self, Roland (1988) suggested a concept of an expanding self which refers to the expansion of the self by adding new elements as a result of interaction with different cultures.

Fişek (2018) suggested that the concept of familial self could be suitable to describe the selves that develop in the traditional sectors in Turkey. The studies investigating Roland's formulation in Turkey found that familial self is also present in Turkey containing symbiosis-reciprocity while trying to integrate the elements of Westernization (Akhondzadeh, 2002; Seçkin, 1996). Another study examining two samples of Turkish university students assumed to differ in terms of the degree of exposure to Westernization demonstrated that while the so-called more westernized group made more individualized and autonomous decisions, the others made choices that were more compatible with their family and social environment (Tokgöz, 1999).

However, experienced internal conflicts were found much higher in the group exposed more to Westernization (Tokgöz, 1999). Therefore, the need for a new synthesis in self-construal was compelling and was fulfilled by the propositions of expanding familial self (Roland, 1988), Individualized familial self (Fişek, 2002), autonomous-related self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996) and related-individuated self-type (Imamoglu, 2003).

1.2.2 Self-construal and attachment

Proceeding with a developmental perspective, attachment theory would be another underlying aspect of self-construal. Autonomy and relatedness could appear as two conflicting needs for the individual. While one desires a personal space where one can freely act, at the same time, one wants closeness and intimacy with important others. This might create internal conflicts, especially for young adults (Fişek, 2018). Fişek (2018) argues that secure attachment might be a facilitating factor in the resolution of this conflict since it provides both a secure base where the person can explore his/her life freely and a safe haven where he or she can come back for a warm and welcoming relationship. As a result, both the need of autonomy and relatedness are satisfied.

On the other hand, considering preoccupied attachment, for example, where the caregiver is inconsistent with the infant's need for her, it is hard to expect the child to feel comfortable while exploring the environment when he/she is not sure about whether the caregiver will be there for him/her when he/she turns back. Thus, the need for autonomy might be overlooked in order to keep the caregiver present in the relationship (Cassidy & Berlin, 1994). The intense need for relationships might end up in a relational self-construal.

Regarding dismissing and fearful attachment, there is consistent unresponsiveness from the significant other so one needs to learn to take care of oneself in order not to face consistent rejections. As a result, the need of relatedness is denied while there is ample room for autonomy (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). This might result in an autonomous self-construal. However, since the model of self is also negative for fearful attachment, it might be difficult to develop genuine autonomy. A need for closeness is kept inside but remains passive due to an inability to trust anyone (Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002).

There are valuable empirical studies investigating the relationship between attachment and self-construal in Turkey. For example, a doctoral study demonstrated that attachment avoidance is related to an independent mindset; whereas attachment anxiety is associated with a relational mindset in both individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Sakman, 2016). Moreover, Halfon (2006) found a significant and negative relationship of maternal attachment security with autonomy; but a positive relationship with symbiosis/reciprocity and structural hierarchy/proper demeanor in her master thesis. She stressed consideration of cultural meanings of attachment behaviors by showing that behavioral expressions of secure attachment in a Turkish sample diverged from the Western definition of attachment security (Halfon, 2006). In addition, Bilir (2016) used Kağıtçıbaşı's Autonomous-Related Self Scale and found a significant relationship between attachment avoidance and autonomous self; attachment anxiety and relational self. Accordingly, it seems that there is a significant relationship between attachment styles and self-construals (İmamoğlu & İmamoğlu, 2007).

1.3 Mentalization

Mentalization, or reflective functioning[1], has been drawing attention as a currently very important concept regarding the individual's understanding of self and others. Mentalization capacity refers to one's ability to read and understand both one's own and others' mental states, in other words, the degree to which the person can reflect on his/her own and others' feelings, desires, thoughts, intentions and needs (Fonagy & Target, 1997). This capacity is species-specific for human beings and has an evolutionary significance, allowing people to survive within complex social interactions (Luyten, Campbell, Allison, & Fonagy, 2020).

Moreover, the concept of mentalization comprises some other cognitive-affective capacities such as Theory of Mind, perspective taking, mindfulness and empathy. Therefore, it begins to be called as an 'umbrella concept' recently (Luyten et al., 2020). Likewise, neuroscientific studies shed light on the multidimensional structure of mentalization by pointing out the presence of different neural circuits for each dimension. Some of these dimensions consist of polarities like self-related vs other-related mentalization and automatic/implicit vs controlled/explicit (Luyten et al., 2020). Self-related mentalization refers to one's ability to reflect on one's own mental states and corresponds to the constructs like mindfulness and alexithymia; while other related mentalization refers to being able to perceive others' mental states and is akin to the constructs like empathy, theory of mind and perspective taking. Fast and automatic reflections on mental states correspond to an implicit dimension; whereas conscious and intentional thoughts on mental states refer to an explicit dimension (Luyten et al., 2020).

[1] Reflective functioning is used to operationalize mentalization capacity. These two concepts can be used interchangeably in the study.

The concept of reflective functioning was introduced for research purposes to operationalize mentalization capacity (Fonagy et al., 2002). Fonagy and his colleagues (2016) described impairments in reflective functioning within two main patterns; namely hypomentalization and hypermentalization. Hypomentalization refers to an inability to mentalize, in other words, having no idea about one's own and others' mental state. It might be an important risk factor for numerous psychological disorders such as eating disorders, borderline personality disorder and depression. Hypermentalization, on the other hand, corresponds to excessive mentalization where the person is almost sure about one's own and others' mental states. Since this kind of certainty doesn't reflect reality, hypermentalization is also a significant risk factor for mental health. Rather than being too certain or uncertain about one's own and others' mental states, making realistic evaluations and being modest about them by considering the opaque nature of mental states will result in genuine mentalizing which has tremendous importance as being a protective factor for mental health (Fonagy et al., 2016).

1.3.1 Cultural differences in the construct of mentalization

Although the issue of cultural difference in mentalization has not been adequately addressed in the literature, there is a recent systematic literature review examining mentalization with a cross-cultural view (Aival-Naveh, Rothschild-Yakar, & Kurman, 2019). They reviewed the cross-cultural studies about the constructs of mentalization capacity which comprise theory of mind, empathy and mindfulness. Their main observation was the variation of mentalization capacity in self and other related dimensions across cultures. While other related mentalization was more developed in collectivistic cultures; people in individualistic cultures focus more on

self-related mentalization. Considering studies on perspective-taking and empathy, people from collectivistic cultures seemed to perform better in interpreting others' mental states and especially feelings. For example, participants from collectivistic cultures showed more signs of distress while watching another person's suffering than people from individualistic cultures (Aival-Naveh et al., 2019).

Fonagy and his colleague Campbell (2019) agreed with this cultural variation in their commentary on Aival-Naveh et al.'s systematic review and based it on the fact that while an infant from individualist cultures grows up with an ego-centric emphasis, an infant from collectivistic cultures develops great sensitivity to the other's experiences. Moreover, they appreciated that it is crucial to consider a broader social relationship network in the development of trust rather than narrowing the focus on the attachment relationship and argued the necessity of a "*Copernican revolution*" in developmental psychology like changing the focus on considering the family from as a closed system to a system nested in a society (Fonagy & Campbell, 2019, p.2). This argument features the concept of epistemic trust which will be discussed in detail in the following section.

1.3.2 Mentalization and attachment

The term 'mentalization' can be traced back to psychoanalytic literature. Several concepts have formerly been proposed to explain mental processes that overlap with mentalization capacity. Even Freud was referring to mentalization in a way while stating a need for connecting the drives with thought (Allen, Fonagy, & Bateman, 2008). Moreover, Bion (1962)'s containment concept and Winnicott's holding environment (1971) can be considered as psychoanalytic bases for the construct of mentalization (Allen et al., 2008). According to Bion (1962), for instance, there are

undefined and intense sense impressions in the infant's mind. These raw sense impressions are beta elements which become alpha elements through a container, mother who can contain the infant's beta elements, digest them and reflect back to the infant in a meaningful way. Bion's containment concept is similar to Winnicott's holding environment. For Winnicott (1971), a holding environment protects the infant from unbearable mental experiences in the passage from an unintegrated to an integrated state by the caregiver's mirroring of the infant's internal state. In all formulations, there is a description of a transition from intense affective states to mental states as a result of a regulation process through the caregiver.

The importance of the caregivers' mirroring in self-development was a precursor of the significance of attachment relationships on the development of mentalization (Allen et al., 2008). In addition to a mirroring function, the emphasis on caregivers' responsiveness to children's signals in secure attachment relationships was inspiring for Fonagy and his colleagues (2002) while constructing the concept of mentalization. The infant doesn't have an innate capacity to understand his/her own affect and differentiate it from others' emotions. As the caregiver reflects back these raw emotions as acceptable feelings to the infant, the infant's mentalization capacity develops (Fonagy, Steele, Steele, Moran, & Higgitt, 1991).

The relationship between attachment and mentalization can be considered as a two-way process. While secure attachment is essential for the development of mentalization capacity; caregivers' mentalization capacity is necessary for the development of secure attachment (Fonagy & Target, 1997). Moreover, as discussed in the section on attachment, as a result of secure attachment, the child trusts the caregiver's presence and uses her/him as a secure base while exploring both the outside and inside (Bowlby, 1988). Exploring the inside means thinking on his/her

own mental states and feelings. This argument explains why secure attachment is essential to develop a capacity for mentalizing (Allen et al, 2008).

On the other hand, current formulations about the development of mentalization capacity shift slightly from the binary relationship between attachment and mentalization to a broader view including not only the role of relationships with the primary caregiver but also with family, peers, sociocultural settings and culture (Luyten et al., 2020). Epistemic trust is the new term used to explain an evolutionary adaptive capacity to rely on others to learn social knowledge which is both aided by and aiding mentalization (Fonagy et al., 2017a). As a result, one is protected from possible adversities in the environment through social learning, which in turn promotes resilience through a health-generating "salutogenic" process (Luyten et al., 2020).

Even though the focus has shifted towards the role of a broader socio-cultural context on mentalization, secure attachment is still necessary and an important advantage for developing epistemic trust since the person acquires a sense of trust in the social world from the primary caregiver. Nonetheless, the attachment relationship began to be seen as essential but just one component of a more complex social learning network (Luyten, Campbell & Fonagy, 2019). For example, Fonagy and his colleagues (2017) agreed that different attachment styles could be more adaptive in different cultures as we mentioned in the section of the cross-cultural studies on attachment theory, the concept of epistemic trust provides a broader explanation for different patterns of behaviors like the above-mentioned issue by considering the importance of the socio-cultural environment with an evolutionary view (Luyten et al., 2019).

The relationship between mentalization and attachment was also discussed many times in research from Turkey. For example, a master thesis (Köksal, 2017) examining the relationship between attachment insecurity and mentalization showed that both attachment anxiety and avoidance are positively correlated with uncertainty about mental states of self and others. Similarly, another study found that self-related mentalization like mindfulness is significantly and negatively correlated with both attachment anxiety and avoidance, in other words, one's ability to reflect on one's own mental states is closely related with attachment security (Akyol, 2021).

1.3.3 Mentalization and self-construal

In fact, mentalization is inherently related with self-development. One develops a sense of self by understanding oneself in the mind of the caregiver as a being who thinks and feels (Fonagy & Target, 1997). In addition, the caregiver's recognition that the infant has an agency with a separate sense of self is as important as the infant's recognition of him/herself in the caregiver's mind (Fonagy et al., 2002). Therefore, mentalization is a key factor not only for the development of self-definition but also for the construction of self-in-relationship (Luyten et al., 2019).

Despite this, to the author's knowledge little research has been done to examine the relationship between self-construal and mentalization. Luyten and his colleagues (2019) touched upon the close link between genuine mentalizing and the balance of the two primary needs as autonomy and relatedness, adding that it might not be haphazard for mentalization capacity to involve polar dimensions like self-other related mentalization. The genuine mentalizing requires a balance between keeping one's own and others' minds, similar to the balance between autonomy and relatedness (Luyten et al., 2019). Genuine mentalizing also involves a capacity to

differentiate the mental states of others and one's own without being too certain about mental states. Otherwise, one can lose the reality that the other has a separate mind so the other can easily affect the sense of self, which both can harm the sense of agency or autonomy (Fonagy Bateman, & Luyten, 2012).

1.4 Overview of the present research: General aims and hypotheses

There are two main objectives of the current study. One is to examine cultural differences in attachment, self-construal and mentalization within three samples; one American sample assumed to represent individualist cultures and two Turkish samples. Since Turkey, as a bridge country between Europe and Asia, contains a rich diversity in terms of collectivism and individualism, two samples differing according to the degree of exposure to westernization were used; one of them was supposed as being more westernized than the other group.

The second aim of the study is to investigate how attachment styles will differ in relation to different self-construals and whether mentalization could have a moderating effect on the relationship between attachment styles and self-construal. Although there are previous studies investigating the relationship between self-construal and attachment styles (Bilir, 2016; Halfon, 2006; Sakman, 2016). There is no study examining the relations of mentalization capacity with these two concepts. Based on the existing literature, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H1: It is expected to find attachment avoidance less prevalent than attachment anxiety in the Turkish samples while being more prevalent in the American sample.

H2: The American sample will be more autonomous while the Turkish samples will be more relational in terms of self construal.

H3: Based on previous research on similar topics (Tokgöz, 1999; Akhondzadeh, 2002), we might find a difference between Boğaziçi Uni. (BU) Students and Abant İzzet Baysal Uni. (IBU) students; BU students might be found relatively more autonomous than IBU students due to the extent of exposure to westernization.

H4: Regardless of the cultural background of the three samples, a significant relationship is expected between autonomous related self and secure attachment; autonomous-separate self and dismissing attachment; heteronomous-related self and preoccupied attachment and lastly heteronomous-separate self and fearful attachment.

H5: Mentalization capacity will have a moderating effect on the relationship between attachment styles and the construals of self, such that if one cannot be certain or is too certain about one's own and others' thoughts and feelings, a stronger positive relationship between attachment styles and the construals of self.

CHAPTER 2

METHOD

2.1 Participants

The data was collected via online systems from the three different samples; two samples from Turkey, and one sample from the USA with the intent of a cross-cultural methodology to examine the possible differences across two different cultures - namely the Turkish culture, which could be regarded as collectivist, and the American culture, which is considered as individualist (Hofstede, 2001). It was aimed to reach a minimum of 150 participants for each sample, based on a preliminary power analysis conducted in G*Power with the claim to get .80 power (α = .05) and .05 effect size (Faul, Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, 2009).

One of the Turkish samples consisted of 237 undergraduate students from Boğaziçi University. The data was collected online through Boğazici University Research Participation System from the students who were taking PSY 101 and PSY 241 courses in the 2021-2022 fall semester and the students got 1 credit in return for participation in the study. Three participants were excluded based on the age criterion of the study (18 to 26 year-olds), leaving a total of 234 participants in the final sample. The age of the participants ranged between 18 and 26 with a mean of 20.80 (*SD* = 1.46). The other demographic characteristics of the participants were summarized in Table 1.

A total of 159 participants in the second Turkish sample were recruited from Abant İzzet Baysal University which is selected as a possible representative of universities in Anatolia. The link of the study was shared with the students via the instructor of Introduction to Psychology and Social Psychology-1 courses; and the

students got 2 bonus points in return for participation in the study. Six participants were excluded based on the age criterion of the study and one participant who gave the same answers to all questions was excluded for the accuracy of the analysis leaving a total of 152 participants in the final sample. The age of the participants ranged between 18 and 26 with a mean of 21.92 (*SD* = 1.63). The other demographic characteristics of the participants were shown in Table 1.

The USA sample consisted of Washington State University students and the data was collected by Qualtrics (Qualtrics, Provo, UT) and student participants received course credit for their participation. The credit assignment was done using Sona Systems (https://www.sona-systems.com/). The initial sample consisted of 200 participants. However, twenty participants were excluded from the sample due to the age criterion of the study (18 to 26 year-olds). Another exclusion criterion of the study was the place of birth. Eighteen participants who were born outside of USA were excluded from the sample in order to keep USA data representative of an individualist mindset. Lastly, ten participants who completed the survey without answering the questionnaires of the study were excluded leaving a total of 152 participants in the final sample with a mean of age 19.64 (*SD* = 1.35). One hundred and seven (90.1%) participants were not of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin. Only 14 (9.2%) participants were of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin and one (7%) participant preferred not to answer. The other demographic characteristics of the participants were demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographic Characteristics of the Samples

Demographic Characteristics	n			%		
	BOUN	IBU	WSU	BOUN	IBU	WSU
Gender						
Female	152	121	124	65	79.6	81.6
Male	75	31	26	32.1	20.4	17.1
Non-binary	7	0	2	3	0	1.3
Year in School						
Freshmen	59	7	51	25.2	4.6	33.6
Sophomore	99	33	39	42.3	21.7	25.7
Junior	47	67	38	20.1	44.1	25
Senior	29	45	24	12.4	29.6	15.8
SES						
Lower	5	2	-	2.1	1.3	-
Lower-Middle	52	26	-	22.2	17.1	-
Middle	119	93	-	50.9	61.2	-
Upper-Middle	55	30	-	23.5	19.7	-
Upper	3	1	-	1.3	.7	-
Size of Hometown						
Rural	45	39	-	19.2	25.7	-
Urban	44	27	-	18.8	17.8	-
Metropolitan	142	82	-	60.7	53.9	-
Foreign Country	3	2		1.3	1.3	
Mother Education						
Less than High School	67	89	3	28.6	58.6	2
High School	65	47	31	27.8	30.9	20.4
University	89	16	79	38	10.5	52
Masters or PHD	13	0	39	5.6	0	25.7
Father Education						
Less than High School	38	65	4	16.3	42,8	2.6
High School	67	40	37	28.6	26.3	24.3
University	102	45	70	43.6	29.6	46.1
Masters or PHD	27	2	41	11.5	1.3	27

Note: N = 538. BOUN: Boğaziçi University. IBU: Abant İzzet Baysal University. WSU: Washington State University.

2.2 Instruments

2.2.1 Personal information form

The participants filled out a Personal Information form including questions about the participant's age, gender, years in school, socioeconomic status (SES), size of hometown, and their parents' education level. In addition to these questions, the participants in the USA sample were asked to answer questions about the participant's ethnicity and place of birth (see Appendix A).

2.2.2 Experiences in close relationships questionnaire-revised (ECR-R)

The Experiences in Close Relationships Questionnaire-Revised (Appendix B) was used to measure the participants' adult attachment orientations (Fraley, Waller, & Brennan, 2000). The scale is suggested to be used in measurement of adult attachment with higher measurement precision than the other scales (Selçuk, Günaydın, Sümer, & Uysal, 2005). It focuses on two dimensions of attachment security as attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety. It has 36 items which are expected to be rated on a 7-point Likert scale. However, a 5-point Likert scale was used in the USA sample due to a minor error in administration of the survey. Therefore, the 7-point Likert scale used in Turkish samples was also transformed to the 5-point Likert scale by combining 1's and 2's and 6's and 7's in order to avoid any statistical incompatibility in group comparisons.

Attachment avoidance and anxiety scores are computed by taking the average of 18 items for each dimension. The secure attachment score can be computed by transforming these two continuous scores for anxiety and avoidance into a 4-group categorization (Köksal, 2017). Firstly, the medians for both avoidance and anxiety

are computed. By using these medians, if the participant's score is lower than the median of both anxiety and avoidance, then the person is categorized as "secure". If the participant's score is lower than the median of avoidance but higher than the anxiety, he or she is categorized as "preoccupied". "Dismissing" is for the ones whose scores are higher than the median of avoidance but lower than the median of anxiety. Lastly, if one's score is more than both the median of avoidance and anxiety, then she or he falls into "fearful" category. The adaptation to Turkish was made by Selçuk et al. (2005) and they found high internal-consistency (Anxiety; α = .90 and Avoidance; α = .86), and test-retest reliability (r =.82 for Anxiety and r =.81 for Avoidance).

2.2.3 Autonomous-related self scale

This scale was developed to assess interpersonal distance (range between separation and relatedness) and agency (ranging from autonomy and heteronomy) by Kağıtçıbaşı, Baydar and Cemalcılar (2006). The scale (Appendix C) consists of three subscales as autonomous self (α = .74) and related self (α = .78) and autonomous-relational self (α = .84) scale with 9 items for each scale. Participants are expected to rate on a scale ranging from 1 ("*Not true at all"*) to 5 (*"Completely true"*). It is valuable that the scale was designed so that each subscale contains one factor and dimension. That is to say, interpersonal distance and agency dimensions were not counted in the same subscale (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013). There is also a way of categorically scoring according to where people stand in the Autonomy scale and the Relatedness scale. For example, an individual scoring above median on both scales is regarded as having an autonomous-related self; on the other hand, if he or she gets lower scores than the median of both scales, it refers to a heteronomous-separate self.

A person scoring higher than the median of Autonomy but lower than the median of Relatedness considered to have an autonomous-separate self; the reverse corresponds to a heteronomous-related self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2013).

2.2.4 Reflective functioning questionnaire (RFQ-54)

Fonagy and his colleagues (2016) conceptualized the operationalization of mentalization ability as reflective functioning and developed a self-report in order to screen reflective functioning. This scale (Appendix D) consists of 54 items which address individuals' capacity to comprehend one's own and others' mental states. Items are rated on a 7-point Likert scale. Indeed, they were not aiming to assess different dimensions of mentalization and set it as a screening measure of reflective functioning. Yet, factor analysis showed two factors as uncertainty ($\alpha = .65$) and certainty ($\alpha = .77$) during the development of the scale (Fonagy, et. al. 2016). Being too uncertain about ones' own and others' mental states is conceptualized as hypomentalization whereas being too certain about mental states is seen as hypermentalization. The statements in certainty dimension like *"*I don't always know why I do what I do*"* were rescored as 3, 2, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0 so that people who agree less get higher scores reflecting hypermentalization while people who agree more get lower scores reflecting more genuine mentalizing. The statements in uncertainty dimension like *"*Sometimes I do things without really knowing why*"* were rescored as 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 2, 3 so that having high scores corresponds to hypomentalization while lower scores refer to more genuine mentalizing. In brief, high scores in both dimensions are a sign of impairment in mentalization ability while low scores reflect more genuine mentalizing. A reliability study for the Turkish version was made by

Köksal (2017) and they found .90 and .81 Cronbach's alpha level for certainty and uncertainty dimensions, respectively.

2.3 Procedure

The ethics committee approval was obtained from The Ethics Committee for Master and Ph.D. Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities (SOBETİK) of Boğaziçi University (Appendix E) before starting the data collection. The data was collected online through sharing a hyperlink with the participants which directed them to the online survey hosted by the Google Forms for two Turkish samples and Qualtrics data collection service for the American sample. Participants initially approved the informed consent form (Appendix F, G, H) which asks for their voluntary participation and gives information about the purpose of the study and confidentiality of their data and the right to quit at any time. After they approved the informed consent form, the participants completed a demographic information form, the Experiences in Close Relationships Questionnaire-Revised (ECR-R), Autonomous-Related Self Scale and Reflective Functioning Questionnaire (RFQ-54), respectively. Completing the study took approximately 30 minutes.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS

Based on the two main aims of the current study, this chapter presents firstly a group comparison of the variables of attachment, self-construal, and reflective functioning by employing one-way ANOVAs. Later, the relationship between these three concepts in each sample was analyzed by performing bivariate correlations with the continuous measures and chi-square analyses with the categorical measures. Later, in order to analyze both the factors that predict self-construals and the moderating effect of reflective functioning between attachment insecurity and the construal of self, multiple regression analyses with attachment avoidance and anxiety, hypermentalization and hypomentalization and the interaction of these factors were carried out. Moreover, an additional analysis was also carried out to investigate the mediator role of reflective functioning. Before all these analyses, the reliability analyses and descriptive statistics of the scales were reported at the beginning.

Regarding the data preparation process, the composite scores of the study variables were computed by considering the coding manuals of the scales. However, there were eight missing values; one in attachment anxiety, one in relatedness and six in reflective functioning in the American sample. Based on the result of missing value analysis which showed that the missing data were randomly distributed across the variable, the eight missing scores were replaced with the series mean. There weren't any missing values in the other samples. All of the analyses that will be mentioned below were conducted using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) 26 except path analysis which was performed by using SPSS Amos 25.

3.1 Descriptive statistics and reliability analyses of the scales

Before the hypothesis testing, distributions and internal consistency of each scale were evaluated separately for each group. Firstly, the normality assumption for the distribution of the study variables was checked. There were no significant outliers detected in the boxplots and the results of skewness and kurtosis for all variables in BOUN and IBU samples were within the range of ±2 which is stated as an acceptable range (Kim, 2013). In the American sample, the kurtosis value of autonomous related dimension was 2.560 and of certainty was 4.584. There were significant outliers in these variables based on the boxplots. Therefore, one outlier in the autonomous related variable was replaced with the lowest non-outlier score; three outliers in the certainty variable were replaced with the highest non-outlier score, and the new values of kurtosis became -.141 and 2.675, respectively. Except for these two, the skewness and kurtosis values were within the acceptable range (Kim, 2013).

The reliability analyses showed that all sub-scales which provide the score for each study variable have high reliability with the level of Cronbach's alpha ranging from .72 to .92 except for the relational and autonomous sub-scales in the American sample, .61 and .58 respectively. The descriptive statistics of each variable and the results of one-way ANOVA and Welch's ANOVA assessing the difference between the three groups are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Descriptive Statistics and Group Differences on the Study Variables

	BOUN *n* = 234		IBU *n* = 152		WSU *n* = 152		
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*F*
Attachment Avoidance	2.31	.86	2.23	.81	3.73	.77	170.40***
Attachment Anxiety	3.00	.85	2.83	.78	3.08	.89	3.54*
Autonomous Related Self	4.33	.53	4.13	.63	4.17	.48	7.45***
Autonomous Self	2.99	.61	2.97	.61	2.86	.43	3.40*
Related Self	3.74	.62	3.69	.64	3.72	.46	.25
Hypermentalization	21.58	13.04	24.04	12.93	14.68	11.18	26.26***
Hypomentalization	14.84	9.64	11.89	7.51	20.51	12.44	26.98***

Note: Except for attachment avoidance and anxiety, the *F* score of other variables refers to Welch's F due to the heterogeneity of variances. *$p < .05$, **$p < .01$, ***$p < .001$

3.2 Group comparisons on the study variables

The first hypothesis of the current study put forward that attachment avoidance will be higher than attachment anxiety in the American sample; while attachment anxiety will be higher in the Turkish samples. Based on this hypothesis, t-tests were carried out to compare the means of attachment anxiety and avoidance within groups. As expected, attachment anxiety scores (M_{BOUN} = 3.00, SD_{BOUN} = .85*;* M_{IBU} = 2.83, SD_{IBU} = .78*)* were found to be significantly different and higher than the attachment avoidance scores (M_{BOUN} = 2.31, SD_{BOUN} = .86*;* M_{IBU} = 2.23, SD_{IBU} = .81) in the two Turkish samples, $t_{BOUN}(233) = 10.60$, $p < .001$, $t_{IBU}(151) = 8.86$, $p < .001$; while attachment avoidance scores (M = 3.73, SD = .77) were found significantly different and higher than the attachment anxiety scores in the American sample (M = 3.08, SD = .89), $t(151) = -8.66$, $p < .001$. These results supported the first hypothesis of the current study.

Regarding the second hypothesis of the study, independent sample t-tests were used to compare autonomy and relatedness dimensions between the Turkish

and American participants. Contrary to the expectations, the Turkish participants (M = 2.98, SD = .62) was found to score more autonomous than the American participants (M = 2.86, SD = .43), t(393.67) = -2.61, p = .009. Moreover, there was no significant difference on the relatedness dimension between groups, $p > .05$. Therefore, the second hypothesis of the study was not supported.

In the third hypothesis, Boğaziçi University students were expected to have higher scores on the autonomous dimension than Abant İzzet Baysal University students. However, the result showed that there is no significant difference on autonomy scores between the two groups, $p > .05$. Therefore, the third hypothesis of the study was not confirmed.

3.3 The relationship between attachment, self-construal and reflective functioning

The fourth hypothesis of the study suggested that there will be a significant relationship between the variables of attachment and self-construal in each sample. This hypothesis was tested first by employing continuous measures, then categorical measures separately for each sample.

3.3.1 The relationship between the three variables in the Boğaziçi University Sample

3.3.1.1 Bivariate correlation analyses

The bivariate correlational analysis showed that there is a significant and negative relationship between attachment avoidance and related self, (r = -.39, $p < .001$); and autonomous related self, (r = -.34, $p < .001$) as expected. Moreover, the results demonstrated that attachment anxiety is significantly and positively associated with related self (r = .20, p = .002), negatively associated with autonomous self (r = -.31,

$p < .001$) and autonomous related self. ($r = -.15$, $p = .026$). The correlation results among all study variables can be found in Table 3.

Table 3. Bivariate Correlation Results in the BOUN Sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Attachment Avoidance						
Attachment Anxiety	.33***					
Autonomous Related Self	-.34***	-.15*				
Autonomous Self	.08	-.31***	-.06			
Related Self	-.39***	.20**	.42***	-.63***		
Hypermentalization	-.26***	-.26***	.20**	.20**	-.02	
Hypomentalization	.18**	.37***	-.06	-.19**	.11	-.50***

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. N = 234

3.3.1.2 Chi Square analyses

In order to carry out a sub-analysis of the relationship between attachment and self-construal, the participants were categorized by median split into four attachment styles - secure, preoccupied, dismissing and fearful; and four self-construal groups - autonomous related, heteronomous related, autonomous separate and heteronomous separate. A chi-square test of independence was performed and the results depicted that there was a significant relationship between the two variables, $X^2(9, N=234) = 35.65$, $p = .000$. People with autonomous related self (high in both autonomy and relatedness dimension) are more likely to have secure attachment (43.9%) than people with heteronomous related (25%), autonomous separate (35.6%), or heteronomous separate (13.6%). In addition, people who have heteronomous separate self (low in both autonomy and relatedness dimension) are more likely to have fearful attachment (54.5%) than people with autonomous related (26.8%), heteronomous related (33.3%) or autonomous separate (33.3%). Since the frequencies of preoccupied and dismissing attachments in the sample are much lower than secure and fearful attachments, their association with self-construal was

investigated with the distributions of self-construals within attachment styles. The results showed that people with preoccupied attachment are more likely to have a heteronomous related self (58.7%) while people with dismissing attachment are more prone to have an autonomous separate self (52.4%). Therefore, the fourth hypothesis of the study was supported in the BOUN sample. The frequencies cross tabulated can be found in Table 4.

Table 4. Self-construal*Attachment Style Crosstabulation in the BOUN Sample

	Attachment Style									
	Secure		Preoccupied		Dismissing		Fearful		Total	
Self-construal	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
AutoRelated	18	43.9	10	24.4	2	4.9	11	26.8	41	100
AutoSeparate	31	35.6	5	5.7	22	25.3	29	33.3	87	100
HeteroRelated	21	25.0	26	31.0	9	10.7	28	33.3	84	100
HeteroSeparate	3	13.6	2	9.1	5	22.7	12	54.5	22	100
Total	73	31.2	43	18.4	38	16.2	80	34.2	234	100

Note: AutoRelated: Autonomous Related, AutoSeparate: Autonomous Separate, HeteroRelated: Heteronomous Related, HeteroSeparate: Heteronomous Separate

3.3.2 The relationship between the three variables in the IBU sample

3.3.2.1 Bivariate correlation analyses

The results of Pearson correlations conducted to investigate the relationship between attachment and self-construal showed that attachment avoidance is significantly and negatively associated with related self, (r = -.43, p < .001); and autonomous related self, (r = -.30, p < .001). Further, there is a significant and negative relationship between attachment anxiety and autonomous self, (r = -.17, p = .039); and autonomous related self (r = -.25, p = .002). All the Pearson correlation results about the study variables can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5. Bivariate Correlation Results in the Abant İzzet Baysal University Sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Attachment Avoidance						
Attachment Anxiety	.45***					
Autonomous Related Self	-.30***	-.25**				
Autonomous Self	.06	-.17*	.15			
Related Self	-.43***	-.02	.39***	-.45***		
Hypermentalization	-.29***	-.18*	.40***	.08	.26**	
Hypomentalization	.14	.24**	-.02	-.08	-.03	-.20**

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001. N = 152

3.3.2.2 Chi-square analyses

A chi-square test of independence was carried out to assess the relationship between four attachment styles and four construals of self. The results showed that the relationship between these variables was significant, X^2(9, N = 152) = 24.38, p = .004. Similar to the BOUN sample, people with autonomous related self are more likely to be securely attached (50%), while people with heteronomous separate self are more likely to have fearful attachment (53.1%). Since the frequencies of preoccupied and dismissing attachments in the sample are much lower than secure and fearful attachments, their association with self-construal was investigated with the distributions of self-construals within attachment styles. The results showed that people with dismissing attachment are more prone to have an autonomous separate self (48.3%). However, there is no distinct relationship between preoccupied attachment and heteronomous-related self. Except for this association, the fourth hypothesis of the study was supported in the IBU sample. The contingency table for the IBU sample is presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Self-construal*Attachment Style Crosstabulation in the IBU Sample

	Attachment Style									
	Secure		Preoccupied		Dismissing		Fearful		Total	
Self-construal	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
AutoRelated	14	50.0	6	21.4	4	14.3	4	14.3	28	100
AutoSeparate	12	26.1	6	13.0	14	30.4	14	30.4	46	100
HeteroRelated	22	47.8	6	13.0	4	8.7	14	30.4	46	100
HeteroSeparate	4	12.5	4	12.5	7	21.9	17	53.1	32	100
Total	52	34.2	22	14.5	29	19.1	49	32.2	152	100

Note: AutoRelated: Autonomous Related, AutoSeparate: Autonomous Separate, HeteroRelated: Heteronomous Related, HeteroSeparate: Heteronomous Separate

3.3.3 The relationship between the three variables in the WSU sample

3.3.3.1 Bivariate correlation analyses

The results of the Pearson correlation analyses in the American sample produced significant correlations but in the opposite direction to what was expected. For example, attachment avoidance was positively correlated with related self ($r = .39$, $p < .001$); and autonomous related self ($r = .26$, $p = .001$). Further, attachment anxiety was positively associated with autonomous self ($r = .22$, $p < .001$); and autonomous related self ($r = .15$, $p = .066$). The other correlations between the study variables are presented in

Table 7.

Table 7. Bivariate Correlation Results in the Washington State University Sample

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Attachment Avoidance						
Attachment Anxiety	.41***					
Autonomous Related Self	.26**	.15				
Autonomous Self	-.12	.22**	-.06			
Related Self	.39***	-.07	.42***	-.44***		
Hypermentalization	-.24**	-.35***	-.06	-.07	-.15	
Hypomentalization	.13	.28***	.24**	.09	.15	-.59***

Note: *p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001

3.3.3.2 Chi-Square analyses

A chi-square test of independence was carried out to investigate the relationship between attachment styles and construals of self. However, the results could not be interpreted since four cells (25%) had an expected count of less than 5. The contingency table can be found in Table 8. Examining the distribution of attachment styles within self-construals, it seems that people with autonomous related self tend to have fearful attachment (53.1%) while people with heteronomous separate self are more likely to have secure attachment (55%). Since the frequencies of preoccupied and dismissing attachments in the sample are much lower than secure and fearful attachments, their association with self-construal was investigated with the distributions of self-construals within attachment styles. The results indicated that people with dismissing attachment are more likely to have a heteronomous related self (70%) while people with preoccupied attachment are more prone to have an autonomous separate self (54.5%). These findings are almost exactly the opposite of the results in the Turkish samples.

Table 8. Self-construal*Attachment Style Crosstabulation in the WSU Sample

Self-construal	Attachment Style									
	Secure		Preoccupied		Dismissing		Fearful		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
AutoRelated	10	31.3	2	6.3	3	9.4	17	53.1	32	100
AutoSeparate	16	34.0	12	25.5	3	6.4	16	34.0	47	100
HeteroRelated	17	32.1	3	5.7	14	26.4	19	35.8	53	100
HeteroSeparate	11	55.0	5	25.0	0	0.0	4	20.0	20	100
Total	54	35.5	22	14.5	20	13.2	56	36.8	152	100

Note: AutoRelated: Autonomous Related, AutoSeparate: Autonomous Separate, HeteroRelated: Heteronomous Related, HeteroSeparate: Heteronomous Separate

3.4 Factors predicting self-construals and the moderator role of reflective functioning

The fifth hypothesis was tested with continuous measures by employing a series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses, as categorical analyzes might cause a loss in variance and reduce the power. A series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses with attachment avoidance and anxiety, hypermentalization, and hypomentalization and the interaction of these factors were carried out separately for each sample. Before interpreting the results of the analysis, the multiple regression assumptions were checked for each sample. All assumptions – linearity, multicollinearity, homoscedasticity, independence of observation, and normality of residuals were met in all samples.

The hierarchical multiple regression analyses consisted of three steps: The demographic variables significantly related to the construals of self were entered into the model as a first step. In the second step, the independent variables of the study that were found significantly correlated with the self-construal were entered into the analysis. In the final step, interaction terms between the attachment and reflective functioning dimensions were included to assess a possible moderator effect of reflective functioning on the relationship between attachment and self-construal.

Mean-centering for the predictor variables was applied by subtracting the mean of each variable from their observations before obtaining interaction terms.

3.4.1 Background characteristics and self-construals

Before examining the factors that predict construals of self by hierarchical multiple regressions, one-way ANOVAs and independent sample of t-tests were conducted in order to assess whether self-construals differ significantly among the categories of the demographic variables in the study such as gender, years in school, size of hometown, mother and father's educational attainment, separately for each sample. Although the gender variable had three categories at the beginning, it was treated as a binary variable since only seven people in the BOUN sample, two people in the WSU sample, and no one in the IBU sample was in the non-binary group. Regarding continuous and ordinal variables of the study such as age and SES, Pearson's correlation and Spearman's correlation analyses were used respectively.

3.4.1.1 Background characteristics and self-construals in the BOUN sample

When the autonomous relational self was the dependent variable, the only significant result was obtained from the mean comparisons of gender, t (111.63) = 2.92, p = .004. The female participants (M = 4.40, SD = .45) were more autonomous relational than the male participants (M = 4.16, SD = .63). One-way ANOVAs for years in school, size of hometown, mother and father's educational attainment yielded nonsignificant results, all ps > .05. Similarly, the correlation results for age and SES variables did not reveal significant results, ps > .05.

When the relational self was the dependent variable, consistent with the mean comparison of gender on the autonomy dimension, female participants (M = 2.90,

SD = .60) were more relational than the male participants (*M* = 2.90, *SD* = .60), *t* (225) = 3.75, *p* = .000. There was no statistically significant difference on the construct of relational self in terms of the size of hometown, years in school, mother and father's educational attainment, all *p*s > .05. Further, there was no significant correlation with age and SES variables, *p*s > .05.

When the autonomous self was the dependent variable, the mean comparison of gender yielded again a significant result, *t* (225) = -2.18, *p* = .03. The male participants (*M* = 3.10, *SD* = .66) were more autonomous than the female participants (*M* = 2.90, *SD* = .60). There was a significant difference on the construct of autonomy among the participants in terms of their size of hometown, *F*(3, 230) = 2.79, *p* = .042. Post-hoc analyses were carried out using Bonferroni adjustment. Those who lived in the city (*M* = 3.11, *SD* = .56) were more autonomous than those who lived in the rural (*M* = 2.76, *SD* = .76), *p* = .04. There were no statistically significant differences between the other groups, *p*s > .05. Moreover, one-way ANOVAs for years in school, mother and father's educational attainment did not show significant results, all *p*s > .05. Similarly, the correlation results for age and SES variables revealed nonsignificant results, *p*s > .05.

3.4.1.2 Background characteristics and self-construals in the IBU sample

Autonomy relatedness differed significantly between the female (*M* = 4.20, *SD* = .62) and male participants (*M* = 3.86, *SD* = .63), *t* (150) = 2.71, *p* = .008. However, there was no significant difference in the categories of the other demographic variables such as years in school, size of hometown, mother and father's educational attainment, *p*s > .05. Further, there was no significant relationship between autonomy relatedness and age; autonomy relatedness and SES, *p*s > .05.

Regarding relational self, the only significant difference was in which year the participants were at the college, F (3, 148) = 5.05, p = .002. Bonferroni adjustment revealed that both Sophomores (M = 3.42, SD = .67) and Juniors (M = 3.81, SD = .56) are more relational than Freshmen (M = 3.16, SD = .64), p = .051 and p = .021, respectively. When it comes to the autonomous self, there was not any significant effect of the demographic variables in the study.

3.4.1.3 Background characteristics and self-construals in the WSU sample

When the autonomous relational self was the dependent variable, similar to the results of the other two samples, female participants (M = 4.21, SD = .48) were significantly more autonomous related than the male participants (M = 3.94, SD = .43), t (148) = 2.62, p = .010. Regarding the variable of student status, mother and father's educational attainment, there were no significant differences on autonomy relatedness scores, ps > .05. The information about the size of hometown and SES was not obtained in this sample. In addition to these variables, the ethnicity variable was analyzed in the American sample but the groups of the variable did not differ significantly in terms of their autonomy relatedness scores, p > .05. Moreover, there was no significant relationship between age and autonomy relatedness, p > .05.

When it comes to the relational self as the dependent variable, similar to the results in the BOUN sample, the female participants (M = 3.81, SD = .41) were more relational than the male participants (M = 3.30, SD = .46), t (148) = 5.60, p = .000. The other and last significant difference was present in which year the participants were at the college, F(3, 148) = 2.92, p = .036. In contrast with the results of IBU sample, the Bonferroni adjustment showed that Freshmen (M = 3.85, SD = .41) are more relational than Sophomores (M = 3.57, SD = .45), p = .025. Regarding the

autonomous self, there was not significant difference in any demographic variables of the study.

3.4.2 Hierarchical multiple regression analyses in the BOUN sample

3.4.2.1 The autonomous relational self as the outcome variable

Gender was entered in the model as a first step and explained approximately 2% of the variance in autonomous related self by significantly contributing to the model with F (1, 232) = 4.04, p = .046. In the second step, attachment anxiety, attachment avoidance and hypermentalization and hypomentalization were added to the model and significantly contributed to the model with F (4, 228) = 9.69, p < .001 by explaining 14% of the variance in autonomy relatedness scores after controlling for gender. In the last step, four interaction terms (attachment avoidance*hypermentalization, attachment avoidance*hypomentalization, attachment anxiety*hypermentalization and attachment anxiety*hypomentalization) were entered into the analysis but did not significantly advance the model, F (4, 224) = .41, p = .798.

In the final model, gender, attachment anxiety, attachment avoidance, hypermentalization and hypomentalization explained a significant proportion of the variance in autonomy relatedness scores, R^2 = .16, F (5, 228) = 8.68, p < .001. Gender, attachment avoidance and hypermentalization were the significant predictors of autonomous related self. Gender and attachment avoidance negatively predicted the autonomous relational self while hypermentalization was positively predictive. The result of the hierarchical multiple regression is presented in Table 9. These results showed that the fifth hypothesis regarding the moderator effect of reflective

functioning was not supported since the model did not yield significant interaction results.

Table 9. Regression Results for Autonomous Relational Self in the BOUN Sample

Variable	*B*	95% CI for *B*		*SE B*	β	R^2	Δ R^2
		LL	UL				
Model 1						.02	.02*
Constant	4.51***	4.32	4.69	.09			
Gender	-.13*	-.25	-.002	.06	-.13		
Model 2						.16	.14***
Constant	4.54***	4.36	4.71	.09			
Gender	-.15*	-.26	-.03	.06	-.15*		
Att. Anxiety	-.04	-.12	.05	.04	-.06		
Att. Avoidance	-.19***	-.27	-.11	.04	-.31***		
Hypermentalization	.006*	.00	.01	.003	.14*		
Hypomentalization	.005	-.003	.01	.004	.09		
Model 3						.16	.006
Constant	4.54***	4.35	4.71	.09			
Gender	-.15*	-.27	-.03	.06	-.15		
Att. Anxiety	-.03	-.12	.05	.04	-.06		
Att. Avoidance	-.19	-.27	-.11	.04	-.31		
Hypermentalization	.005	-.001	.01	.003	.13		
Hypomentalization	.004	-.004	.01	.004	.07		
Anxiety*Hyper	.001	-.006	.008	.003	.03		
Anxiety*Hypo	.003	-.007	.01	.005	.04		
Avoidance*Hyper	-.003	-.01	.004	.004	-.07		
Avoidance*Hypo	-.006	-.02	.004	.005	-.09		

Note: CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; Anxiety*Hyper = interaction of attachment anxiety and hypermentalization, Avoidance*Hypo = interaction of attachment avoidance and hypomentalization *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

3.4.2.2 The relational self as the outcome variable

Gender was entered into the model as a first step and explained approximately 7% of the variance in the relational self by significantly contributing to the model with F (1, 232) = 17.22, p = .000. Since hypermentalization and hypomentalization were not significantly correlated with the relational self, the last step was the addition of attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance to the model and the interaction terms were not included. Attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance significantly contributed to the model with F (2, 230) = 44.19, $p < .001$ by explaining an additional 26% of the variance in relatedness scores after controlling for gender.

In the final model, gender, attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance explained a significant proportion of the variance in relatedness scores, $R^2 = .33$, F(3, 230) = 37.34, $p < .001$. Gender and attachment avoidance negatively predicted the relational self (β = -.24, t(230) = -4.48, $p < .001$; β = -.51, t(230) = -8.92, $p < .001$ while attachment anxiety predicted positively β = .33, t(230) = 5.68, $p < .001$.

3.4.2.3 The autonomous self as the outcome variable

Firstly, the size of hometown and gender were entered into the model. They explained approximately 6% of the variance in the autonomous self by significantly contributing to the model with F (2, 231) = 6.80, p = .001. In the second step, attachment anxiety but not attachment avoidance (since it was not correlated with the autonomous self), hypermentalization and hypomentalization were added to the model and significantly contributed to the model with F (3, 228) = 8.64, $p < .001$ by explaining 10% of the variance in autonomy scores after controlling for gender and the size of hometown. In the last step, two interaction terms (attachment

anxiety*hypermentalization and attachment anxiety*hypomentalization) were included but did not significantly advance the model, F (2, 226) = .88, p = .414.

In the final model, gender, attachment anxiety, hypermentalization and hypomentalization explained a significant proportion of the variance in autonomy scores, R^2 = .15, F (5, 228) = 8.17, p < .001. Gender and attachment anxiety were the significant predictors. Gender positively predicted the autonomous self, β .16, t(228) = 2.64, p = .009 while attachment anxiety was predicting negatively β = -.24, t(228) = -3.60, p < .001.

3.4.3 Hierarchical multiple regression analyses in the IBU sample

3.4.3.1 The autonomous relational self as the outcome variable

In the first level, gender was entered and significantly contributed to the model with F (1, 150) = 7.34, p = .008 by explaining approximately 5% of the variance in autonomous related self. Since hypomentalization was not found significantly related to autonomous related self, three independent variables; attachment anxiety, attachment avoidance and hypermentalization were added to the model in the second step. Their entrance yielded a significant contribution to the model with F (3, 147) = 12.83, p < .001 and explained 20% of the variance in autonomy relatedness scores after controlling gender. In the last step, two interaction terms (attachment anxiety*hypermentalization and attachment avoidance*hypermentalization) were entered into the analysis, yet their entrance did not create a significant change in the model, F (2, 145) = 1.93, p = .148.

The final model explained %24 of the variance in autonomy relatedness with the four predictors – gender, attachment anxiety, attachment avoidance and hypermentalization. Except for attachment anxiety, all variables in the final model

were significant predictors of autonomous related self. Gender and attachment avoidance negatively predicted the autonomous relational self while hypermentalization was positively predicting it. Table 10 provides the summary statistics of the hierarchical multiple regression. This result suggests that the fifth hypothesis proposing the moderator effect of reflective functioning was also not confirmed in the IBU sample since there were no significant interactions between hypermentalization and attachment insecurity dimensions.

Table 10. Regression Results for Autonomous Relational Self in the IBU Sample

Variable	*B*	95% CI for *B*		*SE B*	β	R^2	ΔR^2
		LL	UL				
Model 1						.05	.05**
Constant	4.54***	4.23	4.85	.16			
Gender	-.34**	-.58	-.09	.12	-.22**		
Model 2						.24	.20***
Constant	4.49***	4.21	4.77	.14			
Gender	-.30**	-.52	-.08	.11	-.19**		
Att. Anxiety	-.10	-.23	.03	.06	-.12		
Att. Avoidance	-.12*	-.25	.005	.06	-.16*		
Hypermentalization	.01***	.008	.02	.004	.32***		
Model 3						.26	.02
Constant	4.53***	4.24	4.81	.14			
Gender	-.31**	-.53	-.09	.11	-.20**		
Att. Anxiety	-.09	-.22	.03	.06	-.11		
Att. Avoidance	-.11	-.24	.02	.06	-.14		
Hypermentalization	.01***	.01	.02	.004	.34***		
Anxiety*Hyper	-.002	-.01	.009	.005	-.02		
Avoidance*Hyper	.01	-.001	.02	.005	.15		

Note: CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; Anxiety*Hyper = interaction of attachment anxiety and hypermentalization, Avoidance*Hypo = interaction of attachment avoidance and hypomentalization *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$

3.4.3.2 The relational self as the outcome variable

In the first step, the variable of years in school was entered and significantly contributed to the model with F (1, 150) = 10.37, p = .002 by explaining approximately 6% of the variance in the relational self. Since attachment anxiety and hypomentalization were not found significantly related to the relational self, two independent variables; attachment avoidance and hypermentalization were added in the second step. Their entrance yielded significant contribution to the model with F (2, 148) = 15.09, p < .001 and explained 15% of the variance in relatedness scores after controlling the student status. Lastly, one interaction term (attachment anxiety*hypermentalization) was entered into the model, yet their addition did not bring a significant change to the model, F (1, 147) = 1.83, p = .178. The final model explained %22 of the variance in relatedness with the three predictors – student status, attachment avoidance and hypermentalization. Only attachment avoidance, in the final model, was the significant predictor of the relational self, β = -.36, t(148) = -4.61, p < .001.

3.4.3.3 The autonomous self as the outcome variable

None of the demographic variables in the study significantly differed in terms of autonomy scores in the IBU sample. Moreover, attachment anxiety is the only independent variable correlated with the autonomous self. Therefore, a linear regression was carried out with attachment anxiety as the predictor variable. Attachment anxiety predicted the autonomy scores negatively, β = -.17, t(150) = -2.08, p = .039 by explaining 3% of variance in autonomy scores, F(1, 150) = 4.33, p = .039.

3.4.4 Hierarchical multiple regression analyses in the WSU sample

3.4.4.1 The autonomous relational self as the outcome variable

In the first step, gender entered the model and explained approximately 2% of the variance in autonomous related self while contributing to the model with F (1, 150) = 3.83, p = .052. In the second step, only attachment avoidance and hypomentalization were added to the model since attachment anxiety and hypermentalization were not significantly correlated with autonomous related self. The entrance of attachment avoidance and hypomentalization made significant contribution to the model with F (2, 148) = 8.13, p < .001 by explaining approximately 10% of the variance in autonomy relatedness after controlling gender. In the last step, the interaction of attachment avoidance and hypomentalization was included in order to assess the moderation effect but their inclusion did not significantly advance the model, F (1, 147) = .25, p = .617.

The final model, consisting of three predictors - gender, attachment avoidance and hypomentalization explained %12 of the variance in the outcome variable. Gender was not a significant predictor in the final model as attachment avoidance and hypomenalization positively predicted the autonomous relational self. The result obtained from the hierarchical multiple regression is summarized in Table 11. Considering the nonsignificant interaction result, it can be said that the fifth hypothesis of the study was not supported in the American sample too.

3.4.4.2 The relational self as the outcome variable

Firstly, gender and years in school were added to the model. They explained approximately 16% of the variance in the relational self while contributing to the model with F (2, 149) = 13.86, p < .001. In the second step, only attachment

avoidance was included since the other independent variables of the study were not significantly correlated with the relational self. The inclusion of attachment avoidance brought a significant contribution to the model with F (1, 148) = 23.43, p < .001 by explaining approximately 11% of the variance in relatedness scores after controlling gender and years in school. The final model consisting of the three predictors – years in school, gender, and attachment avoidance explained %27 of the variance in the outcome variable. However, the variable of years in school was not a significant predictor in the final model. Gender negatively predicted the relational self, β = -.33, t(148) = -4.71, p < .001 while attachment avoidance positively predicted it, β = .34, t(148) = 4.84, p < .001.

Table 11. Regression Results for Autonomous Relational Self in the WSU Sample

Variable	*B*	95% CI for *B*		*SE B*	β	R^2	Δ R^2
		LL	UL				
Model 1						.02	.02*
Constant	4.38***	4.15	4.60	.11			
Gender	-.17*	-.35	.002	.09	-.16*		
Model 2						.12	.10***
Constant	4.30 ***	4.08	4.52	.11	İ		
Gender	-.11	-.28	.06	.09	-.10		
Att. Avoidance	.14**	.04	.23	.05	.22**		
Hypomentalization	.008*	.002	.01	.003	.20*		
Model 3						.12	.002
Constant	4.31 ***	4.08	4.53	.11			
Gender	-.12	-.29	.06	.09	-.11		
Att. Avoidance	.13**	.03	.23	.05	.21**		
Hypomentalization	.008*	.002	.01	.003	.19*		
Avoidance*Hypo	.002	-.00	.009	.004	.04		

Note: CI = confidence interval; LL = lower limit; UL = upper limit; Anxiety*Hyper = interaction of attachment anxiety and hypermentalization, Avoidance*Hypo = interaction of attachment avoidance and hypomentalization *p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001

3.4.4.3 The autonomous self as the outcome variable

There was no significant difference in autonomy scores in terms of the demographic variables in the study in the WSU Sample. Further, attachment anxiety is the only independent variable correlated with the autonomous self. Thus, a linear regression analysis was conducted with attachment anxiety as the predictor variable. Attachment anxiety predicted the autonomy scores positively, $\beta = .22$, $t(150) = 2.80$, $p = .006$ and explained %5 of variance in autonomy scores, $F(1, 150) = 7.83$, $p = .006$.

3.5 Additional analysis: An investigation of the mediator role of RF

Based on the significant correlations between attachment dimensions and hypermentalization in the BOUN and IBU samples, an additional analysis was conducted to explore the possible mediator role of hypermentalization on the relationship between attachment dimensions and autonomy relatedness by employing structural equation modeling in the new composite sample consisting of the BOUN and IBU samples. While investigating the mediator role of reflective functioning, hypomentalization dimension was not included into the model because it seems to reflect the opposite of hypermentalization dimension which appears to correspond a genuine mentalizing rather than the different impaired levels. The WSU sample was excluded because of the contradictory results with the existing literature and almost exactly opposite results with the other two samples in the study. Moreover, composite data was formed since a convergence between the results obtained from the two Turkish samples was observed.

Attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety were included in the model as the predictors of both hypermentalization and autonomous related self.

Hypermentalization was added both as the mediator of attachment avoidance and anxiety; and as a predictor of autonomous related self. Gender was also included in the model as the predictor of autonomous related self since it was a significant predictor in the previous analysis. All model indices showed good fit, (X^2 = 5.70, df = 3, p > .05; RMSEA = .04, CFI = .98, TLI = .94). The mediator role of hypermentalization was investigated by checking the indirect effects by employing bootstrapping. The result showed that hypermentalization partially mediated the relationship between attachment avoidance and autonomous related self (Standardized indirect effect = -.038, 95% CI [-.069, -.015], p = .000. Further, the result revealed that hypermentalization fully mediated the relationship between attachment anxiety and autonomous related self (Standardized indirect effect = -.028, 95% CI [-.059, -.009], p = .002 since the significant direct effect of attachment anxiety (b = -.16, p =.001) on the construal of autonomous related self disappeared (b = -.02, p =.441) in the presence of the mediator in the model. The path analysis was presented in Figure 2.

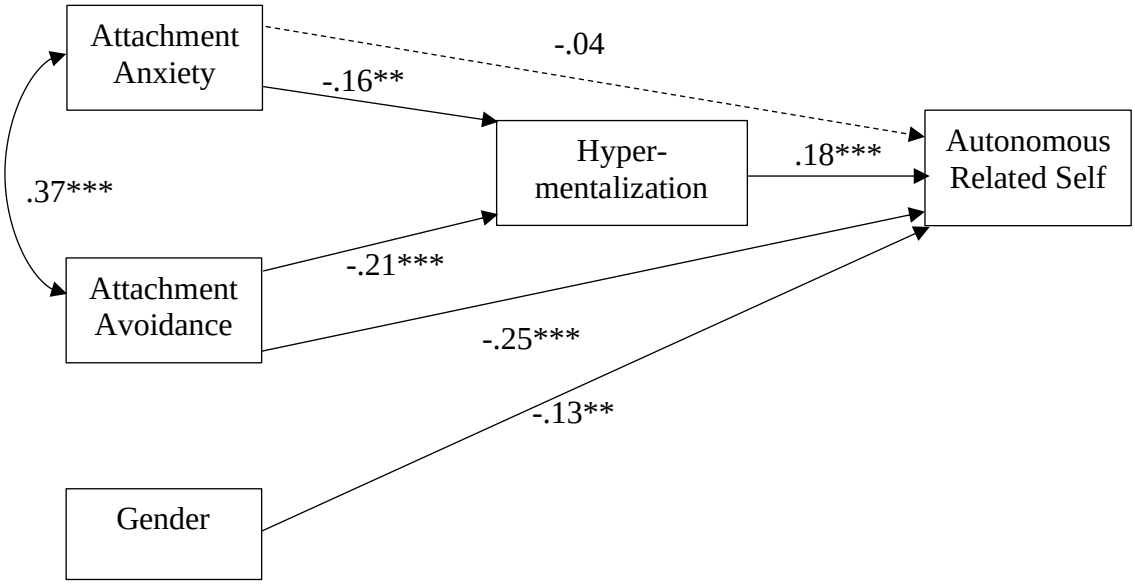

Figure 2. Path analysis with the standardized coefficients

3.6 Overview of the results

The group comparisons of the study regarding attachment insecurity supported the first hypothesis by indicating that the Turkish participants scored high in attachment anxiety while the American participants scored high in attachment avoidance. On the other hand, the group comparisons of the study about self-construal did not support the second and third hypotheses. Contrary to the second hypothesis, the American participants were found less autonomous than the Turkish participants. In addition, there was no difference in autonomy scores expected in the third hypothesis between the two Turkish samples, which are assumed to differ in terms of students' exposure to westernization at the university.

The fourth hypothesis regarding the relationship between attachment and self-construal was investigated separately within each sample. The Boğaziçi University sample and the Abant İzzet Baysal University sample yielded similar results which support the fourth hypothesis. It seems that there are significant relationships between attachment styles and self-construals. According to the contingency tables, the relationships between the autonomous related self and secure attachment; heteronomous separate self and fearful attachment; autonomous separate self and dismissing attachment were apparent in both Turkish samples. Although there is also a relationship between heteronomous related self and preoccupied attachment in the BOUN sample, there was no such distinct relationship between them in the IBU sample. On the other hand, the distribution of the frequencies for each cell in the American sample seemed to be the opposite of what was reported for the Turkish samples. Although the chi-square result could not be reported due to the violation of the minimum expected count assumption for each cell, it appears that according to the results of the contingency table, there is a relationship between

autonomous related self and fearful attachment; heteronomous separate self and secure attachment; heteronomous related self and dismissing attachment; autonomous separate self and preoccupied attachment, which are exactly the opposite of the findings in the Turkish samples.

The fifth hypothesis was also investigated separately within each sample. However, a moderator effect of impaired levels of reflective functioning on the relationship between attachment and self-construal was not observed in any of the samples. Nonetheless, the factors that predict autonomous self, relational self and autonomous relational self were explored within each sample. For the Turkish samples, it appears that people who are low in attachment avoidance, people who are high in hypermentalization and females show higher levels of autonomous relational self. On the contrary, for the American sample, the participants who are high in attachment avoidance and those who are high in hypomentalization indicate higher levels of autonomous relational self. Similarly, people who are low in attachment avoidance are more likely to have higher levels of relational self in the Turkish samples, whereas those who are low in attachment avoidance are prone to have lower levels of relational self in the American sample. In addition, people who are high in attachment anxiety show lower levels of autonomous self in the Turkish samples whereas those who are high in attachment anxiety display higher levels of autonomy in the American sample.

Lastly, based on the significant correlations of hypermentalization with both attachment dimensions and autonomous related self in addition to the correlations between attachment dimensions and autonomous related self, an additional mediation analysis was conducted in the composite sample consisting of the two Turkish samples. The results showed that hypermentalization partially mediates the

relationship between attachment avoidance and autonomous related self while fully mediating the relationship between attachment anxiety and autonomous related self.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION

The current study had two main objectives; one of them was to examine the relationship between attachment style, self-construal and mentalization capacity and the other was to investigate the cultural differences in these variables among three samples of the study. In this chapter, the findings summarized at the end of the results chapter will be discussed. Later, possible contributions and limitations of the current study with recommendations for future studies will be mentioned.

4.1 Discussion of the findings

4.1.1 Group comparison on the study variables

The first three hypotheses of the study were constructed to conduct group comparisons of the study variables. The first hypothesis was formulated based on the finding of several studies that have shown that attachment anxiety is more prevalent in Eastern cultures while attachment avoidance is more prevalent in Western cultures (Van IJzendoor & Kroonenberg, 1988; Grossmann et al., 1985; Miyake et al., 1985). The current study supported the first hypothesis and indicated that attachment anxiety scores are higher in the Turkish samples than attachment avoidance; while attachment avoidance scores are higher in the American sample than attachment anxiety as consistent with the existing literature (Sakman & Sümer, 2018; Sümer & Güngör, 1999). This cultural difference might result from the cultural variation in the caregivers' behavioral strategies that affect infants who rely on caregivers' responses when they are struggling with a difficult experience. For example, in collectivistic cultures, proximity seeking with a strong desire to be close to the other is more

common while emotional distance and self-reliance are much more common in individualist cultures. The question is whether the culture leads the way and affects parenting style or whether the prevalence of certain attachment patterns constitutes the concept of collectivism and individualism (Strand, 2020). However, the current study is not in a position to answer this question due to the research design.

The second hypothesis of the study proposed that Turkish participants would be more relational while American participants would be more autonomous considering the extensive literature showing that the independent self is more common in Western cultures while the interdependent self is more common in Eastern cultures (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) due to the socialization aim that differs culturally as supporting autonomy and exploration for Western infants and relationality and emotional closeness for Eastern infants (Rothbaum et al., 2000). However, in the current study, no difference was found in relationality scores between the cultures. What is surprising is that the Turkish participants were found to be more autonomous than the American participants. Although this is unexpected result, it is not the first study to show this contradictory result with the previous literature. A recent study exploring the role of self-construal in autobiographical memories among American and Turkish participants found American participants as having higher scores in the relatedness subscale of the Balanced Integration-Differentiation Scale (Imamoglu, 1998) than the Turkish participants (Sahin & Mebert, 2013) and Turkish participants used significantly more self-related words in their earliest memory than American participants. These findings also accord with Oyserman, Coon and Kemmelmeier's meta-analysis (2002) that points to the fact that American people are not significantly less collectivist than people in countries known as collectivist such as Japan and Korea.

On the other hand, there is a general tendency toward relationality rather than autonomy in all samples of the study, which is contrary to that of Mayer (2013) who proposed a growing tendency toward being more autonomous, especially among young adults in developing countries. In line with the Kağıtçıbaşı's (2017) argument that one can rely on independent and interdependent orientations interchangeably according to different situations and times, a possible explanation for this finding might be the current situation all over the world; firstly Covid-19 and then political situations. There are some speculations about how the COVID-19 pandemic damaged the sense of autonomy, especially in decision-making processes (Gómez-Vírseda & Usanos, 2021). People need to rely on shared decision-making; individual wishes need to be repressed in the interest of the public. Moreover, a qualitative study which investigates young adults' narratives about the presidential election in the US observed a shift from "I" to "we" in their narratives while making meaning of the political situation, which reflects "a relational integration of perspectives" (Marin & Leo, 2020, p. 320). They discussed that the respondents might want to rely on a collective identity in order to cope with social distrust and isolation in political turmoil. Therefore, the prevailing political situation in the world which is unsteady and in relative turmoil might have led the participants of the study, especially American students to a stronger focus on relationships.

The Boğaziçi University sample might not represent the Turkish population as a whole since it is a college student sample exposed more to westernization. Therefore, another university sample, IBU, was selected as a representative of Anatolian universities in Turkey. Based on a previous study which found a significant difference in terms of autonomy between the two groups that are similar to the study samples (Tokgöz, 1999), the third hypothesis was put forward that the

Boğaziçi University sample would be more autonomous than the IBU sample. However, there was no significant difference between the two samples in terms of autonomy scores. This may be because the current time in the country has led to a more questioning approach in these university student samples.

Although a cultural difference in reflective functioning was not hypothesized, the results suggested that the Turkish participants scored significantly higher in the certainty dimension of RF, whereas the American participants scored significantly higher in the uncertainty dimension of RF. This finding seems to support the work of previous studies suggesting that anticipation of the other's needs and being extremely receptive to nonverbal communication are more common in collectivist cultures (Rothbaum et al., 2000). For example, in Turkish, there is a phrase like "Ben senin içini bilirim" which means "I know your insides" which also refers to being able to read the other's mind. Thus, the high scores of the Turkish participants in hypermentalization appear to support these arguments.

4.1.2 The relationship between attachment style and self-construal

Several studies investigating the relationship between attachment and self-construal consistently found significant associations between them (Bilir, 2016; İmamoğlu & İmamoğlu, 2007; Sakman, 2016). Based on the literature, the fourth hypothesis of the study proposed a significant relationship between attachment styles and construals of self. The chi-square results of the study confirmed this hypothesis in the Turkish samples. Analyzing the contingency tables, one can see that there is a relationship between secure attachment and autonomous related self; fearful attachment and heteronomous separate self; dismissing attachment and autonomous separate self in

the two Turkish samples, and preoccupied attachment and heteronomous related self in the BOUN sample whereas these relationships are inverse in the American sample.

Moreover, considering the correlation results, it is obvious that the direction of the relationship between attachment dimensions and construals of self seems to change according to the culture. For example, while there is a negative relationship between attachment avoidance and relational self; autonomous relational self, a positive relationship between them is apparent in the American sample. However, this result is contrary to that of Sakman (2016) who found a significant negative relationship between attachment avoidance and interdependent mindset both in the Turkish and American samples. This result is completely unexpected and hard to give any explanation based on the previous literature. Therefore, the result of the American sample should be handled cautiously and should be replicated in future studies. Due to the described situation of the American sample, further elaborations about the relationships will be made only for the two Turkish samples.

The relationship between secure attachment and autonomous related self seems to provide support to the argument that people with secure attachment might be better at integrating two conflicting needs; autonomy and relatedness, thanks to the internalized representations of the caregiver's secure base supporting exploration and safe haven providing a warm relatedness (Fişek, 2018).

On the other hand, the association between fearful attachment and heteronomous separate self might be explained by the argument that people who are fearfully attached might deny the need for relatedness due to the negative model of others and fail to develop genuine autonomy due to also negative model of self

(Shaver & Mikulincer, 2002). As a result, both autonomy and relatedness needs remain unsatisfied, which ends up a heteronomous separate self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2017).

When it comes to the relationship between dismissing attachment and autonomous separate self, people with dismissing attachment have a negative model of others but a positive model of self (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), resulting in an avoidance of the relationships and turning towards the self with a preserved autonomy. Therefore, they might fulfill the need of autonomy but disregard the need of relatedness, which ends up an autonomous separate self (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2017).

Regarding the relationship between preoccupied attachment and heteronomous related self, a possible explanation might be the fact that people with preoccupied attachment hold a positive model of others but a negative model of self (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991), which leads them to seek close relations while there is no investment for personal space or autonomy. Thus, as described for heteronomous related self, the need for relatedness is met while the need for autonomy is dismissed (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2017). This relationship might not have shown up in the IBU sample due to the lack of adequate observations in preoccupied attachment.

4.1.3 Background characteristics and self-construal

The results indicated that gender is related with autonomous relational self in all samples of the study; associated with relational self in the BOUN and WSU samples and with autonomous self in the BOUN sample. Secondly, student status is found to be related to relational self in the IBU and WSU samples. Lastly, the size of hometown is linked with autonomous self in the BOUN sample.

Regarding gender, what is common in the findings is that females are more relational and autonomous relational than males, likewise, males are more autonomous than females. These results are consistent with the previous studies demonstrating that males were found higher in autonomy or independency scores than females, whereas females have higher scores on relatedness or interdependency (Cross & Madson, 1997; Ferguson & Gunnell, 2016).

Regarding the size of hometown, the results in the BOUN sample showed that people who have lived in urban areas are more autonomous than the people whose hometown is rural. These findings are consistent with Kağıtçıbaşı's (2017) argument that urbanization creates more room for autonomy as a result of the decrease in economical interdependency and hierarchy within families.

No data was found in the literature in terms of the relationship between relational self and student status. Moreover, the results from the IBU sample and WSU sample are contradictory. While relationality increases with the years passed in college in the IBU sample, it decreases in the WSU sample while passing from the first grade to the second grade. These results should be interpreted with caution as the reliability scores of the WSU sample are low.

4.1.4 Factors that predict self-construals

Attachment avoidance was a significant predictor for both autonomous relational self and relational self in all samples of the study. However, it is a negative predictor in the Turkish samples whereas it is a positive predictor in the American sample. Attachment anxiety is a significant predictor of autonomous self in all samples but the direction is negative in the Turkish samples, whereas positive in the American sample. In addition, attachment anxiety is a positive and significant predictor of

relational self only in the BOUN sample. The finding in the Turkish samples was expected and has a theoretical sense. As the model of others becomes negative, in other words, attachment avoidance increases, people become less relational and autonomous relational. As attachment anxiety increases, people become less autonomous probably due to an increase in negativity in the model of self. These results in the Turkish samples are in line with that of Sakman (2016) who found attachment avoidance as negatively linked to relational values and attachment anxiety as negatively related to independent values; positively associated with relational values in both Turkish and American samples. However, this study yielded contradictory results with the literature for the American sample.

4.1.5 The role of reflective functioning

Reflective functioning was a significant predictor for only autonomous relational self. While hypermentalization is a significant and positive predictor in the Turkish samples, hypomentalization is a significant and surprisingly positive predictor in the American sample. Although no study was found assessing directly the relationship between autonomous relational self and mentalization, some studies have noted the close link between genuine mentalizing and reaching a balance between autonomy and relatedness (Luyten et al., 2019). Moreover, Fonagy et al. (2012) argued that genuine mentalizing implies an ability to discriminate that the other has a separate mind which is different from one's own. Only if the person has this ability, he or she can develop a genuine sense of autonomy. If we consider the certainty dimension of the scale as describing a healthy level of reflective functioning, this study seems to support these arguments.

Although the literature had several studies indicating the positive relationship between attachment dimensions and the uncertainty dimension of reflective functioning (Köksal, 2017; Akyol, 2021), it lacks information about the relationship between self-construal and reflective functioning. Nonetheless, several studies have reported that the uncertainty dimension seems related to difficulties in emotion regulation and problems in relationships (Fonagy et al., 2016). Based on these studies, a moderator role of reflective functioning on the relationship between attachment and self-construal was hypothesized, such that being too uncertain or too certain about one's own and others' mental states would be linked to lower levels of self-construals. However, the result of the regression analyses showed that a moderator effect of reflective functioning on the relationship between attachment and self-construal was not present in any of the samples.

A possible explanation for this might be that reflective functioning might have a mediator role between attachment and self-construal because the correlation results of the study seem to confirm the other studies stating a significant relationship between attachment dimensions and reflective functioning. Especially, hypermentalization is significantly correlated with both attachment dimensions and autonomous related self in the current study. The direction is negative with insecurity but positive with autonomous relational self. Normally, these directions would not be expected from an impaired level of reflective functioning. However, several studies in the literature demonstrated that the certainty dimension of the reflective functioning scale appears to measure healthy levels of reflective functioning rather than hypermentalization (Dal, 2021; De Meulemeester, Vansteelandt, Luyten, & Lowyck, 2018; Euler et al., 2019; Müller et al., 2020; Köksal, 2019). In addition, it might be the case that since people who hypermentalize perceive that they are good

at mentalization (Fonagy et al., 2016), it can be difficult to distinguish people who truly have good mentalization skills from those who consider themselves good mentalizers. In accordance with the previous results, the current study found that the certainty dimension which was supposed to measure hypermentalization is highly and negatively correlated with insecurity dimensions and positively related with autonomous related self. These findings showed that the certainty dimension of the scale seems to reflect a healthy way of mentalizing. Thus, based on these findings, a post hoc mediation analysis was carried out to investigate the role of the certainty dimension on the relationship between attachment dimensions and autonomous relational self.

The additional analysis was carried out with a composite sample that was formed from the BOUN and IBU samples because these two samples did not significantly differ contrary to the expectations. In addition, the American sample was not included due to inconsistent results with the literature (e.g., the positive correlation between attachment avoidance and relational self; attachment anxiety and autonomous self; hypomentalization as a positive predictor of autonomous relational self). The reason for this inconsistency is not clear but it may have something to do with the low reliability of the English version of the autonomous related self scale because the results showing the relationship between attachment and mentalization, for example, are consistent with the literature. Nonetheless, it seems that the results of the American sample need to be replicated in the future studies.

The results of the post hoc mediation analysis indicated that the certainty dimension partially mediates the relationship between attachment avoidance and autonomous relational self, and fully mediates the relationship between attachment

anxiety and autonomous relational self. In the final model, a direct effect of attachment avoidance and indirect effects of both attachment avoidance and attachment anxiety on the autonomous relational self were present. We may explain the direct effect of attachment on self-construal with the argument that securely attached people; that is, people with lower attachment anxiety and avoidance scores may be more autonomous related because they can integrate two conflicting needs easier (Fişek, 2018). People with a secure attachment may be able to do this because they have a greater understanding of their own and others' needs thanks to their mentalization capacity (Fonagy et al., 1991), which explains the indirect effect of attachment on self-construal.

Moreover, previous studies in Turkey indicated that attachment avoidance is more likely to be a risk factor for human psyche than attachment anxiety (Sümer & Kağıtçıbaşı, 2010; Selçuk et al., 2010). Friedman et al. (2010) also explained this with the culture-fit hypothesis by proposing that the adverse effects of a certain matter decrease if that matter is perceived as normative in the culture. Thus, these arguments might be an explanation of why the direct effect of attachment avoidance is apparent while that of attachment anxiety disappears.

In the literature, the mediator role of reflective functioning is repeatedly suggested for the relationship between attachment and personality disorders (Badoud et al., 2018; Nazzaro et al., 2017). Therefore, it is actually not surprising to find a mediating effect of reflective functioning on the link between attachment and self-construal. Moreover, our finding pointing a positive effect of being certain about mental states on autonomous relational self-construal are in line with prior studies which revealed an association between being uncertain about mental states and

difficulties in establishing self and other boundaries which might create identity diffusion (Fonagy et al., 2016), and endangers the development of genuine autonomy (Fonagy et al., 2012).

4.2 Contributions and implications of the study

The current study supported the importance of attachment security both on reflective functioning and self-construal. People who are insecurely attached are more likely to develop an impaired level of reflective functioning and tend to fail in embracing their needs which is a necessity to develop an integrated sense of self.

Moreover, this study provided further evidence regarding the individualism and collectivism literature by showing that the American sample appears as relational as the Turkish sample. It can therefore be assumed that the binary polarization into individualism for Western countries and collectivism for Eastern countries might no more be the case (Oyserman et al., 2002). Moreover, this study contributed to the literature in terms of the link between self-construal and reflective functioning which has not been dealt with so far to the author's knowledge. The results indicated that the ability to understand one's own needs seems to facilitate the development of an autonomous relational self.

Lastly, emerging adulthood is a period in which conflicts can reach a climax regarding self-development. One might strive for gaining genuine autonomy, while still trying to fulfill his or her relationality need at the same time. These internal conflicts might affect the young adults' mental health. Therefore, the current study suggests that mental health practitioners, especially working with young adults, might consider the role of secure attachment and mentalization ability, such that they

can provide a secure base and safe haven while encouraging patients' reflections on their mental states.

4.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for future studies

There are several limitations of the current study. Firstly, although vulnerability to biases is present for all self-report measures (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003), assessing reflective functioning with self-report measures creates more trouble since self-reports require by-default participants' reflection on what is asked. Thus, it is necessary to keep in mind the possible bias in the responses of the reflective functioning scale, especially for the certainty dimension. Nevertheless, it appears that the validity of the certainty dimension should be studied further. Future studies should establish the validity of the certainty dimension before using the scale. Moreover, the reflective functioning scale does not yield separate scores for self-related and other related mentalization, thus a cultural comparison made in the literature (Aival-Naveh et al., 2019) was not assessed in the current study. Secondly, attachment dimensions and reflective functioning with the gender variable explained approximately 20% of the variances in self-construals. Still, much of the variance remained as unexplained. Future studies might want to explore other variables which possibly affect the construals of self.

One of the main limitations of the study was about the categorization method of attachment scores. In the current study, fearful attachment was found as prevalent as secure attachment in all samples. However, such prevalence of fearful attachment is not expected based on the previous studies suggesting that fearful attachment is generally rare since it is present mostly in an adverse environment where one might face physical and sexual abuse, psychological neglect or early losses (Main &

Solomon, 1990; Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991). The reason for the high prevalence of fearful attachment in the current study might be derived from the categorical coding of attachment scores by using a median split considering the fact that most of the participants who were classified as fearfully attached actually have just slightly higher scores than the medians of attachment anxiety and avoidance dimensions. Therefore, using the median split method in attachment scores might cause misinterpretation of the results. Thus, it is suggested for future studies to use only dimensional scores of attachment as the scale originally proposed.

The low reliability scores of The English version of the autonomous related self scale and contradictory correlations with the other study variables implied that the scale might need a revision in terms of reliability and validity. Moreover, the generic terms like autonomous and relational are criticized as terms which are value-laden and prone to polarization (Beebe & Lachmann, 2002). Instead, non-linear concepts such as “self-regulation” and “interactive regulation” can be used, wherein the person can rely on each of them interchangeably in different contexts and amounts. Future studies that would like to explore the variations among self-construals should consider using non-linear concepts which provide a continuum for individuals where they can prefer one process over the other depending on the context.

Lastly, the chi-square results in the American sample cannot be interpreted clearly due to the low expected count for each cell. Thus, the results are needed to be replicated with larger sample size.

4.4 Conclusions

The first aim of the current study was to test the relationship between attachment and self-construal while examining how reflective functioning affects this relationship within different cultural settings. The findings confirmed the link between attachment and self-construal and revealed a mediator role of reflective functioning in this association. Regarding the second goal of the study, cultural comparisons on these variables were made. Taken together, the present results show that while many of the theoretical arguments about attachment, self-construal and reflective functioning have merit, they, especially self-construal, may be vulnerable to changes in cultures that are exposed to rapid and significant change. Thus, a note of caution may be needed in interpreting results which are open to the effects of societal movements. Nevertheless, the idea that attachment security is a healthier foundation for a life which integrates relationality and autonomy seems to be validated in this study.

APPENDIX A

PERSONAL INFORMATION FORM

1. Age: ( )

2. Gender: ( )

3. Educational Attainment:

Primary School () Middle School () High School () Collage () Master () Doctorate ()

4. If you are a student, your class:

Not student () Preparatory () Freshmen () Sophomore () Junior () Senior ()

5. How can you describe your socioeconomic status?

Lower () Lower-Middle () Middle () Upper- Middle () Upper ()

6. The country that you grew up in: ()

7. Size of the place that you are living for a long time

Metropolis () Urban () Rural ()

8. Parents' Educational Attainment:

Mother	Father
Primary School ()	Primary School ()
Middle School ()	Middle School ()
High School ()	High School ()
Collage ()	Collage ()
Master ()	Master ()
Doctorate ()	Doctorate ()

APPENDIX B

THE EXPERIENCES IN CLOSE RELATIONSHIPS-REVISED (ECR-R) QUESTIONNAIRE

The statements below concern how you feel in emotionally intimate relationships. We are interested in how you *generally* experience relationships, not just in what is happening in a current relationship. Respond to each statement by circling a number to indicate how much you agree or disagree with the statement.

QUESTIONS		1=Strongly Disagree						7=Strong Agree
1.	I'm afraid that I will lose my partner's love.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2.	I often worry that my partner will not want to stay with me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.	I often worry that my partner doesn't really love me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4.	I worry that romantic partners won't care about me as much as I care about them.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5.	I often wish that my partner's feelings for me were as strong as my feelings for him or her.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6.	I worry a lot about my relationships.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7.	When my partner is out of sight, I worry that he or she might become interested in someone else.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.	When I show my feelings for romantic partners, I'm afraid they will not feel the same about me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9.	I rarely worry about my partner leaving me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10.	My romantic partner makes me doubt myself.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11.	I do not often worry about being abandoned.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12.	I find that my partner(s) don't want to get as close as I would like.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13.	Sometimes romantic partners change their feelings about me for no apparent reason.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	My desire to be very close sometimes scares people away.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15.	I'm afraid that once a romantic partner gets to know me, he or she won't like who I really am.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16.	It makes me mad that I don't get the affection and support I need from my partner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17.	I worry that I won't measure up to other people.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18.	My partner only seems to notice me when I'm angry.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19.	I prefer not to show a partner how I feel deep down.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
20.	I feel comfortable sharing my private thoughts and feelings with my partner	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

21.	I find it difficult to allow myself to depend on romantic partners.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22.	I am very comfortable being close to romantic partners.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23.	I don't feel comfortable opening up to romantic partners.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24.	I prefer not to be too close to romantic partners.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25.	I get uncomfortable when a romantic partner wants to be very close.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26.	I find it relatively easy to get close to my partner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27.	It's not difficult for me to get close to my partner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28.	I usually discuss my problems and concerns with my partner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29.	It helps to turn to my romantic partner in times of need.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30.	I tell my partner just about everything.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31.	I talk things over with my partner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32.	I am nervous when partners get too close to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33.	I feel comfortable depending on romantic partners.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34.	I find it easy to depend on romantic partners.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35.	It's easy for me to be affectionate with my partner.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36.	My partner really understands me and my needs.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX C

AUTONOMOUS-RELATED SELF SCALE

In this questionnaire there are items about you and your relationships. Please express to what extent you agree or disagree with them by marking the corresponding choice from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. When responding to the following items, please consider your relationships with the one(s) you are close to.

Strongly disagree	Disagree	Indecisive	Agree	Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5

1. I need the support of persons to whom I feel very close.
2. People who are close to me have little influence on my decisions.
3. It is important to have both close relationships and also to be autonomous.
4. I do not like a person to interfere with my life even if he/she is very close to me.
5. I prefer to keep a certain distance in my close relationships.
6. Even if the suggestions of those who are close are considered, the last decision should be one’s own.
7. I feel independent of the people who are close to me.
8. I lead my life according to the opinions of people to whom I feel close.
9. A person who has very close relationships cannot make his/her own decisions
10. Generally, I keep personal issues to myself.
11. A person should be able to oppose the ideas of those who are close.
12. The opinions of those who are close to me influence me on personal issues.
13. Giving importance to the opinions of those who are close to me means ignoring my own opinions.
14. The people who are close to me strongly influence my personality.
15. Being very close to someone prevents being independent.
16. While making decisions, I consult with those who are close to me.
17. I think often of those to whom I feel very close.
18. A person can feel both independent and connected to those who are close to him/her.
19. On personal issues, I accept the decisions of people to whom I feel very close.
20. I do not worry about what people think of me even if they are close to me.
21. In order to be autonomous, one should not form close relationships.
22. Those who are close to me are my top priority.
23. I usually try to conform to the wishes of those to whom I feel very close.
24. My relationships to those who are close to me make me feel peaceful and secure.
25. I do not share personal matters with anyone, even if very close to me.
26. A person may be attached to those who are close, and at the same time, expect respect for any differences of opinion.
27. I can easily change my decisions according to the wishes of those who are close to me.

APPENDIX D

REFLECTIVE FUNCTIONING QUESTIONNAIRE – 54 ITEMS

Please work through the next 54 statements. For each statement, choose a number between 1 and 7 to say how much you disagree or agree with the statement, and write the number beside the statement. Do not think too much about it – your initial responses are usually the best. Thank you.

Use the following scale from 1 to 7:

	Strongly disagree	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Strongly agree

1. __ People's thoughts are a mystery to me
2. __ It's easy for me to figure out what someone else is thinking or feeling
3. __ My picture of my parents changes as I change
4. __ I worry a great deal about what people are thinking and feeling
5. __ I pay attention to the impact of my actions on others' feelings
6. __ It takes me a long time to understand other people's thoughts and feelings
7. __ I know exactly what my close friends are thinking
8. __ I always know what I feel
9. __ How I feel can easily affect how I understand someone else's behavior
10. __ I can tell how someone is feeling by looking at their eyes
11. __ I realize that I can sometimes misunderstand my best friends' reactions
12. __ I often get confused about what I am feeling
13. __ I wonder what my dreams mean
14. __ Understanding what's on someone else's mind is never difficult for me
15. __ I believe that my parents' behavior towards me should not be explained by how they were brought up
16. __ I don't always know why I do what I do
17. __ I have noticed that people often give advice to others that they actually wish to follow themselves
18. __ It's really hard for me to figure out what goes on in other people's heads
19. __ Other people tell me I'm a good listener
20. __ When I get angry I say things without really knowing why I am saying them
21. __ I'm often curious about the meaning behind others' actions
22. __ I really struggle to make sense of other people's feelings
23. __ I often have to force people to do what I want them to do
24. __ Those close to me often seem to find it difficult to understand why I do things
25. __ I feel that, if I am not careful, I could intrude into another person's life
26. __ Other people's thoughts and feelings are confusing to me
27. __ I can mostly predict what someone else will do
28. __ Strong feelings often cloud my thinking
29. __ In order to know exactly how someone is feeling, I have found that I need to ask them
30. __ My intuition about a person is hardly ever wrong

31. __ I believe that people can see a situation very differently based on their own beliefs and experiences
32. __ Sometimes I find myself saying things and I have no idea why I said them
33. __ I like to think about the reasons behind my actions
34. __ I normally have a good idea of what is on other people's minds
35. __ I trust my feelings
36. __ When I get angry I say things that I later regret
37. __ I get confused when people talk about their feelings
38. __ I am a good mind reader
39. __ I frequently feel that my mind is empty
40. __ If I feel insecure I can behave in ways that put others' backs up
41. __ I find it difficult to see other people's points of view
42. __ I usually know exactly what other people are thinking
43. __ I anticipate that my feelings might change even about something I feel strongly about
44. __ Sometimes I do things without really knowing why
45. __ I pay attention to my feelings
46. __ In an argument, I keep the other person's point of view in mind
47. __ My gut feeling about what someone else is thinking is usually very accurate
48. __ Understanding the reasons for people's actions helps me to forgive them
49. __ I believe that there is no RIGHT way of seeing any situation
50. __ I am better guided by reason than by my gut
51. __ I can't remember much about when I was a child
52. __ I believe there's no point trying to guess what's on someone else's mind
53. __ For me actions speak louder than words
54. __ I believe other people are too confusing to bother figuring out

APPENDIX E

ETHICAL APPROVAL

Evrak Tarih ve Sayısı: 23.06.2021-18475

T.C.
BOĞAZİÇİ ÜNİVERSİTESİ
SOSYAL VE BEŞERİ BİLİMLER YÜKSEK LİSANS VE DOKTORA TEZLERİ ETİK İNCELEME KOMİSYONU
TOPLANTI TUTANAĞI

Toplantı Sayısı	:	18
Toplantı Tarihi	:	17.06.2021
Toplantı Saati	:	13:00
Toplantı Yeri	:	Zoom Sanal Toplantı
Bulunanlar	:	Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen, Prof. Dr. Ebru Kaya, Prof. Dr. Fatma Nevra Seggie
Bulunmayanlar	:	

Esra Akhüseyinoğlu

Psikoloji

Sayın Araştırmacı,
"The relationship between self-construal and attachment style with mentalization capacity as a moderating variable" başlıklı projeniz ile ilgili olarak yaptığınız SBB-EAK 2021/49 sayılı başvuru komisyonumuz tarafından 17 Haziran 2021 tarihli toplantıda incelenmiş ve uygun bulunmuştur.

Bu karar tüm üyelerin toplantıya çevrimiçi olarak katılımı ve oybirliği ile alınmıştır. COVID-19 önlemleri kapsamında kurul üyelerinden ıslak imza alınamadığı için bu onay mektubu üye ve raportör olarak Ebru Kaya tarafından bütün üyeler adına e-imzalanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla, bilgilerinizi rica ederiz.

Prof. Dr. Ebru KAYA
ÜYE

e-imzalıdır
Prof. Dr.Ebru KAYA
Raportör

SOBETİK 18 17.06.2021

Bu belge 5070 sayılı Elektronik İmza Kanununun 5. Maddesi gereğince güvenli elektronik imza ile imzalanmıştır.

APPENDIX F

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (FOR BOUN STUDENTS)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Institution Supporting the Research: Boğaziçi University
Name of the Research: The relationship between self-construal and attachment style with mentalization capacity as a moderating variable
Project Coordinator: Dr. Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen
E-mail Address of the Project Coordinator:
Phone Number of the Project Coordinator:
Name of the Researcher:
E-mail Address of the Researcher:
Phone Number of the Researcher:

Dear Participant,
Esra Akhüseyinoğlu, who is an M.A. student in the Psychology Department at Boğaziçi University, has been conducting a scientific research project. The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between self-construal and attachment style with mentalization capacity as a moderating variable.

In order to participate in this study, you have to be between 18-26 years old. If you are in this age range and would like to participate in the study, your identifying information will not be asked, and you will be expected to fill a questionnaire in an online platform - that takes around 30 minutes to answer. The questionnaire you will answer consists of questions about your age, gender, educational and socioeconomic background in the first place, and then questions that might require to think on yourself , how you approach your close relations and the extent to which you have an idea about your own and others' mental states such as their feelings, wishes and needs.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. In return for participating in this study, the participant will only be rewarded with 1 credit from PSY 101 or PSY 241 course, and no other fee or feedback will be given to the participant. If you agree to participate in the research, you can opt out at any stage. This will not have any negative consequences for you. In this case, your answers will be deleted from the system by the researcher. All the information you provide will be stored on the computer of the graduate student who is doing research with great care. Of the information requested in the questionnaire, the student number is only required to confirm your participation in the study and will not be matched with any other identification information or your answer. All remaining information will be evaluated collectively and used for scientific publication purposes. While the information is used in lectures and congress/seminar presentations for educational purposes, the results obtained from all participants will be shared collectively.
This research is not expected to pose any risk on you. However, if you have any negative reaction, you may contact and ask the researcher to talk. You will be provided with an opportunity to have a meeting in a secure environment by protecting the confidentiality.

If you would like to have additional information about the research, you may contact Esra Akhüseyinoğlu, the Researcher. If you have any complaints about the research, you may share them with the Ethics Committee for Master and PhD Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities (Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu - SOBETİK) through sbe- ethics@boun.edu.tr e-mail address.

☐ **I have read the text above; and I fully understood the extent and purpose of the study and the responsibility I have as a volunteer. I understood that I may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation and without having any negative consequences due to the withdrawal. In these circumstances, I confirm that I want to participate in this research voluntarily, without any pressure or coercion.**

APPENDIX G

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (FOR IBU STUDENTS)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Institution Supporting the Research: Boğaziçi University
Name of the Research: The relationship between self-construal and attachment style with mentalization capacity as a moderating variable
Project Coordinator: Dr. Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen
E-mail Address of the Project Coordinator:
Phone Number of the Project Coordinator:
Name of the Researcher: Esra Akhüseyinoğlu
E-mail Address of the Researcher:
Phone Number of the Researcher:

Dear Participant,
Esra Akhüseyinoğlu, who is an M.A. student in the Psychology Department at Boğaziçi University, has been conducting a scientific research project. The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between self-construal and attachment style with mentalization capacity as a moderating variable.

In order to participate in this study, you have to be between 18-26 years old. If you are in this age range and would like to participate in the study, your identifying information will not be asked, and you will be expected to fill a questionnaire in an online platform - that takes around 30 minutes to answer. The questionnaire you will answer consists of questions about your age, gender, educational and socioeconomic background in the first place, and then questions that might require to think on yourself , how you approach your close relations and the extent to which you have an idea about your own and others' mental states such as their feelings, wishes and needs.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. In return for participating in this study, the participant will only be rewarded with 2 points from the Introduction to Psychology or Social Psychology-1 course, and no other payment or feedback will be given to the participant. If you agree to participate in the research, you can opt out at any stage. This will not have any negative consequences for you. In this case, your answers will be deleted from the system by the researcher. All the information you provide will be stored on the computer of the graduate student who is doing research with great care. Of the information requested in the questionnaire, the student number is only required to confirm your participation in the study and will not be matched with any other identification information or your answer. All remaining information will be evaluated collectively and used for scientific publication purposes. While the information is used in lectures and congress/seminar presentations for educational purposes, the results obtained from all participants will be shared collectively.
This research is not expected to pose any risk on you. However, if you have any negative reaction, you may contact and ask the researcher to talk. You will be

provided with an opportunity to have a meeting in a secure environment by protecting the confidentiality.

If you would like to have additional information about the research, you may contact Esra Akhüseyinoğlu, the Researcher. If you have any complaints about the research, you may share them with the Ethics Committee for Master and PhD Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities (Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu - SOBETİK) through sbe- ethics@boun.edu.tr e-mail address.

☐ **I have read the text above; and I fully understood the extent and purpose of the study and the responsibility I have as a volunteer. I understood that I may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation and without having any negative consequences due to the withdrawal. In these circumstances, I confirm that I want to participate in this research voluntarily, without any pressure or coercion.**

APPENDIX H

INFORMED CONSENT FORM (FOR WSU STUDENTS)

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Institution Supporting the Research: Boğaziçi University
Name of the Research: The relationship between self-construal and attachment style with mentalization capacity as a moderating variable
Project Coordinator: Dr. Yasemin Sohtorik İlkmen
E-mail Address of the Project Coordinator:
Phone Number of the Project Coordinator:
Name of the Researcher: Esra Akhüseyinoğlu
E-mail Address of the Researcher:
Phone Number of the Researcher:

Dear Participant,
Esra Akhüseyinoğlu, who is an M.A. student in the Psychology Department at Boğaziçi University, has been conducting a scientific research project. The aim of this study is to examine the relationship between self-construal and attachment style with mentalization capacity as a moderating variable.

In order to participate in this study, you have to be between 18-26 years old. If you are in this age range and would like to participate in the study, your identifying information will not be asked, and you will be expected to fill a questionnaire in an online platform - that takes around 30 minutes to answer. The questionnaire you will answer consists of questions about your age, gender, educational and socioeconomic background in the first place, and then questions that might require to think on yourself , how you approach your close relations and the extent to which you have an idea about your own and others' mental states such as their feelings, wishes and needs.

Participation in this research is completely voluntary. In return for participating in this study, you will receive 1.0 research participation credits through Sona, which can be applied to psychology classes for credit/extra credit. If you agree to participate in the research, you can opt out at any stage. This will not have any negative consequences for you. In this case, your answers will be deleted from the system by the researcher. All the information you provide will be stored on the computer of the graduate student who is doing research with great care. Of the information requested in the questionnaire, the student number is only required to confirm your participation in the study and will not be matched with any other identification information or your answer. All remaining information will be evaluated collectively and used for scientific publication purposes. While the information is used in lectures and congress/seminar presentations for educational purposes, the results obtained from all participants will be shared collectively.
This research is not expected to pose any risk on you. However, if you have any negative reaction, you may contact and ask the researcher to talk. You will be provided with an opportunity to have a meeting in a secure environment by protecting the confidentiality.

If you would like to have additional information about the research, you may contact Esra Akhüseyinoğlu, the Researcher. If you have any complaints about the research, you may share them with the Ethics Committee for Master and PhD Theses in Social Sciences and Humanities (Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tezleri Etik İnceleme Komisyonu - SOBETİK) through sbe- ethics@boun.edu.tr e-mail address.

☐ **I have read the text above; and I fully understood the extent and purpose of the study and the responsibility I have as a volunteer. I understood that I may withdraw from the study at any time without explanation and without having any negative consequences due to the withdrawal. In these circumstances, I confirm that I want to participate in this research voluntarily, without any pressure or coercion.**

REFERENCES

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1967). *Infancy in Uganda: Infant care and the growth of love.* Johns Hopkins Press.

Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1978). The Bowlby-Ainsworth attachment theory. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, *1*(3), 436-438.

Ainsworth, M. S. (1979). Infant–mother attachment. *American Psychologist*, *34*(10), 932–937. https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.34.10.932

Ainsworth, M. D. S., & Marvin, R. S. (1995). On the shaping of attachment theory and research: An interview with Mary D. S. Ainsworth (Fall 1994). *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, *60*(2-3), 3-21 https://doi.org/10.2307/1166167

Ainsworth, M.D.S., Blehar, M.C., Waters, E., & Wall, S.N. (2015). *Patterns of attachment: A psychological study of the strange situation* (1st ed.). Psychology Press. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203758045

Aival-Naveh, E., Rothschild-Yakar, L., & Kurman, J. (2019). Keeping culture in mind: A systematic review and initial conceptualization of mentalizing from a cross-cultural perspective. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, *26*(4), e12300.

Akhondzadeh, S. M. (2002) *Enhancement of self-esteem in hierarchical relationships*, Unpublished master dissertation, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul

Akyol, M. (2021). *The mediator role of mentalization in the link between attachment insecurity and alcohol abuse*, Unpublished master dissertation, İstanbul Bilgi University, İstanbul

Badoud, D., Prada, P., Nicastro, R., Germond, C., Luyten, P., Perroud, N., & Debbané, M. (2018). Attachment and reflective functioning in women with borderline personality disorder. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *32*(1), 17-30.

Bartholomew, K., & Horowitz, L. M. (1991). Attachment styles among young adults: a test of a four-category model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *61*(2), 226.

Beebe, B. & Lachmann, F. M. (2002). *Infant research and adult treatment: A dyadic systems approach*. Analytic Press.

Belsky, J., Steinberg, L., & Draper, P. (1991). Childhood experience, interpersonal development, and reproductive strategy: An evolutionary theory of socialization. *Child Development*, *62*, 647–670. doi: 10.1037/a0024454

Bion, W. R. (1962). The psycho-analytic study of thinking. *International journal of psycho-analysis*, *43*, 306-310.

Bilir, E. S. (2016). *Türkiye'deki üniversite öğrencilerinin romantik ilişkilerinde işlevsel olmayan ilişki inançlari ile ilişkisel benlik tutumlarinin bağlanma kurami çerçevesinde araştirilmasi*, Yayınlanmamış master tezi, Maltepe Üniversitesi, İstanbul

Blatt, S. J. (2008). *Polarities of experience: Relatedness and self definition in personality development, psychopathology, and the therapeutic process*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Bowlby, J. (1973). Attachment and loss: Volume II: Separation, anxiety and anger. In *Attachment and loss: Volume II: Separation, anxiety and anger* (pp. 1-429). London: The Hogarth press and the institute of psycho-analysis.

Bowlby, J. (1988). Developmental psychiatry comes of age. *The American journal of psychiatry*.

Brennan, K. A., Clark, C. L., & Shaver, P. R. (1998). Self-report measurement of adult attachment: An integrative overview. In J. A. Simpson & W. S. Rholes (Eds.), *Attachment Theory and Close Relationships* (pp. 46–76). The Guilford Press.

Cross, S. E., & Madson, L. (1997). Models of the self: Self-construals and gender. *Psychological Bulletin, 122*(1), 5-37. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.122.1.5

Cassidy, J., & Berlin, L. J. (1994). The insecure/ambivalent pattern of attachment: Theory and research. *Child Development*, *65*(4), 971-991.

Chisholm, J. S. (1996). The evolutionary ecology of attachment organization. Human Nature, 7(1), 1–38.

De Meulemeester, C., Vansteelandt, K., Luyten, P., & Lowyck, B. (2018). Mentalizing as a mechanism of change in the treatment of patients with borderline personality disorder: A parallel process growth modeling approach. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment, 9*(1), 22-29.

Dimen, M. (Ed.). (2011). *With culture in mind: Psychoanalytic stories* (Vol. 50). Routledge.

Ein-Dor, T., Mikulincer, M., Doron, G., & Shaver, P. R. (2010). The attachment paradox: How can so many of us (the insecure ones) have no adaptive advantages? *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, *5*, 123–141. doi: 10.1177/1745691610362349

Euler, S., Nolte, T., Constantinou, M., Griem, J., Montague, P. R., Fonagy, P., & Personality and Mood Disorders Research Net Work. (2019). Interpersonal problems in borderline personality disorder: Associations with mentalizing,

emotion regulation, and impulsiveness. *Journal of Personality Disorders*, *33*, 1-17.

Faul, F., Erdfelder, E., Buchner, A., & Lang, A. G. (2009). Statistical power analyses using G*Power 3.1: Tests for correlation and regression analyses. *Behavior Research Methods*, *41*(4), 1149-1160.

Ferguson, L. J., & Gunnell, K. E. (2016). Eudaimonic well-being: A gendered perspective. In Vittersø, J. (Ed.) *Handbook of eudaimonic well*-being (pp. 427-437). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Fisek, G. O. (2002) Bende bir ben var ailemden iceri. Paper presented at the XII National Congress of Psychology. Ankara, Turkey. September 11-13.

Fisek, G. O. (2009). Self-development, individuation, and culture: A psychoanalytic search. *Perspectives on Human Development, Family, and Culture*, 194

Fişek, G.O. (2018). *İlişki içinde "ben": Kültür, aile, bireyselleşme ve psikanalitik arayışlar.* İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Fonagy, P., Steele, M., Steele, H., Moran, G. S., & Higgitt, A. C. (1991). The capacity for understanding mental states: The reflective self in parent and child and its significance for security of attachment. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, *12*(3), 201-218.

Fonagy, P., & Target, M. (1997). Attachment and reflective function: Their role in self-organization. *Development and Psychopathology*, *9*(4), 679-700.

Fonagy, P., Gergely, G., Jurist, E., & Target, M. (2002). *Affect regulation, mentalization, and the development of the self*. New York, NY: Other Press.

Fonagy, P., Bateman, A. W., & Luyten, P. (2012). Introduction and overview: Attachment and mentalization. In A. W. Bateman & P. E. Fonagy (Eds.), *Handbook of mentalizing in mental health practice* (pp. 3-42). Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Publishing, Inc.

Fonagy, P., Luyten, P., Moulton-Perkins, A., Lee, Y. W., Warren, F., Howard, S., Fearon, P. & Lowyck, B. (2016). Development and validation of a self-report measure of mentalizing: The reflective functioning questionnaire. *PLoS One*, *11*(7), e0158678. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0158678.

Fonagy P, Luyten P, Allison E, Campbell C. (2017). What we have changed our minds about: Part 1. Borderline personality disorder as a limitation of resilience. *Borderline Personality Disorder and Emotion Dysregulation*, *4*(1), 1-12.

Fonagy, P., & Campbell, C. (2019). Supporting the social triad. A commentary on keeping culture in mind: A systematic review and initial conceptualization of mentalizing from a cross-cultural perspective. *Clinical Psychology: Science and Practice*, *26*(4).

Fraley, R. C., Waller, N. G., & Brennan, K. A. (2000). An item response theory analysis of self-report measures of adult attachment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78,* 350-365.

Friedman, M., Rholes, W. S., Simpson, J., Bond, M., Dias-Loving, R., & Chan, C. (2010). Attachment avoidance and the cultural fit hypothesis: A cross-cultural investigation. *Personal Relationships, 17,* 107–126. doi: 10.1111/j.1475-6811.2010.01256.x

Gallese, V., Fadiga, L., Fogassi, L., & Rizzolatti, G. (1996). Action recognition in the premotor cortex. *Brain*, *119*(2), 593-609.

Gallese, V. (2009). Mirror neurons, embodied simulation, and the neural basis of social identification. *Psychoanalytic Dialogues*, *19*(5), 519-536.

Gómez-Vírseda, C., & Usanos, R. A. (2021). Relational autonomy: Lessons from COVID-19 and twentieth-century philosophy. *Medicine, Health Care and Philosophy*, *24*(4), 493-505.

Greenberg, S. M., & Mitchell, S. A. (1983) *Object Relations in Psychoanalytic Theory*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.

Grossmann, K., Grossmann, K. E., Spangler, G., Suess, G., & Unzner, L. (1985). Maternal sensitivity and newborns' orientation responses as related to quality of attachment in northern Germany. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 233-256.

Han, S., & Northoff, G. (2009). Understanding the self: A cultural neuroscience approach. *Progress in Brain Research*, *178*, 203-212.

Halfon, S. (2006). *Attachment in a Cultural Framework*, Unpublished master dissertation, Boğaziçi University, İstanbul. Permanent URL of this record is: http://seyhan.library.boun.edu.tr/record=b1422763~S5

Harlow, H. F. (1958). The nature of love. *American psychologist*, *13*(12), 673.

Harwood, R. L., Miller, J. G., & Irizarry, N. L. (1995). *Culture and attachment: Perceptions of the child in context.* New York: The Guilford Press.

Hazan, C., & Shaver, P. (1987). Romantic love conceptualized as an attachment process. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 52*(3), 511-524.

Hofstede, G. (2001). *Culture's consequences: Comparing values* (2nd ed.). California: Sage Publications Inc.

Imamoglu, E. O. (1998). Individualism and collectivism in a model and scale of balanced differentiation and integration. *Journal of Psychology, 132*, 95-105.

Imamoglu, E. O. (2003). Individuation and relatedness: Not opposing but distinct and complementary. *Genetic, Social, and General Psychology Monographs, 129*, 367-402

Imamoğlu, E. O., & Imamoğlu, S. (2007). Relationships between attachment security and self-construal orientations. *The Journal of Psychology*, *141*(5), 359-558.

Jacobson, E. (1964). *The self and the object world.* International Universities Press, New York.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1990). Family and socialization in cross-cultural perspective: A model of change. In J. Berman (Ed.), Cross-cultural perspectives: Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1989 (pp. 135–200). Lindoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Kağitçibasi, Ç. (1996). The autonomous-relational self: A new synthesis. *European Psychologist*, *1*(3), 180.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (1997). Individualism and collectivism. In J. W. Berry, M. H. Segall, & Ç. Kağıtçıbaşı (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology* (2nd ed., Vol. 3,
pp. 1–50). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Kagitcibasi, Ç. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *36*(4), 403-422 https://doi.org/10.1177/0022022105275959

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç., Baydar, N., & Cemalcılar, Z. (2006) *Autonomy and relatedness scales* (Progress report). İstanbul, Koç University.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2013). Ebeveynlik ve özerk-ilişkili benlik. *Benlik, aile ve insan gelişimi* (pp. 184-203). Mahwah,NJ:Erlbaum.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2013). Autonomous-related self. In *Family, self, and human development across cultures: Theory and applications* (pp. 165-207). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Kagitcibasi, C. (2017). *Family, self, and human development across cultures: Theory and applications*. Routledge.

Keller, H. (2013). Attachment and culture. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *44*(2), 175-194.

Keller, H. (2018). Universality claim of attachment theory: Children's socioemotional development across cultures. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *115*(45), 11414-11419.

Keller, H. (2021). *The Myth of Attachment Theory: A Critical Understanding for Multicultural Societies*. Routledge.

Kim, H. Y. (2013). Statistical notes for clinical researchers: Assessing normal distribution (2) using skewness and kurtosis. *Restorative Dentistry & Endodontics*, *38*(1), 52-54.

Köksal, G. (2017). *The moderator effect of mentalization on the link between attachment and somatization.* Unpublished master dissertation. İstanbul Bilgi University, İstanbul.

Lancy, D. F. (2015). *The anthropology of childhood: Cherubs, chattel, and changelings*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Landrine, H. (1992). Clinical implications of cultural differences: The referential versus the indexical self. *Clinical Psychology Review*, *12*(4), 401-415.

LeVine, R. A. (2014). Attachment theory as cultural ideology. In H. Otto & H. Keller (Eds.), *Different faces of attachment: Cultural variations on a universal human need* (pp. 50–65). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139226684.005

Luyten, P., Campbell, C., & Fonagy, P. (2019). Reflections on the contributions of Sidney J. Blatt: The dialectical needs for autonomy, relatedness, and the emergence of epistemic trust. *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, *36*(4), 328.

Luyten, P., Campbell, C., Allison, E., & Fonagy, P. (2020). The mentalizing approach to psychopathology: State of the art and future directions. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, *16*, 297-325.

Lyons-Ruth, K. (1991). Rapprochement or approchement: Mahler's theory reconsidered from the vantage point of recent research on early attachment relationships. *Psychoanalytic Psychology*, *8*(1), 1.

Mahler, M. (1972). On the first three phases of the separation-individuation process. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, *53*, 333–338.

Mahler, M., Pine, F., & Bergman, A. (1975). The psychological birth of the human infant. New York: Basic Books.

Main, M., & Solomon, J. (1990). Procedures for identifying infants as disorganized/disoriented during the Ainsworth Strange Situation. *Attachment in the Preschool Years: Theory, Research, and Intervention*, *1*, 121-160.

Marin, K. A., & Leo, T. R. (2020). Emerging adults' narratives about the 2016 US Presidential Election: An examination of meaning-making strategies and the role of development. *Qualitative Psychology*, *7*(3), 306.

Mayer, B. (2013). Family change theory: A preliminary evaluation on the basis of recent cross-cultural studies. *Intergenerational Relations. European Perspectives on Family and Society*, 167-187.

Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review*, *98*(2), 224.

Mesman, J., Van Ijzendoorn, M. H., & Sagi-Schwartz, A. (2016). Cross-cultural patterns of attachment. *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications*, 852-877.

Mesman, J., Minter, T., Angnged, A., Cissé, I. A., Salali, G. D., & Migliano, A. B. (2018). Universality without uniformity: A culturally inclusive approach to sensitive responsiveness in infant caregiving. *Child Development*, *89*(3), 837-850.

Mesman, J. (2018). Sense and sensitivity: A response to the commentary by Keller et al. (2018). *Child Development*, *89*(5), 1929-1931.

Mikulincer, M., & Shaver, P. R. (2007). Attachment in adulthood: Structure, dynamics, and change. New York: Guilford Press.

Miyake, K., Chen, S. J., & Campos, J. J. (1985). Infant temperament, mother's mode of interaction, and attachment in Japan: An interim report. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, 276-297.

Müller, S., Wendt, L. P., Spitzer, C., Masuhr, O., Back, S. N., & Zimmermann, J. (2021). A critical evaluation of the reflective functioning questionnaire (RFQ). *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 1-15.

Nazzaro, M. P., Boldrini, T., Tanzilli, A., Muzi, L., Giovanardi, G., & Lingiardi, V. (2017). Does reflective functioning mediate the relationship between attachment and personality?. *Psychiatry Research*, *256*, 169-175.

Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analyses. *Psychological Bulletin*, *128*(1), 3.

Podsakoff, P. M., MacKenzie, S. B., Lee, J. Y., & Podsakoff, N. P. (2003). Common method biases in behavioral research: A critical review of the literature and recommended remedies. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *88*(5), 879–903.

Posada, G., Lu, T., Trumbell, J., Kaloustian, G., Trudel, M., Plata, S. J., ... & Lay, K. L. (2013). Is the secure base phenomenon evident here, there, and anywhere? A cross-cultural study of child behavior and experts' definitions. *Child Development*, *84*(6), 1896-1905.

Roland, A. (1988). In search of self in India and Japan. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Roland, A. (1995). Value issues involving Western psychoanalysts with Asian patients. *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis*, *23*(2), 283-292.

Rothbaum, F., Weisz, J., Pott, M., Miyake, K., & Morelli, G. (2000). Attachment and culture: Security in the United States and Japan. *American Psychologist*, *55*(10), 1093- 1104.

Sahin, B., & Mebert, C. J. (2013). The role of culture and self-construal in autobiographical memories of US and Turkish college students. *Memory*, *21*(8), 1004-1017.

Sakman, E. (2016). Functionality of insecure attachment in cultural context as an early alarm and escape system. [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Middle East Technical University.

Sakman, E., & Sümer, N. (2018). Güvensiz bağlanma neden yaygın: Bir erken uyarı sistemi olarak güvensiz bağlanma. *Türk Psikoloji Yazıları, 21*,1-13. doi: 10.31828/tpy.13019961.2018.42.02.01

Sampson, E. E. (1988). The debate on individualism: Indigenious psychologies of the individual and their role in personal and societal functioning. American Psychologist, 43, 15–22.

Scharfe, E. A. (1996). *A test of Bartholomew's four-category model of attachment in a clinical sample of adolescents*, Doctoral dissertation, Theses (Dept. of Psychology), Simon Fraser University.

Schmitt, D. P., Alcalay, L., Allensworth, M., Allik, J. R., Ault, L., Austers, I., et al. (2004). Patterns and universals of adult romantic attachment across 62 cultural regions: Are models of self and of other pancultural constructs? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 35*, 367–402.

Seçkin, K. B. (1996). *A narrative analysis of the construction of self in a group of Turkish university undergraduates: A self amidst tradition and change*, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İstanbul

Selçuk, E., Günaydın, G., Sümer, N., & Uysal, A. (2005). Yetişkin bağlanma boyutları için yeni bir ölçüm: yakın ilişkilerde yaşantılar envanteri-II'nin türk örnekleminde psikometrik açıdan değerlendirilmesi. *Türk Psikoloji Yazıları*, *8*(16), 1-13.

Selcuk, E., Günaydin, G., Sumer, N., Harma, M., Salman, S., Hazan, C., ... & Ozturk, A. (2010). Self-reported romantic attachment style predicts everyday maternal caregiving behavior at home. *Journal of Research in Personality*, *44*(4), 544-549.

Shaver, P. R., & Mikulincer, M. (2002). Attachment-related psychodynamics. *Attachment & Human Development*, *4*(2), 133-161.

Smith, P. B., Bond, M. H., & Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (2006). Understanding social psychology across cultures. London: Sage.

Sümer, N., & Güngör, D. (1999). Psychometric evaluation of adult attachment measures on Turkish samples and a cross-cultural comparison. *Turkish Psychology Journal, 14* (43), 71-106.

Sümer, N., & Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (2010). Culturally relevant parenting predictors of attachment security: Perspectives from Turkey. In P. Erdman & K-M. Ng (Eds.), *Attachment: Expanding the cultural connections.* (pp. 157-180). New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Stern, D. N. (1985). *The Interpersonal World of the Infant. A View from Psychoanalysis and Developmental Psychology.* New York (Basic Books) 1985.

Strand, P. S. (2020). The security-seeking impulse and the unification of attachment and culture. *Psychological Review, 127*(5), 778-791. doi: 10.1037/rev0000194

Strand, P.S., Vossen, J.J., & Savage, E. (2019). Culture and child attachment patterns: A behavioral systems synthesis. *Perspectives on Behavior Science*. doi: 10.1007/s40614-019-00220-3

Triandis, H. C., Leung, K., Villareal, M. V., & Clack, F. L. (1985). Allocentric versus idiocentric tendencies: Convergent and discriminant validation. *Journal of Research in Personality, 19,* 395–415.

Triandis, H. C. (1989). The self and social behavior in differing cultural contexts. *Psychological Review, 96,* 506–520.

Tokgöz, T. (1999). *Conflict in cross-gender intimate relationships: The effect of Westernization on the "Expanding Self" of Turkish undergraduates*, Yayınlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, İstanbul

Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Kroonenberg, P. M. (1988). Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: A meta-analysis of the Strange Situation. *Child Development, 59,* 147–156.

Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Sagi, A. (1999). Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: Universal and contextual dimensions. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (pp. 713-734). New York: Guilford.

Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Sagi-Schwartz, A. (2008). Cross-cultural patterns of attachment: Universal and contextual dimensions. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (2nd ed., pp. 880–905). New York: Guilford Press.

Wang, S., & Tamis-Lemonda, C. S. (2003). Do child-rearing values in Taiwan and the United States reflect cultural values of collectivism and individualism?. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 34*(6), 629-642.

Winnicott, D. W. (1971). The use of an object and relating through identifications. *Playing and reality*. New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Zhu, Y., & Han, S. (2008). Cultural differences in the self: From philosophy to psychology and neuroscience. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, *2*(5), 1799-1811.