



Self-Esteem in Female Adolescents and Relationships of Its Predictors with Culture

Ergenlik Dönemindeki Kız Çocuklarında Benlik Saygısı ve Yordayıcılarının Kültürle İlişkisi

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BSRACT

Self-esteem is individuals' subjective appraisals about their self-worth. It is widely accepted that self-esteem is an important factor in adolescent development and has been suggested to have important links with adolescent well-being. The gender factor in self-esteem has been included in many studies. Gender roles and stereotypes, body image, parental style, and cultural norms become prominent as the self-esteem predictors we focus on in the female gender. The purpose of this review article is to discuss the findings on culture-related differences with effective predictors of adolescent women's self-esteem development. As a result, it has been determined that perceptions of gender roles, parental styles, and body image have changed in the cultural context, and have different effects on the development of self-esteem in female adolescents.

Keywords: Adolescent, self-esteem, woman, gender roles, cultural norm

ÖZ

Benlik saygısı, kişinin kendine ilişkin değerine yönelik öznel değerlendirmeleridir. Benlik saygısının ergen gelişiminde önemli bir faktör olduğu yaygın olarak kabul edilmektedir ve ergenlikte iyi oluşla önemli bağlantıları olduğu öne sürülmüştür. Benlik saygısında cinsiyet faktörü birçok çalışmada yer bulmuştur. Ergenlik dönemindeki kız çocuklarında odaklandığımız benlik saygısı yordayıcıları olarak cinsiyet rolleri ve stereotipleri, beden imgesi, ebeveynlik stili ve kültürel normlar öne çıkmaktadır. Bu derleme makalesindeki amaç, ergenlik dönemindeki kız çocukların benlik saygısı gelişiminde etkili yordayıcılarla birlikte kültürle ilişkili farklılıklarına yönelik bulguları tartışmaktır. Sonuç olarak cinsiyet rolleri, ebeveynlik stilleri ve beden imgesine yönelik algıların kültürel bağlamda değişiklik göstererek ergenlik dönemindeki kız çocuklarında benlik saygısı gelişiminde farklı etkiler oluşturduğu belirlenmiştir.

Anahtar sözcükler: Ergenlik, benlik saygısı, kadın, cinsiyet rolleri, kültürel norm

Introduction

Individuals' subjective appraisals of their values are characterized as self-esteem. Self-esteem is high in those who are aware of their own strengths. These people have positive views of their selves. They are successful in establishing an appropriate purpose for themselves, strengthening themselves through positive or negative feedback from others, and developing appropriate coping strategies in the face of adversity (Taylor et al. 2003). According to the findings of recent studies, self-esteem is a protective factor in terms of mental health (Egan and Perry 2001, Corning 2002, Carver et al. 2003, Biro et al. 2006, Riquelme et al. 2008, Moksnes et al. 2010, Mäkinen et al. 2012, Steiger et al. 2014, Agam et al. 2015, Perez-Gramaje et al. 2020, Martínez et al. 2021). At this point, it is important

to consider gender and the current developmental period in determining the factors affecting self-esteem.

Self-esteem, which can affect life satisfaction at any time, serves as an indicator of how adolescents face and cope with difficulties (Moksnes and Espnes 2013). Adolescence is a process in which biological, psychological, social, and cognitive changes occur (Khanlou 2004), it is clearly a different and dynamic period associated with change (Khanlou 2004, Birkeland et al. 2012, Moksnes and Espnes 2013). Given that self-esteem is a protective factor in this regard (Egan and Perry 2001, Corning 2002, Carver et al. 2003, Biro et al. 2006, Moksnes and Espnes 2013, Agam et al. 2015), its relationship with coping with negative situations experienced in adolescence draws attention. While low self-esteem

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in adolescence is associated with anxiety and depression symptoms (Steiger et al. 2014), it is stated that a high level of self-esteem can act as a source of coping with negative life situations and be a protective factor for mental health (Moksnes and Espnes 2013). It is also claimed that people with high self-esteem are better able to cope with and adapt to stressful events (Orth et al. 2009). In a study of self-esteem among Turkish adolescents, it was found that high self-esteem levels were negatively correlated with low social anxiety (Eriş and İkiz 2013). Another study conducted in Turkey discovered that depression and anxiety symptoms had a significant relationship with low self-esteem and social anxiety (Özcan et al. 2013).

Many studies have been conducted to investigate gender differences in self-esteem. According to studies conducted in the United States and Europe, females' self-esteem is lower than males'. Furthermore, there are evidences that self-esteem increases in both males and females over the years following the transition from adolescence to adulthood (Quatman and Watson 2001, Moksnes et al. 2010, Wagner et al. 2013, Bleidorn et al. 2016, Queiroz et al. 2020). However, limited research suggests that gender does not make a significant difference in self-esteem (Erol and Orth 2011). For example, no gender differences were discovered in a study conducted in Turkey on the relationship between social anxiety and self-esteem in adolescents (Eriş and İkiz 2013).

Cultural differences are expected to have an impact on the development of self-esteem. However, it is also stated that there is a large body of literature evaluating the lifetime development of self-esteem in both male and female genders, regardless of cultural differences (Bleidorn et al. 2016). Other cross-cultural and longitudinal studies, on the other hand, show that self-esteem and its predictors change with gender or age in different cultures (Wang and Ollendick 2001, Eskin 2003, Farruggia et al. 2004, Clay et al. 2005, Greene and Way 2005, Leary 2005, Schmitt and Allik 2005, Chavous et al. 2008, Bachman et al. 2011, Becker et al. 2012, Moksnes and Espnes 2013, Gebauer et al. 2015, Bleidorn et al. 2016, Errasti et al. 2018). In this context, cultural differences show a culture-specific course in the development of self-esteem, and gender perceptions and value judgments in each culture have different effects on self-esteem. In support of this view, Wagner et al. (2013) state that it is necessary to focus on the gender-specific drivers of self-esteem development.

The purpose of this article is to discuss the relationship between cultural differences and effective predictors of adolescent girls' self-esteem development. To this end, the findings of cross-cultural, longitudinal, and cross-sectional studies focusing on self-esteem in adolescent girls are reviewed. The study focuses on four distinct predictors of adolescent girls' self-esteem development, which differ depending on cultural context. These are; gender roles and stereotypes, body image, parenting styles and compliance with cultural norms.

Gender Roles and Stereotypes

Gender-Related Differences Between Agency and Communal and Their Relationship with Self-Esteem

According to Agam et al. (2015), gender roles and self-esteem guided by them have an effect on how adolescents position themselves in different social situations. Physical changes that occur when females enter adolescence are more visible than males, and society's expectations of females entering adulthood regarding body image or gender roles differ culturally from males (Kling et al. 1999, Clay et al. 2005, Oyserman and Lee 2008, Mäkinen et al. 2012). It is stated in this direction that female gender roles become more visible during adolescence, which is the transitional stage to adulthood (Quatman and Watson 2001, Carver et al. 2003, Clay et al. 2005, Agam et al. 2015, Aoyagi et al. 2018). As a result, it is critical to investigate the role of culturally diverse gender roles in the development of self-esteem in adolescent females.

According to the findings of studies indicating gender differences in the development of self-esteem, adolescent females have lower self-esteem levels than adolescent males. However, while an increasing number of cross-cultural and longitudinal studies show that this difference is decreasing (Kling et al. 1999, Wagner et al. 2013, Queiroz et al. 2020), there are studies that show no gender difference (Gentile et al. 2009, Erol et al. Ruth 2011). For instance; Wojciszke et al. (2011) asserted that agency knowledge, which expresses assertiveness, goal, and self-efficacy-oriented content (Gebauer et al. 2013), has a greater influence on self-esteem than communal knowledge, which expresses relationality and social functioning. However, they also state that agency and communal knowledge, which are expected to differ in terms of gender roles in different cultures, do not make a gender-based difference in the development of self-esteem (Wojciszke et al. 2011). According to the study, the agency will lead to higher self-esteem in males in cultures where communal qualities include relationality, beneficialness, and generosity, and this information is the source of stereotypes about the female gender (Wojciszke et al. 2011). On the other hand, there was no difference between the genders in terms of the effect of agency on the development of self-esteem (Wojciszke et al. 2011). In line with this finding, Gentile et al. (2009) discovered no gender differences in self-esteem in the agency and communal domains. In contrast, in a study conducted by Gebauer et al. (2013), the effect of communion attribution on self-esteem was observed primarily in females. In a study of adolescents conducted by Korlat et al. (2021), females used more communal words to describe themselves than their male peers.

It is stated that the increase in acceptance by the social environment is effective in the development of self-esteem for both genders (Leary 2005). However, in gender roles, social acceptance in males require assertiveness, goal-oriented

and self-efficacy-oriented agency compared to females; it also shows that agency may cause a stronger factor in the development of self-esteem in males (Gebauer et al. 2013, Gebauer et al. 2015).

Society's Gender Role Stereotype

It is possible that social pressure related to gender roles will be effective in the development of self-esteem. According to research in this area, the effect of societal expectations about gender roles on self-esteem is negative (Kling et al. 1999, Egan and Perry 2001, Carver et al. 2003, Tobin et al. 2010, Wilson and Leaper 2015, Aoyagi et al. 2018). Aoyagi et al. (2018) discovered a negative relationship between gender identity pressure from family and peers and adolescent self-esteem. As a result, pressure from families or peers to behave by their gender identity and roles had a negative impact on adolescents' self-esteem (Aoyagi et al. 2018). Another study found that referrals for gender identity or pressures to conform to gender roles were negatively related to self-esteem (Wilson and Leaper 2015). These findings do not support the study's prediction that conforming to societal expectations or norms for gender roles will lead to the development of high self-esteem (Gebauer et al. 2013, Becker et al. 2014, Gebauer et al. 2015).

Does the negative effect on self-esteem arising from the pressure created by gender roles make a difference in terms of genders? As an explanation to this question, Harter (1998) stated that girls are raised to be more sensitive to relationality, interpersonal connectedness, and social feedback, which makes them more vulnerable to the pressure they feel. Tobin et al. (2010) found that the negative interaction of pressure felt with self-esteem was only seen in female adolescents in their study. Similarly, some studies have found that the negative effects of gender identity pressure caused by gender roles are greater in female adolescents (Egan and Perry 2001, Carver et al. 2003). However, some studies do not show this difference. Aoyagi et al. (2018) found no gender differences in the relationship between perceived pressure and self-esteem based on gender roles. In another study, the gender difference in the level of assertiveness was examined through Turkish and Swedish adolescent students (Eskin 2003). The assumption that the gender difference in assertiveness level would be higher in Turkish students compared to their Swedish peers since gender stereotypes are more prevalent in Turkey, was not consistent with the findings of the research (Eskin, 2003). As a result, females in adolescence defined themselves as assertive as their male peers, similar to their peers in a society where gender roles have shifted significantly (Eskin 2003). According to a Turkish study that looked at gender differences in gender perception, females in adolescence have more egalitarian attitudes toward gender roles than their male peers (Esen et al. 2018). In this case, females in adolescence demonstrate flexibility in creating a more egalitarian space in the social structure where gender stereotypes may limit their lives. The disparate findings in these studies imply that different aspects

of the various contexts and identities will interact to influence behavior. Despite the disparities in research findings, Carver et al. (2003) hypothesize that pressure to conform to gender roles is more harmful, particularly for females, based on their previous literature review and findings. According to Kling et al. (1999), gender roles and stereotypes have a negative impact on the development of female self-esteem in adolescence. For example, in a study of Iranian females' self-confidence levels, it was discovered that female participants with roles other than traditional gender roles (masculine and androgynous) had lower self-confidence levels than those with feminine roles (Jahanbakhsh et al. 2015). These findings show that females who are inconsistent with the gender roles of the culture in which they live have lower self-esteem than females who adapt. On the other hand, in a study conducted in Turkey, it was observed that adolescents with androgen gender roles exhibit a more positive self-image towards themselves (Cenkseven 2002). In this case, it is possible to assert that the society in which one lives has various contexts related to gender roles.

Gender Differences in Self-Esteem Sub-Dimensions

Gender differences in the sub-domains of self-esteem should be considered when evaluating the effect of gender differences on the development of self-esteem. Female adolescent self-esteem levels have been found to be lower than male adolescent self-esteem levels in various areas of self-esteem (Quatman and Watson 2001, Agam et al. 2015). A study by Quatman and Watson (2001) focused on gender differences in 8 domains of self-esteem, such as personal security, home/parents, peer popularity, academic competence, attractiveness, personal mastery, psychological permeability, and athletic competence. According to the findings of the study, females in adolescence were found to have higher self-esteem levels than males, only in the rigor sub-dimension of academic competence from 8 different areas of self-esteem (Quatman and Watson 2001). Females had more psychosomatic symptoms than their male peers in the psychological reactivity dimension, where a low score on the Psychological Permeability Composite indicates good adjustment (Quatman and Watson 2001). This finding contradicts the findings of a previous study, which found that positive self-perceptions in coping with internal and external pressures are more visible in adolescent females than in males (Cenkseven 2002). According to Quatman and Watson (2001), adolescent females score lower than their male peers in areas of self-esteem that correspond to male gender stereotypes. This finding is consistent with previous research indicating that adolescent females outperform males in areas of self-esteem compatible with traditional female gender roles (Eskin 2003, Moksnes et al. 2010).

In a study conducted by Hoffman, Powlishta, and White (2004), it was discovered that competency ratings mediated the relationship between gender roles and internalizing problems. When gender roles were considered as predictors of symptoms of internalizing problems, global self-esteem

and perceived self-attractiveness were found to play a role. According to the study's findings, adolescent females internalize problems more than their male peers and have lower self-esteem (Hoffman et al. 2004). These findings support Kling's (1999) hypothesis that gender roles may be a predictor of low self-esteem in females. At this point, it can be said that socially constructed gender stereotypes and roles establish a relationship with the individual's self-perception. On the other hand, there have been studies that show that typical male characteristics are positively associated with both female and male self-esteem (Wojciszke et al. 2011, Gebauer et al. 2013). Based on these results, it can be said that compliance with gender roles, gender role pressure, and agency and communal behavior affect the development of self-esteem at different rates and at different levels between genders depending on the culture.

Body Image

Adolescence is a time when physical changes occur, as well as differences in self-esteem (Clay et al. 2005, Richardson et al. 2009, Richardson and Paxton 2010, Mäkinen et al. 2012, Agam et al. 2015). Individuals entering adolescence begin to form new images of their bodies in response to physical changes (Sanrock, 2019). In this regard, the concepts of body image and self-esteem, which comprise the beliefs of individuals entering adolescence, are inextricably linked (Clay et al. 2005). At this point, the concept of body image serves as the foundation for adolescent self-esteem (Birkeland et al. 2012).

Gender differences can be seen in the way adolescents perceive their bodies. Various studies have found that adolescent females internalize attitudes toward female body image from the society in which they grew up (Clay et al. 2005, Becker et al. 2012, Gebauer et al. 2015). As a result, it is impossible to deny that the physiological changes that females go through during adolescence have an impact on their self-esteem development. For example, in a study conducted on adolescent students in Turkey, it was observed that concerns about physical changes occurring during this period were more frequently stated by female students during adolescence (Ongen 2002). According to the findings of a study on self-esteem and gender differences, it has been discovered that when girls and boys reach puberty, their self-esteem decreases. It has been reported that adolescent girls' self-esteem tends to decline, particularly during the first years of adolescence (Robin et al. 2002). According to a study conducted by Makinen et al. (2012) in Finland, body mass, self-esteem, and eating habits are associated with body dissatisfaction in male and female adolescents during the transition period from early adolescence to mid-adolescence. In a study conducted concurrently with these findings, the disorder in adolescent girls' perception of body shape was associated with younger age (Latha et al. 2006). As a result, determining the cause of the decline in female self-esteem, particularly in the first years of adolescence, is critical.

Distorted perception of one's own body is also a determinant of a disorder in self-esteem (Gardner et al. 1999). These findings lend credence to the notion that a negative body image is associated with low self-esteem (Guinn et al. 1997). According to the results of many studies, it has been revealed that adolescent females are less satisfied with their bodies than male adolescents (Rosenblum and Lewis 1999, Jones 2004, Presnell et al. 2004, Makinen 2012). For example, in a study conducted in Turkey, it was found that dissatisfaction with one's body image was positively related to low self-esteem levels in high school female students (Oktan and Sahin 2010). Another study conducted in Turkey that supports the findings of this study found that positive body image was associated with a high level of self-esteem (Eris and Kiz 2013). Adolescent females may have a negative body image, according to studies (Harter 1998, Sanrock 2011), and they report higher levels of body dissatisfaction than males (Sujoldzi and Lucia 2007). When adolescent females are compared to males, there is a greater disparity between perceived and ideal body size (Gardner et al. 1999). It is also supported by the findings of studies on Turkish, Chinese, Bahraini, and Korean adolescents, which show that adolescent females perceive themselves as being overweight compared to their male peers (Kim and Kim 2003, Xie et al. 2003, Ozmen et al. 2007). The finding (Gardner et al. 1999) that physical appearance differs in meaning and importance for boys and girls, as well as concerns about body weight and appearance, can be used to support this. Based on these findings, it is possible to conclude that girls' anxiety about body images is higher in early adolescence than boys', and that this has a greater impact on the development of self-esteem in girls than in boys. One explanation for this is that the increase in body fat that occurs during the puberty growth spurt predisposes adolescent females to weight anxiety and body image dissatisfaction (Latha et al. 2006).

Regarding the cultural effect, research findings indicate that a high level of cultural pressure on the physical appearance of adolescent females will have a negative impact on self-esteem (Brumberg 1997, Kling et al. 1999). It has been discovered that adolescent females who grew up in developed and consumer societies have a more impaired relationship between body image and self-esteem (Clay et al. 2005). In another study conducted in Turkey, the economic disadvantage was found to be a factor in high anxiety about social appearance (Ozcan et al. 2013). In this case, cultural explanations for the effect of socioeconomic conditions on body appearance differ.

In one study, the race was considered one of the important variables in adolescent self-esteem, and it was discovered that black girls had higher self-esteem than their white peers when they entered adolescence (Biro et al. 2006). This is because black girls are more satisfied with their physical appearance and feel more at ease with their thick body lines (Biro et al. 2006). Various environmental attributions can be mentioned in this difference between samples from the same country. These findings support the notion that societal ideals influence body image just as much as an individual's beliefs and attitudes (Latha et al. 2006).

Actual and perceived weight status, as well as body satisfaction, were investigated as factors influencing self-esteem and depression in a study conducted on Turkish adolescents by Ozmen et al. (2007). On the other hand, according to this study, being overweight based on body mass index has no effect on self-esteem or depression (Ozmen et al. 2007). Body mass index weight status was not found to be a predictor of self-esteem or depression level (Kim and Kim 2001, Kim and Kim 2003, Ozmen et al. 2007). According to the findings of the research conducted by Ozmen et al.; body dissatisfaction is associated with low self-esteem (Agam et al. 2015) and depression; perceived overweight is only associated with low self-esteem, and being overweight was not associated with low self-esteem and depression. According to the findings of a study conducted on Mexican-American adolescent females by Guinn et al. (1997), self-esteem was found to be associated with body image, exercise, and being overweight. It demonstrates that body image and exercise behavior contribute to higher self-esteem in adolescent Mexican-American females (Guinn et al. 1997). This result is attributed to the fact that Mexican Americans' preferences for exercise behavior differ from those of other cultures.

Jung and Lee (2006) conducted a cross-cultural comparison of undergraduate females' self-schema, body image, self-esteem, and dietary behavior in Korea and the United States. As a result of the studies, it was determined that the appearance self-schema for body image and self-esteem had not previously been investigated in cross-cultural studies. Females in non-Western cultures may be subjected to greater pressure to improve their physical appearance than females in Western cultures (Jung and Lee 2006). As a result, research on females from various cultural backgrounds is required to determine the extent of relationships between appearance self-schema, body image, self-esteem, and dietary behavior (Jung and Lee 2006). In their study on Korean and US adolescent females, Choi and Choi (2016) discovered that American adolescents' dissatisfaction with body image affects their self-esteem more than Koreans. However, according to the findings of Jung and Lee's (2006) study, Korean adolescents place a higher value on their appearance and criticize their bodies than American females. As a result, it has been discovered that Korean females have lower self-esteem than American females. The findings of this study could be related to sociocultural factors.

According to the findings of these studies, being overweight has a negligible effect on self-esteem. Not the actual weight gain, but the internal evaluations of the individual's weight, the society's view of the concepts of weakness and weight, and the perception of appearance are effective on self-esteem in different cultures and Turkish society. Indeed, the findings of numerous studies show that body image is an important predictor of self-esteem for both female and male genders (Clay et al. 2005, Jung and Lee 2006, Choi and Choi 2016).

Media Factor

The media factor is one of the topics being researched in relation to the relationship between female self-esteem and body image (Clay et al. 2005, Richardson 2009). The study by Choi and Choi (2016) demonstrates the significance of media during adolescence. Korean females, influenced by Western media and culture, strive to achieve the Western slim body figure ideal, and societal pressure to conform to this ideal has increased. It is possible to assert that there is a symbiotic relationship between the production of meanings for body image in the media and perceptions of beauty in the culture addressed by the media. This is supported, for example, by the findings of Jung and Lee's (2006) studies, which show that Korean females place a higher value on their appearance.

When the relationship between self-esteem and the media factor is examined in today's world, it is clear that social media is also a significant factor. According to a review of the literature on the self-esteem levels of adolescent females with low and high use of social media, excessive use of social media negatively affects the self-esteem of females in adolescence (Perkovich, 2021). Low self-esteem was found to be associated with high levels of social media use in a study conducted in Turkey (Yuksel-Sahin and Oztoprak 2019). It is clear at this point that exposing adolescent females to social comparisons via social media has a negative impact on their self-esteem levels (Perkovich 2021). It can be stated that the factors that lead to social comparisons in social media time spent reveal a relationship in the effect of females' self-esteem during adolescence.

The use of social media, internalization of the media ideal, and social comparisons are the main issues associated with body dissatisfaction. Scully et al. 2020; Tiggemann and Miller 2010). According to studies, the majority of adolescent females aspire to the ideal body weight and shape portrayed in the media. Body dissatisfaction can occur when these media ideals are internalized and the individual is unable to achieve this ideal (Richardson 2009). According to the findings of a study conducted by Scully et al. (2020), adolescent females frequently make social comparisons on social media as a result of their media ideals, which leads to body dissatisfaction in themselves. This situation appears to be a factor that contributes to the development of low self-esteem in adolescent females (Scully et al. 2020).

Parenting Styles

The cultural environment that parents reside in and their parenting styles are indicated as important factors in the development of self-esteem of individuals in adolescence (Queiroz et al. 2020). The manifestation of cultural variations in parenting styles is an expected situation. It is thought that along with the cultural differences in parenting style, adolescent females' acquired gender roles in the family and the associated socialization (van Egmond et al. 2020) and psychosocial adjustment (Riquelme et al. 2008, Rodrigues

et al. 2013, Perez-Gramaje et al. 2020) will have an indirect effect on the development of self-esteem. Authoritarian, democratic, tolerant and neglectful parenting styles is defined as four different parenting styles (Baumrind 1971, Maccoby and Martin 1983). In the authoritarian parenting style, parents set strict rules and expect their children to abide by them; if they do not, they resort to punishment. These parents children are generally unhappy and introverted (Sanrock 2011). In the concept of democratic parenting, parents help their children to be autonomous but also set rules; the children of democratic parents often have high self-esteem. The freedom given to children in families with a permissive parenting style is excessive (Sümer et al. 2010), and their children have difficulty managing their own attitudes and behaviors (Sanrock 2011). In the neglectful parenting style, there is no affection and intimacy given to children by the parents, and no rules are also set; children of these families may have low self-esteem (Sanrock 2011). Many studies have been conducted that reveal whether parenting style has a predictive effect on adolescents' self-esteem. Some gender researchers have found that parenting practices, which include warmth and strictness, have different effects on boys and girls (Bully et al. 2019).

Parental warmth has been found to be a protective factor against domestic violence for adolescent females (Beckmann et al. 2017, Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019). There was no result showing that parental warmth is a protective factor in boys (Beckmann et al. 2017). It has been seen that the level of self-esteem of children who are not exposed to parental violence is high (Bully et al. 2019). Adolescents who have parents showing intimacy, compassion, and attention were found to be more likely to develop positive self-esteem, and parental warmth predicts positive self-esteem in adolescents (van Egmond et al. 2019). It has been stated that the adolescent's lack of parental warmth is a risk factor for the development of self-esteem during development (Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019, Queiroz et al. 2020).

Lack of **parental strictness** has been associated with aggression in boys, while no such condition has been observed in girls (Hosokawa and Katsura 2019, Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019). There are studies revealing that aggressive adolescents have low self-esteem and high personal maladjustment (Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019). In the study, researchers aimed to measure emotional, physical, and family self-esteem by using sample items in the measurement of self-esteem. The sample item of emotional self-esteem measured the emotional state of the individual, while the physical self-esteem sample item measured whether the individual takes care of themselves physically (Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019). The family self-esteem sample item also measures whether the family helps their child cope with their problems (Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019). As a result of this study, it was found that adolescents who grew up in families with a tolerant and democratic parenting style were less likely to show aggressive behavior than those from families with an authoritarian and neglectful parenting style (Perez-

Gramaje et al. 2019). Another study from Turkey corroborates this result. Some studies show that adolescents tend to display aggressive behaviors when parents have an authoritarian attitude (Yıldız and Erci 2011). This research also has revealed that children from families with a democratic parenting style are less likely to be aggressive. Accordingly, parenting style has a considerable influence on the adolescent's self-development as well as on the aggressive behavior of the adolescent. It has been revealed that children in families with authoritarian and neglectful parenting styles that contain adolescents displaying aggressive behaviors have low self-esteem in the family area (Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019). When focusing on the gender differences in the study, it has been concluded that adolescent females show higher family self-esteem but lower physical and emotional self-esteem than boys (Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019). In another study conducted in Turkey, it was found that there is a relationship between social media addiction and parental attitudes. It has been found that children of families with authoritarian parenting styles have a higher level of social media addiction than children of families with democratic parenting styles have (Yüksel-Şahin and Öztoprak 2019). Based on these results, it can be alleged that parenting style is a factor in adolescents' behaviors regarding social media use.

According to the results of a study conducted in Turkey, the democratic parenting style of families and high self-esteem of their adolescent children are associated with each other (Dokuyan 2016). When looking at the general result of the article, one of the factors that supports the increase in the self-esteem of adolescents is having a protective parental attitude. (Dokuyan 2016). On the other hand, adolescent females think that their families have an authoritarian parental attitude, whereas it has been found that male adolescents think that their families have a democratic parental attitude (Dokuyan 2016). In the study of Queiroz et al. (2020), it was seen that adolescents with democratic and permissive parenting styles and parental warmth have higher self-esteem and internalize environmental values compared to their peers. Hereby, it is necessary to mention the different study findings obtained for the authoritarian parenting style. For example, Chao's research on Chinese-American youths in 1994 and 2001 found that young people from families with authoritarian parenting styles had better academic performance than those from families with democratic parenting styles. Other studies on Asian and Arab adolescents also support this result (Martínez and García 2008).

Dehart et al. (2006) conducted a study on implicit self-esteem and parenting styles. Accordingly, participants with maternalistic and protective mothers had higher self-esteem levels than those who did not have; and those who reported having overprotective mothers had low self-esteem levels (Dehart et al. 2006). Mothers of people with high self-esteem are also expected to have high self-esteem (Dehart et al. 2006). According to the findings of another study, which is parallel to these results, there is a positive correlation between self-esteem and parental support in adolescents (Bean et al. 2003).

Quatman and Watson (2001) conducted a study in which they investigated gender differences in different areas of adolescent self-esteem, including the dimensions of parent and home relations. As a result of the study, adolescent females reported significantly less satisfaction with their home life and family than boys did. It was also concluded that adolescent females are less likely than male peers to say that their parents understand them (Quatman and Watson 2001). One of the results of the research conducted by van Egmond et al. (2019) on adolescent females is that the relationship between the concept of freedom and self-esteem appeared to yield low results. This result can be explained by one of the studies conducted in Africa by Prah (2013). It has been found that power and autonomy are not a compelling factor for adolescent females raised in Malawi culture, where gender inequality and male dominance prevail. Contrary to the results of all these studies, according to the results of a study by Pinquart and Gerke (2019), inconsistency has been found in the relationships between permissive parenting and self-esteem. However, it has been concluded that parenting styles cannot be interpreted as having a direct effect on the relationship between parenting styles and adolescent self-esteem, and long-term longitudinal studies are required to test the potential bidirectional effects (Pinquart and Gerke 2019).

Which parenting styles affect the self-esteem of adolescents in what aspect varies according to the society and culture they grew up in. Adolescent females who were raised in collectivist cultures and families with authoritarian parenting styles show high self-esteem (Chao 1994, Chao 2001, Martínez and García 2008), it is observed that adolescent females who grew up in an individualistic society and families with a permissive parenting style as well had a high self-esteem level (Martínez et al. 2007, Martinez and Garcia 2007, García and Gracia 2009, Rodrigues et al. 2013, Queiroz et al. 2020). Accordingly, the effect of parenting styles shaped in different cultural contexts on self-esteem may show different results for individuals raised in these cultures. One of the results obtained from the articles is that adolescents with high family self-esteem score high in global self-esteem. Contrary to all these results, another result is that the parenting style of the family does not affect the adolescent, it is effective on the parenting style of the families of the adolescents (Pinquart and Gerke 2019).

Cultural Norms

Culture is important in shaping the social behavior of individuals. However, values in relation to behavior may differ from culture to culture (Eskin 2003). Parallel to the view of the influence of culture on social behavior, many studies point out that adopting the culture one lives in can be a source for the development of self-esteem Wang and Ollendick 2001, Farruggia et al. 2004, Clay et al. 2005, Leary 2005, Schmitt and Allik 2005, Becker et al. 2014, Gebauer et al. 2015, Bleidorn et al. 2016). Therefore, cultural norms and values stand out as a predictive factor in the self-esteem of adolescent females.

Many studies indicate that some cultural pressures or supportive attitudes may be influential in expressing high self-esteem. For example, Bachman et al. (2011) mention that self-esteem may be related to individual changes seen in different cultures and contexts. Concordantly, a study by Bleidorn et al. (2016) states that gender equality and cultural norms mediate intercultural changes in age and gender differences related to many personality traits, including self-esteem. The results of this study, which was carried out on participants from different age groups from 48 different countries, show that the fact that males have higher self-esteem scores than females is not particular to Western societies (Bleidorn et al. 2016). It has been mentioned that gender differences may play a role within the universal cultural mechanism, up to a point, in women's lower self-esteem scores than men's (Wood and Eagly 2002, Schmitt and Allik 2005, Biro et al. 2006). However, Becker et al. (2014) state that the view about the variation of the basis of self-esteem between cultures has increased. In their study, Becker et al. (2014) examine which of four culturally variable values, such as controlling life, doing one's duty, benefiting others, and attaining social status, could be a source of self-esteem for adolescent participants from 20 different countries. Among the participants from individualistic and collectivist cultures, it was observed that the most compatible of these four different values with their cultural norms had a strong relationship with self-esteem (Becker et al. 2014). These results may indicate that the characteristics and evaluations that are dominant for self-evaluation in a cultural community become prominent in the development of self-esteem. As an explanation for this, terror management theory underlines the fact that self-esteem develops and is maintained as a result of meeting cultural standards (Wang and Ollendick 2001, Du et al. 2013). In this context, it is important to consider the cultural norms of the environment as a predictor of self-esteem. For example, Wang and Ollendick (2001) state, based on their Western literature reviews, that self-esteem is shaped by the cultural environment in which an individual grows up. There are some studies that consider fulfilling cultural norms will positively affect a person's self-esteem in areas of self-esteem that are compatible with these cultural values (Wang and Ollendick 2001, Leary 2005, Becker et al. 2014, Gebauer et al. 2015). In the study conducted by Egmond et al. (2019) on Sub-Saharan African adolescent females, it was found that fulfilling the norms of the society they live in is a predictor of self-esteem. In another study on African American adolescents, adherence to African-based cultural norms was found to be a predictor of perceived social support and high self-esteem (Constantine et al. 2006). According to this result, it has been observed that the level of self-esteem of African American adolescent females who were highly committed to the cultural values in which they grew up was also high (Constantine et al. 2006). On the other hand, adolescent females have negative self-evaluations in a family environment where compliance with norms based on gender inequality is expected and conditional respect is shown. (van Egmond et al. 2019). Concordantly

with this finding, it has been observed in other studies that self-esteem is higher in places where there is more equality between males and females (Schmitt and Allik 2005, Bleidorn et al. 2016). In a study by Bachman et al. (2011), African American adolescent females report the highest self-esteem scores among their peers, including males. In a study by Biro et al. (2006), it was found that black females in adolescence had higher self-esteem scores than their white peers, and the increases in self-esteem levels remained stable or continued to increase over the years compared to their white peers. Concordantly, in a study conducted by Chavous et al. (2008), it was observed that adolescent females do not have lower self-esteem than their male peers, unlike their white peers. In addition, it was found that the academic self-esteem score was higher (Chavous et al. 2008). As an explanation for this result, it is mentioned that, since there may be more discrimination against black females in adolescence, there might be an established connection with how they deal with it (Chapman and Mullis 2000, Greene and Way 2005, Chavous et al. 2008). For example, according to the research findings of Hugles et al. (2006), it is stated that African American families make an effort to instill self-esteem in their children to enable them to cope with racism. In this respect, it is seen that the environmental conditions in which individuals grow up and different cultural contexts are related to the differences in self-esteem observed in individuals (Bachman et al. 2011). In other studies, it is reported that Asian adolescent and adult female participants had the lowest self-esteem scores compared to their peers from other ethnic subgroups (Tweng and Crocker 2002, Bachman et al. 2011). Although Chinese participants had positive self-perceptions, it has been stated that due to their cultural norms associated with modesty, they might have scored lower than the self-esteem scores of American participants (Kim and Markus 1999, Farruggia et al. 2004, Cai et al. 2007). Another explanation for this finding ensued in a study by Li et al. (2019). In this research, relational and personal self-esteem are examined in China, where collectivist cultural values are the priority. In individuals with interdependent self-construal, it has been found that the dimension of relational self-esteem is higher than the dimension of personal self-esteem (Li et al. 2019). Leary (2005) points out that the low self-esteem scores of individuals who were raised in Japanese culture compared to individuals in other countries does not mean that they do not have self-esteem. Based on these results, it should be considered that components of self-esteem such as self-enhancement, agency, and assertiveness might not be important in places like Asian countries, which have made relationality and modesty a cultural norm (Leary 2005, Wojciszke et al. 2011, Gebauer et al. 2013). It can be thought that the higher self-esteem scores of American participants may be due to the fact that while it is acceptable to express the positive side of the individual in societies with individualistic cultures, expressing the negative aspects is not a very desirable aspect (Farruggia et al. 2004).

In adolescent females, whose socialization focuses on valuing relationality and social feedback (Carver et al. 2003, Leaper and Friedman 2007), it can be thought that the emergence of high self-esteem levels in the field of relationality is not unexpected. Accordingly, it is seen that culture, which includes different meanings and values in the expression of self-esteem, may have a role. On the other hand, there are studies showing that self-esteem is negatively affected in situations where compliance with society's expectations is felt as a pressure (Wilson and Leaper 2015, Aoyagi et al. 2018). In a study conducted in this direction, it was found that African American participants who reported that the pressure of ethnic-racial identity felt from family and peers was low in the two time periods determined during adolescence reported higher self-esteem in the second phase (Aoyagi et al. 2018). On the other hand, no gender difference has been found in this study. It is pointed out that the pressure to behave according to the norms of that society on adolescents who are members of an ethnic group will predict self-esteem in late adolescence and early adulthood (Wilson and Leaper 2015, Aoyagi et al. 2018). In another study, which does not have concordant findings with other studies, the role of the environment was not seen as a factor in the development of self-esteem. Accordingly, it is stated that self-esteem is not derived from societal bonds but rather from the personal evaluations of individuals (Khanlou 2004). On the other hand, also in this study, it is seen that adolescent females have lower self-esteem than their male peers (Khanlou 2004).

In short, based on the results from the literature, it is stated that the foundations for self-evaluations emerge as the effects of living in certain cultural contexts. In this context, cultural norms are important as predictors of self-esteem. The need for a reconceptualization of self-evaluation as a real social-psychological process influenced by social norms rather than personal value priorities is mentioned (Becker et al. 2014). On the other hand, there are also studies where cultural effects on self-esteem are not seen (Khanlou 2004, Schmitt and Allik 2005). However, there are many studies that show cultural norms and values are predictors of self-esteem in adolescent girls (Carver et al. 2003, Greene and Way 2005, Constantine et al. 2006, Bachman et al. 2011, Bleidorn et al. 2016, Aoyagi et al. 2018, Li et al. 2019, van Egmond et al. 2019). On the other hand, findings showing that compliance with society's expectations negatively affects self-esteem in cases where it is felt as pressure are important (Wilson and Leaper 2015, Aoyagi et al. 2018). At this point, it is seen that compliance with cultural norms is a predictor of self-esteem and interacts with gender roles that have also emerged from cultural patterns.

Conclusion

Many changes that are experienced in this developmental period by adolescent females are seen to be related to self-esteem (Egan and Perry 2001, Robins et al. 2002, Carver et al. 2003, Clay et al. 2005, Moksnes et al. 2010, Bachman et

al. 2011, Erol and Orth 2011, Santrock 2011, Birkeland et al. 2012, Mäkinen et al. 2012, Moksnes and Espnes 2013, Biro et al. 2016). The research findings examined in this review article have shown that gender roles, body image, parenting styles, and compliance with cultural norms interact with each other in their effects on self-esteem and have different effects in different cultural contexts. In studies supporting this view, it has been observed that the self-esteem of adolescent girls from different cultures interacts with areas of the culture in which they were raised that correspond to their norms and gender roles. Hereof, it is stated that conforming to the cultural norms of the society in which one lives can be a source of self-esteem development (Leary 2005). It might be stated that self-esteem is structured socially through attributing it to the cultural norms and practices related to them. In relation to this, it is understood that perceptions towards gender roles, parenting styles, and body image vary in the cultural context and create different effects on self-esteem. For example, it is found that compliance with gender roles derived from cultural patterns is a predictor of self-esteem (Carver et al. 2003, Leary 2005, Leaper and Friedman 2007, Wojciszke et al. 2011, Gebauer et al. 2013). On the other hand, it can be stated that the effects of these four predictors on self-esteem may be related to attitudes towards the female gender in that culture, and different levels of self-esteem are observed in adolescent females.

There are findings indicating that not the actual body mass index but rather the approach based on the perceptions of thinness and beauty of the society in which individuals live is an important predictor of the self-esteem of adolescent females (Quatman and Watson 2001, Biro et al. 2006, Jung and Lee 2006, Bleidorn et al. 2016, Choi and Choi 2016, Aoyagi et al. 2018). In this sense, with exceptions (Biro et al. 2006), it can be said that body image and cultural norms interactively have a predictive effect on the self-esteem of adolescent females in general. In the future, research on cultural-beauty ideals and self-esteem is needed to support this view. For example, there are research findings that stronger effects on self-esteem are seen in situations where social idealizations towards body image are concordant to cultural expectations (Quatman and Watson 2001, Biro et al. 2006). However, it is seen that the ideals attributed to body image in many cultures are not functional to support the positive body image and self-esteem of adolescent girls. It has been understood that the biggest factor in adolescent females' having negative body image is the cultural pressure on body image (Brumberg 1997, Kling et al. 1999, Egan and Perry 2001, Carver et al. 2003, Wilson and Leaper 2005, Tobin et al. 2010, Bleidorn et al. 2016, Aoyagi et al. 2018). It has been found that dissatisfaction with body image is associated with low self-esteem also in studies conducted in Turkey, which have findings parallel to studies from many different countries (Öngen 2002, Özcan et al. 2007, Özmen et al. 2007, Oktan and Şahin 2010, Eriş and İkiz 2013). In addition, it is stated that dieting during adolescence is associated with anxiety, depression, low self-

esteem, nutritional deficiencies, and concentration disorders (Latha et al. 2006).

When looking at the general results of the articles examining the relationship between self-esteem and parenting style, it is seen that adolescents with warm and authoritative parents in many cultures report higher self-esteem levels (Martinez and Garcia 2007, García and Gracia 2009, Rodrigues et al. 2013, Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019, Queiroz et al. 2020). However, there are also studies showing that the effects of parenting styles diverge in different cultural contexts (Quatman, & Watson 2001). For example, there are research findings showing that authoritarian parenting has positive effects in Arab countries with collectivist cultures (Quatman and Watson 2001), while democratic and warm parenting styles have positive effects in individualistic cultures (Martinez and Garcia 2007, García and Gracia 2009, Rodrigues et al. 2013, Perez-Gramaje et al. 2019, Queiroz et al. 2020). However, one of the findings in the reviewed literature is that adolescents with high family self-esteem score high in global self-esteem. At this point, there is a positive correlation between self-esteem and parental support in adolescents (Bean et al. 2003). There are also findings from the articles examined in Turkey showing that parenting styles have an effect on adolescents' behavior and self-esteem (Yıldız and Erci 2011, Dokuyan 2016, Yüksel-Şahin and Öztoprak 2019). On the other hand, further longitudinal and cross-cultural studies are needed to examine the relationship between adolescent girls' self-esteem and parenting style.

Many studies indicate that the differences in self-esteem levels in different cultures upon the development of self-esteem are influenced by the values and different areas within that culture. It is seen that compliance with social norms regarding body image and gender roles might predict self-esteem in every culture, but which value positively or negatively affects self-esteem varies from culture to culture. As a result, it has been observed that 4 four distinct self-esteem predictors interact with one another, with the degree of influence varying depending on cultural contexts.

Self-esteem is an important and dynamic structure for psychosocial development in adolescence (Birkeland et al. 2012). In this context, it is important to determine the predictors that might positively or negatively affect the self-esteem of adolescent females according to the culture they are situated. It comes into question that female gender roles and stereotypes are embedded in cultural norms and have an impact on body image and the way of life in the family. It is important to identify predictors interactive with the culture that affect self-esteem to support the psychological well-being of adolescent females, especially in Turkey, where the young population is high. Herein, there is a need for studies conducted in Turkey that show the effects of gender roles and pressures to conform to cultural norms on the self-esteem and psychological well-being of adolescent females. In this regard, it is especially important to develop intervention programs aimed at unequal social practices regarding the female gender, which will be carried out in schools and

through the media. Predictors that show the culture-based differences that negatively and positively affect self-esteem should be considered in the development of interventions to enhance the self-esteem development of adolescent females. Accordingly, longitudinal and cultural-specific studies covering long years will be particularly beneficial in determining the factors affecting the development of self-esteem of girls in adolescence.

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