

Family, Child Rearing and Development of the Self in Cultural Context

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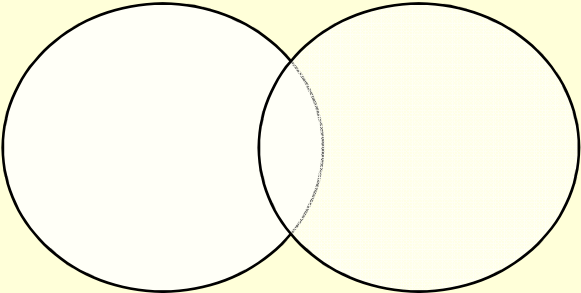
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Study of self and interpersonal relations in family context needs to recognize the cultural embeddedness of these phenomena as well as of the constructs used to study them.

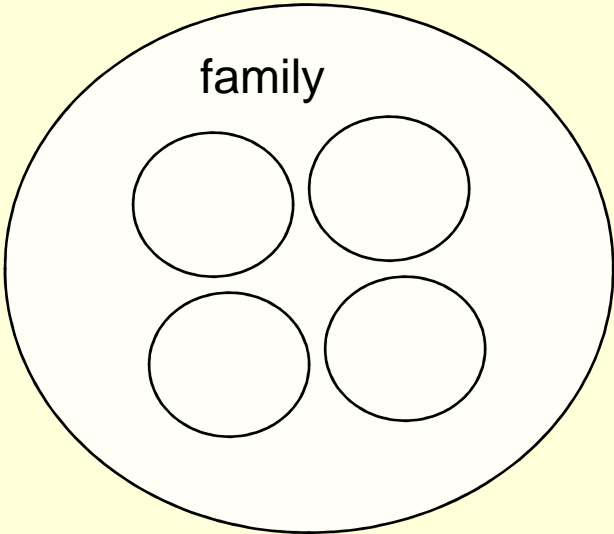
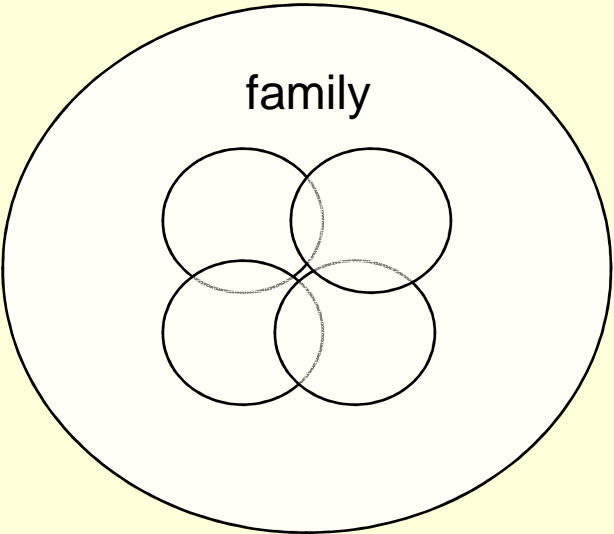
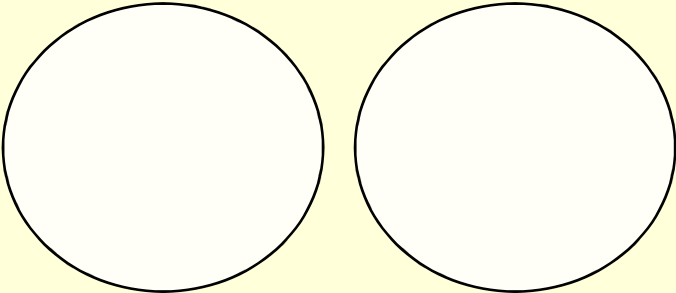
A great deal of psychological theorizing on the self, self-other relations and family dynamics reflect the Western individualistic ethos. This has permeated theory, research, and applications, extending into popular psychology.

Connected and Separate Selves/Family

Connected



Separate



How to Be Your Own Best Friend

Dr Paul Hauck



£ 6.99

Two paths toward the Autonomous-Related Self

Value of Children Study → Family Change Theory
(Family Model of Psychological/
Emotional Interdependence)

Two Basic Human Needs → Model of Autonomous-Related
Self

THEORY OF FAMILY CHANGE

Based originally on the Value of Children Study (VOC, 1970s); developed further and confirmed by the VOC 2003 Study and other research.

Convergence toward the Family Model of Psychological/ Emotional Interdependence in conjunction with:

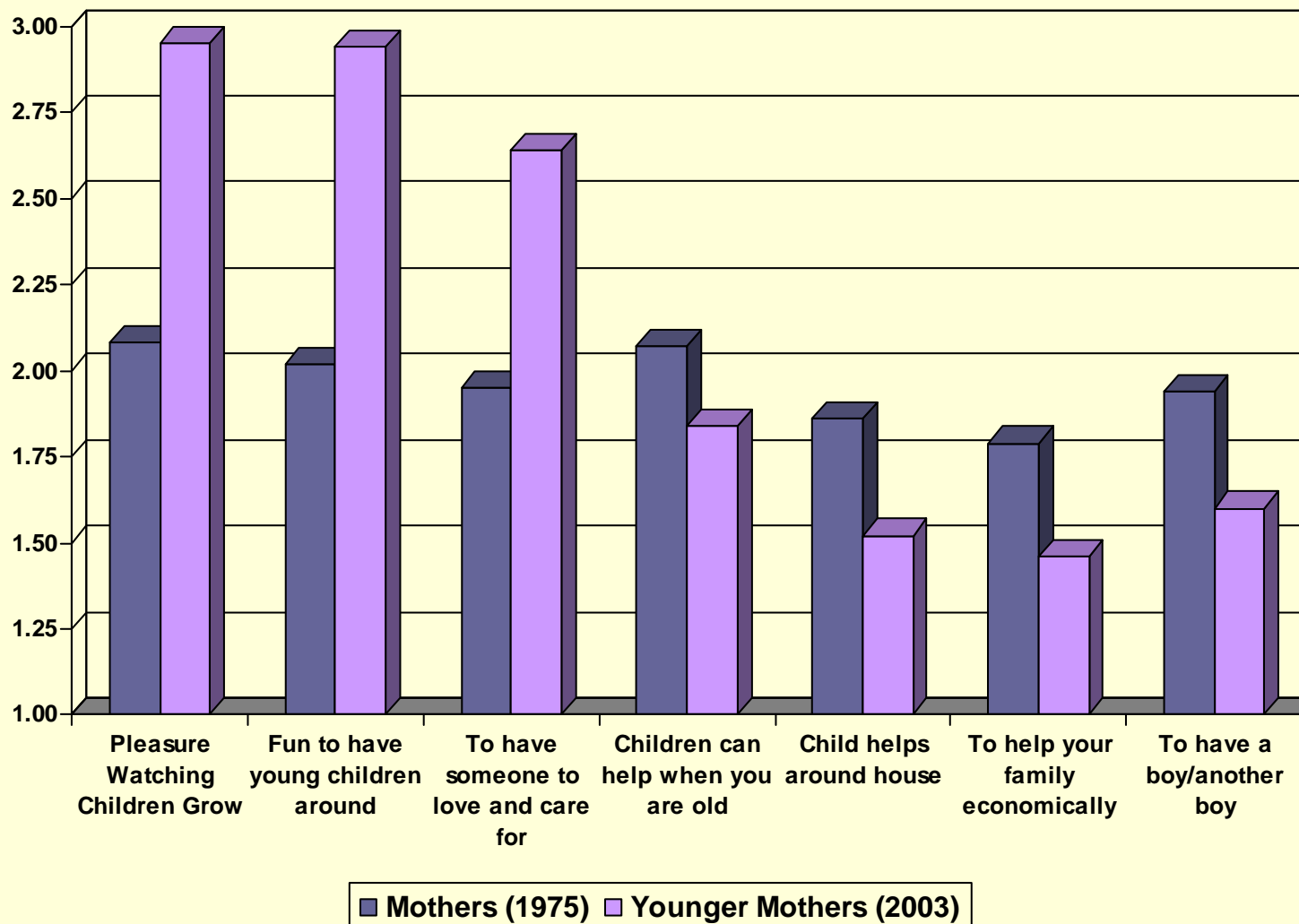
- Socio-economic development (increased urbanization, education, affluence)**
- Immigration**

VALUE OF CHILDREN (VOC) STUDY

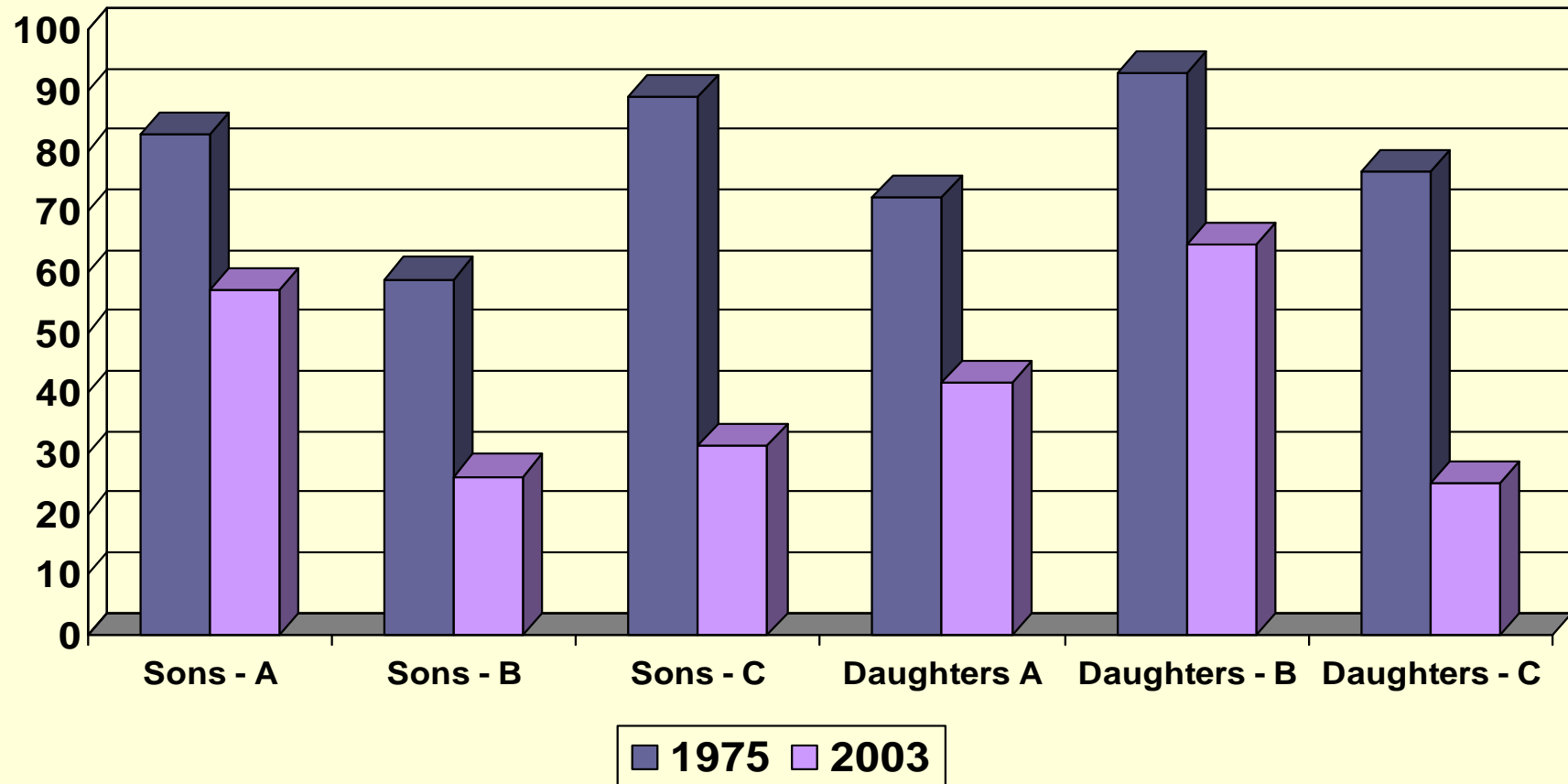
- A Three-Decade Portrait from Turkey 1975-2003. Provides evidence for change over time with socio-economic development and urbanization.
- Recent VOC study results from Korea, South Africa, France, Germany, Israel, India, Indonesia and China concur.

Kagitcibasi, C. & Ataca, B. (2005) Value of children and family change : A three-decade portrait from Turkey. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 54, 3, 317-337 (and the whole special issue: G.Trommsdorff, U. Kim & B. Nauck, Eds.)

Reasons for Wanting a Child: 1975 VOC Study Mothers vs. 2003 VOC Study Mothers in Turkey



Expectations of Financial/Material Help from Sons and Daughters. 1975 VOC Study Mothers vs. 2003 VOC Study Mothers in Turkey



A: Financial assistance to siblings B: Help with housework
C: Financial assistance to you

MODEL OF INTERDEPENDENCE

Context

Culture
Culture of relatedness
(collectivistic)

Living Conditions
Rural / agrarian
Subsistence / low affluence

Family Structure

- Functionally extended family structure
- Wealth flows toward parents
- Patrilineal ties
- High fertility
- Low woman's status

Family systems

Socialization values

- Family/group loyalties
- Emotional/material investment in parents
- Interdependence values
- Utilitarian value of children
 - economic VOC
 - old-age security VOC
 - material expectations from child
- Son preference

Family Interaction & Socialization

- Authoritarian parenting
- Obedience/dependence orientation in childrearing

- Intergenerational/familial independence
- Interpersonal interdependence
- Development of related self

— causal relationship/influence

↔ Mutual causation/interaction

⋯→ feedback

MODEL OF INDEPENDENCE

Context

Culture

Culture of separateness
(individualistic)

Living Conditions

Urban/industrial
Affluence

Family Structure

- Nuclear family structure
- Wealth flows toward children
- Nuclear family ties
- Low fertility
- High woman's status

Family systems

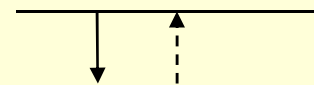
Socialization values

- Individual loyalties
- Emotional/material investment in child
- Independence values
- Psychological value of children
- Low son preference



Family Interaction & Socialization

- Relatively permissive parenting
- Autonomy/self-reliance orientation in childrearing



- Intergenerational/familial independence
- Interpersonal independence
- Development of separate self

— causal relationship/influence

↔ Mutual causation/interaction

---> feedback

MODEL OF PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERDEPENDENCE

Context

Culture

Culture of relatedness
(collectivistic)

Living Conditions

Urbanization
Industrialization
Increased affluence

Family Structure

- Functionally complex family structure
- Wealth flows toward children
- Nuclear + kin ties
- low fertility
- Increased woman's status

Family systems

Socialization values

- Family/group loyalties + individual loyalties
- Emotional investment in parents
- Emotional/material investment in child
- Emotional Interdependence values
- Psychological value of children
- Decreased son preference

Family Interaction & Socialization

- Authoritative parenting
Control + autonomy
- Control and autonomy orientation in childrearing

-
- Intergenerational/familial emotional interdependence
 - Interpersonal interdependence
 - Development of autonomous-related self

— causal relationship/influence

↔ Mutual causation/interaction

⋯→ feedback

FAMILY MODELS, PARENTING AND THE SELF

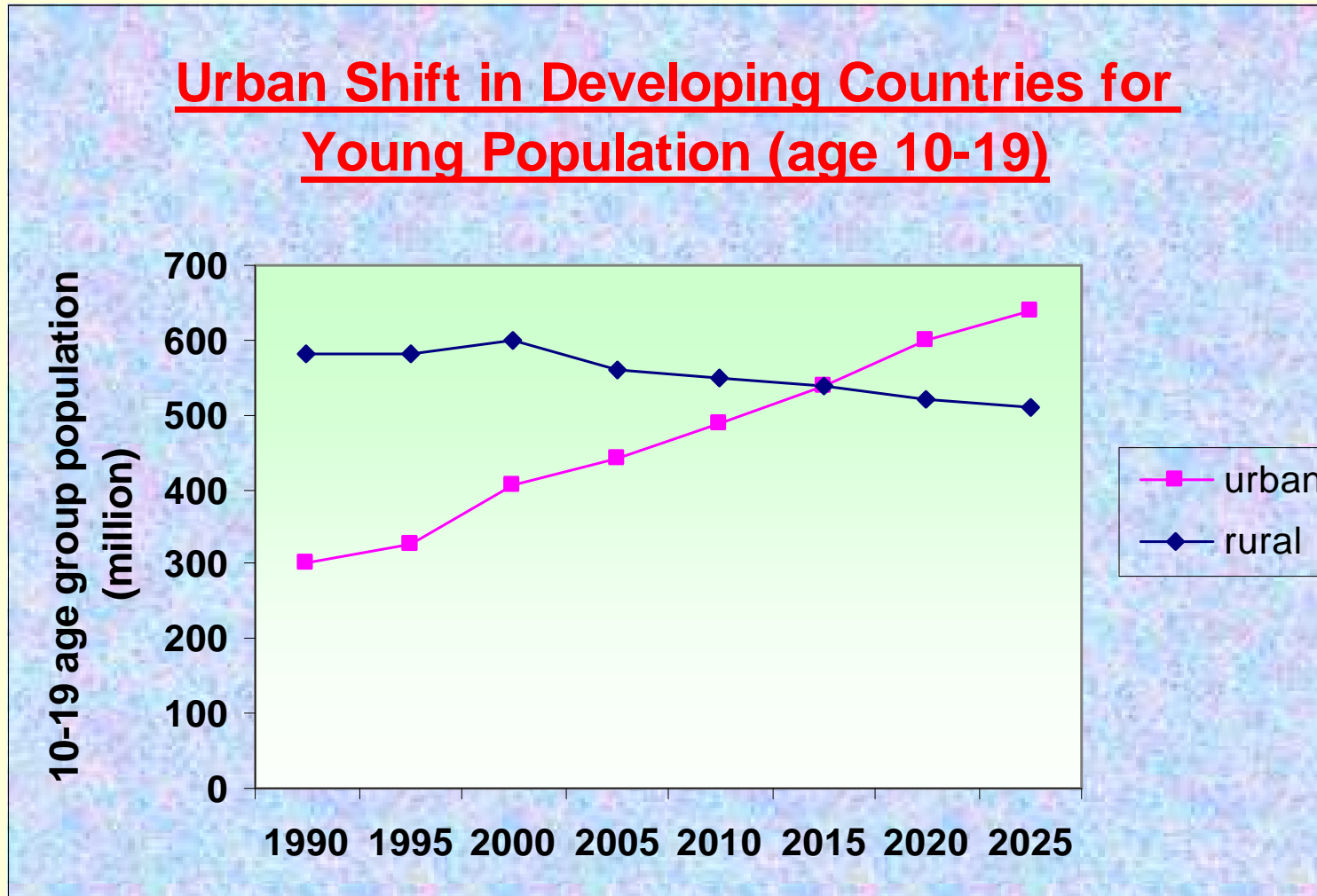
	Interdependence	Independence	Psychological interdependence
Parenting style	Authoritarian	Relatively permissive	Authoritative
Child rearing orientation	Control / obedience	Autonomy / self reliance	Control / autonomy
Self	Heteronomous Related	Autonomous separate	Autonomous-related

RESEARCH EVIDENCE:

- **Stewart, Bond, Deeds & Chung (1999)** in Hong Kong found persistence of family interdependencies together with some individualistic values; family relatedness and parental control were seen in “modern” families.
- **Kwak (2003)** in review of research noted the common preference of adolescents for both autonomy and family relatedness.
- **Koutrelakos (2004)** found decreasing material but continuing emotional interdependencies in Greek Americans with acculturation.
- **Georgas, Berry, Van de Vijver, Kagitcibasi & Poortinga (2005)** in a 27-country study of the family found evidence for autonomy and relatedness to coexist in the psychologically interdependent family.

Urbanization of Populations

Urban Shift in Developing Countries for Young Population (age 10-19)



THE SELF MODEL

AUTONOMY- RELATEDNESS DYNAMICS:

A Challenge for Psychology

Because construed as both:

- Basic Human Needs

and as

- Conflicting

Ever since the 'Conflict Theories of Personality'
(Angyal, 1951 & Bakan, 1966)

TWO BASIC HUMAN NEEDS:

- Autonomy
- Relatedness

A. Freud (1930/1961)	Egoistic urge (toward happiness)	Urge toward union
Angyal (1951)	Autonomy	Surrender
Bakan (1966)	Agency	Communion
Bowen (1966)	Individuality	Togetherness
Bowlby (1969)	Separation	Attachment
Franz & White (1985)	Individuation	Attachment
Guisinger & Blatt (1994)	Self-definition	Interpersonal relatedness
Ryan, Deci & Grolnick (1995)	Autonomy	Relatedness
Kagitcibasi (1996)	Autonomy	Relatedness

The construal of Autonomy and Relatedness as Conflicting has prevailed over Autonomy and Relatedness as Basic Needs

Thus, Relatedness is seen as incompatible with Autonomy or Separation from others is seen as necessary for autonomy (“Separation-Individuation” process)

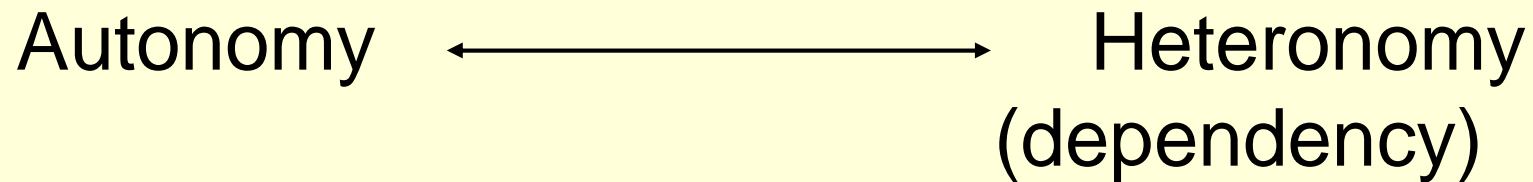
What is the underlying reason?

Not evolutionary, which rather stresses the survival value of cooperation and relatedness in humans and other primates (Euler et al, 2001; Guisinger & Blatt, 1994).

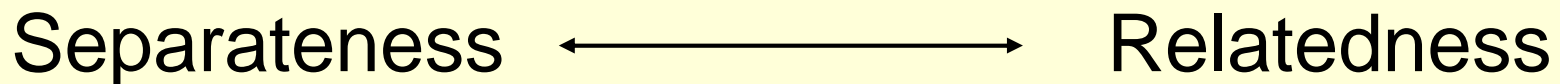
It is cultural ... Western Individualism as a 'Cultural Affordance' (Kitayama, 2002; Poortinga, 1992).

Yet, it is neither logically nor psychologically necessary for Autonomy to mean Separateness if we recognize the existence of two distinct dimensions:

Agency:



Interpersonal Distance:



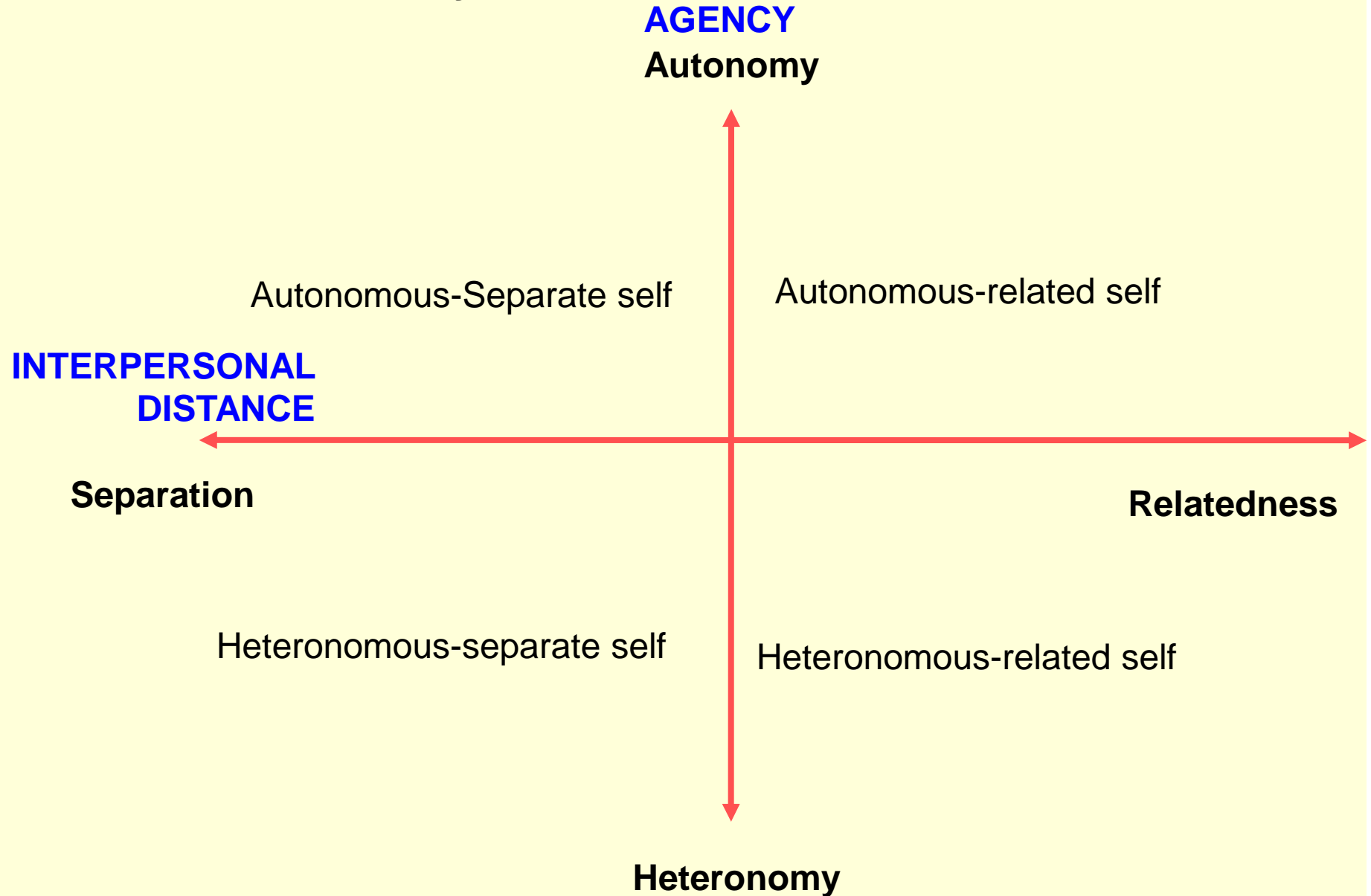
The two dimensions underlie self, self-other relations and social behaviors.

They reflect the basic human needs for autonomy and relatedness.

As distinct dimensions, either pole of each one can coexist with either pole of the other one.

Kagitcibasi, C. (1996). The autonomous-relational self: A new synthesis. *European Psychologist*, 1, 180-186.

A Conceptual Model of Different Types of Selves



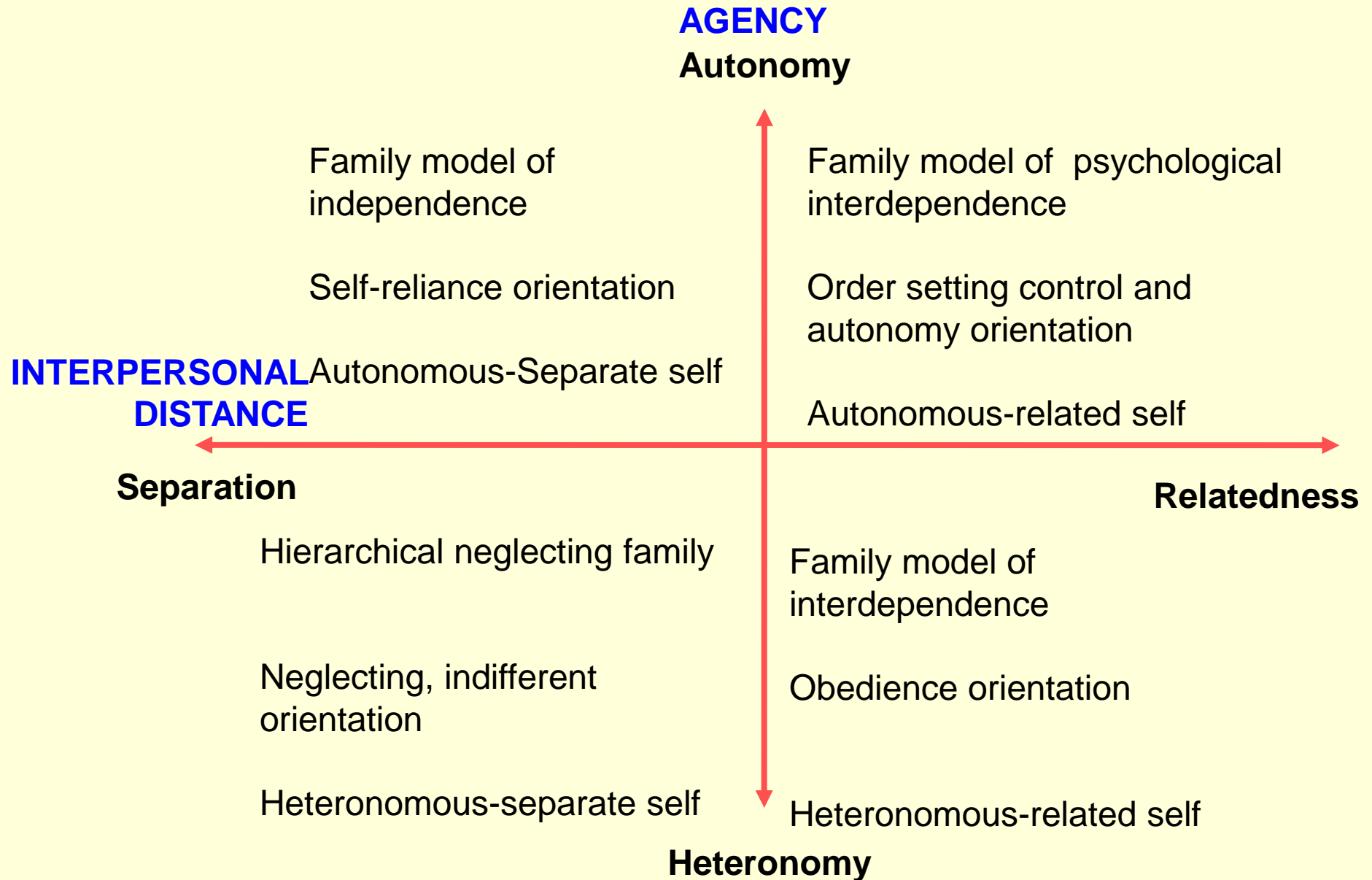
This conceptualization renders viable The Autonomous-Related Self

Despite the consensual agreement that Autonomy and Relatedness are basic needs, this self construal has not been readily recognized in psychology, even in cross-cultural psychology.

Yet, this model promises to be a healthy integration, since it satisfies both basic needs.

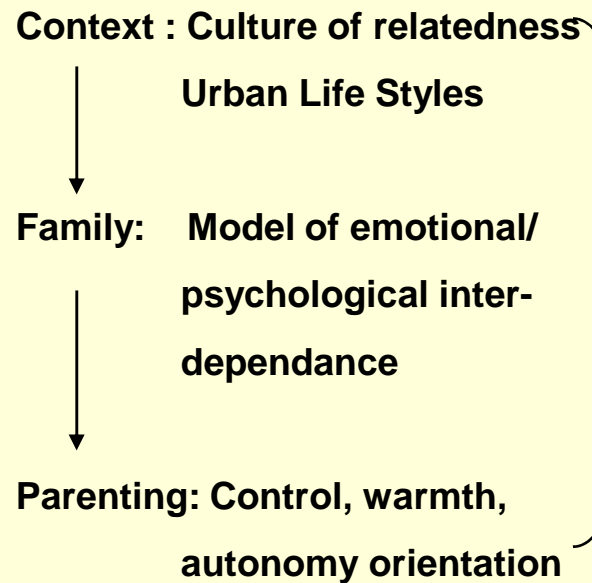
Kagitcibasi, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36, 4, 403-422.

AGENCY, INTERPERSONAL DISTANCE AND THE TYPES OF SELVES IN CONTEXT



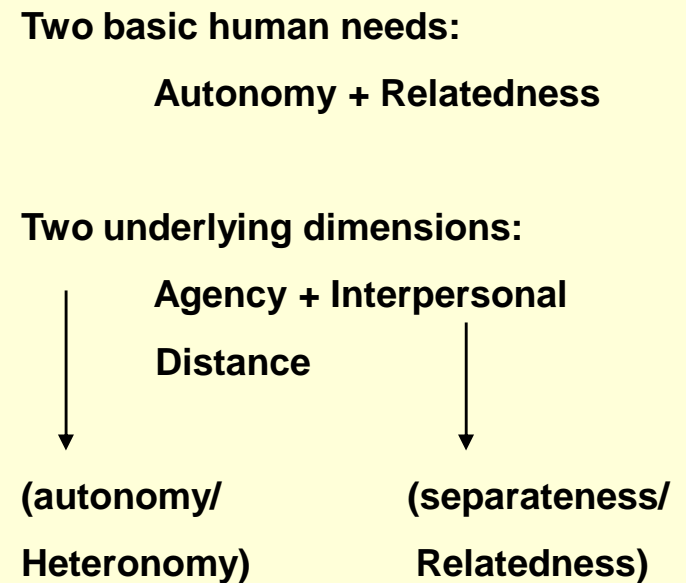
Thus, two different theoretical routes toward the
Autonomous-Related Self

Theory of Family Change



**Autonomous
Related Self**

Model of Self



WHAT ARE SOME THEORETICAL ISSUES?

Two Ongoing Debates:

- 1. Positive or negative association between Autonomy & Relatedness and the 'existence' of autonomy in collectivistic 'cultures of relatedness'**
- 2. Contrasting views on Parenting and Parent-Child/Adolescent relations**

RECENT DEBATE

**Positive association
Between Autonomy &
Relatedness**

Attachment Theory
Self Determination Theory
**Kagitcibasi's A-R Self and
Family Model of
Psychological
Interdependence**

VERSUS

**Negative association
Between autonomy &
Relatedness**

Psychoanalytic Theory
"Conflict" theories
**Cross-Cultural values
orientation to I-C**

The two dimensions of **interpersonal distance** and **agency** can indeed fit together, loading on the same factor, in sociocultural contexts, such as in Northern Europe (Beyers et al., 2003), where being both autonomous and separate is valued, but not in other sociocultural contexts where being connected is valued and does not imply lacking autonomy. (Kagitcibasi, 2005).

Wiggins & Trapnell (1996) suggest they are orthogonal across many domains of behavior.

When Autonomy is accompanied by Relatedness, it may be manifested in different ways:

- Socially oriented vs. individually oriented achievement motivation
(Phalet & Claeys, 1993; Agarwal & Misra, 1986; Yu & Yang, 1994)**
- Duty-centered (communal) vs. individual-centered (voluntaristic) morality (Miller, 1990, 2003)**
- Self-enhancement vs. ingroup enhancement (Muramoto & Yamagushi, 1997)**

Conceptual/Measurement Issues

Individualism/Independent Self scales tap separateness but also autonomy

Collectivism/Interdependent Self scales items tap relatedness but also heteronomy

By implication, the importance, even the existence of autonomy in closely-knit collectivistic cultures has been questioned (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Oishi, 2000; Rothbaum et al., 2000; Miller, 2002).

RESEARCH EVIDENCE

Kim, Butzel & Ryan (1998) showed a more positive relation between autonomy and relatedness than with separateness in both Korean and American samples.

Keller et al (2003) found Greek mothers' interaction styles with infants to lead to autonomy and relatedness but German mothers' to autonomy and separateness.

Beyers, Goossens, Vansant, & Moors (2003) found separation and agency as two independent dimensions.

Beyers, Goossens (1999); Chen & Dornbush (1998); Garber & Little (2001) showed separateness from parents to be associated with developmental problems.

RESEARCH EVIDENCE (Cont.)

Chou (2000) in Hong Kong found individuation to be associated with depression in adolescents.

Phalet & Schonpflug (2001) found among Turkish immigrants in Germany parental autonomy goals do not imply separateness, and achievement values are associated with parental collectivism, not individualism.

Aydın & Öztütüncü (2001) found depression to be associated with separateness in Turkish adolescents, but not with high parental control.

Meeus, Oosterwegel & Vollebergh (2002) found with Dutch, Turkish & Moroccan adolescents that secure attachment fosters agency.

**An Autonomy Scale that does not tap/
confound Separateness and A Relatedness
Scale that does not tap/ confound Heteronomy
needed:**

SELF and SELF-IN-FAMILY SCALES

- **Separate forms for Self and Self-in-Family experience**
- **Also Autonomous-Related Self Scale (Kagitcibasi, 2005)**

A Developmental Perspective and Research Evidence point to the importance of Parenting

Relations among Parental Control/ Warmth and Autonomy

The Psychoanalytically informed views which endorse separation also endorse permissive discipline and associate strong parental control with parental hostility (or lack of warmth) and Authoritarian Parenting. This is the case since the Authoritarian Personality Theory (Adorno et al, 1950)

SHIFTS IN OUR THINKING REGARDING PARENTAL ORIENTATIONS

From : Parental Control versus Autonomy

To : Parental Control and Autonomy

and

From : Control versus Warmth

To : Control and Warmth

CONTROL and AUTONOMY

Empirical Evidence

- Lau et al. (1990)
- Lin & Fu (1990)
- Cha (1994)
- Phalet & Schonpflug (2001)

Models

Kağıtçıbaşı
(1990,1996a,b)

CONTROL and WARMTH

Empirical Evidence

- Kağıtçıbaşı (1970)
- Rohner & Pettengill (1985)
- Trommsdorf (1985)
- Ryan & Lynch (1989)
- Kim, Butzel & Ryan (1998)
- Jose et al. (2000)
- Oosterwegel & Vollebergh (2002)
- Kwak (2003)
- Lansford et al. (2003)
- Dekovic, Pels & Model (in press)

Models

Baumrind (1980, 1989)

Maccoby & Martin
(1983)

The implications of these conceptualizations and research for immigration:

Immigration most often involves contact between 'culture of relatedness' (immigrants) and individualistic 'culture of separateness' (host society).

Ethnic minority parents tend to be labeled 'authoritarian' because of strong parental discipline because it appears very controlling (Gonzales, et al, 1996). But, this may be a wrong attribution because there is often also relatedness and warmth (psychological value of children) in the **Family Model of Psychological Interdependence**. Especially those with higher education who also allow autonomy.

Ethnic Minority Research in Europe and the U.S. point to:

- Closely-Knit family relations
and
- Parental control together with care (warmth)

Chao (1994)

Smetana & Gaines (1999)

Jose et al. (2000)

Kwak (2003)

Lansford et al. (2003)

Dekovic et al. (2006)

The Explanatory Factor Underlying the Findings: Family Model of Psychological Interdependence

- Where autonomy and control coexist
- Permissive independence-oriented parenting not endorsed by immigrants because it carries the risk of separation (of the child from the family) in adolescence-young adulthood
- The goal is not separation but closeness (emotional interdependence)
- Immigrants disapprove the 'too lenient' Dutch childrearing and the 'disrespectful' behavior of Dutch children ('on top of their mothers' heads')

A TREND TOWARD CONVERGENCE?

From The perspective of Family Change and Self Models, a convergence toward

- Family Model of Psychological Interdependence and**
- Autonomous- Related self may be predicted.**

This prediction holds for:

- the Majority World and for immigrants with increased need for autonomy in child rearing as an adaptation to socio-economic development and to changing life styles,**
- the Minority World with increased need for relatedness.**

A caveat: This trend may be counteracted by cultural diffusion of dominant Western individualistic models.

**Thus Possibly a Universal Optimal
Developmental Model because of Converging
Life Styles and Basic Human Needs**

Involving:

- *Autonomous-Related Self***
- *Psychologically /Emotionally Interdependent Family***