Family and Human Development Across Cultures : A View From the Other Side Concerning the Effect of Culture and Migration

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Urbanization of Populations

Urban Shift in Developing Countries for Young Population (age 10-19)
With such major transformation in life styles, can we come up with models of ‘Healthy Development’ which we can hope to promote?

What was adaptive in the rural (traditional, less developed) context may not be adaptive in urban (more developed) context.

Therefore, it is necessary to nurture both Existing and New Strengths in the development of minority children and youth
DEVELOPMENT OF SELF

The Basic Thesis

Autonomy and Relatedness are two basic needs.

Therefore, an Optimal Developmental Trajectory should include both:

The Autonomous-Related Self
Ever since the ‘Conflict Theories of Personality’ (Angyal, 1951 & Bakan, 1966)

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” hypothesis)
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:**

Autonomy \(\rightarrow\) Heteronomy (dependency)

**Interpersonal Distance:**

Separateness \(\rightarrow\) Relatedness
The two dimensions underlie self, self-other relations and social behaviors.

They reflect basic human needs for autonomy and relatedness.

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

A Conceptual Model of Different Types of Selves

- Autonomous-Separate self
- Autonomous-related self
- Heteronomous-separate self
- Heteronomous-related self

AGENCY
Autonomy

INTERPERSONAL DISTANCE
Separation

Relatedness
Heteronomy
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.


CONTRASTING VIEWS ON RELATIONS WITH PARENTS AS PRECURSORS OF HEALTHY AUTONOMY IN ADOLESCENCE

• **Distancing** (detachment) necessary for autonomy

  — Psychoanalytic (A. Freud, 1958; Mahler, 1972; Blos, 1979; Hoffman, 1984; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986)

  Confounds agency and interpersonal distance dimensions

• **Close relation** (attachment) necessary for autonomy


  Integrates agency and interpersonal distance dimensions
Immigration most often involves contact between ‘culture of relatedness’ (immigrants) and individualistic ‘culture of separateness’ (host society).

Parenting and family dynamics have a pivotal role in human development, adaptation and resilience of immigrant children.
Optimal/Adaptive Self Development in the Context of Immigration

 Mostly:

 From Culture of Relatedness To Culture of Separateness
 (Collectivistic) (Individualistic)

What are the implications for adjustment?
## Different Family Models

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Country of Immigration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interdependent family</td>
<td>Independent family</td>
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</table>
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 relatively 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)
Early research pointing to cultural variation in parental control

Kagitcibasi (1970):
• Parental Control: Turkish > American Adolescents
• Parental Affection: Turkish = American Adolescents

Rohner & Pettengill (1985)
Trommsdorf (1985)

All pointing to the distinction of parental control and warmth dimensions

with Korean, Korean American and Japanese adolescents
More recent evidence regarding control, warmth and autonomy:

- **Lin & Fu (1990)** found a combined autonomy and control orientation in Chinese parents.
- **Cha (1994)** found both control and encouragement of autonomy in Korean parents.
- **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.
- **Jose, Huntsinger, Huntsinger & Liaw (2000)** found Chinese and Chinese American parents to endorse both relatedness and autonomy, together with strong control and closeness with their children.
• Ethnic minority parents tend to be labeled ‘authoritarian’ because of strong parental discipline as 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.

• These studies point to Family Model of Psychological Interdependence where there is both control and autonomy orientations and autonomy as well as relatedness (warmth).
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. (2005)
Dekovic, Pels & Model (2005) study as a case in point:

• Six major ethnic groups in the Netherlands (including also the native Dutch)

• General finding: Parents who use strong discipline (authoritarian control) can also be warm and supportive .. ‘An unlikely combination.’

• Why unlikely? Because of the assumption that parental control means parental rejection (hostility) and suppression of autonomy, based on an individualistic view assuming permissive, independence oriented parenting that leads to separation and individuation promotes autonomy.
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’)}
## 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)
- Lansford et al. (2003)
- Dekovic, Pels & Model (2005)

### Models
- Maccoby & Martin (1983)
Family Model of Psychological Interdependence

- This is the type of parenting that is conductive to the development of the Autonomous-Related Self.

- Kwak (2003) in a review of research on immigrant adolescents in the U.S. Noted that they want more autonomy but are content with their close family ties, i.e. that they aspire for the autonomous-related self (and for a shift from the family model of totalInterdependence to a model of Psychological Interdependence.)
# FAMILY MODELS, PARENTING AND THE SELF

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parenting style</th>
<th>Interdependence</th>
<th>Independence</th>
<th>Psychological interdependence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
<td>Authoritarian</td>
<td>Relatively permissive</td>
<td>Authoritative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child rearing orientation</td>
<td>Control / obedience</td>
<td>Autonomy / self reliance</td>
<td>Control / autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Heteronomous Related</td>
<td>Autonomous Seperated</td>
<td>Autonomous-related</td>
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**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.
1. Findings from Turkish, Belgian and Turkish-Belgian late adolescents:

• Higher SES Turkish adolescents in Turkey endorse both Autonomy and Relatedness (Autonomous-Related Self)

• Turkish-Belgian adolescents show a reactive assertion of autonomy (overemphasis on autonomy) due to
  – younger age (developmental phase).
  – interdependent family model still prevalent.
  – influence of individualistic dominant society

2. Findings from German and Turkish-German University Students:

- Both groups score highest on Autonomous-Related Self Scale.

- Autonomous-Relatedness is associated with Relatedness ($r=.32^{**}$) among Germans but with Autonomy ($r=.47^{**}$) among Turkish-German youth.

- The status of mother’s job is positively associated with son’s/daughter’s autonomous-related self score among Turkish-Germans.

Implications for Immigration

• Given that the autonomous-related self is a healthy human model, since it satisfies both of the basic needs...
  and

• Given that the immigrant family coming from the ‘culture of relatedness’ tends to serve the need for relatedness,

• This is an existing strength that should be nurtured
Thus, Ethnic minority family patterns should not be seen as unhealthy.

Immigrants, particularly those with low levels of education and social capital have a lot to learn and need to acculturate to the main societies. However, they have a lot to offer to the main society, also.

Immigration involves culture contact with the potential for mutual learning and change.

In particular, there could be a convergence toward the Autonomous-Related Self in multicultural society.
Autonomous-Related Self needs to be nurtured

- autonomy-granting
- closeness (warmth)
- order-keeping control (not autocratic)
Proposed Shift Toward a Healthy Human Model (Convergence)

Family Model (Total) Interdependence Psychological/ Interdependence Independence

Self Model Heteronomous/ Related Autonomous/ Related Autonomous/ Separate
A CAVEAT:

Autonomous-Related Self may not emerge if

- There is culture lag (though adaptive in developed socio-cultural-economic context, autonomy not granted in child rearing)
- Individualistic culture dominates
DEVELOPMENT OF COMPETENCE

IMPLICATIONS FOR APPLICATION:
EARLY ENRICHMENT as AN EXAMPLE

Efforts to provide deprived children with early enrichment that would enhance their ability to

• benefit from formal schooling
• to have ‘socio-cultural adaptation’
• to have social mobility
• to actualize their potentials
• to integrate into the society and to contribute to it
TURKISH EARLY ENRICHMENT PROJECT (TEEP) (1982-2004)

• 4 years early intervention study (3-5 years old children in low-income low-education neighborhoods in Istanbul).
• Educational day-care and/or mother training as early enrichment
• 1\textsuperscript{st} and 4\textsuperscript{th} year assessments
• 10th year follow-up (13-15 years old adolescents)
• 22nd year follow-up (25-27 years old young adults)

THE TURKISH EARLY-ENRICHMENT PROJECT (TEEP)

**Background**
- Low SES
- Low Education

**Mediating variable**
**Mother-Child Interaction**
- Direct attention given to the child
- Communication with the child
- Satisfaction with the child
- Expectation of obedience/autonomy

**Outcome:**
Child’s cognitive development, school performance, socioemotional development

**Mother Training**
- Promoting child’s cognitive development
- Promoting child’s socioemotional development
- Empowerment of the mother
- Building communication skills
10th Year TEEP Results in Adolescence

• Higher primary school achievement (five years)
  - Higher grades in Turkish, Mathematics & overall academic average
• Higher vocabulary scores (WISC-R)
• Higher school attainment (86% still in school beyond compulsory education compared with 67% in a comparison group)
• Higher autonomy
• Better social integration and social adjustment in school
• Better family relations; more positive retrospective memory of mother
Long-Term TEEP Results Show

- longer school attainment
- higher university attendance
- Higher vocabulary competence
- Higher age at the beginning of gainful employment
- Higher occupational status
- Higher computer ownership
- Higher credit card ownership

in Young Adulthood
MOTHER CHILD EDUCATION PROGRAM

- **TARGET**: Mothers with 5-year-old children
- **DURATION**: 25 weeks
- **FORM**: Group discussions

By 2012, **700,000 women + children** reached. Extensions to Europe (Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, France) and to Arab countries (Bahrain, Jordan, Saudi Arabia)

TV adaptation on national and international Turkish Public Television reaching millions
Lessons for the Plight of the Turkish Migrants (the Case of Germany)

- Out of 4 million Turkish immigrants in Europe, 2.3 million are in Germany.
- In metropolitan sites such as Berlin and the Ruhr area Turkish is the first language of 25% of children entering school.
- Turkish children are disproportionately placed in the lowest of three tracks of secondary schools, to receive lower academic scores, and to drop out of school.

→ Great waste of human power
Many Reasons (on the part of the receiving society)

- Selection of unqualified labor force (nevertheless greatly contributed to German economic development as a cheap, non-demanding, non-unionized, hardworking labor force)
- Assumption of temporary stay (Gastarbeiter)
- Low levels of investment in training/education of migrants even after family unifications
- Discrimination, prejudice
- Lack of political will to integrate migrants, exacerbated for example by priorities given to ethnic German migrants
What Needs to be Done?

• Help Promote Well-Being - - How?
• More focus on POLICY

Immigration has become a very serious political issue in Europe

Can researchers contribute? This issue has to be confronted

Focus on BOTH the migrant AND the main society
POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR INTEGRATION

• Investing in **early childhood**
  - Preschool starting at age 3 for all immigrant children
  - Mother support, training, participation (like MOCEP)
• Ensuring **school readiness** at school entry
• Enhancing **dominant language skills** (while also maintaining and promoting mother tongue)
• Not ethnic/religious schools that separate the immigrant children/youth from the host society but **mixed schools** that integrate them
• **Empowerment, social participation, socio-cultural adaptation**
Efforts toward integrating immigrants at the community and society levels

Working with the majority society to promote
recognition of the contributions of the immigrants/minorities to society
recognition of minorities’ assets

Together with the acceptance of diversity (difference), emphasize the underlying commonalities (basic humanism) - - Difference is problematic... Since Bogardus (1925), evidence that difference implies Social Distance.
To Conclude:

The goal should be **Overall Well-Being** through policies and practices including:

- Early childhood enrichment programs, especially involving language learning, and enhancing school preparation;
- Parent training and support, leading to greater involvement, participation and empowerment;
- More concerted efforts to help children, youth, families to become integral parts of society, not separate from it ...
With concerted efforts to help minority children, youth, and families to become integral parts of society and to help society to embrace minorities and to learn from them,

Promoting Optimal Human Development for Integration Involves the Enhancement of

- **Competence** (human capital)
- **Autonomous-Related Self**