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978-0-521-87672-8 - Perspectives on Human Development, Family, and Culture

Sevda Bekman and Ayhan Aksu-Koc

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## Perspectives on Human Development, Family, and Culture

Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı has long been at the forefront of research in developmental and cultural psychology, and is one of the world's most highly respected cross-cultural psychologists. This collection of essays has been produced in honor of Professor Kağıtçıbaşı's retirement and to commemorate her contribution to the field. The volume examines social, developmental, and cultural psychology and intervention policies. A select group of international expert scholars explore those aspects of human behavior that are observed in all cultures, as well as those that are unique to each. They also examine changes in the family across socio-cultural contexts and generations in order to understand the factors precipitating these changes. Representing the most recent developments in theory and research in the field, this is a cutting-edge volume that will appeal to researchers and students of developmental and cross-cultural psychology across the world.

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# Perspectives on Human Development, Family, and Culture

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Sevda Bekman

Ayhan Aksu-Koç



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## Preface

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This book covers issues ranging from the status of psychology as a science in the majority world to policy implications that can be derived from it in the form of intervention programs. Within this range from theoretical to practical applications are issues concerning the relation between culture and parenting, self-development in a cultural context, and effects of social change on family and gender roles, which all are among the core concerns of the discipline of human development as well as the cultural perspective. The chapters explore these issues either by comparing the western world with the majority world, or focus on a single culture from the latter. Thus the book addresses questions of interest for developmental psychologists, cross-cultural psychologists, community psychologists, intervention researchers, and policy makers in life span education.

A major reason for putting together this book was to present the state of the art from the perspectives of the western and majority world contributors to the study of culture and development. A second motivation was to recognize the developments that have taken place in this area in the majority world, and particularly in Turkey. One of the driving forces in this development has been Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, who has undertaken significant cross-cultural research and posited theoretical models of self-development and family change. Her work has provided an alternative to the models prevalent in the western world by showing that urbanization and socio-economic development need not necessarily have a single outcome in the form of an autonomous-separate-self. In her Model of Family Change, individuation and autonomy are gained not at the expense of relatedness but within its supportive context. In addition, a longitudinal applied research project she conducted on early childhood development and parent education has led to a wide-scale intervention program, exemplifying an instance of science-application-policy interface.

In line with the trend Kağıtçıbaşı set in her work, the book aims to bridge theory and applications, as well as science and social relevance in building a sound scientific basis for understanding human behavior.

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There are five different sections in the book. Section I, *Cultural and Cross-cultural Psychology: Selected Perspectives*, consists of four essays which variously reflect on the coming of age of cultural psychology as a consequence of the refinement of the cross-cultural method. All concur on the view that cross-cultural psychology has reached the stage where the methodology is advanced enough to generate data that can serve as a basis for hypotheses concerning cultural specifics versus universals. However, they also all agree that there is much more ground yet to be covered. In the first essay John Adair presents an empirically-based model for the development of psychology as an international science. Emphasis is placed on majority world countries where the imported discipline has been nurtured, indigenized, and developed to a level making independent contributions to the world of psychology. The stages of discipline growth are documented by empirical changes over time in the dissemination of research by psychologists from each country. Walter Lonner, the second contributor to this section, discusses the importance of the search for psychological universals despite cultural particulars in human behavior. Noting the various attempts to find categories, dimensions, and taxonomies of meaningful human characteristics, he claims that the field is ready to look for causal explanations, using multi-method, multi-cultural, and multi-researcher approaches. Michael Bond, in his chapter, provides an overview from his own personal experience and offers his understanding of what culture is and how it operates. He analyzes the development of the discipline into three “epochs.” The first is the phase of cataloging cross-cultural differences, the second is the phase of construction of models for mapping cultural groups into various taxonomies, and the third focuses on explaining the differences found during the first two phases. The last chapter of this section is by Uwe Gielen, who evaluates the status and future prospects of psychology in the Arab countries in terms of involvement in academic institutions, theoretical and research creativity and productivity, and ability to publish in major American and international professional journals. It thus provides a concrete example for the processes of indigenization and internationalization as discussed by Adair.

Section II, *Development in the Family Context*, comprises four essays which focus on the critical issue of culture and parenting. They approach the question either from a cross-cultural or cross-generational perspective, or both. A conclusion that can be drawn from all is that while there are cultural specifics to socialization, the underlying processes appear to be universal. Marc Bornstein and Derya Güngör address questions regarding the relation of cultural values to caregiving cognitions and practices, the variability in normative caregiving, and the effects of

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these on children. They present cross-cultural evidence to show that all aspects of caregiving are shaped by cultural forces, while proposing socialization and internalization, learning and imitation, and cognition and scaffolding as the three universal mechanisms of parenting. In her chapter, Gisela Trommsdorff gives an overview of the original Value of Children study and presents results from its replication about 30 years later, which in addition, explores intergenerational relations with attention to parenting goals and behaviors. The findings are integrated into a model of value of children and intergenerational relations that takes into account the socio-cultural context while illustrating the mutual enrichment of a social change and human development perspective. Bilge Ataca presents the results of a study on the functional relationships among the nuclear and the extended family in a sample of Turkish university students, also comprising a part of the new Value of Children study. The findings are discussed in relation to Kağıtçıbaşı's Model of Family Change, the results of the multinational family project, and the previous literature on the Turkish family. Further empirical findings on parenting are provided by Diane Sunar, who investigates the relationship to self-esteem of child-rearing practices of mothers and fathers in three generations of Turkish urban middle-class families. Her comparison across generations presents a test case for Kağıtçıbaşı's model of change from a family structure that leads to the emergence of an interdependent-communal self to one that leads to the emergence of an autonomous-relational self.

Section III, *Culture and Self*, focuses on self-development in terms of the constructs of autonomy, individuation, and interdependence. The chapters also discuss and offer examples of quantitative and qualitative methodologies for the assessment of self in culturally appropriate ways. The first chapter by Peter B. Smith, deals with the psychometric problems inherent in some measures used in the assessment of self along the two dimensions of independence and interdependence. Self-construal data from seven European nations are re-analyzed to extract three factors – independent, relational, and collective – to provide a clearer understanding of the results obtained by previous analyses yielding two factors. In their chapter, Heidi Keller and Robin Harwood also focus on three socio-cultural orientations to the development of self: the model for independence, the model for interdependence, and the model for individual agency and interpersonal relatedness. They discuss the different developmental pathways suggested by these models by looking at evidence from research on socialization goals and strategies, parenting practices, and verbal interaction patterns offered in different socio-cultural contexts. The next chapter, by Aylin Küntay, examines

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the development of competence in producing “autonomous” narratives, which is a crucial milestone contributing to various social and cognitive outcomes as well as to the construal of self. The author presents verbal interaction data from Turkish children of preschool ages showing how interdependent processes in daily interactions of young children with peers and adults might foster autonomy in narrative performance. In the last chapter of this section, Güler Fişek discusses theoretical perspectives on understanding the “self” by exploring early self-development from a cross-cultural psychodynamic perspective. The author focuses on different psychoanalytic approaches that present contrastive accounts of the process of individuation. Infancy research and neuroscience are presented as two promising areas for reconciling the dilemma and thus for the understanding of self construction.

Section IV, *Social Change, Family, and Gender*, presents theoretical and empirical treatments of the effects of social change on the structure and functioning of the family, the changes in child-rearing practices across generations, and cultural transmission. They also focus on shifting gender roles that come with social change. Bernhard Nauck presents a theoretical overview of the interrelationship between macro-social change and family structure. He considers the Model of the Second Demographic Transition and the Model of Family Change as alternatives to classical modernization theory, and compares them in the light of data from “collectivistic” and “individualistic” societies. Recognizing the difficulty of identifying empirical evidence in contexts of social change, the author considers minor results showing changes in the family as indicative of the predictions of both models. In his contribution, John Berry argues that the culturally-plural nature of all contemporary societies needs to be understood in psychological and policy terms. His theoretical framework links cultural and psychological acculturation in terms of the strategies employed at the level of ethno-cultural groups as well as the larger society. He presents evidence from a recent study examining the acculturation and adaptation of immigrant youth, with emphasis on Turkish youth settled in Europe. Karen Phalet and Derya Güngör’s chapter explores intergenerational (dis)continuity in norms and values as a consequence of migration and acculturation. It focuses on the development of agency and relatedness among Turkish adolescents from the perspective of the Model of Family Change and provides examples from studies on parenting and value transmission among Turkish immigrant families in Europe. Hale Bolak Boratav reports on research on the value priorities of young adults in Turkey and their relation to education, gender, socio-economic status (SES) and attitudes towards various issues. The results are framed in terms of

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Schwartz's theory of values and Kağıtçıbaşı's Model of Family Change and the construct of individualism versus collectivism. In the last chapter of this section, Zeynep Aycan discusses the career development of professional women in Turkey in view of their socialization in the family and at the workplace. She brings in empirical evidence from three lines of research. The first explores key success factors in relation to the individual, the organization, and the family; the second examines attitudes towards women in management; and the third investigates the work–family balance of professional women with preschool children.

Section V, *Induced Change*, concentrates on the issue of transferring intervention programs from one cultural context to another. The emphasis is on the importance of questioning the appropriateness of the target, the outcomes, and the causal processes of intervention for the target community. It provides examples of different types of intervention while offering criteria for the critical evaluation of the effectiveness of the programs as well as the evaluation techniques. In the first chapter, Ype Poortinga explores the issue of meaningful transfer of intervention programs from the culture in which they originated to other contexts. The author emphasizes the necessity of cross-cultural similarities for successful transfer and considers the strategies for doing so. He further discusses the principles for the transfer of psychometric tests for assessing the equivalence of the outcomes of different versions of a program. Nazlı Baydar addresses the same issues as Poortinga. She argues that the components of a culturally valid intervention must ensure that its targets are appropriate, the changes in the outcome are feasible and desirable, the causal process of change is appropriate, and the intervention process is acceptable for that specific cultural context. She follows with a discussion on how to assess the degree to which an intervention program fits the targeted culture. The next chapter by Michael Cole, offers an intervention program designed to serve as an alternative form of after-school activity for school-age children and as an opportunity for students in higher education to practice their theoretical knowledge. The program is presented as an example for a “zone of proximal development” for the children, and as an example for cooperation between an institution of higher learning and a local community. In his contribution, Sami Gülgöz summarizes examples of programs for children and adults. He presents research on two programs in Turkey: teaching literacy to adults and cognitive capacity improvement for youth. Addressing problems associated with research on intervention, he concludes with suggestions regarding program design and research on intervention effectiveness. In the last chapter of this section, Daniel Wagner declares information communication technologies (ICT) to be an influential agent in



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achieving educational equity, and thus in empowering disadvantaged groups. The chapter focuses on how evidence is gathered in the monitoring and evaluation of ICT projects, with examples from different countries, and discusses the reasons why attention should be paid to marginal populations and gender when using ICT for education.

In the Epilogue to the volume, Tharakad Saraswathi provides an overview of the milestones in the development of cross-cultural psychology in terms of theory construction and data assembly, and underlines the advances made on the applied front. She then discusses the limitations of the discipline, raising questions that should be addressed. She concludes by noting reasons for hope given the state of the art.

In putting together a collection of articles on family and human development from a cross-cultural perspective, we – as members of a collectivist society – wanted to make a tribute to our former professor. We met Çiğdem at the Middle East Technical University, where she was a young academician in the Department of Psychology and we were her students. Since then, we have been colleagues, sharing departments, research projects, and friends – sharing life in general. The contributors to the present volume are, likewise, her previous students and/or colleagues in Turkey or her colleagues from the international world. The idea for this project was inspired in 1998, in Bern, where the three of us were attending the International Association for the Study of Behavior Development Conference. The project itself, however, started in the fall of 2005. Çiğdem officially retired in January 2007 from Koç University, after a distinguished career. She is currently continuing to teach and to contribute to the field by carrying out research and being actively involved in policy implementation.

The Foreword, written by M. Brewster Smith, Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı's former professor, makes a thorough summary of her academic career and highlights her achievements. Therefore, we will not cover her biographical information here but instead leave the floor to Professor Brewster Smith.

There are people and institutions we wish to thank. Duygu Aslan-Yalçın helped us in editing the references, both in the text and in the bibliography. Zeynep Kulelioğlu prepared the index and formatted the original manuscript. Koç University generously funded the preparation of the index. Without the contributors, the volume could not have been realized. We thank them all.

We hope this collection will be useful to the consumers of knowledge of the field – both theoretical and empirical.

We dedicate this volume to the memory of dear Oğuz Kağıtçıbaşı.

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## Foreword

### In honor of Professor Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı

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M. BREWSTER SMITH

I regard it a special privilege to be invited to participate in this volume honoring Professor Kağıtçıbaşı, whose distinguished career I have followed with admiration since its early stages. In the 1950s, I knew her first as an able graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley. Çiğdem Çizakça, as she was then called, shared my interest in the important though faulted study of *The Authoritarian Personality* (Adorno et al. 1950), which had been carried out at Berkeley more than a decade earlier. She thought the negatively valued correlates of authoritarianism in American society would not hold for authoritarianism in Turkey, where authoritarian attitudes were supported by traditional social norms.

In due course, I supervised her doctoral research, in which, against my cautious advice, she undertook a cross-cultural study comparing the responses of Californian and Turkish high school students to the F-scale, the measure of authoritarianism developed by Adorno et al. (ibid.). Before she had completed the analysis of her data, she married Oğuz Kağıtçıbaşı and returned with him to Turkey to take charge of the secondary school in Bursa that her father, just deceased, had established. Her challenges were heightened by the birth of their first child. Naturally, I could not be hopeful about the prospect of her completing the dissertation. Most doctoral students could not have done it under such circumstances. But I didn't really know Çiğdem yet. To my pleasant surprise, she sent me excellent drafts by mail for my comments. The resulting dissertation was superb, and led to her initial publication, "Social norms and authoritarianism: A Turkish–American comparison" (Kağıtçıbaşı 1970), which launched her in cross-cultural psychology.

Another of Çiğdem's continuing research interests also had its roots in her connections as a graduate student at Berkeley. Her research on "The changing value of children in Turkey" (Kağıtçıbaşı 1982) was part of a multinational study launched postdoctorally by James T. Fawcett, another of my doctoral students and one of her colleagues in social psychology at Berkeley. I see that work, which she later replicated, as

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leading to her important focus on changing family values in what she aptly calls the majority world of countries as yet to experience major industrial development.

I have been an eager consumer of cross-cultural psychology, not a producer of it. My intensive contact with non Euro-American cultures in my research for the American Peace Corps in Ghana (Smith 1966) and in visiting my sons' work with Mayan Indians in Chiapas, Mexico, had quickened my interest in cross-cultural psychology. It is a blessing that I have remained in close touch with Çiğdem as she has risen to leadership in cross-cultural research and theory. And I have been particularly delighted that she sees the cross-cultural approach, of which she and Triandis (1995) are major exponents, as complementary to the cultural psychology approach of Cole (1996) and Shweder (1991). These initial proponents of a distinctive cultural psychology that is particularly respectful of indigenous psychological formulations criticized the cross-cultural approach as unduly committed to Euro-American conceptual categories. Together with Çiğdem and my distinguished Santa Cruz colleague Barbara Rogoff (2003), I strongly agree with the integrative view that seeks transcultural universals, especially of processes, while recognizing the crucial importance of historical and cultural context.

Çiğdem achieves a similar valuable integration of polarities that more often are treated in opposition in her recent treatment of "Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context" (Kağıtçıbaşı 2005). This culmination of her career-long concern with what Triandis (1995) had called individualism vs. collectivism, goes beyond her superb *Family Development Across Cultures* (Kağıtçıbaşı 1996) in providing a theoretical rationale for the hope that as people in the majority world gain in autonomy in the course of economic development, they need not necessarily lose the relatedness the lack of which is a substantial defect in Euro-American culture. While she takes cultural (and historical) context fully into account, she has managed to transcend the limits of cultural relativism.

My most recent visit with Çiğdem was a particular treat. My wife Deborah and I dined in İstanbul with her, Hale Bolak, and their husbands. Hale Bolak, who chairs the Psychology Department at Bilgi University, received her undergraduate education in psychology in Turkey with Çiğdem, who encouraged her to come to the University of California at Santa Cruz for her doctoral training. I supervised her excellent dissertation. I greatly value this additional link with Çiğdem.

In all, I regard Çiğdem as an outstanding psychologist, a distinguished contributor to international psychology, and a dear friend. At the crest

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of her career, she has my gratitude and congratulations. I wish her the best, and expect we will be hearing much more from her.

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