Global Urbanization What are the Implications for Optimal Human Development?

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An "Optimal developmental Model" implies that we can set standards (criteria/ yardsticks/ benchmarks/ norms) for optimal human development.

These can be used as reference points in evaluating or judging whether there is "healthy" development or not. Such an approach would help contribute to efforts toward supporting human well-being through social change and globalization.

This is a 'hands on' prescriptive stance.

 A 'hands-off' orientation is particularly strong in the <u>cultural relativist</u> perspective which for example considers any cultural childrearing practice to be in line with culturally defined developmental goals. Therefore it rejects universal standards.

A universalist perspective, however, can ask:

- 1. Whether there is an optimal fit between children's developmental trajectories (in terms of universal standards) and cultural childrearing practices, and
- 2. If there is a misfit, whether something can be done about it.

If the answer is "No" to 1 and "Yes" to 2, then this is a call for hands-on intervention and for policy.

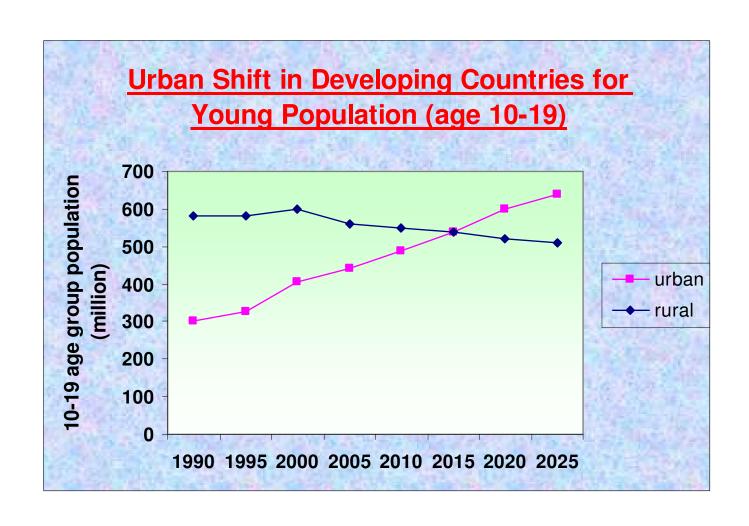
Thus, this view has explicit **policy implications**, such as early cognitive enrichment and education programs to support parents and other caretakers to provide more stimulating environments to young children.

A very important issue here is **social change**

 The world's population is fast becoming less rural and more urban.

What was adaptive in the rural context may not be adaptive in urban life.

Urbanization of Populations



 Given the increasing similarity in urban life styles in the world, and particularly with the expansion of public education, some common standards of competence may be emerging

Can psychology contribute globally?

- has to do with the social accountability of psychology.
- On the basis of accumulated knowledge, developmental psychology, and the more encompassing "developmental science" can contribute significantly to the enhancement of the developmental trajectories of children and adolescents.

Development of Competence and of Self

- Focus on Disadvantage
- Focus on Social Change / Immigration / Globalization
- Focus on the Role of Psychology :
 - Understand, Explain, Predict
 - Ascertain Problems and Mismatches
 - Help Promote Well-Being

Contextual Change and Change in Socialization for Competence

| Context | Rural Subsistence | <u>Urban</u> |
|------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Less specialized work | More specialized work |
| | No/low schooling | Increased schooling |
| Teaching & | Demonstration and modeling | Verbal explanation |
| Learning | Apprenticeship | School-like learning |
| Competence | Social intelligence | Social + Cognitive Intelligence |
| | Practical/manual skills | School-like skills |

IMPLICATIONS FOR APPLICATION: EARLY ENRICHMENT as AN EXAMPLE

Concerted efforts have been expended in many countries to provide deprived children with early enrichment that would enhance their ability to benefit from formal schooling.

The research program from Turkey and its resultant program applications derive from the **Turkish Early Enrichment Project (TEEP)**.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Sunar, Bekman(2001). Applied Developmental Psychology, 22, 333-361

Kağıtçıbaşı, Sunar, Bekman & Cemalcilar (2009) Applied Developmental Psychology

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



Child's cognitive development, school performance, socioemotional development

Outcome:



1

Mother Training

- Promoting child's cognitive development
- Promoting child's socioemotional development
- Empowerment of the mother
- Building communication skills

TURKISH EARLY ENRICHMENT PROJECT (TEEP)

- 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
- 4th year results
- 10th year follow-up (13-15 years old adolescents)
- 22nd year follow-up (25-27 years old young adults)

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

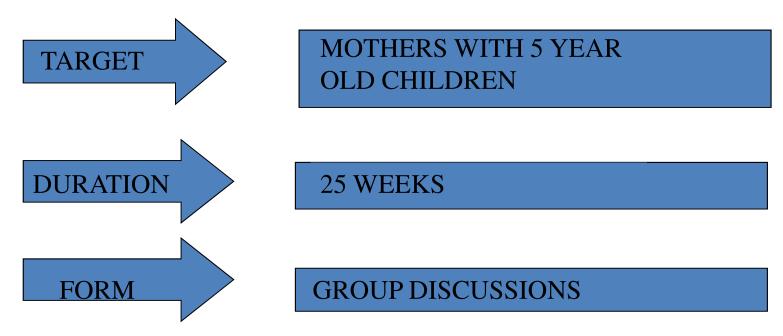
- longer school attainment
- higher university attendance
- Higher vocabulary competence
- Higher age at the beginning of gainful employment
- Higher occupational status
- Higher computer ownership
- Higher credit card ownership

in young adulthood.

GENERAL POLICY IMPLICATIONS

- Much can be accomplished by reaching children early in life to build both environmental and individual capacity that can be sustained over time. Improving the environment, while enhancing individual cognitive performance, helps in turn to support that performance further, in a synergistic interaction.
- Our accumulated knowledge and insights can provide us with possibly universal standards of competence.

MOTHER CHILD EDUCATION PROGRAM



By 2010, 500,000 women + children reached. Extensions to Europe (Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, France) and to Arab countries (Bahrain, Jordan, Egypt)

TV adaptation on national and international Turkish Public Television

Cost-Effectiveness Study: Mother Child Education Program (TEEP)

 Benefits calculated on only one indicatorincreased productivity and income

Cost Benefit Ratio

| Scenario I | Scenario II | Scenario III |
|------------|-------------|--------------|
| 4.60 | 6.63 | 10.02 |

M. Kaytaz (2004) Cost-Benefit Analysis of Early Childhood Education-Turkey. ACEV

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

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)

While all societies manage to meet these two basic needs,

Autonomy has been prioritized in the individualistic Western World and in Psychology

- reflected in an emphasis on individual independence, agency, privacy...
- often at the expense of interpersonal relatedness

What is the underlying reason?

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

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

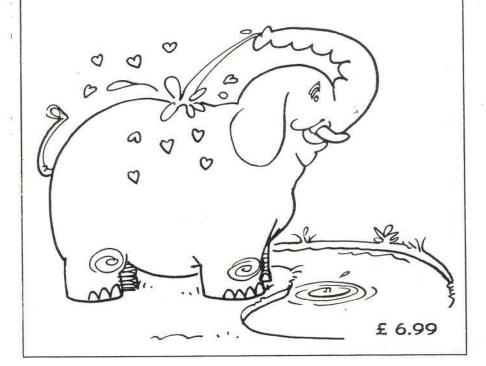
Self boundaries, self - other relations has found expression in contrasts made between the 'Western' **Self-Contained Self** and 'Other' Views of the Self:

- Enriquez : The Filipino Kapwa the unity of the "self" and the "other"
- Japanese : Group Self (Amae)
- Nsamenang: West African Social Selfhood
- Sun: The Chinese *Two Person Matrix* (Yin and Yan)
- Roland : Japanese and Indian Familial Self

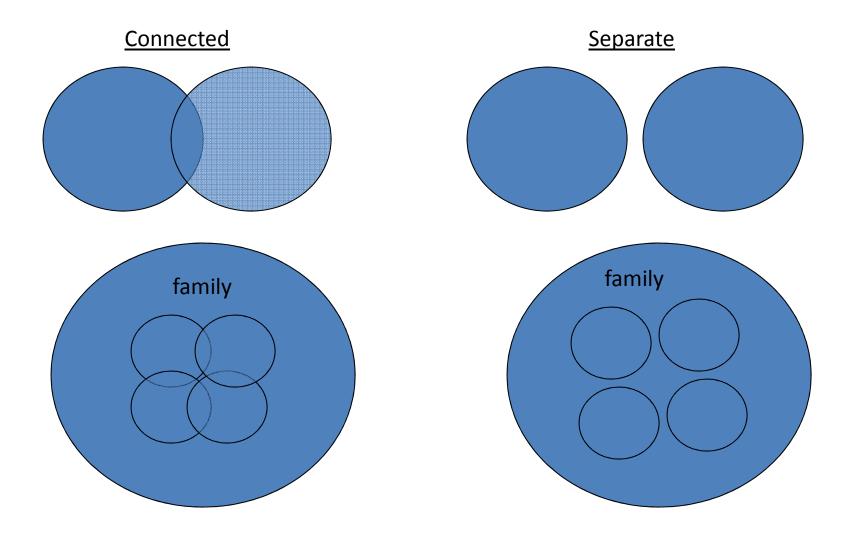
Also reflected in Popular Psychology

How to Be Your Own Best Friend

Dr Paul Hauck



Connected and Separate Selves/Family



The construal of Autonomy and Relatedness as Conflicting has prevailed over Autonomy and Relatedness As <u>Basic Needs</u>

Thus, Relatedness is seen as <u>incompatible</u> with Autonomy

or

Separation from others is seen as necessary for Autonomy ("Separation-Individuation" hypothesis) with the implicit assumption of low levels of autonomy in the Majority World.

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

Agency:

Autonomy Heteronomy (dependency)

Interpersonal Distance:

Separateness Relatedness

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

They reflect the basic human needs of 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

AGENCY Autonomy Autonomous-related self Autonomous-Separate self **INTERPERSONAL DISTANCE** Separation Relatedness Heteronomous-separate self Heteronomous-related self

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.

- Kagitcibasi, C. (2007). Family, Self, and Human Development Across Cultures. L. Erlbaum (Taylor & Francis).
- Kagitcibasi, C. (2005). Autonomy and relatedness in cultural context: Implications for self and family. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 36, 4, 403-422.
- Kagitcibasi, C. (1996). The autonomous-relational self: A new synthesis. *European Psychologist*, 1, 180-186.

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

versus

- 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
- (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986;
 Ryan et al, 1989, 2000;
 Quintana & Kerr, 1993;
 Schwartz, 2000; Schmitz &
 Baer, 2001; Grossman, et al,
 1999; Kagitcibasi, 2007)

Recognizes and combines agency and interpersonal distance dimensions

A second Thesis:

In conjunction with social change (esp. urbanization and immigration), Family changes, too.

From the Model of

Total Interdependence

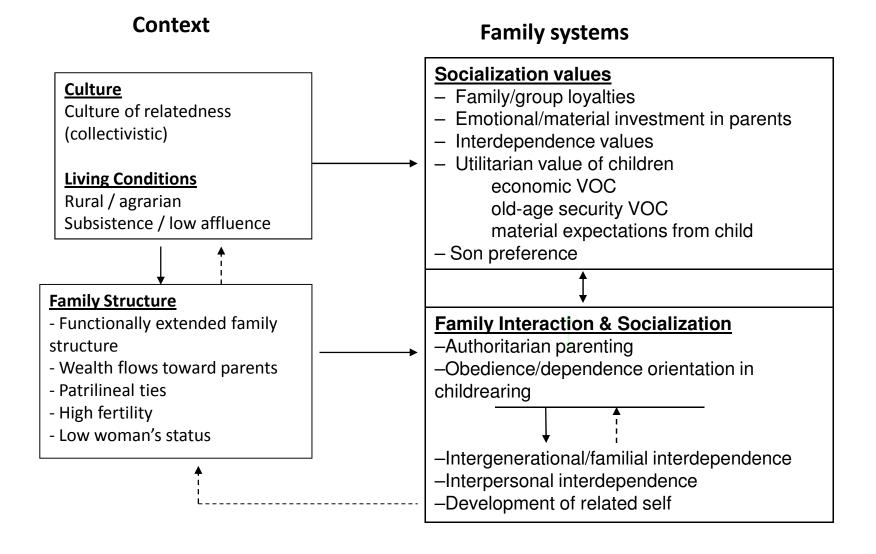
to the Model of

Psychological/Emotional Interdependence

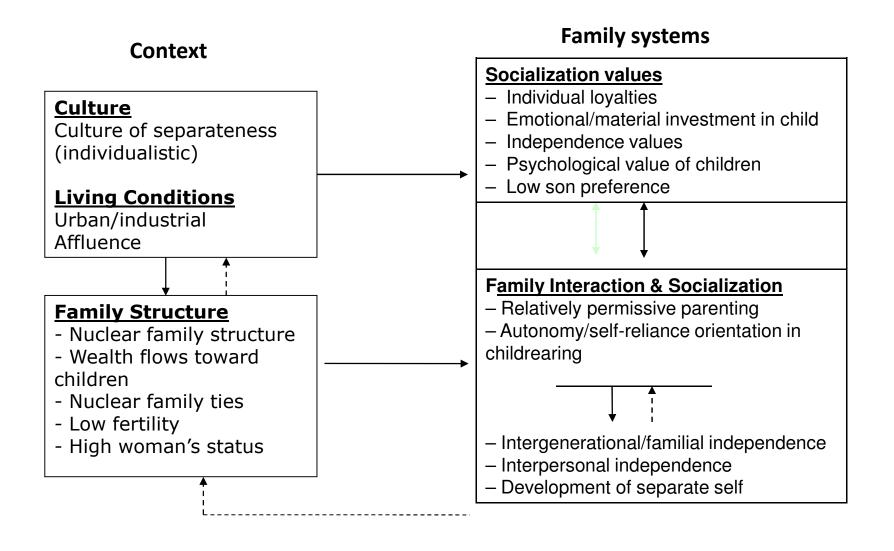
This model includes <u>both</u> relatedness and autonomy.

Kagitcibasi (1996, 2007)

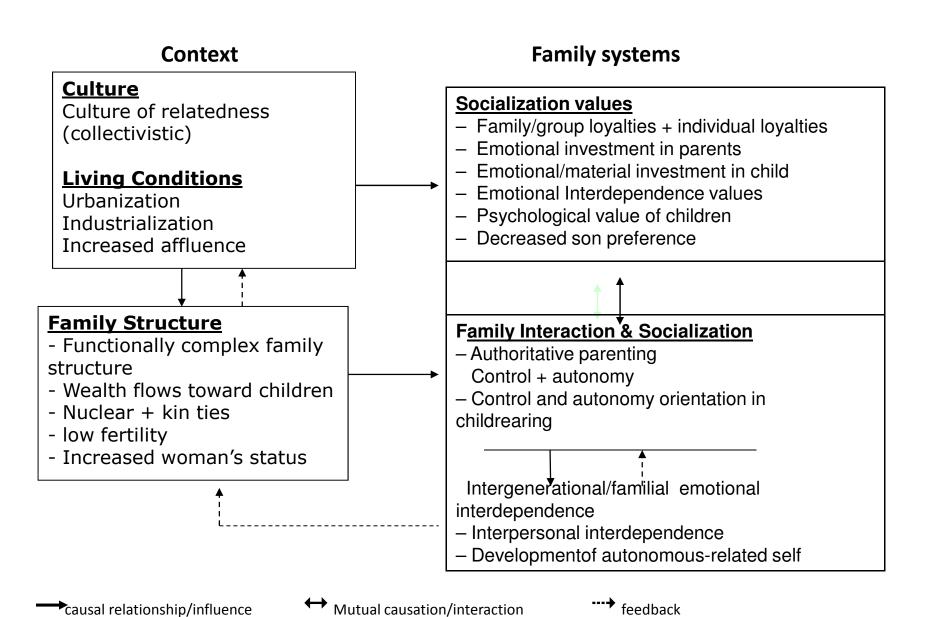
MODEL OF INTERDEPENDENCE



MODEL OF INDEPENDENCE



MODEL OF PSYCHOLOGICAL INTERDEPENDENCE



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 |

AGENCY, INTERPERSONAL DISTANCE AND THE TYPES OF SELVES IN CONTEXT

AGENCY

Autonomy

Family model of independence

Self-reliance orientation

INTERPERSONAL Autonomous-Separate self
DISTANCE

Family model of psychological interdependence

Order setting control and autonomy orientation

Autonomous-related self

Separation

Hierarchical neglecting family

Neglecting, indifferent orientation

Heteronomous-separate self

Relatedness

Family model of interdependence

Obedience orientation

Heteronomous-related self

Heteronomy

Two Different Theoretical Routes toward the Autonomous-Related Self

Theory of Family Change

Context: Culture of relatedness **Urban Life Styles** Family: Model of emotional/ Autonomous psychological inter-Related Self dependance Parenting: Control, warmth, (autonomy/ autonomy orientation

Model of Self

Two basic human needs:

Autonomy + Relatedness

Two underlying dimensions:

Agency + Interpersonal

Distance

(separateness/

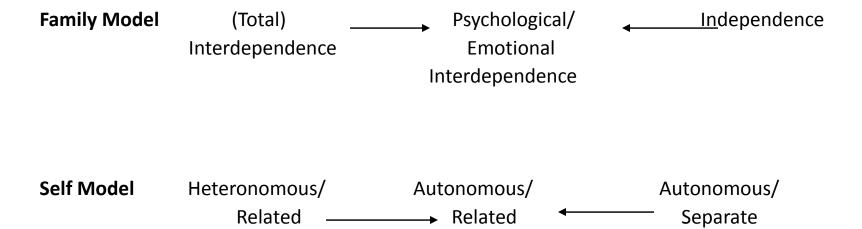
Heteronomy)

Relatedness)

Social Change and Changes in Competence, Family and Self

| Context | Traditional/ Rural Subsistence Less specialized work No/low schooling | Urban/ Higher SES/ Technological Immigration Society More specialized work Increased schooling |
|----------------------|---|--|
| Teaching & Learning | Demonstration and modeling Apprenticeship | Verbal explanation School-like learning |
| Competence | Social intelligence Practical/manual skills | Social + Cognitive Intelligence School-like skills |
| Family | Interdependence Model Material interdependencies Economic/utilitarian VOC | Psychological/Emotional Interdependence Model Decreased material interdependencies Psychological VOC |
| Child Rearing | Obedience oriented childrearing | Control + Autonomy |
| Self Development | Heteronomous Related Self | Autonomous Related Self |

Proposed Shift Toward a Healthy Human Model (Convergence)



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.

Güngör (2008); Dekovic, Pels, & Model (2006) noted both parental warmth and control in immigrant families in Holland.

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.

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

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 & Moroccon adolescents that secure attachment fosters agency.

RESEARCH EVIDENCE (Cont.)

McShane et al., (2009) found parenting themes of urbanizing Inuit parents in Canada to evidence both autonomy and relatedness.

Ozturk (2007) found autonomous-relatedness to predict relationship satisfaction among British and Turkish adults.

Kwak (2003) in review of research noted the common preference of adolescents for both autonomy and family relatedness.

Lubiewska (2008) found evidence for the Family Model of Psychological / Emotional Interdependence in Poland

Celenk (2007) found autonomous-relatedness to predict relationship satisfaction among British and Turkish adults.

THUS A POSSIBLY UNIVERSAL HEALTHY DEVELOPMENTAL MODEL

because of <u>Converging Life Styles</u> due to Globalization and <u>Basic Human Needs</u>

Involving:

- Social + Cognitive Competence
- Autonomous-Related Self
- Psychologically / Emotionally Interdependent Family

Policy Implications toward Enhancing Competence and Serving Human Well-Being

Inform and help provide (through parent education and general education/ sensitization of the public and the media as well as of health professionals):

- -More stimulating early environment
- -Awareness of the basic needs for autonomy and relatedness and thus the desirability of the Autonomous-Related Self and the Family Model of Psychological/Emotional Interdependence conducive to its development

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

- 1. Cultural diffusion of dominant Western individualistic models and
- 2. Culture lag and persistence, especially in immigration