

Self-Construals and Values in Different Cultural and Socioeconomic Contexts

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ABSTRACT. In this study the authors investigated (a) how individual and relational self-orientations, as well as self-directed and other-directed values, are related to one another, and (b) how these self- and value orientations differ across 2 cultural (i.e., 422 Turkish and 441 American university students) and 2 socioeconomic status (SES) groups (i.e., 186 lower SES and 167 upper SES Turkish high school students). Across cross-cultural and SES groups, individual and relational self-orientations appeared to be not opposite but distinct orientations, as predicted by the Balanced Integration–Differentiation (BID) model (E. O. Imamoğlu, 2003). Furthermore, both Turkish and American students with similar self-construal types, as suggested by the BID model, showed similar value orientations, pointing to both cross-cultural similarities and within-cultural diversity. Individual and relational self-orientations showed weak to moderate associations with the respective value domains of self-directedness and other-directedness, which seemed to represent separate but somewhat positively correlated orientations. In both cross-cultural and SES groups, students tended to be high in both relational and individual self-orientations; those trends were particularly strong among the Turkish and American women compared with men and among the upper SES Turkish adolescents compared with lower SES adolescents. Results are discussed as contesting the assumptions that regard the individual and relational orientations as opposites and as supporting the search for invariant aspects of psychological functioning across contexts.

Key words: Balanced Integration–Differentiation model, cultural and socioeconomic status differences, gender differences, individualism–collectivism, individuation, relatedness, self-construals, values

CULTURAL VALUE SYSTEMS that vary on the individualism–collectivism (I-C) dimension are considered to embody different goals and routes for self-development (Greenfield, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Markus, Mullally, & Kitayama, 1997; Raeff, 1997). Specifically, self-construals in the individualistic

Western contexts have been said to be characterized by independence, separate-ness, idiocentrism, or individualism, whereas in the collectivistic Eastern contexts, they have been described as being interdependent, related, allocentric, collectivist, communal, or embedded (e.g., Markus & Kitayama). In fact, it has often been assumed that these different self-orientations tend to be opposite of each other (Hui, 1988; Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto, & Norasakkunkit, 1997). According to this unidimensional bipolarity conceptualization, an independent or individualist self-construal implies not only being agentic or autonomous but also being separate or unrelated. On the other hand, in contrast to the unidimensional view, several psychologists have suggested that it is possible for one to be both agentic, autonomous, or individuated *and* interdependent or related (e.g., Angyal, 1951; Deci & Ryan, 1991; Guisinger & Blatt, 1994; Imamoğlu, 1987, 1995; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1996; Ng, Ho, Wong, & Smith, 2003; Ryan, 1991); others have demonstrated that individuation and relatedness tend to be distinct (Gezici & Güvenç, 2003; Imamoğlu, 1998; Kurt, 2002a) and are, in fact, complementary self-orientations having qualitatively different psychological correlates (Imamoğlu, 2003).

Apart from the controversy concerning the bipolar or distinct nature of these constructs, the nature of the relationship that individuation and relatedness, as self-construal orientations, have with self- or other-directed value orientations associated with I-C is not clear either. That is, do individuated and related persons necessarily hold on to one type of value orientation or can they hold on to both self- and other-directed values? On the basis of the bipolar I-C outlook, one would expect the former to be valid; however, many studies conducted in Turkey have pointed to the existence of both individual and group-related concerns, involving self-realization and group loyalty values, respectively (Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 1999; Phalet & Claeys, 1993).

Another related problem in cross-cultural research concerns the degree of within-culture variability in self-construal and value orientations. That is, samples drawn from individualistic and collectivistic cultures generally are assumed to be different in their self-construal orientations in respective ways. However, recent research indicates that a sample from a relatively collectivistic culture may not necessarily be less independent than one from an individualistic culture. For example, Uskul, Hynie, and Lalonde (2004) found that Turkish and Euro-Can-

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dian university students, from collectivistic and individualistic cultures, respectively (Hofstede, 1980), did not differ on independent self-construal; in fact, Turkish women appeared to have more independent self-construals than both Turkish men and Canadian men and women. Other investigators also found that Turkish women scored higher on individuation (as well as relatedness) than their male counterparts (Imamoğlu, 2003; Kurt, 2002a). Such findings seem to support the suggestion that there is a need to capture the within-culture variability in self-construals (e.g., Bandura, 2001; Imamoğlu, 2003; Sinha, & Tripathi, 1994). For instance, Imamoğlu (1998, 2003), on the basis of the Balanced Integration–Differentiation (BID) model, identified four self-construal types among Turkish university students. In the present study, we also used the four types of self-construals suggested by the BID model.

Thus, our aim in the present study was to increase understanding of the theoretical controversy regarding the bipolar or distinct nature of the individuation and relational self-construal orientations by studying how they relate to each other and to self- and other-directed values in different cultural and socioeconomic status (SES) environments. First, we aimed specifically to test the validity of the assumptions regarding the bipolar or distinct nature of the individuation and relational self-orientations, as well as the self- and other-directed value orientations by obtaining separate measures of each and studying their relationships in different cultural (Turkey and the United States) and SES (upper and lower SES groups in Turkey) contexts. Second, we explored whether individuals with similar self-construal types (according to the BID model) tend to have similar value orientations across different contexts. Third, we explored how self-construal and value orientations differ among women and men across different contexts.

The BID Model

The BID model is based on the premise that “the natural order involves a balanced system resulting from the interdependent integration of differentiated components” (Imamoğlu, 2003, p. 371) and that human beings, as parts of this natural system, tend “to have natural propensities for both differentiation and integration” (p. 372). Thus, the basic orientations for differentiation and integration are considered as not opposing but distinct and complementary processes of a balanced self-system. Accordingly, human beings are assumed to have basic psychological needs for both intrapersonal differentiation (i.e., a self-developmental tendency to actualize their unique potentials and be effective) and interpersonal integration (i.e., an interrelational tendency to be connected to others). The low and high ends of the latter orientation are labeled as *separatedness* and *relatedness*, respectively. The high end of the former orientation is referred to as *individuation* (i.e., becoming differentiated as a unique person with intrinsic referents, such as personal capabilities, inclinations, free will, or willful consent), and the low end

is referred to as *normative patterning* (i.e., becoming patterned in accordance with extrinsic referents, such as normative expectations and social control).

The combinations of these intrapersonal differentiation and interpersonal integration orientations are suggested to give rise to four types of self-construals: (a) separated-individuation and (b) related-patterning (representing the most differentiated and the integrated types, respectively) and (c) separated-patterning and (d) related-individuation (representing the most unbalanced and balanced types, respectively). The model assumes that, across cultures, these different self-types tend to be quite similar in terms of their associations with psychological variables.

The outlook of the BID model is consistent with those of attachment theorists, who stress the importance of both attachment and exploration (Ainsworth, 1972; Bowlby, 1988); self-determination theorists, who propose autonomy and relatedness as basic and complementary needs (e.g., Ryan, 1991; Ryan & Deci, 2000); and many other psychologists, who, in one way or other, have emphasized the importance of both relational and individual or autonomy-related orientations (see Imamoğlu, 2003, for a review).

Consistent with the outlook of the BID model and these related viewpoints, recent evidence challenges the assumption that individuation and relatedness are opposites (e.g., Imamoğlu, 1987; Li, 2002; Oyserman, Coon, & Kimmelmeier, 2002; Ryan & Lynch, 1989). Investigators who have used the BID scale have demonstrated that individuation and relatedness are distinct orientations in both Turkish and Canadian samples (Gezici & Güvenç, 2003; Imamoğlu, 1998, 2003; Kurt, 2002a, 2002b). Furthermore, relatedness and individuation have been found to be associated with qualitatively distinct types of self- and family-related variables: (a) relatedness with such affective variables as perceived love-acceptance and self and family satisfaction and (b) individuation with intrinsic motivational variables, such as the need for cognition and nonrestrictive parenting (Imamoğlu, 2003). In the present study, we hypothesized that individuation and relatedness are distinct orientations across contexts.

Individuation and relatedness, as considered by the BID model, should not be equated with individualism and collectivism, respectively, because the latter dimensions refer to highly global constructs of worldviews, encompassing multiple components (Oyserman et al., 2002). Although not equivalent, individuation may be expected to be associated with those aspects of individualism that focus on one's uniqueness and reliance on internal referents (but not in terms of being separate); relatedness, however, may be considered to be associated with those aspects of collectivism concerned with being related with others and valuing affectionate ties with family and significant others (but not being conforming or group bound). On the basis of the related literature (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Singelis, 1994; Triandis, 1989), an important dimension of I-C is self-directedness or other-directedness: Having a more individualistic orientation has been associated with favoring self-directed values (e.g., independence, choosing

own goals), whereas a collectivistic orientation has been associated with valuing a more other-directed outlook (e.g., being devout and obedient to parents and elders). One of the aims of the present study was to investigate the nature of the relationship that relational and individual self-construal orientations have with self- and other-directed values, assumed to represent individualistic and collectivistic outlooks, respectively, in different contexts.

Cultural Differences

Hofstede's (1980) *Culture's Consequences* has been highly influential in increasing the popularity of I-C as an important cultural dimension and of the bipolar outlook. In fact, Hofstede measured only individualism and assumed that low individualism would indicate collectivism. Although Hofstede noted that his country-level analysis of individualism could not explain individual-level assessments, which he regarded as a theoretically distinct problem, his classification still had a major impact in guiding related research. On the I-C dimension, the United States is classified as the most individualist culture, and Turkey is classified as being collectivist but close to the midpoint on the I-C classification. American culture is considered to emphasize individualistic values and self-construals involving independence, autonomy, self-direction, and personal achievement (Hui & Triandis, 1986; Schwartz, 1992, 1994; Spence, 1985; Triandis, 1989, 1995). Thus, it is typically assumed that Americans tend to be higher in individualism and lower in collectivism than other comparison groups. However, Oyserman et al. (2002), on the basis of an extensive meta-analysis, concluded that there is hardly enough empirical support for such assumptions. We will return to this issue later in this article.

On the other hand, the Turkish context traditionally has been characterized by the collectivist values and outlook that emphasizes relatedness and having close ties with the family, relatives, and neighbors (Imamoğlu, 1987; Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 1999; Imamoğlu, Küller, Imamoğlu, & Küller, 1993; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1970). Family-group memberships and social roles have a major influence in defining one's self and identity. However, Turkey has been undergoing rapid social change. Especially after the 1980s, Turkish people from the more progressive, better educated segments of society tended to show more individualism in their self-construals and values while retaining their relatedness (Imamoğlu, 1987, 1998; Imamoğlu & Imamoğlu, 1992; Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün). Thus, among the better educated segments of Turkish society, we may expect to find trends toward both individuation and relationality, together with a decrease in such other-directed, collectivist values as those involving obedience to external referents.

As mentioned, according to the bipolar I-C conceptualization, one would expect individual and relational self-orientations, as well as self-directed and other-directed value orientations, to be negatively associated with each other in

both cultures. Furthermore, one would expect American participants to report more individualistic and less relational self-conceptions and to attribute greater importance to self-directed and less to other-directed values as compared with Turkish participants. However, in view of the recent critiques that I-C should be considered as multidimensional constructs rather than as a unidimensional continuum (Fiske, 2002; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1997; Kitayama, 2002; Oyserman et al. 2002; Schwartz, 1990; Triandis, Bontempo, Villareal, Asai, & Lucca, 1988) and the findings concerning the distinct nature of individualistic and relational self-orientations (Imamoğlu, 1998, 2002, 2003), we expect the results to be more complex than is implied by the bipolarity assumption. For example, according to the international meta-analysis results reported by Oyserman et al., Americans were not found to be more individualistic than Turks, but they tended to be less collectivistic. However, the assessed content was found to be important such that, although Americans generally were found to be lower in collectivism (in terms of valuing group harmony and duty to the in-group) compared with other groups, when relationality (i.e., valuing relatedness, feeling a sense of group belonging, and seeking other's advice) was measured, Americans reported even higher collectivism than other societies generally considered to be more collectivistic (e.g., Hong Kong); Americans also were found to be no lower in collectivism than Japanese or Korean participants. Thus, the researchers concluded that whether the Americans will differ from other nations in collectivism depends on the scale content. Furthermore, in contrast to Kağıtçıbaşı (1997), who proposed that relationality should be regarded as the psychological core aspect of collectivism, Oyserman et al. proposed that relationality should be studied separately from collectivism. In the present study, in line with Oyserman et al., we measured relationality separately because it is considered a distinct self-construal orientation in the BID model.

Thus, on the basis of the above-noted findings, American and Turkish university students might not be expected to differ in terms of individualistic and relational self-orientations and self-directed values, but the Turks might be expected to consider other-directed values somewhat more important. Of more importance from the perspective of the BID model was our expectation that relational and individualistic self-orientations would not be negatively correlated in either context, as is generally assumed, but would tend to be distinct variables. Furthermore, the pattern of self-directed and other-directed value orientations of Turkish and American respondents with similar self-construal types was expected to be more similar than different; that is, the value-orientation patterns of the four self-construal types, suggested by the BID model, were expected to be similar across the American and Turkish contexts; for example, regardless of culture, the separated-individualized respondents, representing the most differentiated self-construal type, were expected to endorse more self-directed and fewer other-directed values than the related-patterned respondents, representing the most integrated self-type.

SES Differences

Cultures often are assumed to be more homogenous than they actually are. Particularly in countries undergoing rapid social change, such as Turkey, within-culture differences often tend to be highly significant, especially when compared with more stabilized countries, such as Sweden (e.g., Imamoğlu & Imamoğlu, 1992; Imamoğlu et al., 1993). Different types of socialization contexts and self-construals have been shown to exist in Turkey (Imamoğlu, 1987, 2003). It is important to identify the factors that play a role in the development of different self-construal and value orientations.

Social class is one such variable accounting for within-culture variety in these developmental pathways. Triandis (1989, 1995) asserted that in all societies and cultures the upper social classes are likely to be more individualistic than the lower social classes. For example, in an Australian sample, Marjoribanks (1991) found that upper social status parents encourage individualism more than lower social class parents do. Furthermore, greater emphasis on obedience and conformity to family norms was found in the lower social classes in Italy, Japan, Poland, and the United States, whereas the upper social classes attributed more importance to creativity, self-reliance, self-direction, and independence from the in-group (Kohn, 1987). Therefore, it seems that, in general, there is socialization for obedience and duty, which emphasizes fitting in and promoting others' goals in lower SES settings; in upper SES settings, there is socialization for independence and self-reliance, which emphasizes being unique, expressing self, realizing inner attributes, and promoting one's own goals.

Similar findings were reported in Turkey in terms of values and self-descriptions. For example, the socialization practices of lower SES Turkish parents were found to be more conducive to raising related and collectivistic persons, whereas those of upper SES parents tended to be more conducive to raising related and individuated persons (Imamoğlu, 1987). Although all parents favored emotional bonds, the lower SES parents also favored obedience, loyalty, and feeling gratitude to parents, whereas the upper SES parents favored more autonomy for personal growth. In a similar vein, Karakitapoğlu-Aygün and Imamoğlu (2002) illustrated that, with increasing education, Turkish adults tended to attribute less importance to conservative values of tradition–religiousness and normative patterning and more to universal values of benevolence and individuality. Congruent with these findings, recent studies of self-descriptions among Turkish university students and adults from middle-upper SES backgrounds found both individualistic and relational self-descriptions were more descriptive of the self than collective (Imamoğlu, 2002; Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). As mentioned, this preference for individualism seems to exist with feelings of relatedness in the Turkish culture. That is, with increasing education and urbanization and particularly among the upper SES groups, there appear to be strong trends toward individuation and autonomy without a significant decline in relatedness (Imamoğlu,

1987, 2002). Even in metropolitan areas, Turkish people seem to have closer social contacts than, for example, the Swedes (Imamoğlu & Imamoğlu, 1992; Imamoğlu et al., 1993).

In line with those studies, in the present study, we expected upper and lower SES adolescents in Turkey to differ in their individual orientations and self- or other-directed values but not in their relational orientations; that is, we expected upper SES adolescents to report more individuated self-construals, more self-directed values, and fewer other-directed values but similar levels of relational self-orientations as compared with lower SES adolescents.

Gender Differences

Studies investigating self-construals across or within cultures also have indicated that gender-related expectations and roles might play a crucial role in self-representations. Men and women tend to differ in their conceptions of self (see Cross & Madson, 1997, for a review; Gabriel & Gardner, 1999; Gilligan, 1982; Kashima & Hardie, 2000; Kashima et al., 1995; Lykes, 1985; Olver, Aries, & Batgos, 1989). Generally, men are more likely to show an independent and separate sense of self that emphasizes personal agency, instrumentality, uniqueness, and differentiation. Women, on the other hand, are more likely to have relational construals of self, emphasizing personal ties with others. For example, Gabriel and Gardner found that women describe themselves as more relational, have higher scores on relational self-construal, and pay more attention to information about relationships, whereas Olver et al. found that men have more separate and differentiated selves with more clear boundaries with others than do women. Thus, there is evidence that gendered socialization and gender-specific social roles and expectations encourage women toward a more relational construal of self and men toward a more independent construal of self. Those studies also argued that these differences in self-conceptions of men and women are especially salient in individualistic cultures, such as the United States, and less in collectivistic cultures because both men and women tend to define themselves as relational in those cultures (Watkins et al., 1998).

In line with the aforementioned cross-cultural finding, one may expect less variation in relational self-construals of men and women in Turkey. Although gender roles generally tend to be consistent with gender stereotypes in the Turkish family, there is a strong change toward egalitarianism among the better educated, progressive segments of the society (Imamoğlu & Yasak, 1997). Strong trends toward both individuation and relatedness have been observed among Turkish male and female university students (Imamoğlu, 1998) and particularly among women (Imamoğlu, 2002, 2003; Kurt 2002a). Similarly, several investigators have noted that as women achieve higher levels of education and SES, they tend to show more autonomy and independence in their attitudes, values, and self-descriptions (Başaran, 1992; Erkut, 1984; Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-

Aygün, 1999; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1986; Kurt, 2002a; Uskul et al., 2004). For example, in one study, Turkish women reported higher levels of personal identity in their orientations, emphasizing personal ideas, feelings, and thoughts, as compared with men (Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). Similarly, in a study of values in the late 1990s, Turkish women attributed less importance than men to normative patterning values, emphasizing social expectations and norms instead of individual inclinations, although, in general, they were found to be quite similar in their value orientations (Karakitapoğlu-Aygün & Imamoğlu, 2002).

In light of these findings, gender differences in self-construals and values may be expected to be more salient in the expected directions in the United States; in Turkey, these differences may be expected to be less salient as a result of both the general emphasis on relationality and the recent changes in women's roles toward individualism. One can expect American women to show more relational self-construals, more other-directed value preferences, and less individual self-construal, as well as less self-directed value preferences than men do. Turkish women, on the other hand, may be expected to show both more relational and possibly more individual self-construals than Turkish men do and to be similar to men in having more self-directed rather than other-directed value orientations.

In terms of SES-related differences, we expected gender differences to be more pronounced in lower SES participants compared with upper SES participants. We expected lower SES Turkish women to report more relational self-construals, more other-directed value preferences, and less individual self-construals, as well as less self-directed value preferences than their male counterparts. On the other hand, among upper SES participants, Turkish men and women were expected to be more similar in their self- and value orientations, with women being even more individualized and related than were men.

Method

Participants

In the cross-cultural part of the study, 441 American undergraduate students (186 men and 255 women; mean age = 18.88 years, $SD = .97$, range = 18–24 years) from the University of Michigan participated. We recruited students from the Psychology Department subject pool. The sample was predominantly Euro-American, with 81% identifying themselves as Euro-American, 9.3% as Asian American, 5.7% as African American, and 3.4% as other.¹ In addition, 422 Turkish undergraduate students (185 men and 237 women; mean age = 19.75 years, $SD = 1.84$, range = 17–25 years) from the Middle East Technical University and Hacettepe University in Ankara, Turkey participated. On the basis of parental education, we deduced that most of the respondents were from middle and upper middle SES families.

The Turkish and the American university samples were generally comparable in terms of gender and age but not in terms of parental education. The education level of the American parents was higher than that of the Turkish sample (means years of education = 16.88 years and 10.84 years, *SDs* = 2.52 and 3.97, for the American and Turkish parents, respectively). Therefore, we considered parental education as a covariate when investigating cross-cultural differences.

In the within-culture comparisons, 353 Turkish high school students participated. Of these, 186 (97 men, 89 women; mean age = 15.25 years, *SD* = .78, range = 14–18 years) constituted the lower SES sample, and 167 (66 men, 101 women; mean age = 15.65 years, *SD* = .66, range = 14–17 years) constituted the upper SES sample. We chose two public high schools from poorer sections of Ankara for the lower SES sample and two private schools from more prosperous areas for the upper SES sample. As expected, the samples were different in terms of parental education. In the lower SES sample, most of the mothers were primary school graduates (49%) or had no education at all (8%), whereas most of the fathers (60%) were junior high or high school graduates; on the other hand, in the upper SES sample, most of the mothers (69%) and fathers (89%) were university graduates or postgraduates.

Measures and Procedure

The scales we used in the present study were included in a questionnaire that inquired about the respondents' ideas about themselves and their families. The English and Turkish versions of the self-construal and value scales were checked through back translations. Two native speakers of English and Turkish also checked the scales for wording, accuracy, and clarity of items in both languages.

We administered questionnaires to students during class sessions. For both Turkish and American university samples, a 1-point bonus was given to students for their participation, which was on a voluntary basis. All the respondents were assured that their responses would be anonymous and confidential.

BID scale. This self-construal scale (Imamoğlu, 1998, 2003) consists of two subscales. The 13-item Self-Developmental Orientation subscale is concerned with intrapersonal differentiation toward individuation (i.e., relying on one's inner qualities and interests as a developmental frame of reference rather than accommodating oneself to a normative frame of reference). Sample items include "It is important for me that I develop my potential and characteristics and be a unique person" and "I feel it is more important for everyone to behave in accordance with societal expectations rather than striving to develop his/her uniqueness" (the latter is reverse-scored). The 16-item Interrelational Orientation subscale measures tendencies and preferences for relatedness and connectedness with family and others. Sample items include "I emotionally feel very close to my family" and "I feel emotionally alienated from my close environment" (the latter is reverse-

scored). Participants were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with the items using 5-point scales ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very*). Cronbach's alphas have been reported to vary between .74 and .82 for the former and between .80 and .91 for the latter subscales in different studies (Gezici & Güvenç, 2003; Güler, 2004; Imamoğlu, 1998, 2003; Kurt, 2002a). The scale has been found to have good convergent and discriminant validity (Imamoğlu, 2002). We used mean scores on these subscales to measure individuation and relatedness. Combinations of high and low scores on these two subscales yield four self-construal types (i.e., separated-individuated and related-patterned types representing the most differentiated and most integrated types, respectively; and separated-patterned and related-individuated types representing the most unbalanced and balanced types, respectively; for further explanation, see Imamoğlu, 1998, 2003).

Self-directed and other-directed values. In line with the related literature (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991), we selected 14 values from the Schwartz Value Survey (Schwartz, 1992), half of which we assumed represent self-directedness, and the remainder represent other-directedness. Self-directed values (i.e., freedom, independent, creativity, curious, choosing own goals, capable, and self-respect) represent an individualistic orientation of attending to the needs and goals of the self rather than of others and are mainly concerned with the self-direction domain, according to Schwartz et al. (2001). On the other hand, other-directed values (i.e., being obedient, honoring parents and elders, being helpful, being devout, reciprocating favors, respecting tradition, and valuing family security) represent a rather collectivistic orientation of attending to the needs and wishes of the others and, according to Schwartz et al., are concerned with the conformity, benevolence, and traditionalism domains. We asked respondents to rate the importance of each value as a guiding principle in their lives using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not important at all*) to 5 (*very important*).

Separate factor analyses of the present data indicated that the self-directed and other-directed values were loaded on two separate factors for each SES and cultural group (except for lower SES and U.S. data, the weakest item loaded on both factors). As noted in the next section, related Cronbach's alphas indicated that the self- and other-directed values were internally consistent for each group.

Results

First, we considered intercorrelations between the two self-construal and value orientations for the two cultural and SES groups. Second, we explored differences in value orientations of respondents with different self-construal types by analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) with parental education as a covariate for cultural groups and analysis of variance (ANOVA) for SES groups. Third, we further analyzed contextual and gender differences in self-construal and value orientations by separate ANCOVAs (parental education as a covariate) for cul-

tural groups and ANOVAs for SES groups. Because sample sizes were large for both cultural groups, we accepted the more conservative .01 significance level for the analyses involving culture. We used Tukey's honestly significant difference procedure for follow-up analyses.

Cronbach's alphas for the scales are reported in the diagonals of Table 1 for the cultural and SES samples. Because comparisons of the specific values for Turkish versus American and upper versus lower SES samples using the transformed z comparisons did not yield any differences—except for the comparison between upper and lower SES groups for the Individuation scale ($\alpha = .71$ and $.49$, respectively)—we considered the scales reliable for all groups except for the individuation measure in the lower SES, as considered later in this section.

Intercorrelations Between Self- and Value Orientations Across Contexts

As shown in Table 1, across the two cultural and two SES groups, neither individuation and relational self-construal orientations nor self-directed and other-directed value orientations were found to be negatively correlated. In fact, the former self-construal orientations tended to be not correlated with each other, whereas the latter value orientations tended to be positively correlated.

As for the relationships between self-construals and value orientations, across all contexts we found that individuation and relational self-orientations

TABLE 1. Cronbach's Alphas and Zero-Order Correlations Among Main Variables, by Cultural (After Controlling for Parental Education) and Socioeconomic Status Groups

Variable	1	2	3	4
Cultural groups^a				
1. Individuation	<i>.74</i>	.09	.38***	-.03
2. Relatedness	.01	<i>.86</i>	.16***	.33***
3. Self-directed values	.41***	.16**	<i>.74</i>	.28***
4. Other-directed values	-.34***	.42***	.11*	<i>.73</i>
SES groups^b				
1. Individuation	<i>.61</i>	-.10	.44***	-.09
2. Relatedness	.04	<i>.85</i>	.15	.52***
3. Self-directed values	.35***	.11	<i>.79</i>	.36***
4. Other-directed values	.30***	.22**	.72***	<i>.84</i>

Note. Cronbach's alphas for entire samples are on the diagonal in italic.

^aValues above the diagonal refer to the American sample ($n = 419$); values below the diagonal refer to the Turkish sample ($n = 392$).

^bValues below the diagonal refer to the lower SES sample ($n = 173$ – 186); values above the diagonal refer to the upper SES sample ($n = 149$ – 165).

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

were somewhat positively associated with self-directed and other-directed value orientations, respectively. However, across contexts, relatedness also seemed to be positively associated with self-directed values. On the other hand, individuation and other-directed values tended to be negatively associated among Turkish university students, uncorrelated among American university students and upper SES Turkish adolescents, and positively correlated among the lower SES Turkish adolescents.

We tested the significance of the differences in correlations across contexts using Fisher's z transformation. Most of the comparisons indicated that differences in correlations across contexts were nonsignificant. However, correlations between individuation and other-directed values were found to be different across both cultural and SES contexts ($p < .01$ for the former and $p < .05$ for the latter). Similarly, differences in correlations between self- and other-directed values reached significance at both cultural and SES contexts ($p < .01$). Difference involving the correlations between relatedness and other-directed values was significant only at the SES level ($p < .01$).

Differences in Value Orientations of Respondents With Four Different Types of Self-Construals Across Contexts

We formed low and high groups on relational and individual orientations (using the related medians as the cutting points, separately for cultural and SES groups), combinations of which yielded four self-construal types suggested by the BID model. To investigate differences in value orientations of respondents with different self-construal types across cultures, we conducted a 2 (culture) \times 2 (gender) \times 4 (self type: separated-patterned, separated-individuated, related-patterned, related-individuated) \times 2 (value type: self-directed, other-directed) ANCOVA (parental education as a covariate) with repeated measures on the latter variable; the significant results are shown in Table 2. Of the main effects, only those of self-type and value-type reached the accepted significance level; as expected, the self-type and value-type interaction was significant, which also interacted with culture.

As shown in Figure 1, all respondents, and particularly those with individuated self-construals, endorsed self-directed values more than other-directed values. The self-directed value orientations of Turkish and American students with similar self-types were remarkably similar to each other. On the other hand, the general pattern of other-directed value orientations was also similar across cultures, except that the two individuated types of Turkish students (i.e., both separated-individuated and related-individuated) endorsed other-directed values less than the American students did. Still, the impact of self-type seemed to be much greater than that of culture. As can be seen in Figure 1, in both societies, and particularly in Turkey, students with separated-individuated self-construals differentiated the most between self- and other-directed values, whereas those with related-patterned self-construals

TABLE 2. Significant Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) Results for Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Effect	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>MSE</i>
<i>Differences in value types of respondents with different self-construal types^a</i>				
Self-type	3, 829	30.85***	.10	.31
Value type	1, 829	20.80***	.02	.20
Value Type \times Culture	1, 829	14.13***	.02	.20
Value Type \times Self-type	3, 829	53.31***	.16	.20
Value Type \times Self-type \times Culture	3, 829	5.64***	.02	.20
<i>Differences in self-construal orientations^b</i>				
Gender	1, 850	12.02***	.01	.26
Self-orientation	1, 850	29.70***	.03	.27
Self-orientation \times Culture	1, 850	6.28**	.01	.26
Self-orientation \times Culture \times Gender	1, 850	5.95*	.01	.26
<i>Differences in value orientations^c</i>				
Value type	1, 842	14.12***	.02	.24
Value Type \times Culture	1, 842	18.34***	.02	.24
Value Type \times Culture \times Gender	1, 842	6.68**	.01	.24

^aA 2 (Culture) \times 2 (Gender) \times 4 (Self-type) \times 2 (Value type) ANCOVA (parental education as covariate) with repeated measures on the last variable is involved. ^bA 2 (Culture) \times 2 (Gender) \times 2 (Self-orientation) ANCOVA with repeated measures on the last variable is involved.

^cA 2 (Culture) \times 2 (Gender) \times 2 (Value type) ANCOVA with repeated measures on the last variable is involved.

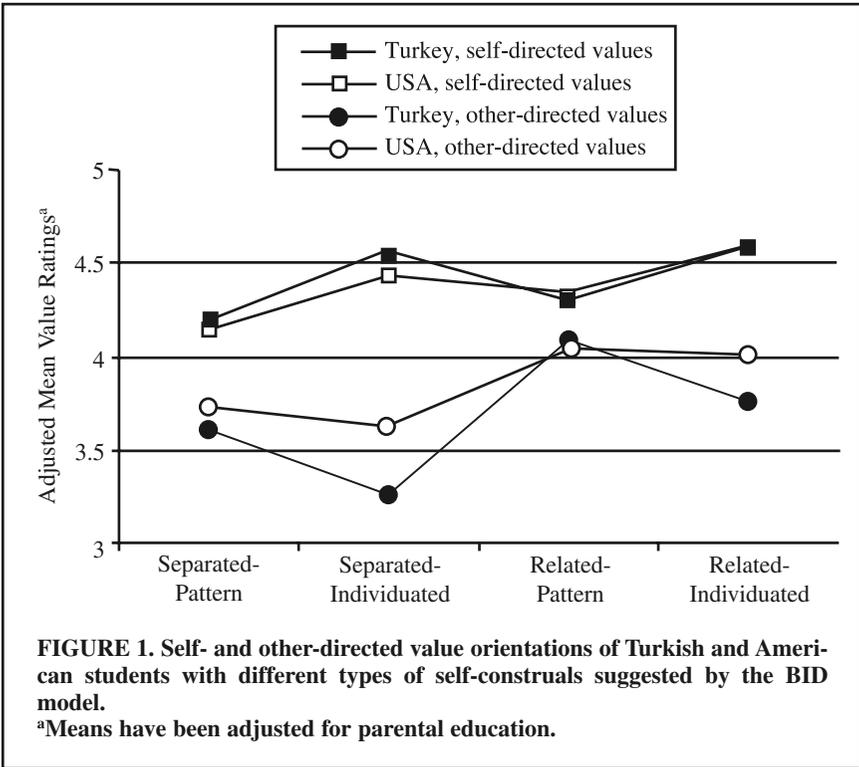
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

differentiated the least; hence, the former respondents appeared to be more self-directed than the latter in both cultures.

Related analysis with the SES data replicated the above-noted general pattern of value orientations as a function of self-types for the upper SES adolescents, but it did not yield a systematic differentiation of self- and other-directed values in terms of self-construal types at the lower SES level. However, those results (Table 5) are not reported in view of the rather low reliability of the individual orientation scale for this low SES group.

Cross-Cultural Differences in Self-Orientations

To investigate culture and gender differences in self-orientations, we conducted a 2 (culture: Turkey, United States) \times 2 (gender: men, women) \times 2 (self-



orientations: individualational, relational) ANCOVA with repeated measures on the last variable. As can be seen in Table 2, main effects involving self-orientations and gender reached significance. According to adjusted means, students scored higher in relational self-orientation ($M = 4.11$) compared with individualational orientation ($M = 3.83$); women ($M = 4.04$) reported higher scores in self-orientations than did men ($M = 3.96$). Moreover, the Culture \times Self-Orientation interaction was found to be significant (Table 2). As can be seen in Table 3, post hoc analyses showed that Turkish and American students differed only in relational self-orientation; Americans attributed relatively more importance to relational self-orientation than did Turks. There were no cross-cultural differences in individualational orientation. However, this interaction was modified by a Culture \times Gender \times Self-orientation interaction ($p < .015$; Table 2). As indicated by the adjusted means shown in Table 4, Turkish men and women differed both in individualational and relational self-orientations. Turkish women seemed to be both more individualated and related than were men. In the United States, on the other hand, men and women did not differ in individualation, but women were more related than men were. Moreover, within-gender comparisons showed no differences between Turkish and American men in either self-orientation conditions. However,

TABLE 3. Means, Standard Deviations, and Univariate *F* Values of the Variables for Samples from Turkey and the United States and for the Upper and Lower Socioeconomic Status (SES) Samples from Turkey

Variable	Turkey ^a		United States ^b		<i>F</i> ^c	η^2
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Self-orientation						
Individuation	3.85	.46	3.82	.42	.55	.00
Relatedness	4.05	.58	4.20	.51	8.91**	.02
Value-orientation						
Self-directed	4.42	.45	4.38	.47	1.12	.00
Other-directed	3.65	.66	3.90	.59	19.42***	.02
Variable	Lower SES ^d		Upper SES ^e		<i>F</i> ^f	η^2
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Self-orientation						
Individuation	3.57	.61	3.89	.65	22.49***	.06
Relatedness	3.91	.58	3.92	.73	.00	.00
Value-orientation						
Self-directed	3.99	.68	4.23	.64	11.07***	.03
Other-directed	4.16	.67	3.59	.89	44.01***	.12

Notes. Higher values indicate more individuation, relatedness, self- and other-directedness. Cross-cultural means have been adjusted for parental education.

^a*n* = 412–420. ^b*n* = 435. ^c*df* = 1, 833–852. ^d*n* = 179–185. ^e*n* = 153–164. ^f*df* = 1, 330–349.

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

American women reported being more related than Turkish women were, implying that American women are the source of the above-noted cross-cultural difference in relational self-orientation.

Cross-Cultural Differences in Value Orientations

To investigate culture and gender differences in value orientations, we conducted a 2 (culture: Turkey, United States) × 2 (gender: men, women) × 2 (value type: self-, other-directed) ANCOVA with repeated measures on the last variable. The value type main effect reached significance (adjusted means = 4.40 and 3.98 for self- and other-directedness, respectively). Moreover, the Culture × Value Type interaction was significant (Table 2). As indicated by the adjusted means in Table 3, post hoc analyses implied that Turkish and American students differed only in other-directed values, to which Americans attributed relatively more importance than did Turks. There were no cross-cultural differences in the

TABLE 4. Gender Differences in Self- and Value Orientations Across Cultural and Socioeconomic Status Groups

Variable	Cultural group									
	Turkey ^a					United States ^b				
	Male		Female		η^2	Male		Female		η^2
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i> ^c	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i> ^d
Self-orientation										
Individuation	3.90	.54	3.72	.53	11.42***	3.84	.41	3.85	.44	.04
Relatedness	4.11	.57	3.94	.59	8.25***	4.30	.49	4.09	.52	19.67***
Value orientation										
Self-directed	4.45	.44	4.35	.45	4.77	4.43	.43	4.34	.51	4.51
Other-directed	3.65	.63	3.74	.70	1.78	3.93	.63	3.78	.65	7.56**
Socioeconomic group (Turkey only)										
Variable	Lower ^e					Upper ^f				
	Male		Female		η^2	Male		Female		η^2
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i> ^g	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>F</i> ^h
Self-orientation										
Individuation	3.68	.56	3.46	.64	6.31*	3.98	.61	3.75	.70	5.03*
Relatedness	3.98	.56	3.85	.59	2.30	3.99	.72	3.80	.73	2.62
Value orientation										
Self-directed	4.08	.69	3.91	.66	2.85	4.35	.54	4.09	.73	6.28*
Other-directed	4.30	.59	4.04	.71	7.13**	3.60	.86	3.59	.94	.01

Notes. Higher values indicate more individuation, relatedness, self- and other-directedness. Cross-cultural means have been adjusted for parental education. ^a*n* = 231–235 for females and 181–185 for males. ^b*n* = 251 for females and 184 for males. ^c*df* = 1, 419–417. ^d*df* = 1, 432. ^e*n* = 85–89 for females and 94–96 for males. ^f*n* = 87–99 for females and 64–66 for males. ^g*df* = 1, 177–182. ^h*df* = 1, 151–162. **p* < .05. ***p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

importance attributed to self-directed values, paralleling the findings concerning individual self-orientation.

However, as shown in Table 2, the above-noted interaction was modified by the significant Gender \times Culture \times Value Type interaction. As implied by the adjusted means shown in Table 4, post hoc analyses indicated that there were no differences between men and women in the importance attributed to self- and other-directed values in Turkey. However, in the United States, although men and women did not differ in self-directed values, they differed in other-directed values, to which women attributed greater importance than did men, paralleling the findings for relational self-orientation. Moreover, within-gender comparisons between Turkey and the United States yielded results similar to those of the self-orientations. There were no differences between Turkish and American women in the importance attributed to self-directed values, but the American women attributed greater importance to other-directed values than did their Turkish counterparts, whereas the men did not differ in either type of values. Then, again, American women seem to be the source of the obtained culture difference in other-directed values.

SES Differences in Self-Orientations

To investigate SES and gender differences in self-orientations, we conducted a 2 (SES: upper, lower) \times 2 (gender: men, women) \times 2 (self-orientations: individual, relational) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last variable (Table 5). However, one should be rather cautious in interpreting the results of individual self-orientation in the lower SES group. The original individual scale had a very low reliability for the low SES group. This possibly may be due to (a) inadequacies in the respondents' verbal ability because of poor educational environment and difficulty in understanding some of the individuation-related sentences that referred to personal uniqueness, missions, etc., and (b) their weak individualist tendencies. Despite these problems, we computed an individual orientation scale with the most reliable items (six items, $\alpha = .49$) to get a general idea about differences in this orientation across SES groups. For the upper SES group, we used the same items when computing the individuation scale ($\alpha = .71$).

As can be seen in Table 5, main effects involving SES, gender, and self-orientations reached significance. The significant gender main effect indicated that women ($M = 3.91$) scored higher than men did ($M = 3.71$) on both individual and relational orientations independent of SES. SES and self-orientation main effects were modified by the SES \times Self-Orientation interaction (Table 5). As shown in Table 3, post hoc analyses indicated that upper and lower SES students differed only in terms of individuation, to which upper SES students attributed more importance than did their lower SES counterparts. There were no SES differences in relational orientation.

SES Differences in Value Orientations

To investigate SES and gender differences in values, we conducted a 2 (SES: upper, lower) × 2 (gender: men, women) × 2 (value type: self-, other-directed) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last variable (Table 5). Main effects involving SES, gender, and value type reached significance. Moreover, the SES × Value Type interaction was significant. As can be seen in Table 3, upper SES students received higher scores in self-directedness and lower scores in other-directedness compared with lower SES students.

Furthermore, the SES × Gender × Value Type interaction was significant

TABLE 5. Significant Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Results for Socioeconomic Status (SES) Comparisons

Effect	<i>df</i>	<i>F</i>	η^2	<i>MSE</i>
<i>Differences in value types of respondents with different self-construal types^a</i>				
SES	1, 310	13.58***	.04	.69
Self-type	3, 310	12.30***	.11	.69
Value type	1, 310	26.17***	.08	.22
Value Type × SES	1, 310	79.34***	.20	.22
Value Type × Self-type	3, 310	11.92***	.10	.22
Value Type × Self-type × SES	3, 310	5.02**	.05	.22
<i>Differences in self-construal orientations^b</i>				
SES	1, 343	7.44**	.02	.38
Gender	1, 343	18.12***	.05	.38
Self-orientation	1, 343	14.60***	.04	.43
Self-orientation × SES	1, 343	8.57**	.02	.43
<i>Differences in value orientations^c</i>				
SES	1, 328	6.61**	.02	.78
Gender	1, 328	6.52**	.02	.78
Value type	1, 328	33.23***	.09	.25
Value Type × SES	1, 328	103.10***	.24	.25
Value Type × SES × Gender	1, 328	4.60*	.01	.25

^aA 2 (SES) × 2 (Gender) × 4 (Self-type) × 2 (Value Type) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last variable is involved. ^bA 2 (SES) × 2 (Gender) × 2 (Self-orientation) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last variable is involved. ^cA 2 (SES) × 2 (Gender) × 2 (Value Type) ANOVA with repeated measures on the last variable is involved.

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

(Table 5). As can be seen in Table 4, post hoc analyses showed that lower SES women attributed greater importance to other-directedness than did men; however, they did not differ in self-directedness. For the upper SES group, on the other hand, men and women differed in self-directedness, to which women attributed greater importance than did men, but they did not differ in other-directedness. Moreover, within-gender comparisons indicated that lower SES women attributed greater importance to other-directed values and less importance to self-directed values than did high SES women. Upper and lower SES men did not differ in the importance attributed to self-directed values, but they did differ in other-directed values, to which lower SES men attributed greater importance than their upper SES counterparts did.

Discussion

One of our aims in the present study was to test the validity of the controversial conceptualizations regarding the bipolar or distinct nature of individual and relational self-orientations, as well as self- and other-directed value orientations in different cultural and SES contexts. Relatedness and individuation were not correlated with each other in any of the cultural or SES groups. In line with past studies from Turkey and Canada that have used the BID scale (Gezici & Güvenç, 2003; Güler, 2004; Imamoğlu, 1998, 2002, 2003; Kurt, 2002a, 2002b), relational and individual self-orientations constitute distinct variables. Thus, our findings do not support the unidimensionality views, which consider individuation and relatedness to be opposing orientations.

In a similar vein, we did not find self- and other-directed value orientations to be opposites either, as they generally are assumed to be. Instead, they tended to be somewhat positively associated with each other, consistent with some past findings from Turkey (e.g., Kurt, 2002a). However, the strength of their association was variable across the cultural and SES groups. Thus, our results concerning value orientations do not support the views that regard individualism and collectivism as the opposite ends of one bipolar dimension (e.g., Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995) but are more supportive of views that regard them as two separate dimensions whose intercorrelation varies with in-group and culture (e.g., Rhee, Uleman, & Lee, 1996). For instance, our comparisons of the differences in correlations indicated that self- and other-directed values are almost distinct among Turkish university students, somewhat positively associated among upper SES adolescents and American students, but more strongly associated among the lower SES students. Hence, our comparisons suggested that, in terms of value orientations, the lower SES Turkish adolescents constituted the least differentiated group, the Turkish university students appeared as the most differentiated, whereas the Americans and the upper SES Turkish adolescents were in between. These differences are considered further in the following section in relation to cross-cultural differences involving individuation and other-directed value orien-

tations and in the limitations section in relation to the possibility of acquiescent tendencies among the lower SES adolescents.

In the following sections, first, we consider associations between self-construal and value orientations across cultural contexts; second, we discuss gender-related cross-cultural findings; third, we consider SES- and gender-related findings; and finally, we note some limitations and conclusions.

Associations Between Self-Construal and Value Orientations Across Cultural Contexts

With regard to the relationship between self- and value-orientations, positive correlations were obtained between individuation and self-directed value orientations, as well as between relatedness and other-directed value orientations. However, in view of the weak to moderate nature of these relationships across contexts, one should not regard these self- and value orientations as equivalent or necessarily parallel.

Findings concerning value orientations of respondents with different self-construal types (formed by the combinations of being high or low in individuation and relatedness) yielded strikingly similar patterns across cultural contexts. First, although both value orientations were strong regardless of culture or self-type, all respondents tended to be relatively more self-directed than other-directed. Second, in general, the former trends were stronger among the more individuated respondents, whereas the latter trends were stronger among the more related respondents in both cultures. However, it should be noted that, although respondents with related self-construals tended to hold other-directed values more strongly relative to separated ones, both groups endorsed self-directed values more strongly than other-directed values. Of the four self-construal types proposed by the BID model, the separated-individuated respondents (i.e., the most differentiative type) tended to differentiate the most between the two value orientations, thereby appearing as the most self-directed (or individualistic) type. On the other hand, those with related-patterned self-type (i.e., the most integrative type) differentiated least between self- and other-directed values in both Turkey and the United States and appeared to be relatively more other-directed (or collectivistic) than the other self-types. Furthermore, in both cultures, the related-individuated respondents (i.e., the balanced type) tended to be as self-directed as respondents with separated-individuated self-construals but also significantly more other-directed than them.

The only cross-cultural difference in this regard was that the individuated Turks endorsed other-directed values less than the individuated Americans. That is, individuated Turks coming from a traditionally collectivistic context appeared to have a relatively less favorable outlook on other-directed values compared with individuated Americans from an individualistic tradition. In line with these findings, individualistic and other-directed value orientations were negatively

correlated among Turkish university students but distinct among American university students. One explanation for these interesting findings may be related to possible cross-cultural differences in the meaning attributed to other-directed values. Within the generally more collectivist Turkish context, those university students with strong individualistic tendencies may attribute relatively more extreme meanings to other-directed values involving obligations and duties to others than their American counterparts and, hence, may show a more reactionary response. On the other hand, in an individualistic context, where independence and personal freedom are taken for granted, those with strong individualistic tendencies may attribute more moderate meanings to other-directed values, which they might feel would be beneficial. Thus, culturally different normative backgrounds may serve as different anchor points of comparison. However, it should be emphasized that the impact of culture on these effects was negligible compared with that of self-construal types and strikingly similar value orientation trends were observed among Turkish and American students with similar self-construals.

Thus, present findings seem to contest the unipolarity assumptions concerning individualism–collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis et al., 1988) or independent-interdependent self-construals (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Instead, they support the assertions of the BID model and research that relatedness and individuation need to be considered as two separate self-orientations, the combinations of which may give rise to different self-construal types associated with distinct characteristics across contexts (e.g., Imamoğlu, 1995, 2003).

Gender-Related Cross-Cultural Findings

As noted, Turkish and American university students were found to be more similar than different in their self- and value orientations. Our results are consistent with those of Uskul et al. (2004), who found that Turkish and Euro-Canadian participants did not differ on independent self-construal. However, in line with our expectations, we did observe some gender-related differences. We found American women to be similar to American men in individuation, but they have more related self-construals and value other-directedness more than the American males; surprisingly, they appeared to be relatively more relational and other-directed than the Turkish women did as well. On the other hand, as expected, the Turkish women appeared to have both more related and more individuated self-construals than Turkish men did, but they did not differ in terms of the importance attributed to self- and other-directed values. In other words, unlike the Turkish and American men, who did not differ in terms of self-construal orientations, the Turkish and American women differed not only from each other but also from their male counterparts. American women seem to be both as individuated and self-directed as their male counterparts, but they also seem to be more related and other-directed than the men do, whereas the Turkish women seem to be both more related and in-

dividuated than their male counterparts are but share similar values as the men. Other researchers also have found that well-educated Turkish women score higher on individuated or independent self-construal than their male counterparts (Imamoğlu, 2003; Kurt, 2002a; Uskul et al.).

Considering the traditionally individualist and collectivist backgrounds of the American and Turkish societies, respectively (Hofstede, 1980), and the generally better educated, upper-middle SES backgrounds of university students across cultures (Freeman, 1997; Triandis, 1995), Imamoğlu (2002) suggested that women in American society may be changing in the direction of more relatedness while still valuing individuation, whereas women in Turkish society may be changing in the direction of more individuation while retaining their relational orientation. According to Imamoğlu's suggestion, both young American and Turkish women (as well as the men, to some extent) may be changing toward having more balanced (i.e., related-individuated) self-construals. To achieve the balance, American women from an individualist cultural background may emphasize relationality, whereas the Turks from a collectivist cultural background may put the emphasis on individuation. Hence, women appear to serve as the initiators of the direction of the social change in self-construals in both countries, which may possibly be associated with the differential impact of the feminist movement in those countries. Within the Turkish context, with a traditional emphasis on integration, women may be taking relatedness for granted and may regard their relationships as somewhat restrictive of their efforts toward individuation. Accordingly, the emphasis of the feminist movement in Turkey has been more on gaining economic and personal independence rather than on valuing relatedness, which tends to be taken for granted. On the other hand, in the United States, where "separateness" is generally considered to be an inevitable component of personal differentiation or independence, there have been feminist efforts to restore the balance by "valuing" or even idealizing relationality (e.g., Gilligan, 1982; Miller, 1976). Future research is needed to further explore these suggestions.

Another explanation for the present findings may involve possible differences in the meanings assigned to response choices on the scales in the two cultural contexts (Oyserman et al., 2002). For example, Peng, Nisbett, and Wong (1997) found that because perceived options tend to anchor responses, even a little individualism may be rated more extremely because it would be more likely to stand out within a Chinese culture. In a similar vein, in our study, the American women might have rated items of relationality and other-directedness more extremely, whereas the Turkish women might have done so for the items involving individuation. Again, future studies are needed to further explore these tentative explanations.

Thus, in general, our cross-cultural findings concerning self-construal and value orientations were not in line with the predictions of the individualism–collectivism or independence–interdependence framework (e.g., Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Within these unidimensional perspectives, one would have expected our Turkish respondents to report less individuated and self-directed and

more relational and other-directed self and value orientations compared with Americans. However, our results did not support this unidimensional formulation and suggest that the case is more complicated than implied by such a neat bipolarity, in line with the recent conclusions regarding I-C (e.g., Oyserman et al., 2002; Rhee et al., 1996) and the distinctness formulation of the BID model (Imamoğlu, 2003).

SES- and Gender-Related Findings

The results of the within-Turkey SES analyses regarding self-construal orientations showed that upper SES Turkish adolescents, in contrast to their lower SES counterparts, reported more individuation but equal levels of relatedness, which is in line with our expectations. Although one may need to be rather cautious in interpreting the results concerning individuation orientation for the lower SES group (given the low reliability of the related subscale for this group), our results regarding values also supported the above pattern, as indicated by higher endorsement of self-directedness and less other-directedness by upper SES students in contrast to the lower SES students. Thus, the aforementioned findings concerning Turkish university students, most of whom came from the middle-upper SES, and those concerning upper-SES adolescents were consistent with each other: Both implied that the trend in the upper segments of the Turkish society is toward both individuated and related self-construals and increased endorsement of self-directed values together with relatively reduced other-directedness. Furthermore, gender-related findings regarding adolescents also supported the pattern obtained with Turkish university students: All women reported more relational and individuation self-orientations than men, regardless of SES; upper SES women attributed more importance to self-directed values, but lower SES females attributed more importance to other-directed values compared with men.

As mentioned before, these findings support past research that indicated that the trend in Turkey is toward balancing relational and individuation self-orientations (Imamoğlu, 1987, 1998, 2003; Karadayı, 1998); such trends tend to be more pronounced among the upper SES women compared with men (Imamoğlu, 2003; Kurt, 2002a), and relationality should not be regarded as negating individuation or self-directedness, nor should it be equated with other-directedness (Imamoğlu, 2003; Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 2004). In fact, in line with the present findings, other studies concerning values have also indicated that the Turkish trend toward individualism does not imply a weakening of emotional ties or relationality (e.g., Imamoğlu, 1987; Imamoğlu & Karakitapoğlu-Aygün, 1999; Karakitapoğlu-Aygün & Imamoğlu, 2002).

Limitations and Conclusions

In sum, by considering both cross-cultural and within-culture SES-related differences in self-construal and value orientations and the relationships among

them in each context, in the present study we tried to provide a wider picture of self-construals and values than the common way of studying only cross-cultural differences in either one alone. But, there are some limitations to be considered. One limitation of the present study is that SES differences were studied only in Turkey. A better approach might have involved a Culture \times SES design. However, because such a design was not possible, we had to study cultural and SES effects on different samples, which, in fact, represented two separate studies. Thus, our cross-cultural data are limited to university students, and SES data are limited to high school students. Therefore, our results cannot be generalized to Turkish and American societies and lower and upper SES Turkish segments at large. Although we could not study SES differences in the United States, such differences may be assumed to be more important in Turkey, a country undergoing rapid social change. However, the results involving the individualistic orientation at the lower SES level need to be considered with caution in view of the low reliability of the scale for that group. Furthermore, findings concerning differences in correlations across SES contexts suggested a tendency for acquiescence bias in the lower SES group. For example, compared with the upper SES group, the correlations of other-directed values with individuation, as well as self-directed values, were significantly stronger for the lower SES group. The study is also limited in that it examined only two cultural groups and, thus, provided limited information about the cross-cultural variability in the variables considered. Future studies should examine these variables across other individualistic and collectivistic cultures, perhaps considering their horizontal-vertical types as well (Singelis, Triandis, Bhawuk, & Gelfand, 1995). In addition, the relationship between self-construals and values needs to be explored further regarding different value domains.

Despite the limitations, we can draw the following basic conclusions: Across contexts, individualistic and relational orientations were found to constitute two distinct rather than opposing dimensions of self-construals in congruity with past studies that have used the BID scale. Thus, our results seem to contest the views that the individualistic and relational orientations are bipolar opposites and support those that posit their compatibility. Present results further indicate that these self-construal dimensions should not be considered as equivalent with self- and other-directed values (which tended to be positively correlated), implying individualistic and collectivistic outlooks, respectively. Although the more related respondents endorsed other-directed values more than the separated respondents did, both groups also endorsed self-directed values more than other-directed values, regardless of culture. A similar finding indicates that although the more individualistic respondents seemed to endorse self-directed values more than less individualistic respondents, they also endorsed other-directed values in both Turkey and the United States. Thus, contrary to the views that regard them as opposites, both individualistic and relational self-construal, as well as self- and other-directed value orientations, seem to be represented in the same individuals or societies.

Differences in self-construal types (in terms of individuation and relatedness) seem to have more impact on self- and other-directed value orientations than cultural differences. In fact, in both Turkey and the United States, we observed similar value-orientation patterns between respondents with similar self-construal types as proposed by the BID model. Thus, present findings support past suggestions to search for invariant aspects of psychological functioning across cultures (Imamoğlu, 2003; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

Present results suggest that SES-related differences between Turkish adolescents may be more pronounced than cross-cultural differences between Turkish and American university students. Such a suggestion would be in line with the conclusions of Oyserman et al. (2002) concerning significant within-group heterogeneity in regional and country comparisons. However, our finding suggesting cross-cultural samples seem to be more similar than different may be a reflection of the university students' exposures to a global culture and the controlled differences in parental education. In general, differences between university students from different countries tend to be smaller than between adults because students tend to come from higher SES backgrounds and have higher levels of education (Freeman, 1997; Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). The similarities between the findings for Turkish university students and upper SES adolescents seem to be consistent with the aforementioned conclusion.

In general, both cross-cultural and SES groups were high in both relational and individual self-orientations, implying that having both related and individuated self-construals may be more prevalent than often thought. Furthermore, in congruence with past findings (Imamoğlu, 2003; Kurt, 2002a), gender- and SES-related findings imply that trends for such balanced self-construals tend to be more pronounced both among upper compared with lower SES Turkish adolescents, as well as among Turkish and American female university students compared with male university students. Considering the traditionally individualistic and collectivistic nature of the American and Turkish cultures, respectively, these findings seem to be congruous with Imamoğlu's (2002) suggestion that Turkish female university students, generally from higher SES backgrounds, may be more likely to achieve balanced self-construals than their male counterparts by emphasizing individuation while retaining their relational outlook; in the United States, American female university students may be more likely to achieve balanced self-construals than their male counterparts by emphasizing relatedness while retaining their individual orientation. Future research is needed to test and explore these suggestions.

NOTE

¹The results of the analyses comparing Euro-American and the other minority groups on the dependent variables considered in the present study indicated that they, in general, did not differ from one another, except those involving other-directed values, which indicated that the minority groups ($M = 3.99$, $SD = .65$) were more other-directed than the

Euro-Americans ($M = 3.84$, $SD = .58$), $F(1, 438) = 4.90$, $MSE = .35$, $p < .05$. Further analysis comparing Asian Americans, African Americans, and native Americans indicated that the former effect was due to the stronger other-directed tendencies of the Asian Americans ($M = 4.15$, $SD = .51$) rather than the other minority groups, $F(2, 84) = 4.75$, $MSE = .38$, $p < .05$.

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