Dialectical Models of Socialization

Leon Kuczynski

University of Guelph

Jan De Mol

Université Catholique de Louvain

Abstract

Despite contemporary acceptance that children are active agents in their own socialization, that causality between parents and children is bidirectional, and that context matters, basic concepts used in socialization research continue to reflect an underlying mechanistic ontology. In this chapter it is proposed that a dialectical relational systems conception of the transaction model provides direction for future advances in the study of dynamic parent-child socialization processes with an emphasis of intergenerational change, not only continuity. The chapter begins by exploring dialectics as a framework underlying an organismic-contextual metatheory for understanding the transactional model of human development. The chapter then outlines social relational theory as a framework for translating four assumptions of a dialectical ontology including agency, holism, contradiction, and synthesis to reformulate major transactional processes in parent-child relations and socialization. The chapter ends by considering implications for application and methodology informed by dialectics.

Keywords: agency, bidirectionality, compliance, control, family processes, internalization, parent-child interactions, parent-child relationships, relational influence, resistance, socialization, transaction

Citation:
Kuczynski, L., & De Mol, J. (in press,2015). Dialectical Models of Socialization. In W. F. Overton & P. C. M. Molenaar (Eds.). *Theory and Method*. Volume 1 of the *Handbook of Child Psychology and Developmental Science*. (7th ed.), Editor-in-Chief: Richard M. Lerner. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Email: lkuczyns@uoguelph.ca

Table of Contents

Socialization is the process by which individuals are socially guided to become competent members of their society and culture. More broadly, socialization is a process of cultural reconstruction by which individuals in each new generation are guided to construct some semblance of cultural continuity. The ecology of children includes multiple sources of social guidance such as parents, peers, schools, media and emersion in the practices and social meanings of the surrounding culture (Kuczynski & Knafo, 2014). However, parents—including all primary caregivers acting in the role of parents—are regarded as the most important agents of socialization, who lay the foundations for the child's subsequent interactions with the world outside the family.

Prior to the 1970s theories about the causal nature of social guidance in socialization tended to be linear and deterministic. Wrong (1961), for example, suggested that the focus on ideas such as conformity to social norms and roles and stable transmission of values between generations, evident in research at that time, assumed that society is much more integrated than it really is and that human nature is much more conforming and socialized than it really is. A turning point for socialization theory occurred when new ideas appeared that drew attention to the importance of child effects (Bell, 1968); the agency of the child (Rheingold, 1969); and bidirectional causal processes in parent-child interactions (Lerner & Spanier, 1978; Lewis & Rosenblum, 1974; Sameroff, 1975a, 1975b). It can now be argued that socialization is a process of constant adaptation and change throughout the life span. In childhood, change in the process of socialization is driven by both development of the child's skills, behavior patterns, ideas, and values, as well as change in ecological contexts in which self-regulation is required (McClelland, Geldhof, Cameron, Wanless, Chapter 14, this *Handbook*, this volume). In adulthood, change in social development is driven by the expectations and experiences of shifting life-span transitions and contexts, such as parenthood, marriage, and work. The parental role itself requires constant change and resocialization as parents adapt to the direct impact of having children as part of their environmental context (Palkovitz, Marks, Appleby, & Holmes, 2003) and as they adapt to life transitions as well as social changes in the surrounding culture. Thus, socialization is a phenomenon that involves not only continuity and conformity but also change and the emergence of novelty. Parents often depart from the framework of their own childhood experiences and rear their children with values that differ from those that were acquired in their own socialization. Children and parents evaluate and may reconstruct for themselves behavior patterns and values different from those of the previous generation. It is the new emphasis on qualitative change and novelty that brings the study of socialization into the realm of developmental science.

During the unidirectional era the parents' causal role in children's socialization was considered to be direct and uncontested (e.g., Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957). Although many of the parenting variables, dimensions, strategies,

and styles that continue to be discussed today were identified, this was an era that was more concerned with the outcomes of childrearing—catalogs of associations between broad parent variables conceptualized as antecedents and child variables conceptualized as outcomes. However, there was little research on the underlying processes of social interactions and continuous developmental and contextual change by which antecedents became transformed into child outcomes.

Kuczynski's (2003) review of the early socialization literature revealed a number of implicit background assumptions that supported a mechanistic and linear model of causality in parent-child social interactions. Kuczynski identified four such assumptions: a *unidirectional model of causality*, a *model of unequal agency* were parents were considered to be active and children passive in the process of socialization, a model of context that considered parents and children interacting as *separate unrelated individuals*, and a model of *static unequal power.*

In the parent-child relationship these background assumptions of socialization theory were gradually challenged and replaced. Important milestones along the way included the ideas of dialectical transaction (Sameroff, 1975a, 1975b), the idea of social interactions in relationship contexts (Hinde, 1969; Maccoby & Martin, 1983), and the idea of parents and children constructing and interpreting their interactions with each other (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). In place of the unilateral assumptions, Kuczynski (2003) proposed a reformulated set of bilateral background assumptions—a *dialectical model of bidirectional causality*, considering parents and children as *equally agents, culturally embedded relationships as context* for parent-child interactions, and a model of *interdependent power asymmetry* in parent-child interactions. Kuczynski argued that these bilateral assumptions provide a better fit for understanding contemporary knowledge about the dynamic nature of parent-child social interactions.

Dynamic concepts such as bidirectional causality, contextual specificity, and child agency receive wide endorsement at the theoretical level (e.g., Lerner, 2006; Overton, 2006). However, these ideas are not implemented to a significant extent in research and practice. In a comment on the state of the socialization literature, leaders in the field (Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000) stated that textbooks, empirical studies, and popular opinion often continue to favor views of parental influence as linear and deterministic.

The parenting style literature presents an example of this linear deterministic approach to socialization. Baumrind's (1971) conception of *parenting styles*, a typology based on different combinations of parental control and parental warmth has dominated the socialization literature for 50 years. This work has drawn attention to an important pattern of parenting. However, Darling and Steinberg (1993) observed that despite consistent evidence that the authoritative style—parents who are warm but firm in the exercise of control—

leads to competent children, the underlying processes of social interaction remained and remain unclear. Indeed, the constituent practices underlying the construct of *firm control* are still being debated (Baumrind, 2012; Farkas & Grolnick, 2010). Moreover, there is little conceptualization of *warmth* as a parenting practice or analysis of the causal role of warmth in determining the reported outcomes. Direction of effect has also been disputed. For example, Lewis (1981) argued that measurements of the authoritative parenting style conflated the parent's behavior with that of the child and left open the possibility that the parent's control style was an adaptation to children's preexisting dispositions for compliance. Stattin and Kerr (2000) found that parental knowledge of children's activities, which was once understood to be a consequence of the parental control practice of monitoring, is more strongly predicted by children's voluntary disclosure to parents. Extending their analyses of the child-influenced measurement of parental knowledge to parenting styles Kerr, Stattin, and Özdemir (2012) found that measures of parental control that focused only on parental behavior resulted in weaker association with adolescent adjustment than traditional measures of control that include items based on parental knowledge. Moreover, adolescent behavior predicted changes in parenting style, and these child effects were stronger than parent effects.

Research on parenting styles is an example of a literature where there has been an imbalanced focus on the predictive utility of abstract variables to the detriment of an understanding of underlying process. Correlational research, including, structural equation modeling, is useful in identifying associations between broadly conceived parent and child variables but does not illuminate the intervening processes of social interaction and relationship formation that underlie abstract measured variables. Moreover, the implied static, decontextualized conceptions of parental behavior and linear notions of their effects are simply not valid (Holden & Edwards, 1989). Accumulating additional correlations between child outcomes and decontextualized parental behaviors has limited usefulness for advancing knowledge on the process of socialization (see also Peterson & Bush, 2012). The challenges are theoretical and no amount of statistics will advance knowledge without commensurate innovations in the conceptualization of variables and processes.

Implementing dynamic developmental models of socialization is difficult because it requires a knowledge translation process between different levels of theoretical analysis including: worldviews, ontological/epistemological frameworks, substantive theory, and models and variables developed for particular areas of enquiry. Ideally, substantive theory should guide the choice of methods for collecting data and the constructing of empirical findings. However, even this depiction of knowledge translation is limited because it considers only the case of the scientist creating knowledge for its own sake. Another level of analysis, is knowledge translation to the level of practice which, in the ideal of the science

practitioner model, the therapist, social worker, or service provider looks to research for practical guidelines for assessment, and intervention.

Researchers who work at different levels of analysis, metatheoretical, theoretical, empirical and applied are often different people with different interest in engaging in abstract concepts. This situation creates a potential for gaps in knowledge translation between the levels of analysis. Theoreticians working at the metalevel of overarching frameworks may or may not engage the interest of empirical researchers and may use terminology based on a background knowledge that is not shared. This lack of translation makes the ideas inaccessible to researchers when connections to specific phenomena have not been made explicit. In turn, empirical researchers may or may not influence the work of practitioners. Applied scientists often have little use for the theoretical concepts and the findings of empirical research. This is because empirical research often produces findings whose meaning is rendered abstract by research designs that require aggregation of variables and generalization to populations rather than individuals or social relationship who are the real-world context of practitioners (Smedslund, 2009). Abstract concepts and findings offer little direction when applied to clients who are agents who make choices about what they want therapy to look like, what homework they are willing to do, and whose reality is highly contextualized and arises from diverse experiential histories.

Success in the flow of knowledge translation requires scientists who have a foot in each of the adjoining levels of theoretical analysis such that knowledge flows in both directions at each level. There is a need for research efforts that translate meta-theory to the study of substantive phenomena or to translate the products of substantive theory and empirical findings into a form that can be communicated to or applied to real people in real-life circumstances. The goal in this chapter is to propose such a translation from metatheoretical metaphors based on dialectics to substantive theory (the dialectical/transactional approach of social relational theory) to implications for applied practice.

Two Metaphors for Socialization: The One-Way Arrow and Dialectics

Metaphors have been and continue to be foundational in scientific theories and models constructed for the purpose of understanding socialization and parent-child-relationships (Kuczynski, Lollis, & Koguchi, 2003; Overton, 1991). The approach to metatheory in this chapter is to examine two underlying metaphors of process in socialization research, the one-way arrow → and dialectics ←→. The one-way arrow, which corresponds to a *mechanistic* ontology that considers phenomena in terms of decontextualized behaviors, passive reactivity, continuity,

and linear outcomes (Overton & Reese, 1973). The conception of *dialectics* in this chapter is consistent with the organismic-contextualist conception of Dynamic Systems Theory (Witherington, 2011, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume) as well as the Relational-Developmental-Systems approach (Lerner, 2006; Overton, 2013, Chapter 2, this *Handbook*, this volume; Overton & Lerner, 2012;) that emphasize dynamic coaction that characterizes the relations among components of any system.

Early socialization research was influenced by the one-way arrow metaphor (i.e., parent → child) that reflected cultural ideas of parents as shapers of children's development (Kuczynski et al., 2003). Research associated with the one-way arrow tended to conceive of parents and children as static bundles of traits that behave in predictable, unchanging, and consistent ways, and analyses of parents and children, respectively, as agents and objects or causes and effects.

The mechanistic conception of socialization was preserved in early models of bidirectional influence between the parent and the child during social interactions. Sears (1951) conceived of social interactions as an interconnected series of stimulus–response sequences in which each person's behavior was simultaneously a reaction to the other's previous behavior and a stimulus for the partner's subsequent response. These exchanges have been conceptualized in various ways. A child may reciprocate a parent's smiles or irritable responses with smiles or irritable behaviors of their own; a parent may soothe a crying child in the manner of a homeostatic control system (Bell & Harper, 1977), or a parent and child may reciprocally provide contingent negative reinforcement for each other's coercive behavior (Patterson, 1982). Empirically such models translate into an emphasis on continuity or additive, incremental change over time, instead of transformation; impact of early experiences, instead of adaptation; and, transmission and shaping instead of construction and problem solving.

The principal alternative metaphor in psychology is dialectics (Overton, 2006; Valsiner, 2012). Dialectics is a metatheory about the dynamic nature of all phenomena. All phenomena and every process consist of an opposing system of forces that actively relate to produce continuous qualitative change. This basic idea of dialectics has appeared in western and eastern cultures throughout history and has been communicated in a variety of metaphors. For example the "thesis–antithesis–synthesis" metaphor suggests that the mind recognizes an inherent contradiction in ideas and in the struggle to overcome the resulting tension, forms a new synthesis that temporarily resolves the contradiction in a novel way. Similarly, the yin-yang (☯) metaphor from Chinese philosophy describes how polar opposites or seemingly contrary forces are inherently interconnected and interdependent in the natural world, and how they give rise to each other in the process of relating. Overton (2006) interprets dialectics as described, but includes several subsumed concepts such as the *embodied mind*, which captures the

behavioral, symbolic and biological nature of individual functioning in a relational context.

The metaphor of dialectics conveys a view of causality that is more complex but more realistic and experientially recognizable than the metaphor of the decontextualized, one way, cause → effect arrow metaphor commonly used in socialization research. Dialectics draws attention to ideas of context, change and nonlinear synthesis. This approach is a metaphor that is better fitted to modeling lived experience. A popular website, Dialectics for Kids (http://home.igc.org/-venceremos/index.htm), argues that dialectical processes are so pervasive that they are the basis for the everyday understanding of physical, biological, and psychological phenomena and that even children can quickly grasp the ideas.

> Dialectics is a tool to understand the way things are and the way things change. Understanding dialectics is as easy as 1–2–3. One-Every thing (every object and every process) is made of opposing forces/opposing sides. Two-Gradual changes lead to turning points, where one opposite overcomes the other. Three-Change moves in spirals, not circles. (What the Heck is Dialectics?, http://home.igc.org/~venceremos/whatheck.htm)

Dialectical ideas are present in all *organismic* approaches (e.g., Overton & Reese, 1973) and are implicit in theories and research that emphasize the importance of human agency and in the process of meaning construction. These domains of scholarship include research on social cognitions in social and developmental psychology, relationship theories, attachment theory and ecological theory (Glassman, 2000). In short, aspects of dialectics have had an important impact on psychology but the origin of the ideas in dialectics have not always been explicitly acknowledged or comprehensively unpacked for use in research and practice. Constructivism (Smetana, 2011), social constructionism (Morrow, 2003) and social cognitive theories (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994), share with dialectics the core assumption of human agency, even if they are not comprehensive or consistent in considering the full implications of a dialectical approach. Advances in these areas can be made with a more complete implementation of a dialectical perspective within a transactional model of socialization.

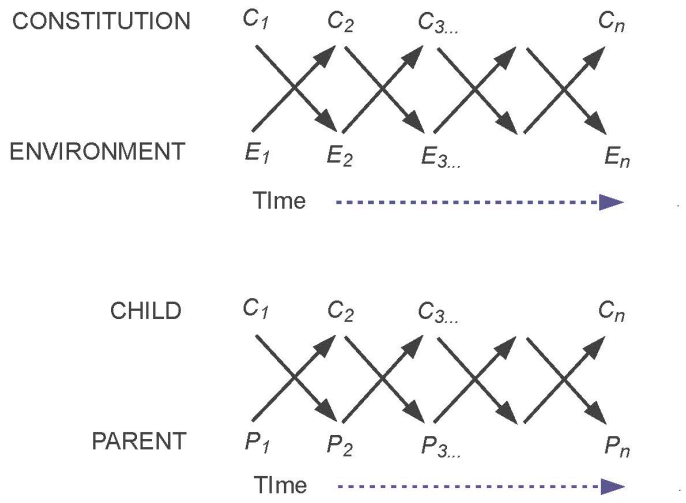
There are alternative approaches to dialectics and different systems have drawn on different features of the dialectic concept as well as fundamental conceptual differences. Reese (1982) distinguished dialectical idealism from dialectical materialism. In dialectical idealism syntheses are conceptualized as states of continuously better integration as contradictions are resolved. An example is Piaget's stage theory of cognitive development. Dialectical materialism assumes that there is no "ideal" state toward which synthesis progresses. Examples include contextualist dialectics in personal relationship theories (see Baxter & Montgomery, 1996, for a review). Contextualism focuses on action in the here and now, and on contradictions that appear in those acts. The approach to dialectics in

this chapter is contextual-organismic in nature (see Overton, 2006; Witherington, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume). This approach is integrative and while asserting the importance of holism and contradiction, includes a focus on the developmental implications of the concept of *synthesis*. Synthesis is a critical concept for understanding nonlinear outcomes that result from the coactions of contradictory components in the whole.

The Transactional Model

The *transactional model* of development proposed by Sameroff (1975a, 1975b, 2009) is a model of qualitative change. Children and the environment are engaged in continual transformation as each responds to new emerging characteristics of the other (see Figure 9.1). According to Sameroff (1975b),"The child alters his environment and in turn is altered by the changed world he has created" (p. 281). Sameroff (1975a) asserted that the underlying process of the child's transactions with the environment was dialectical in nature. "In every developing system, contradictions are generated and it is these contradictions which provide the motivation which lead the organisms to the higher level of organization found in developmental series" (p. 74). The innovation in the transactional model concerned the qualitative transformations occurring in the parent and the child over time. Conceptually, the model anticipated current dynamic systems approaches that emphasize the dynamic nonlinear and mutually constitutive relations between the individual and its context (Overton, 1975, 2009).

Figure 9.1 The original transactional model (Sameroff, 1975) and its adaptation for parent-child transactions.



Despite the importance of the transactional model for consolidating the idea of bidirectional influence, few researchers have taken up the challenge of Sameroff's dialectical conception of transactional processes. Instead, most have interpreted the parent to child and child to parent directions of causality as discrete arrows, which lead to a conception of bidirectionality in terms of reciprocal exchanges of behaviors (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007). For example, in social interactional theory (Patterson, Reid, & Dishion, 1994) bidirectional influences are linear and the elements are not changed by their experience with other elements.

A major concern of the transactional model was to improve prediction of both child and parent outcomes (Sameroff & Chandler, 1975). In the original depiction of the model presented at the top of Figure 9.1, Sameroff (1975) highlighted the child's temperamental constitution and its dynamic relation to the distal environment such that both the environment and the child were equally important in the process of mutual transformation. However, as noted by Sameroff (2009), the compelling examples of the role of contradiction in microsocial transactions occurring between parents and children promised to illuminate the understanding of underlying proximal socioemotional processes. When applied to parents and children (Figure 9.1, bottom) the location of the transaction was the change in meaning that occurred as parents and children attempt to make sense of the contradictions generated by their interaction. As stated by Sameroff (1975b):

> The contradiction that has occurred consists between a meaning system which sees the child as an object to be manipulated, and one which sees the child as a center of needs and desires existing independently of the needs and desires of his parents. . . . The dialectical model would posit at each stage the contradictions with which the mother is faced in trying to understand her child. (p. 77)

More generally, contradiction and qualitative change occurs whenever an individual changes a representation of an event causing the individual to think or act differently than before the change (Sameroff, 2009). Although this conception shares assumptions with symbolic interactionism (Mead, 1934) about the capacity of human agents to interpret each others' behaviors, it added dialectical assumptions concerning the role of contradiction is producing qualitative change.

Despite introducing a dialectical model for understanding social transactions Sameroff did not fully explicate how an organismic-contextual model of dialectics can inform assumptions about parents and children and the processes by which they relate to each other. The dialectical transactional model was ahead of its time and required a framework of supportive theoretical models and empirical knowledge regarding parent-child relationships. This chapter outlines a social relational theory perspective to explore how reformulating conceptions of

context, antecedents, processes, and outcomes using dialectical conceptions of transaction supports the study of dynamic parent-child socialization processes as well as provides direction for clinical application. The chapter uses the core idea of transaction (Sameroff, 1975a, 1975b) as a building block for new applications of the model for understanding the dynamics of parent-child relationships, and the nature of bidirectional influences that occur during transactions.

Social Relational Theory

During the past decade, Kuczynski and colleagues (Kuczynski, 2003; Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007, 2009; Kuczynski, Pitman, & Mitchell, 2009) have been developing social relational theory as an open-ended dialectical framework for studying socialization processes in the family in a more dynamic way than was possible under mechanistic assumptions of socialization. In social relational theory, parents and children are considered to interact as human agents as components of a culturally embedded social relationship. A distinctive feature of social relational theory is that it places equal emphasis on the perspectives and actions of children as well as those of parents. In addition, parent and child agency is understood using the principle of *holism in a dialectical context*. Thus, although the model draws attention to the separate goals and interpretations of parents and children, both parents and children are assumed to cope with or resolve conflicting views because they share a continuing interdependent relationship. The model also assumes a dialectical concept of causality that is interpreted through the dialectical metaphors of contradiction and synthesis. Contradictions give rise to uncertainty that creates opportunities for novel syntheses, which sets the context for further developmental change. Dialectical bidirectional influence ←→ comes about during social transactions as parents and children interpret or construct meanings from each other's behaviors and resist, negotiate, and accommodate each other's perspectives within the constraints of their relationship (Kuczynski & Parkin 2007). This concept of causality is consistent with other complex models of causation–including *reciprocal determination* (Overton & Reese, 1973), *fusion*, (Greenberg, 2011; Partridge, 2011), *relational bidirectional* ←→ *causality* (Lerner, 2006), *relational* ←→ *causality* (Gottlieb & Halpern, 2002; Overton, 2006), and *circular causality* (Witherington, 2011, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume).

The discussion in this chapter is limited to bidirectional ←→ influence in parenting as it pertains to children's development. However, an implication of the transactional model is that the act of parenting is also a driver of the parent's continuing adult development and socialization. The argument is that people who become parents, have children as part of their environment, and are involved in the bidirectional childrearing process, follow a different developmental trajectory than people who do not engage in parenting roles (Palkovitz et al. 2003). Having

children in parent's environment has a massive impact on all aspects of parent's lives, and their outcomes as individuals (Ambert, 2001; De Mol & Buysse, 2008a).

In the next sections each dialectical concept is described at the level of dialectical metatheory and this is followed by translations of its implications for research on socialization and parent-child relationships within social relational theory. A subsequent section considers the implications of a social relational theory for clinical interventions in families.

Human Agents: The Interacting Components in the Dialectical Whole

The nature of a phenomenon in dialectics is an ontological question that is dependent on the specific subject matter. For the phenomenon of socialization in the family, the question is whether parents and children should be regarded as living, active agents coacting as components in a long-term relationship context, implying an organismic-contextual ontology, or should they be regarded as inert, passive objects whose properties are independent of context, implying a mechanistic ontology. *Agency* refers to the active contribution of human beings as components–parts—of a complex dynamic causal system. The parts of a holistic, dynamic, dialectical system are inherently active, self-organizing, self-regulating, and change independently of external forces. In fact, the very definition of self-organization is "a process of creating structure [emphasis added] and order without explicit instructions or guidance from outside" (van Geert, 2003, p. 654). In contrast, the elements of a mechanical system—defined as an aggregate of elements—are inert, and change only when some external force or efficient cause is applied.

Social relational theory makes a number of stipulations as a complex starting point for conceptualizing agency in parent-child relationships. First, parents (or caregivers) and their children are equally human agents with inherent capacities to make sense of the environment, initiate change, and resist domination by others. Second, although parents and children are equally agents, they are unequal in power. Third, the dynamics of parents' and children's agency and asymmetrical power must be understood in the holistic context of their mutual relationship. This complexity reflects a considered attempt to transcend historical problems regarding agency as a theoretical construct. As reviewed by Kuczynski (2003) these problems include the narrow disciplinary or topic bound definitions of agency; uneven attribution of agency to parents and children, cultural barriers to the perception of children's agency; and insufficient analysis of the relation of agency to other concepts such as "influence" and "power." The following sections emphasize the perspective of children's agency because it is children's agency that

historically has been discounted in the socialization literature. Subsequently, the implications of considering parent and child agency in parallel are discussed.

Universal Manifestations of Agency

The universal aspect of agency refers to the ontological assumption that to be human is to be an agent. People are intentional, self-organizing, proactive, self-regulating, and self-reflecting organisms who actively contribute to their life circumstances, (Bandura, 2006; Deci & Ryan, 2002) and the foundations for agency are present at birth. Analytically, agency can be partitioned into three aspects *autonomy*, *construction*, and *action* (Kuczynski, 2003). However, in practice, these aspects represent motivational, cognitive and behavioral features of agency that are coordinated in a single process. Individuals construct because they act, and autonomy motives reflect and protect the individual's inherent need to function as agents.

Autonomy

Autonomy is the motivational aspect of agency and refers to a universal motive for self-determination and self-preservation. *Self-determination* refers to the system of basic human needs for competence, relatedness, and autonomy as described by self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 2002). Needs for feeling effective in one's ongoing coactions with the social environment, for feeling connected to caring for and being cared for by others, and for perceiving that one is the origin or source of one's own behavior even when actions are influenced by outside sources, are inherent characteristics of being human. Fulfilling these needs are essential for growth, an integrated self, and psychological well-being. Self-preservation is the motive that results when a person's ability to fulfill his or her needs is blocked or thwarted in areas and contexts that matter to the person. An important manifestation of self-preservation is resistance (Brehm & Brehm, 1981). When people experience threats to their behavioral freedoms; experience impositions of meanings or standards that contravene their self-constructed understanding of social situations (Turiel, 2010); or perceive injustice, they attempt to restore their autonomy through overt and covert resistance. Even in contexts of extreme oppression, where it is not safe to resist overtly, people express resistance in indirect, covert, and creative ways (Scott, 1990). The idea that resistance is a manifestation of autonomy development is found in classic theories of toddler negativism (Wenar, 1982). However, parallels between phenomena of toddler negativism and resistance in adulthood suggest that although its form may change, resistance is a continuing theme in development throughout the life span (Kuczynski & Hildebrandt, 1997).

Construction

Construction refers to the capacity of parents and children to interpret their coactions with the environment and to create new meanings from their experiences. The construction of meaning necessarily entails both emotions and cognitions. This inclusive definition of construction is informed by the concept of *embodied action*, the idea that people are active agents with a particular kind of lived body (Andersen, 2007; Overton, Mueller, & Newman, 2008). Embodiment refers "not merely physical structures, but *the body as a form of lived experience, actively engaged in and with the world of sociocultural and physical objects*" (Overton, 2006, p. 48). The *body as form*, represents the holistic integration of the biological dimension of life, the *body as lived experience actively engaged* represents the integration of the psychological person, and the *body actively engaged in and with the world* points to the integration of the sociocultural and physical context. Thus, embodiment entails the synthesis of how we, as active agents (psychological persons), influence and are influenced by our biological and sociocultural worlds.

During the 1990s, developmental researchers began to adopt a view of children as actively constructing their knowledge and values in the process of socialization (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kuczynski, Marshall, & Schell, 1997; Lawrence & Valsiner, 1993; Smetana, 2006). All internalized products of socialization, even that of intergenerational similarity must be constructed by children from the messages and reactions presented by their social context. Parents are active in packaging the message so that children can accurately interpret and accept the parent's perspective (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). However, the constructive capacities of children places limits on parental influence. Both the interpretation and the acceptance of the message ultimately depend on the child's agency.

According to *social domain theory* (Smetana, 2006; Turiel, Chapter 13, this *Handbook*, this volume) children make sense of social situations by interpreting received messages, and acting on these interpretations. In this way the child constructs distinctions among various domains of values including those that are moral (avoiding harm, justice, equal treatment fairness), conventional (situation specific standards of appropriate behavior), prudential (safety and well-being), and personal (preferences). They also develop different modes of reasoning to work through conflicts and dilemmas and use principled rationales to defend their positions on future occasions. Further, according to the social domain position, to the extent that parents provide domain-appropriate information and use domain-appropriate socialization strategies they may promote their children's moral development. Lawrence and Valsiner (1993, 2003) argued that the potential for innovation occurs not only as children internalization social messages but also as they apply (externalize) their constructed knowledge for their own purposes in the

social world. Through the child's interpretation of the social context and through their appropriation of these meanings for their own purposes, personal sense is given to the ideas, messages, roles, and relationships that pertain to the person's culture.

Action

To act, "means being able to intervene in the world or to refrain from such intervention, with the effect of influencing a specific process or state of affairs" (Giddens, 1984, pp. 14–16). The term *action* is used in preference to behavior because emphasizes the guidance of behavior by internal processes including meanings, intentions and goals. Following Brentano (1874/1995), all acts, even those occurring at the most sensorimotor level of functioning, intend some object; thus, all acts are intentional. However, this fact does not mean that all acts are self-consciously intentional. People may be unaware (i.e., lack self-conscious or symbolic intention) of the reasons for their choices (De Mol & Buysse, 2008a), or for the meanings underlying their emotional responses (Patterson et al., 1992) during social interactions.

Updates on the growing understanding of the actions and strategies that children use to influence parents have been presented with regularity in research reviews over several decades (e.g., Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kuczynski, 2003; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). The new discoveries generally take the form of learning to "see" agency in what was previously perceived as passivity, reactivity, or submission. Thus, young children's nonverbal behaviors such as smiles and cries (Rheingold, 1969) or their approach and avoidant attachment behaviors in stressful situations (Cummings & Schermerhorn, 2003) have been reinterpreted as actions that reward and punish parental behavior. In other instances, agency has been located in phenomena were the child was previously conceptualized as passively complying to parental control. For example, Kochanska, Kim, and Boldt's (2013) research on children who are receptive toward the parent's agenda or complied willingly to parental requests indicates that agency can occur within compliance. As well, Stattin and Kerr (2000) found the sources of parental knowledge of adolescents not in parental control through monitoring and surveillance but through children's voluntary self-disclosure.

Research on parental discipline is especially compelling in revealing children's agency because disciplinary encounters are contexts where parents are assumed to have more power to set agendas and enforce outcomes (Hoffman, 1975). Children have been found to influence parents in all phases of the discipline encounter. Depending on the issue, children may challenge parents about the definition of the transgression, for instance, whether the behavior is under the jurisdiction of the parent or the child (Smetana, 2006). Children between the ages of 2 and 5 develop strategies that are increasingly assertive and skillful for

challenging parents in overt conflict (Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1990). In middle childhood and early adolescence, children effectively use their own coercive strategies to evade or sidetrack the parent's ability to enforce compliance and to intimidate parents into avoiding future confrontations (Patterson, 1982). They also show a growing complexity of overt and covert strategies for resisting unwelcome parental requests and for achieving their own goals (Kuczynski, Pitman, Parkin, & Rizk, 2011). Parkin and Kuczynski (2012) found that adolescents express overt resistance assertively and engage in an array of covert forms of resistance when they wish to avoid confrontation. For example, they may comply with parental requests in a minimal way following the letter, but not the spirit, of parental requests. Alternatively, they may behaviorally comply, but cognitively reject the parents' message (Parkin & Kuczynski, 2012). Adolescents strategically manage parents' knowledge of their activities and whereabouts, thereby undermining parents' ability to intervene in aspects of their lives that children wish to keep private (Smetana, 2011; Tilton-Weaver & Marshall, 2008).

Individual Differences Supporting Exercise of Agency

There are also individual differences, originating in biology, experience, and context that affect the quality of expression and effectiveness of agency. For example, the concept of embodiment (Andersen, 2007; Overton et al., 2008) suggests that each individual has a qualitatively unique style of expressing agency comprised of characteristic patterns of action and ways of interpreting the environment, and unique concerns and intensities regarding their experience of autonomy. Thus, concepts such as personality or temperament can be reframed as reflecting embodied qualities in the expression and experience of agency.

Individual differences in the expression of agency can also be considered as reflecting differences in *interpersonal power resources* (French & Raven, 1957). Although all humans are agents, they differ in the resources that they have to support their actions as agents. (See J. Lerner et al., 2012; Lerner, Lerner, Bowers, & Geldhof, Chapter 16, this *Handbook*, this volume; Overton, 2010, for further discussions of system resources.) Stated in another way, parents and children are equally agents but they are unequal in power. Conceptualizing power as resources allows a dynamic and nuanced assessment of the assets that parents and children bring into their social interactions with each other. Kuczynski (2003) described three categories of power resources that pertain to both parents and children: individual, relational, and cultural..

- *Individual resources* include the capacities to back up or resist influence attempts with physical strength and capacity to reward. Individual resources also include expertise, information that can be brought to bear in rational arguments, as well as the capacity to think ahead, and to set goals.

- *Relational resources* are an individual's access to personal relationships as a support for their exercise of agency. This happens when individuals can enlist the aid of others to act for them when they cannot exert direct influence or when they act collectively to achieve goals that are beyond the scope of individual action (Bandura, 2006). In the sociological literature a parent's or child's personal relationships in the family and outside of the family is an important component of the concept of *social capital* (Morrow, 1999). An example of a parent's use of relational resources includes acting with a spouse in a parental alliance or accessing social supports such as friends and community relationships to achieve a socialization goal. Children's effectiveness as agents is greatly enhanced by relational resources. For example, children rely on their relationships with parents to obtain social and material resources for themselves as well as access to other resources under the parent's control. They may also enlist the support of parents to intercede for them with their siblings, or with peers, teachers and mentors outside of the home.
- *Cultural resources* refer to the rights, entitlements, and constraints conveyed to individuals by the laws, customs and practices of a culture. For example, parents draw from culture their legitimate authority to define certain of their children's actions as "misbehaviors" and to set and enforce compliance to their rules. Culture may also be an important source of the child's power. Western culture is notable for recognizing numerous rights of children for appropriate standards of care, rights to education, freedom from maltreatment, as well as providing norms for expression of autonomy. Such norms constitute resources that legitimize and enable children's power and puts constraints on the kinds of power that parents can exercise over children. In cultures where children are accorded fewer rights or other resources, children continue to act, interpret and resist as agents, but their effectiveness as agents will be diminished and the way they express their agency will take qualitatively different forms that are afforded by their cultural context.

Assumptions About Unequal Power and Causality

The assumption that power between parents and children is unequal or asymmetrical is fundamental to any understanding of parent-child relations. Parents have more knowledge, physical strength, control over resources, and their legitimate authority is endorsed by culture (Maccoby, 2000). Although asymmetrical power in parent-child relationships is indisputable, the argument that parents have more power than children has been a conceptual barrier preventing deeper acceptance of such concepts as bidirectionality (←→) and the significance

of the agency of the child. For example, in response to a growing literature on child effects, Hoffman (1975) used the argument of unequal power to reinstate a unidirectional interpretation of causality in socialization. His argument was that, child influence notwithstanding, parents *must* have more influence because parents have more power to back up their roles as influence agents than children..

Kuczynski (2003) acknowledged that there is unequal power between parents and children but questioned implicit conceptions of unequal power as a fixed imbalance in resources that determined the direction of causality in a mechanistic way (i.e., more power is equated with greater causality). A static conception of asymmetrical power is not useful for understanding many ordinary phenomena of everyday family life. Frequent parent-child conflict, child assertion and resistance, parental receptivity to children's influence and parental vulnerability and loss of influence in families presenting at clinics (Kuczynski, 2003) suggest that parents do not exercise or experience power in a way consistent with a model of static asymmetry. Kuczynski (2003) proposed that unequal power in parent-child relationships can be conceptualized as a dynamic *interdependent asymmetry.*

- Power is a bilateral phenomenon such that both children and parents have individual, relational, and cultural resources to draw on to support their actions as agents. Because of their inherent capacities to engage in interaction and to provide rewarding and aversive responses to parental efforts (Rheingold, 1969), even infants have individual resources.
- The parent-child relationship is crucial in understanding the dynamics of power in parent-child interactions. The assumption is that power dynamics between persons in an interdependent long-term relationship differs from power relations between complete strangers (Kuczynski, 2003). For instance, parents and children can make predictions gained from knowledge regarding the others' personalities, preferences, and vulnerabilities gained in the long-term relationship (see holism: the systemic context, this chapter), and an implication of interdependence is that both parents and children are receptive and vulnerable to the others' influence. These power dynamics stem from their distinctive relationship context and are not available to unrelated dyads.
- The relative power inequality between parents and children is dynamically negotiated during social interaction. Porta and Howe (2012) found that the relative power between parents and children and the specific power resources used by them change according to context throughout the day. Moreover, the young child's immature self-regulatory capacities (Kopp, 1982; McClelland et al., Chapter 14, this *Handbook*, this volume) paradoxically place constraints of the kinds of demands that a parent can realistically make of their child and constrain parents to follow the pace of the child's capacities. The child's

individual resources, including social skills, rapidly increase throughout development so power differentials in various resources will vary considerably across age. By adolescence, the individual's physical strength, expertise in various areas (peer culture, use of technology), and persuasive skills may match or become greater than those of the parent.

The construct of interdependent asymmetry suggests that research should explore how various power resources enter into parent-child transactions to produce dynamic changes in relative power. Consistent with the dialectical perspective in social relational theory, transactions between individual, relational, and cultural resources in parent-child relationships create novel syntheses such that both parents and children are receptive and vulnerable to each other's influence.

Contribution of Agency Perspectives

A focus on human agency clarifies the causal contributions of parents and children to the process of socialization. Future research would benefit from a focus on questions regarding process: What does the child do and think regarding parental actions in different contexts, at different ages, and in relation to their different parents? These research questions require equal attention to what parents do and think with regard to children's actions. Considering parents and children as equally agentic can guide researchers to ask parallel questions about parent-child influence and agency. The same basic understanding of agency is also the best guide for research designed to explore the social strategies, goals, motives, and interpretive activities of both parents and children.

An enhanced focus on children's agency is a corrective strategy regarding the neglected aspects of children's actions and constructions in the process of socialization. Valsiner, Branco, and Dantas (1997) coined the term *filiating* to counter the unidirectional implications of *parenting* and to focus attention on the child's actions and perspectives in the parent-child relationship.

An enhanced focus on parental agency can also lead to a better understanding of what parents contribute to the socialization of children. According to Holden and Edwards (1989), parental behavior has not been studied in a way that illustrates parental intelligence. These authors argue that parental behaviors, dimensions, and styles have been studied in a static decontextualized way that is not consistent with what is known about the dynamic, relational bidirectional ←→ and situational specific dependency of parental behavior. "Typically, the surveys portray children as generic, parents as trait-like and unthinking, and parent-child interactions as unidirectional and a-contextual" (Holden & Edwards, 1989, p. 490). Moreover, the preponderance of research on parental behavior such as discipline has studied parents in a reactive mode, when

children have already transgressed and parents have relatively few options in responding to a problem that has already occurred (Holden, 1985). This means that measurement approaches that focus exclusively on decontextualized discipline strategies do not give parents much scope to display intelligent behavior.

Examples of approaches that do shed light on parental intelligence highlight parental agency. Holden's (1985) conception of *proactive behavior* emphasizes parents' use of long-term or short-term future-oriented strategies that prevent problematic behaviors from occurring in the first place. Research on parental goals emphasizes the contextual nature of complexity of parental actions and the competing goals that they consider when responding to a child's transgression (Dix & Branca, 2003; Hastings & Grusec, 1998; Kuczynski, 1984). The concept of *meta-parenting* (Holden & Hawk, 2003) conceives of parenting as a process of problem solving and reflection, before during and after specific childrearing situations. In addition, models of *mindful parenting* (Duncan, Coatsworth, & Greenberg, 2009) promise to shed light on parental cultivation of intentional awareness to parent-child interactions thereby aiding their conscious self-regulation of their parenting actions.

Another direction for research to consider is the joint agency of parents and children in their transactions with one another. There is a need for concepts that consider parents and children interacting "as if" they recognized each other's agency, thus anticipating and accommodating each others' interpretive capacities, autonomy motives, and different perspectives. This would be a logical development in the history of socialization research that can be conceptualized as beginning with a unilateral perspective of agent/object relations, and moving to a bilateral perspective of parents and children engaged in agent-agent transactions. However, for a full dialectical perspective to be implemented, an additional step is needed: and that is to consider parents and children interacting as components in the holistic context of their shared relationship.

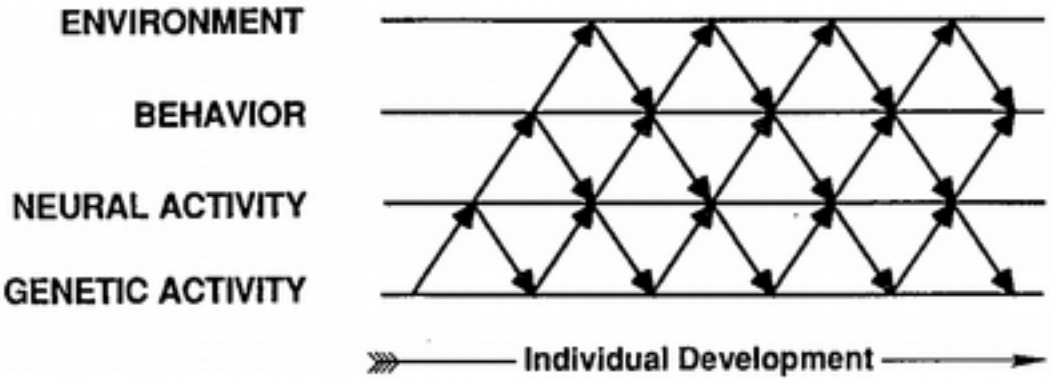
Holism: The Systemic Context

The principle of holism refers to the systemic structure of phenomena in which interdependent parts or components always exist in a dynamic context. As conveyed by the yin-yang metaphor of unity of opposites, the structure of systems in dialectics is both complex and dynamic because systems contain contradictory components that coexist side by side in a tension-filled state. Moreover, the whole and its components are mutually constituted such that the components dynamically interact not only with each other but also with the context that they mutually make up. An important implication is that the *whole is more than the sum if its parts*. That is, individual components must be understood as interrelated parts of a whole

system because neither individuals nor their social or physical environments are causal on their own.

It must be recognized that any system under consideration is part of a larger whole system of relations, each of which constitutes a different level of analysis. Whole and part are relative terms because wholes are embedded in larger wholes and the specific meanings of these terms change according to the context in which they are applied (Overton, 2006; Wagoner, 2011). Biologists have long recognized that organisms are complex hierarchically organized systems, in which higher processes regulate lower processes. Gottlieb (1991) visualized the components of the system as interconnected bidirectional ←→ levels of analysis extending all the way down from individual behavior to neural activity and genetic activity and all the way up to the social environment and culture (see Figure 9.2). This bidirectionality is the reason that Gottlieb and colleagues (e.g., Gottlieb, 2003; Gottlieb, Wahlsten, & Lickliter, 2006) and others (e.g., Overton, 2006) have argued that the concept *coaction* or *transaction* should replace the term *interaction* except when referring to statistics of the linear ANOVA model. There are continuous bidirectional ←→ influences between parent-child social interactions and physiological and neural process of parents and children (Bugental, Olster, & Martorell, 2003). Similarly, individuals in family relationships, peer relationships, and cultural contexts constitute overlapping systems that have properties that cannot be reduced to the individuals within it. To make dialectical systems amenable to research, it is necessary to apply the principle of hierarchical organization (Wagoner, 2011) in which a given system is isolated for study while acknowledging relations to biological and cultural systems in which they are related.

Figure 9.2 Bidirectionality joining biological to individual to social environment (Gottlieb, 1991).



Holism in Social Relational Theory

An important step in a dialectical analysis is to describe the structure of the whole, and the complex causal relations between the whole and its components. In social relational theory, the minimum level of analysis for the whole is the parent-child relationship. Socialization throughout the life span occurs within a system of close personal relationships (Reiss, Collins, & Berscheid, 2000). Different relationships, including relationships with parents, siblings, peers, teachers, and other adults (Piniata, 1999), come in to salience as contexts for socialization as children develop. Thus, in selecting the parent-child relationship as a context for development it is important to recognize that it is a subsystem of a larger system of relationships that are relevant for the phenomenon of socialization.

The dialectical concept of the parent-child relationship as a systemic context departs from treatments of parents and children in unidirectional socialization research. The unidirectional parent-child socialization research tradition operates on the assumption of a decontextualized relationship of isolated interacting individuals. The dialectical research approach, on the other hand, conceptualizes a relational parent-child context of coacting agents embedded in an enduring, interdependent relationship. A classic example of the decontextualized approach is illustrated in the early behavioral model of parent-child interaction and parental management (Patterson, 1997) that focuses on the immediate reinforcement and punishment contingencies of behaviors exchanged in the present. Neglect of relationship context in theorizing about causality may help to explain why the idea of child influence as well as bidirectionality ←→ has met with resistance historically. It is only when one considers the special features of the parent-child relationship as a context for parent and child actions that the very idea that children influence parents despite differences in power makes sense.

Another example of the departure of the dialectical perspective from the traditional decontextualized perspective concerns the measurement of relationship attributes. The traditional approach considers relationship attributes (e.g., parental warmth) to be individual qualities whose linear associations to outcomes are studied. According to dialectical social relational theory, the parent-child relationship is not a static variable. Rather, it is a dynamic process that emerges from and contributes to the dynamics of social interactions. Parents and children are not only influenced by the relationship context but also construct the relationship through their coactions as agents. Phenomena such as enhanced bidirectional ←→ influence between parents and children, the experience and exercise of agency, and the dynamics of power, stem from the relationship context (Kuczynski, 2003; Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007).

What Is the Parent-Child Relationship?

A legacy of the traditional decontexualized approach is that there has been little analysis of the structure of parent-child relationships or of dynamics that emerge from the relationship as a whole. Instead, socialization research has traditionally been constructed around separate parenting functions such as control, teaching, caregiving, and attachment. There has been little attention paid to how these functions relate to each other within the parent-child relationship or the implications of the whole relationship context for the dynamics of parent-child interactions within each function of the relationship.

Dialectical social relational theory draws from general theories of personal relationships (Hinde, 1979; Kelley et al., 1983) and attachment (Bowlby, 1969), as well as the applications of these theories to the parent-child relationship (e.g., Collins & Madsen, 2003; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Central to most theories is the distinction between a social interaction and a social relationship. *Social interactions* are discrete, moment-to-moment exchanges between individuals, whereas, *social relationships* incorporate the psychological and historical context between two individuals beyond the immediate interaction. Two basic properties of the relationship are interdependence and time (Kelley et al., 1983). A relationship requires the *interdependence* of the relationship partners, the degree to which the behaviors, emotions, and thoughts of two people are mutually and causally interconnected. Thus, interdependence means that a close personal relationship must involve bidirectional ←→ influence. *Time* concerns the timeline of close relationships that endure and involve strong frequent and diverse interconnections over time. Hinde's (1979) theory of relationships elaborated the process by which relationships are constructed out of a history of interactions. As dyads accumulate a history of interactions over time, they form relationships, and the emergent relationship subsequently becomes context for future interactions. Hinde and Stevenson-Hinde (1987) describe the process in this way:

> When two individuals interact on successive occasions over time, each interaction may affect subsequent ones, and we speak of . . . having a relationship. Their relationship includes not only what they do together, but the perceptions, fears, expectations, and so on that each has about the other and about the future course of the relationship, based in part on the individual histories of the two interactants and the past history of their relationship with each other (Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1987, p. 2).

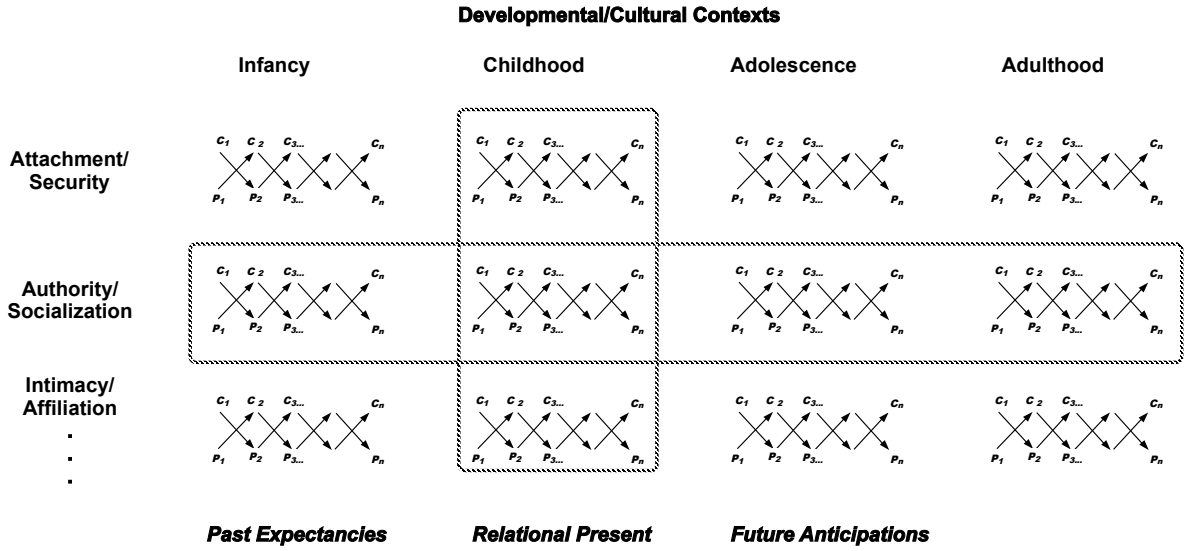
Psychologically, the relationship is a cognitive construction, that represents more than the sum of interactions that objectively occurred in the history of the relationship (Hinde & Stevenson-Hinde, 1987; Lollis, 2003). Each partner in the dyad interprets the others' behavior and creates expectancies, which are representations of themselves and the other in that relationship. These meanings become consolidated in representations of the relationship, including emotions, which then form the filter through which parent and child behaviors are experienced and predictions are made about the others' behavior. Similar conceptions of relational expectancies can be found in *cognitive expectancy models* of relationships (Levitt & Cici-Gokaltun, 2010) and *working models of attachment* (Bretherton & Munholland, 1999).

There is a growing appreciation of the distinctive nature of the parent-child relationship as a context for development. Maccoby (2000) argued that the parent-child relationship is unique and cannot be understood using concepts developed for adult personal relationships. The parent-child relationship is distinctive from other relationships because of the immense number and diversity of interactions that make up their history, the interdependence of the relationship and its involuntary nature. Power dynamics in parent-child relationships are also complex. Russell, Petit, and Mize (1998) argued that horizontal power in addition to vertical power is characteristic of parent-child relationships. This more complex view of parent-child relationships has been incorporated in *domain models* in which parents and children cycle through different domains within the relationship and the goals, functions and power dynamics underlying parent-child interactions change throughout the day (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Lollis & Kuczynski, 1997). Taken together, these ideas from the study of relationships, provide the basis for a relational perspective on socialization broadens the idea of what it means to parent a child beyond discipline and control strategies and beyond a focus on immediate contingencies between behaviors exchanged by parents and children during social interactions.

Figure 9.3 presents a *transactional model of parent-child relationships* that depicts the dynamic whole in social relational theory. The model is based on Lollis and Kuczynski (1997) who considered the implications of Hinde's (1997) theory for parent-child relationships. The present model is adapted to reflect changes in the theoretical and empirical literature. One change is the conceptualization of social interaction. In contemporary theory, Hinde's emphasis on the representational expectancies that agents form during interactions corresponds to the dialectical concept of transaction (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007; Sameroff, 2009), rather than social interaction, which generally refers to exchanges of behavior. Thus, transactions are depicted as the building blocks of relationships. Parent-child interactions are transactional in nature because they involve mutual interpretations of each other's actions in the context of a previous history of social interactions. A single interaction between unfamiliar individuals does not

constitute a relationship, but a relationship begins to be formed once individuals begin to predict each other's actions from their representation of what happened before.

Figure 9.3 The transactional model of parent-child relationships embedded in culture.



The model as a whole represents just one child's working model of the relationship with one parent in a particular cultural context. Transactions between the parent and the child create a relationship context that incorporates the past history and anticipated future course of the relationship as well as experiences of the diverse relationship domains in which they engage on a daily basis. For example, a parent-child relationship considered at Age 10 is based on a history of transactions, including emotions and cognition, occurring over 10 years, and a projected history of the relationship that continues across the life span of the parent and the child. The relationship itself occurs within a cultural context that contributes socially constructed meanings to the relationship as well as to the interactions occurring within the relationships.

Past and Future Dimensions of Relationships

Relationships are constructed over time and are expected to endure. Thus they have a past, a present, and a projected future. The transactions that contributed to the relationship occurred across diverse relational domains, including repeated confrontations with parental authority, situations where the child's attachment security was threatened and was met by parental responsiveness or unresponsiveness, and moments of parent-child intimacy. Expectancies from

past transactions, transactions in different relational contexts and anticipations of the future are sources of relational information that the parent and the child use in interactions occurring in the present.

The intersection of the horizontal and vertical rectangles in Figure 9.3 represents the *relational present.* In the relational present, parents and children interact with representations of the past and the future of the relationship not just with behaviors that are objectively present. As discussed by Abbey (2012), transactions occur in a boundary zone in irreversible time where, on the one hand, an individual's consciousness is colored by a rich accumulation of past experiences and, on the other hand, an individual's consciousness is anticipating and preadapting to an unknown future. The past and future cannot directly affect the present but interpretations of the meaning of past transactions (Lollis, 2003) and assumptions about what could be the case in the future can guide one's actions (Abbey, 2012).

It is readily apparent to any investigator who has interviewed parents about their childrearing practices that parents think about and reflect on their relationships with children. Transcripts of open-ended interviews generally reveal that participants rarely give a straightforward behavioral description of what they do. When given the chance, parents contextualize their behaviors and strategies in lengthy "digressions" concerning past interactions, felt emotions, personality, and comparisons with the sibling of the target child. relationship cognitions have also been demonstrated in "own versus other" research designs that compare a parent or a child's reaction to people who vary in their relationship with the informant. For example, Dawber and Kuczynski (1999) found that parents use different influence strategies in their relationships with their own children than they do with unfamiliar children. These parents justify their differential actions by referring to relational knowledge of their own child's personality, past behavior, as well as predictions of their child's responses.

The projected future of the relationship contributes anticipations, conceptualized as goals to interactions occurring in the present. Knowing that the relationship will persist beyond the present may result in parents acting in a way that promotes future, rather than immediate, goals for a child during disciplinary interactions. The finding of Dawber and Kuczynski (1999) of a higher frequency of future goals for parent's interactions with their own children than with unfamiliar children lends support to the argument that the presence of future goals for the other is a relational phenomenon. Such goals include long-term socialization goals (Kuczynski, 1984), child-oriented goals (Dix, 1992), and relationship goals (Hastings & Grusec, 1998) designed to promote and maintain the mutual relationship context.

Multiple Domains

The presence of multiple relationship domains (Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Lollis & Kuczynski, 1997) adds to the complex nature of the expectancies that each person forms as they integrate information from diverse contexts. The parent-child relationship is not a monolithic relationship of vertical power. Instead, parents and children routinely interact in different domains of the relationship that are engaged in different contexts.

Three domains provide a foundation for understanding parent-child relationships: authority, attachment, and intimacy. Each domain has different underlying dynamics that are the result of the parents and children's varying perspectives and goals during every day situations.

1. The *authority domain* engages the parental role of socialization agent and bidirectional ←→ dynamics occur in a context of interdependent power asymmetry. In this authority domain parents attempt to exercise their greater power in relation to a child who may or may not wish to accommodate the parent's expectations.
2. The *attachment domain* engages the parental role of caregiver and bidirectional ←→ dynamics occur in a complementary power relationship. In the attachment domain the child seeks, and the parent responsively provides, protection and security (Bretherton, Golby, & Cho, 1997).
3. The *intimacy domain* was proposed by Oliphant and Kuczynski (2011) as a specific conception of interactions in the horizontal or reciprocal power domain of relationships during middle childhood. Other conceptions of this domain focusing on infancy and early childhood include Macdonald's (1992) conception of the evolutionary significance pleasurable interactions; mutual attunement (Grusec & Davidov (2010), and shared positive affect or mutually responsive orientation (Kochanska, 2002). Weingarten (1991) conceptualized parent-child intimacy as transient interactions in which parents and children share or co-create meaning. Empirical examples of such intimate interactions were reported by Oliphant and Kuczynski (2011) and include perceptions of shared thoughts, ideas, emotion, and activities that are experienced as moments of mutuality during routine activities such as mealtime, bedtime, car trips, chores as well as well as intentional, idiosyncratic intimacy rituals set up to create the opportunity for mutual pleasure. Harach and Kuczynski (2005) found that intimacy is the primary way parents describe desired relationships during middle childhood. Conceptually it is the principal domain in the relationship that benefits parents as well as children. According to Oliphant and Kuczynski (2011) parent-child intimacy is an inherently equal power

domain of relationships that requires that parents and children coordinate their actions to achieve mutuality

Lollis and Kuczynski (1997) argued that transactions taking place within one domain influence the dynamics of interactions that take place within other domains. Examples include findings that children's compliance in the authority domain is associated secure attachment relationships (Matas, Arend, & Sroufe, 1978) or an experience of responsive interaction (Parpal & Maccoby, 1985). Harach and Kuczynski (2005) reported findings that suggest that a desire to maintain an enjoyable intimate relationship may constrain parents' use of coercive power when disciplining children. Adolescents have been found to avoid aversive confrontational strategies in order to avoid damaging positive aspects of their relationships with parents (Lundell, Grusec, Mcshane, & Davidov, 2008; Parkin & Kuczynski, 2012). The context created by interactions in the intimacy domain can also advance broader socialization or caregiving goals in the authority domain. For example (Kuczynski et al., 2012) found that parents create relationship contexts such as routine intimate interactions where children spontaneously disclose information that enable parents to gain knowledge about their activities, friendships, and internal states. Important questions for future research are how expectancies developed in different domains of the relationship are represented in present interactions as well as how parents maintain an optimal balance between conflicting domains in their relationships with children.

Relational Representations

Another symbolic product of social interactions is that people construct meanings about their relationship with the other partner. Watzlawick, Beavin, and Jackson (1967) argued that every interpersonal communication is not only an exchange of information about some topic, but also simultaneously a message regarding the relationship between the interacting partners. Thus partners in a relationship respond not only to the objective content of the interaction but also, create and communicate meanings about the relationship. Emery (1992), for example, argued that family conflicts can be analyzed according to their surface (interactional) meanings and deep (relational) meanings. The surface meaning refers to the topic of disagreement. However recurrent conflicts may reveal a metacommunication about what its process of resolution or its outcome conveys about the broader structure of the relationship. According to Emery the deep meaning of conflict concern the functions of asserting (or testing) and changing (or resisting change) in the intimacy or power structure of family relationships. Thus, the dynamics of conflicts may reflect relational meanings beyond the immediate situation.

Transactions within the specific domains of authority, attachment, and intimacy may have metacognitive implications for the interacting partners

representations of the relationship as a whole. For example, Cavell and Strand (2003) speculate that children develop a *sense of containment*, which is the expectancy that adults have the capacity to impose firm limits and prevail if goals conflict and cannot be negotiated. This suggests a relational reinterpretation of what is accomplished by parent-management strategies such as *time out*, which have been interpreted behaviorally as a form of punishment that weakens a response (MacMahon & Forehand, 2003). Successfully implementing time out for the first time is a long drawn-out process in which the parent is coached to stand firm in the face of child resistance until the child complies. A relational interpretation is that successful experiences of time out changes the child's representation of the power relationship with the parent such that the child learns that the parents' power will prevail when there is conflict. Similarly, in the attachment domain, experiences of parental responsiveness or nonresponsiveness in stressful situations has implications for the child's interpretation of the relationship as secure or insecure as well as the child's sense of agency in the relationship (Cummings & Schermerhorn, 2003). Finally, in the intimacy domain experiences that one can participate in constructing a moment of mutuality in the relationship may have implications for one's sense of closeness or compatibility in that relationship as well as one's sense of *mattering* in the relationship (Marshall, 2001). Marshall and Lambert (2006) found that parents experienced that they mattered to children during interactions when children responded to their initiations during intimate interactions.

Distinctiveness

Each relationship in the family has a distinct history of transactions. A mothers' relationship with one child will be different from her relationship with a second child because their relationship developed in a different bio-ecological context (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). The parent and child may have different perspectives on the relationship based on their different experiences as well as their different ways of perceiving and understanding interactions. In the case of a newly reconstituted family after divorce, a child may have few expectancies from the sparse history of the new relationship to guide their interactions with a stepparent and so the relationship and the stepparent's role in it may be tenuous until a history is allowed to accumulate. Similar scenarios can be constructed for stepparent–child relationships children's transitions into foster homes or reconnecting transnational families after long separations.

Culturally Embedded Relationships

Hinde's (1979) relationship theory stressed the reciprocal influences among the various levels of human complexity, that is, individuals, relationships, groups,

and the sociocultural structure. Each level has to be understood as context and meaning constructor for another level. The embedding of relationships within culture has implications for the specific persons who form the proximal context for children's development. In many cultures the nuclear family is not the norm as a context for children's socialization and development. For example, Goh and Kuczynski (2009, 2010) argue that the appropriate unit of analysis for families in contemporary China is the intergenerational parenting coalition, consisting of grandparents, the parents, and one child who generally live in one household. Thus, the dynamics that need to be considered for Chinese families include the child's bidirectional ←→ relationships with the grandparent, the mother, the father and the caregiving coalition considered as a whole.

Culture is a semiotic context (Moscovici, 1988) that provides social representations or meanings about values, ideas, and practices that enable individuals to orient themselves and communicate in their social worlds. Trommsdorff and Kornadt (2003) argued, for example, that cultures differ in their ideas about the relative roles of mothers, fathers, and grandparents in parent-child relationships, the appropriate power relations and patterns of intimacy, and communication in parent-child relationships, and the desired balance of autonomy and interdependence in the relationship and these cultural meanings affect the nature of bidirectional influence in different cultures. Kuczynski, Lollis, and Koguchi (2003) discussed how social representations apparent in aphorisms about childrearing and the natural language used to describe parent and child behaviors affect how direction of influence between parents and children is perceived and how parents and children's actions are evaluated. Moreover, Peterson and Bush (2012) suggest that cultural ethno-theories regarding the meaning of parental authority in a given culture, may affect adolescents' evaluations of their parents' wisdom, competence, or trustworthiness and, thereby, affect their inclination to be influenced or not to be influenced by their parents. The implication from a social relational perspective is that although bidirectional ←→ influence is a universal assumption for parent-child relationships, the cultural meanings associated with the relationship may influence how agency is experienced in the relationship and how partners coact in their social relationships.

The Relational Origins of Socialization

Contemporary research diverges along two principal pathways to socialization: one emphasizing the *primacy of parental discipline and control*, and one emphasizing the *primacy of relationships*. The discipline and control pathway emphasizes parents' use of power assertion to elicit compliance and to suppress noncompliance with parental requests. Failure to suppress early noncompliance is assumed to place parents and children on a trajectory driven by negative cycles of bidirectionality. The most influential model is coercive process theory (Patterson

et al., 1992) whereby, noncompliance, conceptualized as coercion, elicits coercive responses from the parent by a process of mutual negative reinforcement. These processes of mutual coercion escalate and become consolidated into habitual patterns of interacting that spread to relationships with teachers, peers, and, eventually, romantic partners as children age. Consistent with this mechanistic conception of causality, behavioral clinical interventions traditionally give priority to behavior management over relationship enhancement on the assumption that good relationships are a consequence of children's compliance rather than set the stage for compliance (Patterson, 1997).

The relational pathway emphasizes the causal role of relationships as the foundation of positive trajectories of socialization experiences driven by positive cycles of bidirectionality (Kochanska, 2002; Kuczynski & Hildebrandt,1997). In the relational perspective a disposition of receptivity to parental influence emerges from history of mutual responsive interactions. Two veins of research support the relational trajectory. Stayton, Hogan, and Ainsworth (1971) argued that maternal behaviors that promote attachment, such as responsiveness to children's distress also promote children's cooperation with mothers' commands. Research by Matas, Arend, and Sroufe (1978) found that early compliance was predicted by secure attachment as assessed using the Strange Situation. Research (e.g., Leerkes, Blankson, & O'Brian, 2009) found that maternal sensitivity to distress, rather than non-distress predicted fewer behavior problems and greater social competence in toddlerhood.

Maccoby and Martin (1983) argued that a more general relational process underlies the associations between compliance and attachment. Namely, children acquire a disposition to be receptive to parental requests by learning habits of reciprocity from a relationship history characterized by mutual compliance and responsiveness. This relational perspective has received substantial support from research indicating that children's tendency to comply is enhanced by brief experiences of responsive play with mothers (Parpal & Maccoby, 1985) as well as a substantial body of research by Kochanska and colleagues (see Kochanska, 2002) indicating the mutually positive interactions and shared positive affect predict a willingness to comply and a mutually positive orientation during social interactions. Although there is a current debate regarding the ability of responsiveness to distress versus responsiveness to nondistress to predict various outcomes (see Grusec & Davidov, 2010; Leerkes, Weaver, & O'Brien, 2012), both forms of responsiveness highlight the importance of relationship processes.

Kochanska and Kim (2012) reported longitudinal research indicating that in the context of insecure or unresponsive relationships parent-child dyads engage in negative cycles of reactivity such that temperamentally difficult children elicit parental punitive behavior, which leads to further negative escalations and behavioral problems. But in the context of relationships that are secure and responsive, the maladaptive cycle is defused. Even if the child has a difficult

temperament, the parent does not become more coercive and parental confrontation is not toxic in its effects. Moreover, positive discipline, and the development of a willing, cooperative receptivity work better when relationships are responsive and secure.

Relationship Construction and Maintenance

The relational perspective broadens the focus on socialization practices to include parents' actions that create and maintain the relationship context which is the foundation for children's receptiveness to parental efforts. Relationship maintenance has been a topic of research in the literature on friendship and romantic relationships (Dindia, 2003) but it has not received much research with respect to parent-child relationships where the continuing existence or stability of the relationship appears to be taken for granted. An explanation for the dearth of studies on the process of constructing and maintaining parent child-relationships may be the traditional mechanistic orientation of the socialization literature where the relationship is viewed unimportant, except as a variable that may mediate the effects of direct control strategies.

A basic issue in the process of maintaining the parent-child relationship concerns parents' initial decisions to engage in the relationship. Palkowitz et al. (2003) raised the question of parent engagement in the context of father-child relationship, especially after divorce, when the decision to be involved in children's lives appears to be an active choice. Palkowitz's suggestion draws attention to the more general possibility that there is an intentional component in parents' choice to engage in their relationship with their children. At least one aspect to engaging in the relationship is the choice to be responsive to the child. The choice to be responsive means consciously opening up oneself to the child's influence, thereby engaging in a bidirectional ←→ process in which parents and children build a mutually responsive relationship.

Studies have explored parents' perceptions of their efforts to maintain an intimate relationship with children (Harach & Kuczynski, 2005; Oliphant & Kuczynski, 2011). Parental strategies include making time for mutually enjoyable interactions, managing their power in relationship to the child, communicating at the child's level and refraining from overpowering the child by imposing meaning, or making relational repairs through communication and apology. Parents report that children engage in analogous behaviors as their part in creating intimate interactions.

Relationship as Context for Agency

Social contexts have long been understood as constraining human agency by guiding meaning making and placing limits on individual choices. However, social contexts have also been constructed by collective and individual actions for the purpose of enabling and supporting agency (Giddens, 1984). The relationship context may constrain parental actions, during conflict. For instance, the desire to maintain an intimate relationship may prevent parents from employing coercive tactics that are damaging to the relationship. This dynamic has been observed in contexts where children attempt to protect the relationship even when they resist parental demands (Parkin, & Kuczynski, 2012). Adolescents report that even when they transgress against parental rules, or use their own judgment when engaging in prohibited behaviors with peers, they keep their experimentation with autonomy within bounds so as not to damage their relationship with parents or their parents' good opinion of them. In addition, they are guarded in their disclosures to parents or conceal the full extent of their autonomous actions not merely to avoid aversive consequences, but also to maintain positive relationships and protect their parents' feelings. Relational constraint can also be found in adolescents' overt resistance strategies such as negotiation and argument where adolescent attempt to accommodate parental perspectives while at the same time pursuing their own goals (Parkin & Kuczynski, 2012). Although negotiation and argument can be experienced as aversive by parents, these may constitute healthy forms of resistance because adolescents continue to engage in the relationship, thus indicating that the relationship matters to them.

The relationship context may enable children's exercise of agency by affording children leeway to negotiate the nature of the constraints placed upon them. The phenomenon of *leeway* was proposed by Goodnow (1997) to explain flexibility in parental expectations for children. Parents, communicate a variety of positions with regard acceptable, tolerable, or "out of the question." Children, in turn, discover how much value-stretch their parents' position affords and how much leeway there is for their own creative interpretation. Goodnow (1997) proposed three forms of leeway: (1) The first lies in the nature of parental expectations. Not all values are of equal importance with some considered essential and others as trivial. This allows leeway in options for children to behave, from the parents' perspective, with "acceptable ignorance" or "acceptable incompetence." (2) The second form of leeway is related to a time frame when children are allowed flexibility to delay or explore alternative values before carrying out an expectation. (3) The third form of leeway concerns domains of decision-making where children are specifically encouraged to express their creativity. Goodnow (1997) suggested that parents begin with certain expectations of their child, such as high achievement, and then their values undergo "stretch" as they come to realize their original expectations may have been too ambitious.

Thus, leeway for children's agency is afforded by the parents' changing expectations based on their experiences with their child.

Parents may most often signal areas of negotiability and grant or cede leeway in the personal domain, which is generally considered to be under the child's jurisdiction, as well as trivial instances of social conventions where parents may have less investment (Smetana, 2011). However, children play a larger role in detecting and creating leeway in areas of ambiguity such as in mixed domains, where there is a struggle over definitions of what is conventional and what is personal. Children may also exploit leeway when the bottom lines of parental values are ambiguous or parents are adjusting their expectations to changing circumstances. For example, Parkin & Kuczynski (2012) found that beyond some bottom lines (which, nevertheless could be worked around) adolescents find it difficult to identify rules that ware rigidly expressed or enforced. Instead, most rules are perceived to be co-constructed between the parent and the child and there is considerable flexibility that allowed room for negotiation. Children's agency and children's effectiveness as agents is enabled by the relationship, and as argued by Kuczynski and Hildebrandt (1997) the competent expression of agency involves accommodating to the mutual constraints of a reciprocal relationship.

Relationship Dynamics

The principal dynamics considered by the traditional social interactional perspectives (Patterson et al., 1992) concern the immediate contingencies between the behaviors of the participants in dyadic social interactions. In contrast, a relational perspective provides new dynamics that stem from the relationship context of social interactions (Table 9.1). Each of the dynamics listed in Table 9.1 considers parents interacting in the relational present (i.e., they act "as if" they were in a relationship not just an interaction between unconnected individuals). Dynamics of *interdependence* consider that the actions of relationship partners not only involve bidirectional ←→ influence but also that each partner draws meaning from the other's responses. What parents and children do and do not do is always meaningful to the other matter at an emotional level, making each receptive and vulnerable to the others' influence. Relationship specific meanings relevant to socialization processes include *relational representations* of parents or children in relationship to the other, *past expectancies* from the history of the relationship and *future anticipations* of the relationships continuance that give rise to future oriented goals. The dynamics of *domain complexity* considers the causal relations between subdomains of the whole relationship (e.g., authority, attachment, intimacy). The dynamics of *distinctiveness* raises the possibility that the processes of socialization interactions are not only situation specific (Grusec & Kuczynski, 1980; Grusec & Goodnow, 1994; Kuczynski, 1984), they are also specific to relationships. Steinberg (1987). for example, found that mother-adolescent

relationships have more frequent conflicts and are also more intimate than father-adolescent relationships. One possible explanation for this finding is that mothers may allow greater leeway for the expression of dissent and tolerate resistance or different points of view because they are more focused on maintaining a positive parent–child relationship. The dynamics of *cultural embeddedness* of relationships imply that the caregiver-child relationships that are most relevant as proximal contexts of development as well as the meanings generated by social transactions are specific to larger cultural contexts.

Table 1 Relational Dynamics: Implications of Acting as if the Other Was a Partner in a Close Relationship

Level of Dynamic	Relationship Principles
Interdependence	Act as if the others' responses, actions mattered
Relational representations	Interpret interactions for meaning of self and other in relationship
Past expectancies	Act as if there was a past: other's personality, strengths, vulnerabilities, habitual ways of responding, one's own history
Future anticipations	Act as if there will be a future: socialization goals, proactive behavior, relationship goals
Domain complexity	Act as if what happens in one domain will affect another domain
Distinctiveness	Each relationship has a distinct history and dynamics
Cultural embeddedness	Cultural meanings of interactions and relationships

Contradiction: The Source of Change

The dialectical principle of *contradiction* asserts that all phenomena consist of opposing components (thesis and antithesis) as an inherent aspect of their makeup. The nature of the contradictions depends on the physical, biological, or psychological system under investigation. Riegel (1976) identified inner dialectics and outer dialectics as two general kinds of contradictions of psychological systems. *Inner dialectics* are contradictions within a person such as simultaneously held opposing ideas. *Outer dialectics* are contradictions between an individual and

another person or between an individual and some aspect of the environment. Because these opposites coexist and coact as a part of a whole, dialectical researchers tend to use a "both/and" rather than an "either/or" logic when studying and describing phenomena (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996; Holquist, 1990; Overton, 2006). An "either–or" logic considers differences between components as mutually exclusive. This is the logic underlying unidirectional interpretations of socialization where the effects or agency of the parent are emphasized whereas the agency and contribution of the child are ignored or downplayed. The logic of both/and reasoning accepts that one component simultaneously coexists in a dynamic tension with an opposing component and outcomes will be a novel reflection of the action of both components. Conceptualizations such as coactions, co-regulation, co-construction, co-evolution, mutuality, intersubjectivity, joint activity, dialogue, and shared meaning (Kuczynski et al., 2003) indicate a both/and logic. In each of these conceptions adaptive processes are conceived as the coordination of potentially opposing active agents so as to achieve a joint goal. However, for phenomena where the contradictory components more clearly opposed, contradictions may still be generative. Using the example of the inherent contradictions of living in close relationships, Baxter and Montgomery (1996) argue that a healthy relationship is not one where contradictions are resolved or prevented but one in which each partner manages to satisfy conflicting perspectives or goals.

For researchers who take a contextualist perspective on dialectics (e.g., Baxter & Montgomery, 1996) identifying contradictions is important principally as a way of describing the structure of phenomena, but for researchers who take an organismic-contextualist perspective, including the present authors, contradictions are also important because of their role as the source of change. Any system will have aspects that are harmonious as well as aspects that are dissonant. The potential for change exists in the unstable "goodness of misfit" (Valsiner & Cairns, 1992) of the coacting components that has the potential for generating novel outcomes. Dialectical researchers focus on the contradictory aspects of systems because the tension that emerges from contradiction provides opportunities for change whereas harmony and consensus serve to maintain stability and continuity (Riegel, 1976). Although harmony is a pleasant and desirable state, in dialectics, it still requires active coordination to create and maintain.

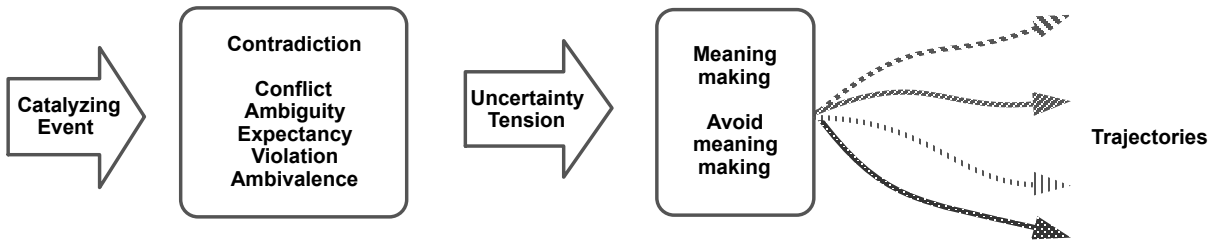
Valsiner (2000) developed the ideas of *systemic causality* and *catalytic causality* to reframe contradiction as a relation between components in dynamic systems. "In the case of systemic causality, the given outcome (B) is a result of mutually interdependent relations of the parts of the causal system (for example, system A {Z < > X <> Y} . . . None of the parts (Z, X, Y) taken separately causes B, but their systemic interaction leads to B" (p. 75). *Catalytic causality* refers to the capacity of contexts to change the nature of the causal relations of living

systems. Using the metaphor of chemical reactions, catalyzed refers to a set of conditions that need to be present for a particular causal linkage to occur, and the absence of which does not allow the causal process to lead to an outcome. According to Valsiner (2012), a given system of meanings may be maintained on a narrow or conservative trajectory of thesis/antithesis/synthesis where the prevailing meanings inhibit breaking away from that trajectory. Each system is always in a potential tension filled state of transformation that is held in check as long as the external context remains the same. However, a change in context introduces new conflicting meanings to the system that may create the conditions for a new interpretation or create a space that enables new flexibility for exploring various meanings. An outcome of a catalyzing event could be the resolution of a contradiction, which may lead to a new qualitatively different trajectory, or it may lead to a failure of resolution, which leads to a path of continued tension, at least temporarily.

Contradiction in Social Relational Theory

Figure 9.4 is the general model of contradiction and its role as a causal process that informs social relational theory. The process begins with a catalyst—an event, a change in the environment, or a developmental or life-course transition—that creates patterns of behavior that is unexpected or clashes with the parent or child's current understanding (thesis). The catalyst may also bring into awareness problematic patterns of behavior that may have occurred without reflection in the past. In making sense of the change the parent or child recognizes a contradiction (antithesis), which may be experienced in various forms including conflict, expectancy violations, ambivalence and ambiguity. These experiences have in common that they entail uncertainty and create an affective state of tension. In other theories, these tensions have been conceptualized such as ruptures, turning points, critical events, crisis, perturbation, and disequilibration (see Witherington, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume).

Figure 9.4 Psychological processes underlying causality in dialectical systems.



In seeking a resolution to the contradiction the parent or child may engage in a process of problem solving, which may be resolved by a temporary

qualitatively new understanding of the situation sending the parent, the child, or the relationship on new trajectories. Alternatively, the individuals may attempt to ignore or live with the contradiction, in which case the tension continues to be a factor in their lives. In the analysis that follows, the nature of contradictions is described first, followed by processes by which contradictions relate to causality. The nature of trajectories, conceptualized as syntheses, are discussed in the subsequent section.

Parent-child relationships constantly create both external and internal contradictions that feed into the dialectical process. Parents and children, considered as agents, have separate and potentially conflicting needs, perspectives, and goals. However, they are also continually embedded within the unity and interdependence of their shared relationship. Because the relationship is involuntary or individuals are invested in the relationship, the tensions must be managed in some way.

Parenting inherently involves constant adaptation to a rapidly changing organism (Holden & Ritchie, 1988). Children change continually as they develop from infancy to young adulthood. From the perspective of the parent, the child is a constantly moving target and strategies that worked previously may no longer work in the present. Holden and Ritchie (1988) used the concept of outer dialectics and inner dialectics (Riegel, 1976) as a starting point for identifying the contradictions that parents encounter in the competing roles of childrearing. Their examples of outer dialectics included contradictions between the parents' needs and the child's needs or between the parent's experience of childrearing and competing child advice from the culture, experts, and other caregivers. Holden and Ritchie devoted most of their analysis to inner dialectics, namely internal debates within the parent about how to carry out the different childrearing roles of caregiving, managing, and nurturing.

In the caregiving role, inner contradictions included competing goals such as allowing exploration but guarding against danger; being receptive to child's requests but not spoiling the child and being warm but not seductive. In the managing role, contradictions included seeking obedience and respect but allowing assertion and questioning of authority; being firm and consistent versus flexible; being honest and open with the child versus protecting child from harsh realities. In the nurturing role, contradictions included being involved but not intrusive; granting independence but maintaining dependence; encouraging mature behavior versus allowing children to be children; teaching versus allowing children to discover on their own; and change the child versus accept the child's shortcomings. In addition to the contradictions noted by Holden and Ritchie (1988) there may be contradiction between the parents' needs and those of the child. Parents may feel tensions between the responsibility of parenting and the impact of rearing children on their own well-being, careers, and aspirations.

Other contradictions arise from managing close personal relationships. In families reconstituted after divorce there may be contradictions specific to the stepparent-stepchild relationship. Particularly when the family is reconstituted after middle childhood, the child's relationship with the stepparent, initially does not have the same rich history of interaction compared to biological parent-child relationships to provide a foundation for the new parent's roles. Baxter, Braithwaite, Bryant, and Wagner (2004) found that stepchildren reported that they often appreciate closeness with and involvement by the stepparent, but experience distance and discretion, and resist granting the stepparent full parental status in the relationship. Cissna, Cox, and Bochner (1990) demonstrated that parents also experience tension between the time and effort devoted to establish the newly formed marital relationship and the time and effort required to construct the stepparent relationship.

Contradictions in relationships are always contextually dependent and must be studied with regard to particular relationships or relationship types. Dialectical analyses of communications in close personal relationships, such as friendships and romantic partners, have found that there is a dynamic interplay between the tendency for connection and integration and the competing tendency of separation and autonomy (Baxter & Montgomery, 1996). These are expressed as three basic contradictions: autonomy-connection (the desire to be connected versus the desire to be a unique individual), openness-closeness (the desire to for self disclosure versus privacy and discretion), and certainty-uncertainty (the desire for stability and predictability versus spontaneity and novelty in the relationship).

There is growing awareness that even professional relationships have a horizontal power aspect that is the source of tensions between various domains of relationships with clients. Investigators who study professional relationships such as in social work (Alexander & Charles, 2009), nursing (McGuire, Dougherty, & Atkinson, 2006), psychotherapy (Wampold, 2001), and teaching (Manning-Morton, 2006) have argued for the recognition of the therapeutic role of a personal relationship domain in interactions between clients and professionals. Service providers are aware of the mutuality and reciprocity in their relationships with clients as well as the tension between their lived experience and the undermining restrictions placed on them by professional norms of their disciplines. For example, researchers studying early childhood education teachers' relationships with young children have conceptualized teaching in a way that recognizes the inherent complexity of the teacher-child relationship, which involves participating in an affective interpersonal relationship while simultaneously carrying out teaching and attachment or caregiving functions (Howes, 1999; Manning-Morton, 2006). The relationship domain of professional teacher, with norms for objective distance, has been found to coexist in a relationship system with an attachment/caregiver domain and a personal relationship/intimacy domain (Quan-McGimpsey, Kuczynski, & Brophy, 2011). Three principal contradictions have

been found for early childhood education teachers when relating to individual children; these included interacting with one child versus the entire class, exclusive versus shared closeness, and engaging in a parental role versus the role of ECE teacher (Quan-McGimpsey et al., 2011).

Psychological Processes Underlying Contradiction

Contradictions can be further analyzed by considering underlying psychological processes. Kuczynski and colleagues have interpreted contradiction as occurring in four recurring phenomenona of daily experience: conflict, expectancy violations, ambivalence, and ambiguity (Kuczynski et al., 2009; Kuczynski & Parkin, 2009).

Conflict

Conflict occurs during interactions that pit the parent's needs, goals, will, or interpretations of events against those of the child. These external contradictions may be manifested in overt conflict. During the 1980s, parent-child conflict began to be viewed as an inevitable and mutually tolerated aspect of living in close relationships. Moreover a dialectical interpretation emerged that conflict is a necessary condition for change and may have positive functions for the individual or for the relationship (see Shantz & Hartup, 1992, for a review of this perspective).

Expectancy Violations

Expectancy violations occur when one receives information that violates previously established ways of understanding. Sameroff (1975b) used an example of expectancy violation to illustrate the transactional process where contradictions between the parent's initial model of the child as pliant object and the parent's actual experience lead to a qualitatively different image of the child as a separate agent who exists independently of the parent.

Collins and Madsen (2003) proposed the *expectancy violation realignment model* as an explanation for how families adapt to change as children move through adolescence to adulthood. According to their model, developmental change may lead to new behaviors that contradict the representation of the child that the parent had previously formed. This contradiction initially creates conflict, puzzlement, or emotional upset, but a new basis for interaction will occur when the parent adapts to the new reality by reinterpreting the meaning of the child's behavior. The argument is that parents may initially interpret developmental changes in the child in a negative way as "attitude" or "defiance," but eventually

adapt by interpreting the child's behavior as legitimate signs of adulthood, thus putting the relationship on a new, less conflictual trajectory.

Parental violations of children's expectations also create internal contradictions that children must reconcile or to which they must adapt. Youniss and Smollar (1985) documented how in early adolescence, children view parents as unilateral authority figures but eventually come to understand parents as individual personalities with unique strengths and weaknesses. Although this has been understood as an individual change in the adolescent's declining egocentrism, expectancy violations that occur as the adolescent becomes aware of parental vulnerabilities and strengths may also play a role.

The *social expectations model* of close relationships (Levitt & Cici-Gokaltun, 2010) is a model of relationship development continuity and change processes applicable across specific relationships and through the life span. According to this model, repeated transactions with a relationship partner build expectations about the partner's behavior that provide a basis for the development of close relationships. These relationship expectations, once established, are thought to provide the basis for continuity within relationships and generalization across relationships. However relationships can change when individuals encounter circumstances that exceed or violate their expectations of, for example, trust, reciprocity, or a good image of the partner. The model suggests that relationship expectations that are untested will remain stable. Although expectations that are violated may lead to relationship change in a negative direction and expectations that exceed expectations may promote positive change in the relationship.

Ambivalence

Ambivalence is the experience of simultaneously positive and negative emotions, evaluations, or opposing directions for action. The construct of ambivalence has been used in a variety of ways in the social sciences. In sociocultural research ambivalence has attracted attention for understanding the emergence of meaning. Abbey (2012) described the meaning-making process as the individual's attempt to overcome the ambivalence between their present understanding and the possibilities of an uncertain future. Many of the examples of parental contradictions described by Holden and Richie (1988) can theoretically be understood as ambivalence resulting from competing but equally desirable goals, which may come to mind when parents respond to a given childrearing situation. These include child-oriented goals for keeping the child happy, parent-oriented goals for the parent's convenience, socialization goals to foster the child's capacities (Dix, 1992), and relationship goals to maintain a satisfactory parent-child relationship (Hastings & Grusec, 1998). Each of these goals may also have

short-term versus long-term considerations that also may create ambivalence (Kuczynski, 1984).

Parent-child relationships also entail considerable ambivalences that are temporary or permanently irreconcilable. Family members frequently express mixed feelings toward each other, such that warmth and affection occur together with antagonism and irritation. Lüscher and Pillemer (1998) proposed a theory of intergenerational ambivalence as a tool for understanding how adult children and their aging parents experience and manage contradictory impulses and perceptions in their close relationships. Fingerman and Hay (2004) found ambivalence to be more characteristic of relationships involving romantic partners, mothers, fathers, sons and daughters, and siblings than those with extended family or friends. They argued that much of the tension between aging mothers and adult daughters is caused by their mutual struggle for independence and the older generation's desire and demand for more contact and involvement than the younger generation.

Methodologically, the phenomenon of ambivalence requires a both/and approach to measurement. For example, a parent may love a child but experience the child's behavior as aversive. A child may approve of the parent's socialization goals for achievement, but deplore the parent's methods. A child may reject the parent's beliefs or values but love and respect the parent's sacrifices on their behalf and resolve to care for them in old age (Kuczynski et al., 2009). These simultaneous strong positive and strong negative pulls are obscured in quantitative ratings of "somewhat close" on forced-choice global assessments of relationship dimensions.

Ambiguity

Ambiguity most directly corresponds to the idea that contradiction creates uncertainty, the state that drives the meaning making process. Human goals and actions are future-oriented and because the future is unknowable, always involve some level of uncertainty. As described by Valsiner (2006), "Every next immediate moment in the life of an organism is ambiguous as a step between the already known and the still unknown. This state is the normal state of affairs during which an unexpected and unpredicted new phenomenon may emerge" (p. 118).

In addition, individuals may be required to act in the context of uncertainty when they have only partial knowledge about a catalyzing event. Rumsfeld (2002) described the many degrees of uncertainty from which politicians and bureaucrats must make their future-oriented policies. "As we know, there are known knowns, there are things we know that we know. There are known unknowns. That is to say, there are things that we now know we don't know. But there are also unknown unknowns. There are things we do not know we don't know" (February

12, 2002, press conference). Similarly, parenting is an ambiguous enterprise where parents act in the context of many shades of unknowns. There is often minimal information or clarity about the circumstances of the childrearing situations such as "what happened?" or "who started it?' or where children are, who they are with, or what they are up to, and whether or how to intervene.

Dawczyk and Kuczynski (2012) found all four forms of contradiction—ambiguity, ambivalence, parent-child conflict, and expectancy violations—in an interview of parents of 8- to 13-year-old children. Although no specific questions were asked regarding contradiction, parents spontaneously offered many digressions and incomplete or uncertain responses to the questions that were asked about their childrearing practices. These portions of interviews are normally regarded as a nuisance and are disregarded by the researcher who generally seeks for complete and unambiguous responses. However, viewed from the perspective of dialectics, these ambiguous portions of the interview may constitute an important reality of parental experience. Contradictions were found to stem from two sources: internal sources (originating from uncertainties within the parent) and external sources (originating in the child's unexpected behavior).

Contradiction is assumed to provide the motive force of dialectical tension, which drives individuals to work toward some resolution. The dialectical tension experienced by the individual can vary in intensity. Using the example of ambivalence, Abbey (2012) argued that tensions between opposing meanings is strong when ambivalences involve tension between opposing meanings where the meanings directly oppose each other with equal force. However, tension can be comparatively mild when one meaning is stronger than, and can overcome, the other. In social interactions and relationships, dialectical tension can be experienced as mild dissonance or as expressed emotion. Dawczyk and Kuczynski (2012) found that the majority of parents' descriptions of their experiences of contradictions were accompanied by expressions of emotions indicative of anxiety, stress, surprise, anger, and sadness. This finding suggests that dialectical tension may be manifested in uncomfortable emotional states that require resolution.

An important question is what agents *do* with dialectical tensions. An adaptive strategy is to seek some resolution to the contradiction either by taking action or reducing uncertainty by creating new meaning. Either of these approaches imply qualitative change. However, Abbey (2012) noted other possibilities. One is a prejudicial strategy where one adopts one meaning over another and creates artificial clarity by refusing to consider other options. This is an inflexible approach that does not reflect the changing reality. Another approach is to ignore the contradiction and disengage in the meaning making process and living with the tension at least temporarily. Writing on ambivalence in intergenerational relationships Lüscher (2011) argued:

> As a consequence of dealing with ambivalence, we may observe the confirmation of established, traditional patterns of action and of relationships. Or it may generate innovative, emancipatory actions and forms of relating. Or it may mean ending a situation or a relationship or being stuck in endless quarrels or in terminating a relationship by leaving a setting. Or, in the extreme, people may lose the ability to act and enter a stage in which their personality is completely divided. (p. 196)

An important question for the future is how to conceptualize contradiction as a central process in socialization. One approach is to explore how inherent contradictions in parent-child relationships are managed in daily life so as to keep damaging conflict between generations from arising. For example, there is evidence that parents tolerate or adjust to children's increasing resistance in middle childhood (Kuczynski, Burke, & Robson, 2013) as well as the ambiguity created by children's increasing engagement in unsanctioned peer activities that occur out of the parents sight (Kuczynski, Wojciechowska, Dawczyk, & Pitman, 2012). It is possible that such parental toleration is moderated by a qualitative reframing of these contradictions as normal development of autonomy or "normal deviance" that parents remember being part of their own adolescent experience.

Another approach is to consider parenting as process of resolving contradictions or problem solving. Holden and Hawk's (2003) conception of metaparenting considers the intentional and reflective thought processes that parents use to evaluate and solve problems of childrearing. Metaparenting often takes place outside of immediate childrearing problems and consists of the processes of four interrelated forms of problem solving. *Anticipating* involves thinking about problematic situations before they occur. *Assessing* involves evaluating the reasons for a particular childrearing situation. *Problem solving* involves various activities such as recognizing the problem, identifying the source of the problem, and generating possible solutions, and testing and evaluating the success of the solution. *Reflecting* concerns longer term evaluations of their behavior, their child's behavior, or parent-child interaction outcomes. Holden and Hawk (2003) argue that metaparenting plays an important role in mediating qualitative changes in the parent's attitudes, values, or goals, as well as their ability to act on and maintain new goals.

Dawczyk and Kuczynski (2012) found in their study of naturally occurring contradictions that many parental contradictions were not resolved but were at different stages in the problem solving process. These included describing the contradiction, information gathering and reflection, and acting on the contradiction. *Describing the contradiction* implied that parents were aware of and acknowledged the contradiction, but they had not begun to process or manage the

contradiction. *Information gathering and reflection* occurred when parents drew on their knowledge of the child, reflected on past experiences in the parent-child relationship, or engaged in self-reflection in attempt to gain an understanding of the current situation causing the contradiction. *Acting on the contradiction* involved strategic efforts to manage contradictions through cognitive justification or reframing of their or their child's behavior, or plans to alter either the child's behavior or their own responses to the behavior.

The choices that parents and children make when confronted with contradiction determine the likelihood of change. Individuals could choose to ignore contradictory information, or avoid communication about contentious topics, or they may manage their state of uncertainty. In this case, the contradiction would remain unresolved, at least temporarily, thus maintaining their prior understanding and, therefore, stability, following a transaction. Choosing to confront contradiction, on the other hand, opens the possibility for constructing new meanings that can instigate qualitative change, for better or worse. Choosing to communicate so as to arrive at new solutions, reframing the meaning of emerging behaviors, or going into therapy all may result in qualitative changes in behaving, relating with others or perceiving situations.

Synthesis in Dialectics: Nonlinear Outcomes

A defining feature of dialectics is its focus on qualitative change or the emergence of novelty (see Lerner & Benson, 2013; Overton, 2006, 2010). The dialectical leanings of a theory can be recognized by concepts such as transformation, working models, changed representations, bifurcations, phase shifts, and turning points (see Witherington, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume). These concepts represent the dialectical metaphor of temporary synthesis, the idea that the resolution of contradictions creates novel outcomes. The process of synthesis is unending because each new synthesis becomes the basis of a new contradiction.

Dialectical causality assumes a continuous process of change in a changing context where outcomes are always in process. The idea of qualitative change is often subverted by research questions and conceptualizations of outcome that turn dynamic processes into linear models (Sameroff & MacKenzie, 2003). These put a premium on findings of stability and continuity across time and regard findings of instability (insignificant correlations) as errors in measurement (Appelbaum & McCall, 1983). However, an exclusive focus on continuity is only possible from a mechanistic perspective of causality. Continuity and similarity are not the expected outcomes in dialectical approaches to human development.Valsiner (1989) provided a formal description of synthesis in the dialectical process.

> The relations between X and Y is *contradictory* (a basic assumption of the dialectical perspective) in the sense that the two parts (X and Y) are opposing each other while remaining mutually necessary parts of the system. As a result of the opposition of the subparts of the whole, the whole system "leaps" to a novel state of being (incorporating a new part (Z). (p. 67)

Conceptualizing nonlinear change is a major focus of various systems approaches to development, and approaching nonlinearity using the dialectical idea of synthesis is a focus of sociocultural theory (Valsiner, 2012). Most dialectically inspired empirical research has stopped at the point of listing contradictions in a phenomenon but does not go on to analyze the potential of dialectical tensions to create new syntheses. A current challenge is to develop concepts about what synthesis looks like. Valsiner (2012) has critiqued a number of conceptualizations of synthesis. For example, synthesis should not be considered as a selection of alternatives where considering the pros and cons of conflicting arguments lead to one opposite dominating the other. Also, unsatisfactory are ideas of synthesis as optimal blends of the oppositional components. According to Valsiner, neither selection nor optimization of conflicting alternatives adequately capture synthesis as the construction of truly novel forms as the organism moves unpredictably from the known and unknown.

Synthesis in Social Relational Theory

The idea of synthesis alerts researchers that the outcomes of socialization processes must be more than conformity or the mere transmission of similarity from the older generation to the younger generation. Change and the emergence of novel syntheses are also the expected outcomes of socialization and development. There are several directions that may lead to advances in the conceptualization of synthesis in research on socialization. These are a dialectical reformulation of interpersonal influence, the concept of synthetic outcomes, and the concept of nonlinear trajectory.

Relational Influence

In the socialization literature parental influence is often conceptualized as parental control. *Parental control* has been conceptualized as a parenting dimension, a parental practice, a process, and an outcome. What is not clear is the meaning of *control*. Baumrind (2012) argued that parental control ideally should be conceptualized as confrontative power assertion rather than as coercion. However, confrontative power assertion itself was defined in a deterministic way. Confrontative power assertion was operationalized as "confronts when child

disobeys, cannot be coerced by the child, successfully exerts force or influence, enforces after initial noncompliance, exercises power unambivalently, uses negative sanctions freely, and discourages defiant stance" (p. 37). For example, in the authoritative parenting style (Baumrind, 2012), the parent considers children's attempts to negotiate, but in the end, the parent decides, exercises control to enforce compliance.

From a dialectical perspective the concept of control is problematic because it raises a distinction between linear deterministic models of causality and dialectical models of causality. The term *control* may be appropriate if it means no more than a power assertive pattern of behavior; however it is problematic from a dialectical perspective when *control* refers to the process of influence or the outcomes of a control attempt. Control as an outcome or causal process implies an underlying mechanistic model of linear cause and effect, which is inappropriate for conceptualizing influence between human agents.

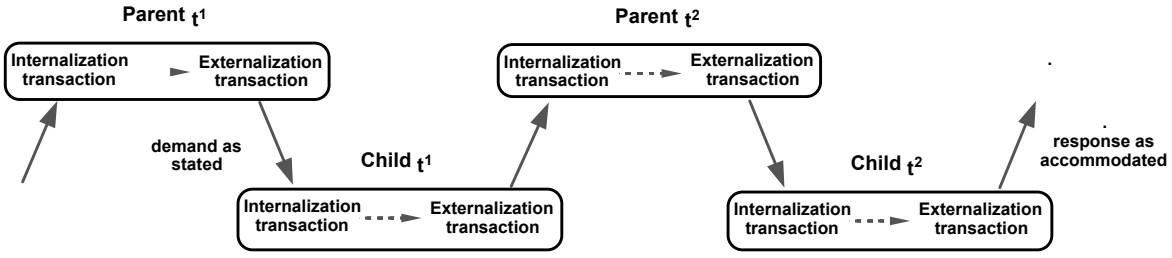
Bateson (1972) used Lewis Carroll's famous account of flamingo croquet in *Alice in Wonderland* to illustrate the difficulty of applying traditional notions of linear causality to interactions among biological organisms. In this game (Figure 9.5), Alice must play croquet using a live flamingo as a mallet with the goal of propelling a live hedgehog as if it were a ball through wickets formed of doubled-up soldiers. The game proved difficult because the flamingo and the other components of the game were not inanimate objects but active agents with goals of their own and capacities to act and to think ahead. Alice's control of the flamingo was illusory because the poor mechanical coupling of Alice to the flamingo made it difficult for her to "control" the flamingo or determine the hedgehog's trajectory in any predicable way.

Figure 9.5 Flamingo croquet: Metaphor of linear causality when applied to agents.

Playing the game with living organisms require dialectical ground rules. First, the idea of control needs to be abandoned and replaced with a concept of relational influence compatible with influence between active agents. For example, Alice's influence in the game may improve if she assumed that the components of the game are agents and use strategies adapted to the agentic nature of the participants and perhaps her relationship with them. Second, Alice may have to adjust her expectations so that they anticipate that the outcomes will be something different than exact compliance to her wishes.

In the literature on close relationships, the term *influence* is used instead of *control* to denote causal processes whereby relationship partners affect each other's thoughts, behaviors, and emotions (Huston, 2002). Building on this usage the authors propose the construct of *relational influence* as a dialectical model of causality for understanding transactions between human agents in a relationship context (Figure 9.6). In the process of relational influence outcomes of influence attempts are dynamically constructed in bidirectional ←→ transactions as individuals construct new meanings from each other's verbal and nonverbal communication. The model of relational influence is useful for understanding how differences are created between the intention of a parental attempt to "control" a child's behavior and the child's response.

Figure 9.6 Relational model of Influence: Construction of novelty, impossibility of control.



The model of relational influence in Figure 6 is an elaboration of Sameroff's (1975a, 1975b) transactional model of development, which depicts parents and children engaging in qualitative change as they respond to each other over time. However, as discussed by Sameroff (2009), transaction also occurs at the microlevel when parents and children interpret each others' behavior during social interactions. The process of transaction in relational influence depicted in Figure 9.6 is elaborated by Lawrence and Valsiner's (1993, 2006) conception of the internal processing that occurs between the input from the external environmental and the person's output back into the external social world. They argue that there are two internal processes to consider, internalization and externalization. *Internalization* refers to the cognitive processing (internalization

transaction) that takes place as individuals make personal sense of messages from the environment. Internalization may consist of interpreting events based on their existing knowledge, evaluating the message along with competing messages from the environment and reconstructing, the message for their own use (Kuczynski et al., 1997). *Externalization* refers to the further processing that takes place as they manifest or act on what they know (externalization transaction).

The latter relation takes the form of externalization of one's "personal culture"—organization of one's environment and external appearance in ways that fit the person's internalized psychological "needs." The externalization of the person's (previously) internalized psychological processes reintroduces the products of internalization into the sphere of social transaction (Lawrence &Valsiner, 1993, p. 288).

As depicted in Figure 9.6, a command that initiates an influence attempt by a parent is embedded in a previous history of parent-child transactions such that the parent's choice of influence strategy has already been pre-adapted (internalization transaction) to the child. In the parent's externalization transaction the parent may consider usefulness of the proposed action for achieving their goals for the child, predictions of the child's responses on the basis of expectancies developed in the past, or consider the consequences for the parent-child relationship. Similarly, the child interprets and evaluates, cognitively and emotionally, the parents' communication (internalization transaction) and chooses a response that accommodates or resists the parent's communication (externalization transaction). Thus, in the process of a control attempt messages may repeatedly undergo one process of transformation as they are internalized and another process of transformation as they are externalized back into the social world.

The argument is that relational influence always contains a qualitative transformation or synthesis. There may be the appearance of control in the sense of the child's externalized cooperative behavior; but children can interject creative components into a cooperative response. Also, one can never know if the other has accepted the message or in what way the individual has transformed it. Thus whatever intentions-goals-strategies the parent or the child may have or use, for his or her effect on the other the parent or child is dependent on the other. Parents or children may *want* to control but the best they can hope for is relational influence.

Other venues of nondeterministic parental influence may occur when the purpose is not to directly influence the child's behavior but to influence the holistic contexts in which may beneficially guide the child's choices. Examples of such holistic indirect influences may include contributing to a responsive relationship context to which the child has a stake, or managing the child's ecological environments such as the child's neighborhood, school and network of

peer relationships (Parke et al., 2003). Managing these proximal and distal contexts may serve to constrain the child's agency but in a nondeterministic way that allows the child scope for action.

Synthetic Outcomes

The dialectical conception of relational influence implies a dialectical conception of *synthetic outcomes* that reflect the co-regulated nature of outcomes in close relationships. Two conceptions of outcomes that are iconic in unidirectional models of socialization are the constructs of *compliance* (Kuczynski & Hildebrandt, 1997) and *intergenerational transmission* (Kuczynski et al., 1997). Both of these conceptions connote an expectation that outcomes in the younger generation are linear reflections of the input of the older generation. A way forward is to re-conceptualize compliance as the synthetic outcome of accommodation and negotiation and intergenerational transmission as the construction of working models.

Accommodation and Negotiation

A deterministic conception of outcomes is most explicit in behavioral perspectives on compliance to parental demands. According to researchers who take a behavioral perspective, (e.g., MacMahon & Forehand, 2003; Patterson, 1982) the operational definition of an appropriate child response is immediate compliance within seconds after a parental command. Ideally, children should comply immediately, completely, and without complaint, a definition that implies an expectation of an exact match between the child's response and the parent's command. Moreover, Patterson (1982) defines alternative child responses as noncompliance, which is considered to be a form of coercion. This does not allow possibilities of considering as legitimate the novelty that emerges from the transactions between human agents.

Grusec, Goodnow, and Kuczynski (2000) argue that although there are situations in which parents do expect immediate or strict compliance, such as when there are issues of safety or morality, such situations are relatively infrequent in daily life. Thus, Goodnow (1994) suggests that parents communicate a variety of positions with regard to their acceptance of children's behaviors ranging from what is ideal to what is acceptable, tolerable, or "out of the question." Similarly, Kuczynski and Hildebrandt (1997) argued that in close relationships the goal is less often to obtain exact compliance, than it is to obtain conflict resolution or a compromise of the original desires of the participants. During the history of their relationship, parents and children evolve shared understandings of what will pass for compliance in different situations. It is only rarely that the shared understanding approximates the complete, immediate

submission that is implied by immediate compliance. Accordingly, they proposed that the constructs of accommodation and negotiation as dialectical reformulations of compliance and noncompliance for children's cooperative and non-cooperative responses in close relationship contexts. The idea is that these terms convey the synthetic nature of the process and outcomes of many episodes of socialization. They are synthetic outcomes because they incorporate novelty that results from a dialogic engagement of the opposing perspectives of parents and children.

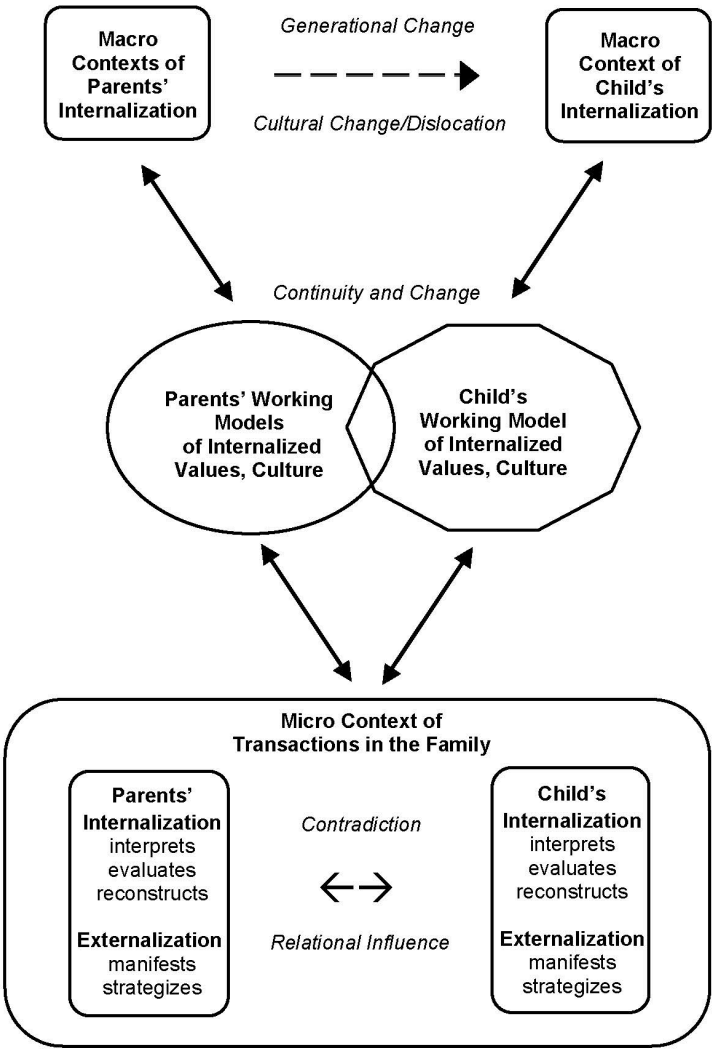
Accommodation conveys both a cooperative response, and also that the form of the cooperative response will be chosen by the recipient rather than by the sender of a request. Thus, an accommodating response by children may acknowledge that the parent has been heard, that children will attempt to coordinate the parent's wishes with their own plans or that children are willing to negotiate an alternative course of action. Children's responses, even when cooperative will contain a novel component creatively constructed by their actions and interpretations. For example, a child who is disposed to cooperate may wish to do so at a time or in a manner (e.g., whistle while working, listening to music while studying) of their own choosing, thus infusing creative agency into their accommodative action. Similarly *negotiation* is a synthetic outcome of two opposing causal forces, the parents demand and the child's resistance to the demand, as constrained by the relationship context. Just as children must regulate their cooperative behaviors in a social context, they must also regulate their autonomous behaviors within a context that contains other individuals, including parents, whose choices clash with their own. Consequently, the main argument is that socially competent children display a co-regulated but nonexact form of cooperation or resistance—a synthesis—that represents their expression of agency within the constraints of a close parent-child relationship.

Working Models

The idea that children internalize the values of the parents or that culture is transmitted from one generation to the next also has deterministic connotations. Strauss (1992) described the construct of *intergenerational transmission* of values or culture as incorporating FAX metaphor that implies that parents directly and faithfully transmit a copy of their own values to their children. The idea of transmission not only discounts the agency of children but also implicitly discounted the agency of parents who were considered to be passive conduits of their own socialization experiences (De Mol, Lemmens,Verhofstadt, & Kuczynski, 2013; Kuczynski et al., 1997). The transmission idea also does not incorporate the possibility of intergenerational change in social values or that members of each generation actively construct their own values in the process of internalization. The flip side of intergenerational continuity is cultural and social change. Since the 1970s there have been vast changes in values concerning gender equality,

racial, cultural, family, and sexual diversity, and the rights of children. There is a new concern for the impact of human activities on the environment. The role of media and globalization of knowledge drives increasingly rapid change occurring in the present. Yet the socialization literature has not had the conceptual tools to study the developmental implications of these phenomena.

Figure 9.7 Dialectical model of intergenerational transmission.



Kuczynski, Marshall, and Schell (1997) maintain that the concept of *working models* can appropriately replace the deterministic conception of internalization as a static transmission of similarity, with a conception that internalization is an ongoing process of synthesis where beliefs and values are continuously being constructed and challenged throughout life. The model in Figure 9.7 considers the ecological context of socialization and internalization, reframed as a dialectic between parents and children's engagement with the social

world at the macro level, processing of information at the individual level, and transactions occurring between the parent and the child in the proximal context of the family.

The macro contexts of the parents' internalization (which may differ for the mother and the father) and the macro context of the child internalization are depicted at the top of Figure 9.7, conceptualized as culture and generation. The concept of *generation* is concerned with continuity and change produced through the agency of people born and learning at succeeding periods of historical time. Generational change comes about through external forces and collective actions such as immigration, war, economic changes, new technology, and the introduction of new ideas by individuals and groups. According to Mannheim (1928/1952) young people form a generation by being exposed to specific social, historical, and political events and ideas of a particular time period. They develop shared ways of interpreting and evaluating situations, and may form generational groups that react to issues in similar ways. The different generations of parents and children form the context of external ideas to which parents and children are exposed. The parent generation and the child generation are separated by the historical time in which they were growing up. Many families also may experience abrupt change in culture due to immigration. For immigrant parents and children, therefore, there are differences in the external influences of direct socialization such as schools and other institutions as well as differences in to their exposure the process enculturation, or emersion in the everyday practices of the encompassing culture.

The micro context of transactions within the family is depicted at the bottom of Figure 9.7. Parents and children are depicted as engaging in transactional processes of internalization and externalization (Lawrence & Valsiner, 1993, 2006) as they face contradictions that emerge from their separate perspectives within the constraining influences of a valued, interdependent, long-term relationship. Parents and children must reconcile the different sources of information from their surrounding ecology as well as their interactions from each other to affirm or reconstruct their own ideas and to decide how to interact with each other. Kuczynski and colleagues (Kuczynski et al., 1997; Kuczynski & Knafo, 2013; Kuczynski, Navara, & Boiger, 2011) suggest that studying the acculturation of immigrant families in a new culture offers new insights into the process of creating the syntheses that are the working models of parents and children. Thus, family acculturation involves not only processes such as teaching, modeling, discipline that have been studied in within culture socialization, but also processes that are unique to the problem of fostering aspects of the parents culture of origin to children in the new cultural context. Their reviews of the literature included novel strategies such as cocooning, prearming, intentional enculturation, guided participation, on the part of parents; cultural brokering, negotiation, resistance and accommodation on the part of children; as well as relationship

management so as to protect the relationship despite differences in perspective on the part of both parents and children.

At the center is the expected dialectical outcome of internalization, a synthesis that incorporates both similarity and change. Because of the different life experiences, different transactions with each other, and their different exposure, loyalty, and susceptibility to ideas of generational peers, media or other institutions in their ecological contexts, each member of the family develops different personal working models of their values.

Nonlinear Trajectories

Socialization is often conceived of preparing the child for future success in society. However, there is little conceptualization of the future as an outcome. The idea of a nonlinear trajectory consisting of a general orientation with a wide range of possibilities as outcomes offers a nonlinear conception of progress toward the future. The idea of trajectories was depicted earlier in Figure 9.6, as possible syntheses that result from the processing of contradictions. The *trajectory equifinality model* proposed by Sato, Hikada, and Fukuda (2009) conceptualizes trajectories as a continuing process of development that entails further contradictions and syntheses along the way to an uncertain future. The trajectory equifinality model assumes that individuals are agents who produce their own development (Lerner & Busch-Rossnagel, 1981). The model also builds on the principle of equifinality, which means that in open systems a given end state can be reached by many potential paths (McClelland et al., Chapter 13, this *Handbook*, this volume; Overton, 2010; von Bertalanffy, 1968). However, the model adds a conception of the activity of the individual, the role of social forces, and a conception of a broad zone of possible endpoints.

The trajectory equifinality model begins with an individual's goals and vision of a possible future, which may be quite broad. Operating on the individual's progress toward the future are two social forces, *social direction* from cultural and external powers that keep an individual in line, and may be a barrier to individual choices, and, *social guidance*, which are the available social supports for the individuals' goals. From these conflicting directions, the individual creates a *synthesized personal trajectory*. Along the way barriers and opportunities provide multiple bifurcations or choice points where decisions are made about deviations from the trajectory or alternate routes on the trajectory. The trajectory moves towards a *multifinality* where there is more than one concrete goal, or a *zone of finality* if the general direction but not the specific goals are clearly visualized.

Holden (2010) discusses the idea of trajectory from the perspective of the parent providing social guidance for children's progress toward the future. Parents

initiate trajectories by selecting environments that expose children to experiences and invest resources in particular activities, such as music lessons that may or may not pan out. Parents may support trajectories through proactive and sustained efforts, including encouragement, time, and helpful messages and material assistance. Parents mediate trajectories that are chosen by the child by helping the child to interpret roadblocks and helping them to avoid problematic trajectories. Finally, parents provide guidance by reacting positively or negatively to child-initiated trajectories by supporting the child's choices of activities, educational and careers or using their power to attempt to redirect or create barriers to the child's choices. Holden's analysis is not a deterministic one because the child is also active in accepting, rejecting or negotiating parent-initiated pathways. Children's own efforts determine progress on the trajectory and they may choose their own pathway with or without the parents' support.

A question for future research is whether parents take a dialectical perspective on their role as socializing agents. Parents do not always expect exact transmission of messages and exact conformity as outcomes (Goodnow, 1997) and it is possible that when parents give commands or hold forth on values, they have some expectation that their requests will be compromised or transformed through interpretation. In this view parents who have an inflexible or deterministic conception of future goals may be on a trajectory that is problematic for both parents and children. Having precise goals such as insisting that children have specific beliefs, or that they achieve academically at an unrealistic level, or adopt a narrow range of professions (doctor or lawyer, but definitely not psychologist) may undermine children's confidence or promote resistance in children and a sense of failure in parents.

There is preliminary evidence that parents may have expectations and practices that are consistent with a dialectical perspective on influence. Robson and Kuczynski (2013) found that parents of 8 to 13-year-old children rarely conceived of or enforced their behavioral expectations of children in the sense of clear, inflexible "rules" determined solely by the parent. Instead, flexibility was built into the nature of parental expectations. Flexibility was evident in that parents adjusted their expectations according to the child's emotional state, situational circumstances and allowed leeway in the time frame for the child's cooperative response. Leeway was also inherent in the way parents perceived they implemented their expectations. Parents reported that rules were negotiated during interaction. For instance, parents adjusted their rules based on the child's resistance and child's persuasive abilities. Resistance was anticipated and often interpreted as legitimate signs of children's autonomy and parents granted greater leeway was created as children earned their autonomy by demonstrating responsibility. Thus, parents appeared to have an underlying dialectical conception of their influence both by incorporating leeway for the child's agency in their very

conception of rules and in anticipating and accepting novel outcomes during interactions with their child.

Applied Social Relational Theory

Although social relational theory is relevant to multiple practical applications concerning interventions in the family, the focus here is on applications in family therapy. When families enter the therapeutic setting, parents, who generally initiate the appointment, often present the problem as noncompliance or unmanageability of the child. Parents are frustrated, angry, powerless, defeated, and define for the therapist the desired outcome, which often is that the child must be changed or must be made to comply. However, the therapist sees other issues beyond the presenting problem of child noncompliance, in particular the therapist sees relational complexities in the dynamics of the family. The child is also frustrated, angry, powerless, and defeated, while other family members, the marital relationship, sibling relationships may also be troubled.

Depending on the therapist's theoretical orientation, there are different directions for choosing where to intervene in a dynamic parent-child relationship system. For the behaviorally (i.e., mechanistically) trained therapist the choice is often to begin with the child's noncompliance and its role in a mutually coercive cascade (McMahon & Forehand, 2003; Patterson et al., 1992). Noncompliance has been described as the foundation for the development of children's aggression and the parents are commonly given a child-management protocol to increase their control over the noncompliance. In this perspective the quality of the parent-child relationship is a secondary goal that, hopefully, will follow improvements in the child's behavior. Contemporary parenting programs that are focused on noncompliance often have a relationship-management component where efforts are made to improve the relationship by adjusting the ratio of positive to negative reinforcements or emotional communication skills (Kaminski, Valle, Filene, Cynthia, & Boyle, 2008). However, relationship management is often added on eclectically and pragmatically and does not stem from a theoretically integrated position on the role of relationships in the assessment of causality in the family.

Some cognitive-behavioral therapists have adopted a more comprehensive relational approach to intervention. Cavell challenged the tight focus on noncompliance, arguing that a strong stance against noncompliance could undermine the affective quality of their relationship (Cavell & Elledge, 2007; Cavell & Strand, 2003). Cavell advocated a broader focus on long-term socialization goals instead of immediate reduction of problem behavior. This approach includes constructing an accepting long-term relationship as a context

for children's development and developing a sense of connection and containment within that relationship.

Family therapists, trained in a family systems perspective (Nichols, 2012) understand the family as an organized whole, beyond the individual and beyond the dyad, in which mutual influences between the family members feature the interdependent nature of the system. Family systems theory was influenced by cybernetics and general systems theory (Dallos & Draper, 2000). Both theories offered a comprehensive paradigm to understand the individual family member within the dynamics of the family context, but differed in their approach about the nature of the system. Cybernetics takes a mechanistic perspective in which families are approached as closed systems driven by basic principles as feedback, homeostasis, and circularity. In the mechanistic perspective, systems resist change and psychopathology of an individual family member is assumed to have the function of restoring homeostasis when the family equilibrium is upset. On the other hand, in the general systems perspective, systems are open and consist of living organisms that constantly coact with their environment (Overton, 1975; von Bertalanffy, 1968). Within this organismic perspective systems are also seen as self-organizing, self-regulating sets of processes that actively maintain internal stability, as well as creatively adapt to the external environment. In the organismic systems metaphor the psychopathology of an individual family member is considered to reflect the failure of the family as a system to adapt to internal and environmental changes (Minuchin & Fishman, 1981). Because of this holistic approach to humans' individual and relational functioning, the target of intervention is more often the relationship. However, family therapists are hampered by insufficient conceptual tools for understanding relationship dynamics and for intervening at the relationship level.

Social relational theory is not a psychotherapeutic model or protocol, but a theory about family dynamics offering ideas and concepts that focus on meaning construction within family relationships and other social contexts. The theory's dialectical assumptions has a potential to inform clinical practice with troubled families because it offers a reframing of troubled relationships that builds on strengths within the family. Its core examples from research on well-functioning, or nonclinic families, indicating that child resistance, conflict, and opposing perspectives, intimacy, flexibility, and uncertainty have positive functions in the family, reframe similar ideas that have had an exclusive negative connotation in studies of clinic families. The focus on agency, the relationship context, and dialectical change suggests directions for a positive action-oriented approach that contrasts with the problem-focused interventions. Concepts such as equal agency which draws attention to the agency of not only the parent but also the child and the dialectical tensions between both agents, the relationship as context embedded within cultural contexts, and the dialectical nature of interpersonal influence, can

help the clinician to understand (and do something with) the complexity of the process of reconnecting the agents to the relationship.

Addressing the agency of individuals is central to a strength-focused approach in which the focus is on the positive capacities of parents and children, including positive goals and resources that they can develop, rather than on their problems and deficiencies (Lerner, Almerigi, Theokas, & Lerner, 2005; Saleebey, 2013). Focusing on strengths connects agents as a constructive future perspective on their relationship becomes more visible (Berg, 1994). Most psychotherapy models agree that progressive change can only be obtained by addressing constructive human dimensions, for example by encouraging parents to use positive reinforcement of appropriate behavior not just punishing noncompliance. However, although attention has been paid to the resilience of children in the family (Walsh, 1998), an agentic strength perspective is almost absent in research on child psychopathology. The traditional focus on children with ADHD, autism, obsessive-compulsive disorders, oppositional-defiant disorders, and conduct disorders, is on the deficits of these children and how the environment, in particular the parents, have to deal with it. Almost no research has focused on what these children add to the relationship, and how the environment can build on these constructive aspects in social interactions with these children. Instead clinical concepts such as "noncompliance" infuse children's attempts to express their autonomy with the idea of deviance Kuczynski & Hildebrandt, 1997), Similarly constructs such as "parentified child" and "role reversal" attribute victimization and passivity to actions that alternatively may be viewed as the child acting as competent or resilient actor stepping up to promote mutual goals on behalf of the family (Chee, Goh & Kuczynski, in press).

Focusing on the agency of the child is consistent with evolutions in family therapy in which the child is perceived as an agent of change (Wilson, 2012). Children bring novelty, unpredictability, and creativity into the family therapy session that the therapist can welcome to induce change. Wilson argues that the family therapist has to leave his safe position and move to a "zone of discomfort," a zone that is not controllable for the therapist due to the agency of the child in the therapy session. Treating parents and children respectfully and equally does not mean agreeing with them all the time. Change includes dialectical interventions from the clinician whereby the appropriateness of parents' and children's positions, beliefs, and goals are challenged. This active attitude includes that the clinician cannot know in advance which meanings and behaviors are appropriate for the system because these are co-constructed within the therapeutic process.

Isolated Versus Connected Agents

An implication of social relational perspective is that the dialectical process of opposing forces between parent and child actions as agents can only be

constructive for development when both feel connected to the relationship. The inevitable contradictions that exist between parents and children, which are necessary for development, become obstacles when parent and child agents no longer feel connectedness to the relationship. When contradictions can only be felt and understood as mutual rejections, positive moments of synthesis are impossible and parents and children become alienated from the relationship.

The basic therapeutic premise that follows from this perspective is that family members who visit clinical practice are feeling and behaving as *isolated agents* and not as *connected agents*: family members have lost or are losing their connectedness to the relationship. At the beginning of a psychotherapeutic process, parents and children tell stories about their being hurt, misunderstood, rejected, teased, denigrated, and assaulted by others. They experience these feelings in an overpowering and undifferentiated way. The basic feeling is one of disadvantage or being badly treated by others. The core issue is that family members seem to have lost a sense that they have significance and make a difference in their relationships.

Children can be said to differ in their sense of connectedness in supportive relationships. Relationally connected children have a history of involved, responsive and intimate relationships and have a relatively high stake in their relationships with parents and others in their social networks. As connected agents, they are more likely to have their expression of agency constrained by a desire to protect their valued relationship. They are more likely to have a mutually responsive orientation (Kochanska, 2002) and, when they resist, they are more likely to do so in a way that accommodates the relationship. In contrast, relationally isolated agents have a history of uninvolved, unresponsive and non-intimate relationships and a corresponding low stake in personal relationships with caregivers. This dynamic is likely for children in neglecting, abusive, and insecure relationships.

Baumrind (2012), citing Bakan (1966), argues that optimal development requires a balance within the individual of the competing drives of communion and agency:

> *Communion* is the drive to be connected and of service that manifests itself adaptively in pro-social conduct, including friendliness with peers, and cooperation with just authority; *agency* is the drive for independence, individuality, autonomy, and mastery that manifests itself adaptively in self-efficacy, initiative, assertiveness, and resistance to what are perceived as unjust demands. Agency unmitigated by communion is self-centered and exploitive resulting eventually in reciprocated harm; communion unmitigated by agency is self-abnegating and subservient, inviting exploitation. (p. 46)

Thus, Baumrind cautions against the extremes forms of both isolated and connected agency. Reinterpreting this from a relational perspective, what is required is a relationship context that fosters both autonomy and interdependence. This means a relationship where the agency of each member is acknowledged, where difference can coexist with connection, and each member recognizes existentially that they have influence in the relationship.

Reconnecting Agents to the Relationship

A direction for application is that any professional change agent, including the therapist can construct with the parent and the child moments of shared and co-created meanings in their relationship. The therapist can begin to connect parents and children by pointing to the fact that they took the trouble to visit clinical practice as evidence that the relationship matters to them. Furthermore, the concept of the relationship as a systemic whole, including a past, a present, and a future can inspire parents, children, and the clinician in their joint search for moments of shared meaning (Oliphant & Kuczynski, 2011; Weingarten 1991). Joint recognition of moments of intimacy reconnects the isolated agents to the relationship. By identifying past and present moments of shared meaning the parent and the child can each recognize that the ability to engage in shared meaning belongs to their relationship and not just conflict. However, the construction of the relationship cannot be solely an individual activity. Mutual moments of intimacy are necessary to connect the agents and to create the possibility for constructive dialectics in the relationship. Moments of intimacy do not reflect fusion of the agents: difference between the agents and acceptance of difference is necessary for positive development.

The agency of the family member reflects the meaning or significance of the family member within the relationship and consequently implies the existential nature of being an agent in the relationship. Because the sense of being an agent is constructed within the relationship a family member is dependent on acts of recognition of other family members for the development and construction of his or her sense of agency. When the parent and the child can feel again that they make a difference towards each other, they can be reconnected to the history of their relationship.

Promoting the Idea of Dialectical Influence

The idea of "making a difference" in the relationship pertains to the dialectical construct of relational influence discussed earlier. An important goal in reconnecting isolated family members to the relationship is that family members develop a concept of interpersonal influence that is appropriate to interactions

among human agents. There are two potential issues, loss of a sense of relational efficacy, and an inappropriate linear conception of the nature of influence in social interactions between human agents.

Relational efficacy is a dialectical elaboration of the existing concept of *self-efficacy* (Bandura, 2006). Despite the importance of the self-efficacy construct for understanding human agency, the original definition of self-efficacy is based on an implicit linear conception of influence, namely, the belief that an agent has the capacity to exert personal control to produce a particular outcome. This sense of *control* is assumed to originate through the experience of contingencies among actions, intentions, and outcomes. However, relational efficacy, or the belief that one can influence another person in a relationship, distinguishes interpersonal outcomes from outcomes such as control over the nonsocial environment. The construct of relational efficacy includes both cognitive and experiential dimensions and stems from an individual's experience of making a difference in the relationship (De Mol & Buysse, 2008a). Relational influence captures the person's existential being in the relationship, where what the person does or does not do has consequences for the other person in the relationship.

A sense of relational efficacy develops from an individuals' history of transactions in specific relationships. Children report that their sense of influence in the family derives from a mutually responsive parent-child relationship context (De Mol & Buysse, 2008b). Similarly, Cummings and Schermerhorn (2003) proposed that parental sensitivity and responsiveness promote children's beliefs that they can influence family interactions. For instance, Cummings and Schermerhorn argued that secure and insecure attachment patterns could be interpreted as children's beliefs that their bids for comfort in stressful situations will be met with success. De Mol and Buysse (2008a, 2008b) found that children recognize their influence on parents but often do not perceive this influence to be strategic or intentional. This suggests that children derive their sense of relational influence from the way their parents respond to their actions. The influence children have on their parents tells children something about their agency in the relationship. Because of their position in the relationship, which is less bounded by cultural obligations in comparison with the parents' position (e.g., parents have a social and financial responsibility, which children do not have), children can feel and describe the dialectical nature of interpersonal influence. This is much more difficult for parents because they may be constrained by illusions of control because of dominant unilateral discourses in our society.

Relational efficacy has two components. First, a sense of relational efficacy develops from the awareness that one's influence emerges from a history of transactions in the relationship and that one exerts one's own influence in a bidirectional ←→ context that includes the influence of the other. Second, a realistic sense of relational efficacy requires awareness that influence is dialectical in nature and that the outcome has the potential for novelty. Assessing the other's

response always entails uncertainty because the other's response contains external behaviors that one can objectively see as well as internal responses that one cannot see. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) argue that the success of the parent's influence attempt depends, cognitively, on the child's accurate perception of the message and, motivationally, on the child's acceptance of the message. However, the parent never knows for certain if the message has been accurately perceived or accepted.

A sense of relational efficacy is built up of one's experience of both co-operation and resistance, formed during the history of the relationship. Because of the transformations that occur during transactions, an expectation of having a deterministic control over social outcomes is unrealistic and potentially maladaptive because the agency of each family member is ignored (White & Epston, 1990). However, even if a child does not comply, or comply exactly, to a parent's request, a sense of relational efficacy may emerge from perceptions that the parent has been heard, that they matter (Marshall & Lambert, 2006), or that they have made a difference in the relationship.

When agents lose their sense of relational efficacy, the relationship is no longer a constructive power resource that can support them as agents of influence. And when constructive power resources disappear, only coercive power remains (De Mol & Buysse, 2008a). Cummings and Schermerhorn (2003) argued that when children have little sense of agency in the relationship they tend to express their agency in extreme controlling ways or may act in an excessively self reliant manner. Similarly, Bugental, Lyon, Krantz, and Cortez (1997) found that mothers who experience a loss of influence, act in a threatened manner and resort to coercion to restore their power. The problem with coercive power is that coercion can never change the relationship in constructive way because individual agents become further alienated from the relationship.

Another implication for clinical practice is that isolated agents may have an inappropriate expectation that their influence in interpersonal relationships should be linear and direct. The assumption that parents and children are equally agents implies that one relationship partner cannot mold the other or cannot influence the other in a way that the other becomes a person as desired by the relationship partner who exerts influence.

To develop a sense of efficacy in the relationship, parents and children need a dialectical conception of what influence means. Namely, because of the meanings generated by each of the interacting partners during the processes of internalization and externalization their effects include qualitative change or novelty (see previous discussion of relational influence). Without this dialectical conception of influence, the other's responses of nonexact accommodation, reinterpretations, and negotiations cannot be perceived as positive outcomes of influence. The metaphor of developing and *experiencing the inside* (as a result of internalization) and *dialoguing via the outside* (as a result of externalization) can

be used to translate the abstract scientific metaphor of internalization and externalization into a form that can be used in clinical practice.

Each person in a transaction influences the other in a two stage process: their inside private experience and their outside public communication. The inside consists of cognitions and felt emotions about the other and the relationship and what one would like the other to do. Individuals disclose their inside to others through their outside via overt behavior, verbal messages and nonverbal communication such as facial expression tone of voice and body posture. Within social interactions individuals can see others' outside but not their inside. It is by means of their outside individuals affect the other person which means that the other person will interpret the individuals' outside. Based upon these interpretations and inside experiences, the person will respond with their own outside. Each person in a social interaction interprets the other's behavior, attributes meaning to it and feels something about it, and ultimately responds or externalizes on the basis of that interpretation and feeling. Thus an influence transaction between two people is a dance with four steps: sender's outside to recipient's inside; recipient's outside to sender's inside. The outcome of actions between agents in the dance of relational influence should always be considered to generate something new that reflects the activity of both partners.

Within a clinical context, the child, as full and equal partner of the parents and the clinician can contradict the illusion of direct control and give insights in the complexities of interpersonal influence. Although agency includes strategic action and partners use strategic behavior to influence the other partner in the relationship, strategic action can never unilaterally change the other agent. Consequently, the therapeutic agent has to take this position explicitly, acknowledging the impossibility of imposing change on the parent and the child. However, therapeutic agents do have relational influence in the sense of making a difference in the relationship.

Acknowledging the Cultural Context of Agency

The recognition in social relational theory of cultural influences on the construction of the parent-child relationship also has important clinical implications. Cultural representations complicate the therapeutic scenario at a level beyond dyadic interactions. For example, a strong social representation in western culture is the deterministic notion that the parent is causally responsible for the development of the child (De Mol & Buysse, 2008b). This social representation is problematical because meanings are constructed about the failing parent and about the child who is victim of the parental failure. The cultural representation that the parent-child relationship is necessarily hierarchical is a barrier to understanding that friendship qualities or intimate interactions that are possible in the relationship. The dominant representation that a real parent-child

relationship is a biological relationship is problematic for stepparent-stepchild relationships where there are no cultural prescriptions available for the stepparent and child about how to act in the relationship. For children with ADHD the representation that education can only be accomplished if the child must act beyond their capacity and sit still and attentive for long periods of time is a barrier to understanding the child's limitations for acting agentically within these constraints.

The therapeutic agent can address the barriers posed by cultural representations by offering parent and child the broad cultural framework in which the constraints on their agency acquire meaning. This implies that parents and children cannot change cultural discourses, but by addressing them as full agents they can think how to cope with these complexities and recognize that they have an influence on these discourses, although without changing them linearly. Acknowledging cultural representations allow the clinician to address the reciprocal influences between the various levels of human complexity.

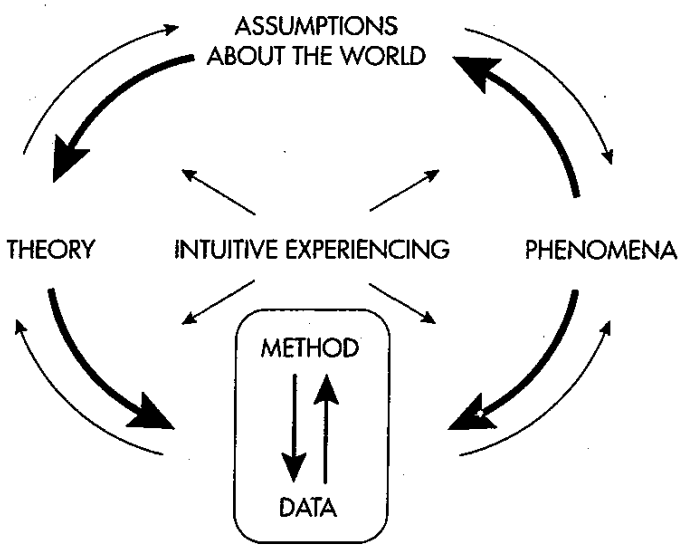
Dialectically Informed Methodology

The dialectical approach is partially an argument that a broader methodology of theory-driven research is needed for the study of socialization processes. Over the years there have been calls for a conception of science that recognizes a constitutive role of theory construction as an interpretative act in the process of generating scientific knowledge in psychology (e.g. Haig, 2005; Kuczynski & Daly, 2003; Overton, 2002; Valsiner, 2000). This position means that the field needs to move beyond the neopositivist methodologies that have dominated research efforts. As an epistemology, neopositivism regarded scientific hypotheses as strict inductions drawn from pristine empirical observations and hypotheses were assessed in this same pristine field. This approach demanded that any theoretical concept or broad theory be ultimately reducible to the pristine observations from whence they derived (see Overton, 2006, for a critique of the history of neopositivism and instrumentalism as scientific methodologies). A consequence of neopositivism is that inductive and hypothetico-deductive methods, with an associated focus on the tools of statistics, aggregated variables, and objective measures, are viewed as the hallmarks of the scientific method, a position that marginalizes the role of theory construction (e.g., Haig, 2005; Overton, 2006; Valsiner, 2000).

Valsiner (2000; Branco & Valsiner, 1997) suggests that rather than viewing methodology as a toolbox of readymade methods for gathering data (observations), methodology should be viewed more generally as the whole process of knowledge construction (Figure 9.8). "It entails mutually linked components of general assumptions about the world at large (axioms), specific

constructed theories of the given target area, understanding of pertinent phenomena, and—finally—ways of constructing specific methods to transform some aspects of the phenomena into purposefully derived data" (Valsiner, 2000, p. 82). Explaining the phenomenon is the focus of the knowledge construction process and the researcher is the agent who will use whatever methods or concepts, it takes to achieve understanding, mainstream or not. Worldviews, metatheory, theory, phenomena, and the production of data are interlinked in a system of ideas observations and procedures in which the researcher, on the basis of personal reasoning, experiences of the real world, and intuitions, makes productive or unproductive choices among various methods in relation to the emerging understanding of phenomena. The following examines the coacting components of the methodological cycle.

Figure 9.8 The methodology cycle (Branco & Valsiner,1997).



Focusing on the Phenomenon

The phenomenon is the central focus of the research endeavor. According to Haig (2005) phenomena are relatively stable, recurrent, general features of the world that researchers seek to explain. Haig distinguishes phenomena from data. Data are pliable and idiosyncratic to particular investigative contexts because data result from the interaction of a large number of factors.

> Phenomena have a stability and repeatability that is demonstrated through the use of different procedures that often engage different kinds of data. Data are recordings or reports that are perceptually accessible; they are observable and open to public inspection. Despite the popular view to the contrary, phenomena are not, in general, observable; they are abstractions wrought from the

> relevant data, frequently as a result of a reductive process of data analysis. (Haig, 2005, p. 374)

As was outlined earlier in this chapter, socialization, as a phenomenon, is more complex than once was assumed and involves intergenerational change, not just stability and continuity, active agency, not just passive reactivity. This is what needs to be understood. Theory, data, world views, experience, therefore, can be regarded as no more than conceptual and procedural tools that aid in understanding the phenomenon.

Worldviews

Worldviews generally refer to metatheoretical ideas regarding ontology, or assumptions about the nature of the world. Ontological assumptions guide the conceptualization of both the phenomenon and its constituent processes. It was argued in this chapter that a dialectical (organismic-contextual or relational developmental systems) ontology is better suited for understanding the phenomenon of socialization in the family than a mechanistic ontology. A dialectical ontology involves assumptions about the active nature of the coacting components, the context in which they coact, the relations between the components and the whole and the nature of outcomes. We also argue, that to make effective use of dialectics as a conceptual tool, one cannot adopt just one idea, such as accepting that children are agents, but retain other assumptions such as a mechanistic conception of influence or regarding context as a variable rather than a constituent process. Comprehensively adopting a dialectical model has implications for the whole system of ideas that are used to understand a phenomenon.

Adopting a dialectical framework is difficult because training in psychology continues to be influenced by a mechanistic ontology. According to Kuczynski et al. (2003) adapting a dialectical framework is especially difficult in the study of socialization because dialectics goes against the grain of "common sense" cultural understandings of the nature of parent-child relationships. Natural language, concepts, aphorisms, and metaphors, which are part of culture, guide the perception of childrearing and as a fundamentally unidirectional, deterministic process. There have been several proposals of steps to be undertaken by a researcher who wishes to take the qualitative shift to dialectically inspired research.

Toomela (2012) addressed the challenge of enabling researchers to abandon habits of partitioning what is a systemic causal whole into discrete linear causes and effects by providing steps for implementing the principle of holism. Citing the work of Vygotsky, Toomela argued that to understand any phenomenon in a system under investigation one needs to know: (a) the component parts that make

up the whole; (b) the specific relations between the components or structure of the phenomenon; and (c) development, or how the phenomenon emerges and changes over time.

Overton (2002) outlined three steps that focus on the need to replace traditional epistemological dichotomies of observation versus interpretation, and, theory versus data, with relational bipolar dimensions:

Step 1, *relational analysis—synthesis* replaces split reductionism. This means that analysis must occur in the context of some integrated whole, and the integrated whole operates in the context of its analytic parts (see also Wagoner, 2011).

Step 2, *relational action pattern—conditions* explanation replaces split causes. This means a focus on the systemic conditions associated with change rather than direct causation between isolated elements. This idea invokes Aristotle's formal and final explanations and is similar to Valsiner's (2000) idea of catalytic or systemic causality rather than efficient or linear causality.

Step 3, *abductive logic* replaces split induction and deduction. *Abduction*, also referred to as *retroduction*, was originally described by the pragmatist philosopher Charles Sanders Pierce (1992) as a third mode of inference, along with deduction and induction, and the only mode of inference concerned with the discovery of new ideas. Modern revival of interest in abductive inference is attributable to Hanson (1958) and to Harman (1965), who introduced a conception of abduction known as *inference to best explanation*. The abductive process or abductive inference operates by arranging the observation under consideration and all background ideas (including specific theoretical and metatheoretical concepts) as two spheres of the dialectic relation. The question is then asked as to what must necessarily be assumed in order to have that observation. The inference to what *must,* in the context of background ideas, *necessarily be assumed* then comes to constitute the explanation (or abductive hypothesis) of the phenomenon (Overton, Chapter 2, this *Handbook*, this volume). Theory construction involves three general methodological phases: (1) theory generation entailing the abductive process to generate a system of hypotheses, (2) theory appraisal by assessing the abductively derived hypotheses in varied contexts beyond those used to generate them, and (3) theory development whereby the supported abductive hypotheses become a part of the system of hypotheses to be applied to other phenomena to generate further abductive hypotheses. Each phases requires inferential processes, the very processes that neopositivism disparaged as unscientific (Haig, 2005; Overton, Chapter 2, this *Handbook*, this volume).

Finally, Kuczynski and Parkin (2009) offered a third set of recommendations, this time for implementing a dialectical ontology for the study of parent-child relationships and socialization. First, stop thinking of parents and solely in terms of mindless behavioral reactivity or sets of variables; think of parent and child as equally agents. Second, stop thinking about parents and children as individuals or even individuals engaged in social interaction; think of parents and children as engaging in transactions in an interdependent, long-term relationship context. Third, actively search out processes within the parent, within the child, or between the parent and child that are most likely to be a source of contradiction and disequilibrium, for these are the source of changes in representations that are opportunities for qualitative change. Fourth, challenge linear thinking; think both/and and search for synthesis.

Theory

In the methodology cycle (Branco & Valsiner, 1997; Valsiner, 2000) the researchers' consideration of the phenomenon and the array of ideas concerning worldviews, experience, and data leads to the development of mid-range theory that conceptualizes current understanding of the phenomenon or some aspect of the phenomenon. As can be seen in list of constructs in Table 9.2, the conceptualization of many basic concepts in socialization research was guided explicitly or implicitly by the worldview metaphors of mechanical process and linear causality. Adopting a organismic-contextual or a relational developmental systems ontology (see Overton, Chapter 2, this *Handbook*, this volume; Witherington, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume) interpreted through dialectics provides a means of reinterpreting each of the basic concepts so that they are infused with interconnected assumptions of holism, contradiction, and synthesis. The dialectically reinterpreted concepts in Table 9.2 represent a continuation of the proliferation of new concepts and, indeed, new language, for parent-child relations and socialization processes that has been occurring in the literature on parent-child relations since the "discovery" of reciprocal relational bidirectionality ←→. Examples are "co-construction," "co-action," "scaffolding," "co-evolution," "co-regulation," "collaboration," "intersubjectivity," "interpenetration," "shared meaning," "shared affect," "joint activity," "attunement," and "relational dialectics" (Kuczynski et al., 2003). These new concepts represent processes for which there are no natural language terms. Rather than thinking of interaction as a series of discrete turns, exchanges, reactions, or control techniques, the new concepts attempt to aid the perception of the thoughts and actions of one partner as intertwined with the thoughts and actions of the other. Actions of the parent and of the child may be mutually anticipated, interpreted, and adjusted to in a continuous fashion so that it is difficult to think of

the products of parent←→child relations, whether they be meanings, childrearing strategies, or social relationships, as individual achievements.

Table 9.2 Socialization Concepts in Mechanistic and Dialectical Metatheoretical Frameworks

Table 2
Socialization Concepts in Mechanistic and Dialectical Meta-theoretical Frameworks.

Constructs	**Mechanistic-Deterministic** →	**Dialectical-Relational** ←→
Bidirectional dynamics	social interaction exchange of behaviors individual dynamics	social transaction mutual meaning making relationship dynamics
Context	decontextualized dyads	close relationships
Agency	unequal agents	equally agents
Unequal power	static asymmetry	interdependent asymmetry
Agency constructs	self efficacy, sense of personal control	relational efficacy, sense of interpersonal influence isolated and connected agents
Interpersonal causality	control	relational influence
Antecedents of change	control strategies	contradiction: ambiguity, ambivalence, conflict, expectancy violations
Conformity	compliance/noncompliance	willing compliance, accommodation/negotiation
Internalization	intergenerational transmission	construction of working models

Data ←→ Method

According to Valsiner (2000) methods and data are constructed by researchers on the basis of the way they have personally strategized their study of a phenomenon with regard to the methodology cycle. The data ←→ method process may feed back to the reconstruction of theory regarding the phenomenon. The methodology cycle encourages a flexible and strategic approach to method that defuses debates between quantitative and qualitative research. “Neither quantitative nor qualitative methods per se can be labeled “‘objective’” or

“‘scientific’” as their status in these valued roles is determined only through their fit with the methodology cycle” (Valsiner, 2000, p. 82).

Given that so much data has been derived from mechanistic, neopositivist approaches, it would seem that there should be more investment in deriving data from an organismic-contextual perspective. In this endeavor, there is a special place for a theoretically guided mixed methods approach that includes qualitative methods (see Tolan, Boker, & Deutsch, Chapter 19, this *Handbook*, this volume, for an extended discussion of mixed methods). Qualitative research, including naturalistic observation and its cognitive counterpart, qualitative interviewing, is an interpretive, naturalistic method for identifying, describing, and understanding phenomena. Several features of qualitative research, makes it well suited for the identification and analysis of phenomena from a dialectical perspective. First, the dialectical conceptions of processes, contexts and outcomes, described in this chapter, entail cognitive, bidirectional ←→ transactions and qualitative research is directly concerned with data having to do with the research participants’ cognitive and emotional experience. Second, qualitative methods are naturalistic methods and have the goal of discovering natural categories (themes) that are grounded in the participants’ experiences of the phenomenon. This contrasts with dominant quantitative approaches where meanings are predetermined, and operationalized beforehand (e.g., preestablished coding systems, rating scales) and imposed on the research participant. Although such methods have their place in testing selected hypotheses derived from existing theory, they do not generate new concepts and theoretical innovation. The most important outcome of qualitative research is to identify and describe new concepts as well as theory about phenomena that takes into account the contextualized and transactional nature of socialization. Qualitative research is also useful for exploring underlying micro processes that underlie measured variables or statistical associations between variables. Finally, naturalistic qualitative research may lead to the construction of new measured variables that derive ecological validity from the extent to which they reflect the natural cognitive experiences of parents and children.

Qualitative research maximally involves the interpretive capacities of researchers in the process of making sense of the data they collect. Kuczynski and Daly (2003) outlined an abductive approach to qualitative analysis of narratives that is designed to promote the discovery of new phenomena from naturalistic data. The strategy requires that the researcher enters the analysis of naturalistic data by first arranging background ideas as *sensitizing concepts*. For example, sensitizing concepts may be the competing behavioral and dialectical models for a phenomenon that are available in the literature as well as ideas available from experience. These sensitizing ideas initially serve to guide the interpretation of data. Thus, sensitizing ideas are analogous to hypotheses, which may or may not be confirmed by the analyses of the data. However, the researcher’s ideas are sensitizing and do not determine the final identification or interpretation of themes

because the researcher is also alert to ideas in the narratives that contradict or cannot be understood with reference to the background of existing theory. These contradictions are the surprising observations for which a new explanation must be abductively generated. The new inference of a best explanation for a phenomenon can then be assessed against competing ones. Essentially, the approach is a deliberate search for puzzles in the data that fuels the abductive interpretive process in the search for new discoveries.

Conclusions

It has long been recognized that theories of socialization often provided inadequate models for understanding the phenomenon of socialization. An important advance was been made since the 1970s in the move from unidirectional to bidirectional ←→ models of socialization to capture the inherent bidirectionality that is evident in the phenomenon of socialization. A second advance has been the increasing focus on human agency (Bandura, 2006; Kuczynski, 2003; Sokol et al., Chapter 8, this *Handbook*, this volume; Witherington, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume) in the complex causal structure of socialization phenomena. The new challenge is consider the larger framework of dialectical systemic assumptions in which relational bidirectionality and agency are embedded. Individual concepts within dialectics—activity, context, qualitative change, contradiction—have long been a source of key metaphors that have fueled theory development in psychology. However, this has often been a piecemeal approach that essentially reduced the various aspects of the dialectical framework to elements rather than components of a whole system of thinking and perceiving phenomena.

The dialectical framework outlined in this chapter is incomplete because the construction of dynamic systems metatheories for developmental psychology is ongoing (Molenaar & Nesselroade, Chapter 17, this *Handbook*, this volume; Overton, Chapter 2, this *Handbook*, this volume; Valsiner, 2012; Witherington, Chapter 3, this *Handbook*, this volume). Moreover, the process of translating between metatheoretical to substantive theory levels of analysis as well as the implications for practice is in its early stages. In any case, conclusions, in dialectics, are always in process.

The transactional model originally proposed by Sameroff (1975a, 1975b) is also an unfinished project. Although the idea of reciprocal relational bidirectionality has taken hold, the dialectical conception of transaction has not. One reason has to do with compromises that result when rich theoretical concepts are subjected to statistical testing. “Although the transactional model originates from a strongly dialectic, organismic orientation, any operationalization requires a mechanistic measurement model, in which dynamic processes are reduced to static

scores that can be entered into statistical analyses" (Sameroff & MacKenzie, 2003, p. 617).

Social relational theory builds on the transactional model in two ways: First, when the purpose is to predict selected key hypotheses, improvements can be made in the creation of variables that capture dimensions of parent and child behavior in a more dynamic way and in formulating outcomes so that they reflect the idea of synthesis. Qualitative changes are difficult to detect when measures of outcomes themselves are conceptualized in a deterministic way.

Second, social relational theory provides guidance for exploring underlying micro processes of social transactions. A microprocess model of dialectical causality together with a macromodel of transactional nature of human development (Sameroff, 2009) may jointly address the tension between complementary goals of research: prediction, on the one hand, and understanding intervening processes, on the other.

A further challenge concerns application in clinical and other interventions. Advances in applying a dialectical systems perspective requires a new generation of science practitioners who are equally informed in dialectical theory and immersed in the reality of the family lives of their clients and knowledge of what it takes to help them. The promise of an organismic-dynamic-contextual framework for systems is that it offers theory to grasp the continuously more complex nature of families in current society because it embraces complexity and does not try to resolve it using mechanistic concepts.

References

Abbey, E. (2012). Ambivalence and its transformations. In J. Valsiner (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of culture and psychology* (pp. 989–997). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Alexander, C., & Charles, G. (2009). Caring mutuality and reciprocity in social worker-client relationships. *Journal of Social Work, 9*, 5–22.

Ambert, A. M. (2001). *The effect of children on parents*. New York, NY: Haworth Press.

Andersen, T. (2007). Human participating: Human "being" is the step for human 'becoming' in the next step. In H. Anderson & D. Gehart (Eds.), *Collaborative therapy: Relationships and conversations that make a difference* (pp. 81–93). New York, NY: Routledge.

Appelbaum, M. I., & McCall, R. B. (1983). Design and analysis in developmental psychology. In W. Kessen (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology* (Vol. 1, pp. 416–476). New York, NY: Wiley.

Bakan, D. (1966). *The duality of human existence: Isolation and communion in Western man*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Bandura, A. (2006). Towards a psychology of human agency. *Perspectives on Psychological Science, 1*, 164–180.

Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an ecology of mind: Collected essays in anthropology, psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Baumrind, D. (1971). Current patterns of parental authority. *Developmental Psychology, 4*(1), (Pt. 2), 1–103.

Baumrind, D. (2012). Differentiating between confrontive and coercive kinds of parental power-assertive disciplinary practices. *Human Development, 55*, 35–51.

Baxter, L. A., Dawn, O., Braithwaite, D. O., Bryant, L., & Wagner, A. (2004). Stepchildren's perceptions of the contradictions in communication with stepparents. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 21*, 447–467.

Baxter, L. A., & Montgomery, B. M. (1996). *Relating: Dialogues and dialectics.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Bell, R. Q. (1968). A reinterpretation of the direction of effects in studies of socialization. *Psychological Review, 75*, 81–95.

Bell, R. Q., & Harper, L. V. (1977). *Child effects on adults.* Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Berg, I. K. (1994). *Family based services: A solution focused approach.* New York, NY: Norton.

Bowlby, J. (1969). *Attachment and Loss: Vol. 1. Attachment.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Branco, A. U., & Valsiner, J. (1997). Changing methodologies: a co-constructivist study of goal orientations in social interactions. *Psychology and Developing Societies, 9*, 1, 35–64.

Brentano, F. (1874/1995). *Psychology from an empirical standpoint*. London, England: Routledge.

Bretherton, I., Golby, B., & Cho, E. (1997). Attachment and the transmission of values. In J. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and children's internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 103–134). New York, NY: Wiley.

Bretherton, I., & Munholland, K. A. (1999). Internal working models in attachment relationships: A construct revisited. In J. Cassidy & P. R. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment: Theory, research, and clinical applications* (pp. 89–111). New York, NY: Guilford.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Series Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Theories of development* (pp. 999–1058). New York, NY: Wiley.

Bugental, D. B., Lyon, J. E., Krantz, J., & Cortez, V. (1997). Who's the boss? Differential accessibility of dominance ideation in parent-child relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 76*, 1297–1309.

Bugental, D. B., Olster, D. H., & Martorell, G. A. (2003). A developmental neuroscience perspective on the dynamics of parenting. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 25–48). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cavell, T. A., & Elledge, L. C. (2007). Working with parents of aggressive, high-risk children. In J. Briesmeister & C. Schaefer (Eds.), *Handbook of parent training* (pp. 379–423). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Cavell, T. A., & Strand, P. S. (2003). Parent-based interventions for aggressive, antisocial children: Adapting to a bilateral lens. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 395–419). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chee, L.P., Goh, E.C.L. & Kuczynski, L. (in press). "Oversized loads – Children parentification in low-income families and the underlying parent-child dynamics". *Families in Society*.

Cissna, K. N., Cox, D. E., & Bochner, A. P. (1990). The dialectic of marital and parental relationships within the blended family. *Communication Monographs, 37*, 44–61.

Collins, W. A., Maccoby, E. E., Steinberg, L., Hetherington, E. M., & Bornstein, M. H. (2000). Contemporary research on parenting: The case for nature and nurture. *American Psychologist*, *55*(2), 218–232.

Collins, W. A., & Madsen, S. (2003). Developmental change in parenting interactions. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 49–66). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Cummings, M. E., & Schermerhorn, A. C. (2003). A developmental perspective on children as agents in the family. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 91–108). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Dallos, R., & Draper, R. (2000). Ideas that keep knocking on the door: Emotions, attachments and systems. In R. Dallos & R. Draper (Eds.), *An introduction to family therapy* (pp. 125–149). Buckingham, England: Open University Press.

Darling, N., & Steinberg, L. (1993). Parenting style as context: An integrative model. *Psychological Bulletin, 113*(3), 487–496.

Dawber, T., & Kuczynski, L. (1999). The question of ownness: Influence of relationship context on parental socialization strategies. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 16*, 475–493.

Dawczyk, A., & Kuczynski, L. (2012, June). *Parents' experiences of contraditions while parenting in middle childhood.* Jean Piaget Society Conference, Toronto, Ontario.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (2002). *Handbook of self-determination research*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.

De Mol, J., & Buysse, A. (2008a). The phenomenology of children's influence on parents. *Journal of Family Therapy, 30*, 163–193.

De Mol, J., & Buysse, A. (2008b). Understandings of children's influence in parent-child relationships: A Q-methodological study. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 25*, 359–379.

De Mol, J., Lemmens, G., Verhofstadt, L., & Kuczynski, L. (2013). Intergenerational transmission in a bidirectional context. *Psychologica Belgica, 53*, 7–23.

Dindia, K. (2003). Definitions and perspectives on relational maintenance communication. In D. J. Canary & M. Dainton (Eds.), *Maintaining relationships through communication: Relational, contextual, and cultural variations* (pp. 1–30). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Dix, T. (1992). Parenting on behalf of the child. Empathic goals in the regulation of responsive parenting. In I. E. Sigel, A. V. McGillicuddy-DeLisi, & J. J. Goodnow (Eds.), *Parental*

belief system: The psychological consequences for children (pp. 319–346). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Dix, T., & Branca, S.H. (2003). Parenting as a goal-regulation process. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 167–187). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Duncan, L. G., Coatsworth J. D., & Greenberg, M. T. (2009). A model of mindful parenting: Implications for parent–child relationships and prevention research. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 12*, 255–270.

Emery, R. E. (1992). Family conflicts and their developmental implications: A conceptual analysis of meaning for the structure of relationships. In C. U. Shantz & W. W. Hartup (Eds.), *Conflict in child and adolescent development* (pp. 270–298). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Farkas, M.S., & Grolnick, W.S. (2010). Examining the components and concomitants of parental structure in the academic domain. *Motivation and Emotion*, 34, 266 – 279.

Fingerman, K. L., & Hay, E. L. (2004). Intergenerational ambivalence in the larger social network. In K. Pillemer & K. Luescher (Eds.), *Intergenerational ambivalence: New perspectives on parent-child relations in later life* (pp. 133–152). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: Elsevier/JAI Press.

French, J.R.P., & Raven, B. H. (1959). The bases of social power. In D. Cartwright (Ed.), *Studies in social power* (pp. 150–167). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge, England: Polity.

Glassman, M. (2000). Negation through history: Dialectics and human development. *New Ideas in Psychology, 18*, 1–22.

Goh, E., & Kuczynski, L. (2009). Agency and power of single children in multi-generational families in urban Xiamen, China. *Culture and Psychology, 15*, 506–532.

Goh, E., & Kuczynski, L. (2010). Only children and their coalition of parents: Considering grandparents and parents as joint caregivers in urban Xiamen, China. *Asian Journal of Social Psychology, 13*, 221–231.

Goodnow, J. J. (1994). Acceptable disagreement across generations. *New Directions for Child Development*, 66, 51-63.

Goodnow, J. J. (1997). Parenting and the transmission and internalization of values: From social-cultural perspectives to within-family analyses. In J. E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and children's internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 333–361). New York, NY: Wiley.

Gottlieb, G. (1991). Experiential canalization of behavioral development: Theory. *Developmental Psychology, 27*, 4–13.

Gottlieb, G. (2003). On making behavioral genetics truly developmental. *Human Development, 46*, 337–355.

Gottlieb, G., & Halpern, C. T. (2002). A relational view of causality in normal and abnormal development. *Development and Psychopathology, 14*, 421–435.

Gottlieb, G., Wahlsten, D., & Lickliter, R. (2006). The significance of biology for human development: A developmental psychobiological systems view. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Series Eds.) & R. M. Lerner (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp. 210–257). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Greenberg, G. (2011). The failure of biogenetic analysis in psychology: Why psychology is not a biological science. *Research in Human Development, 8*, 173–191.

Grusec, J. E., & Davidov, M. (2010). Integrating different perspectives on socialization theory and research: A domain-specific approach. *Child Development, 81*, 687–709.

Grusec, J. E., & Goodnow, J. J. (1994). Impact of parental discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology, 30*, 4–19.

Grusec, J. E., Goodnow, J. J., & Kuczynski, L. (2000). New directions in analyses of parenting contributions to children's acquisition of values. *Child Development, 71*, 205–211.

Grusec, J.E., & Kuczynski, L. (1980). Direction of effect in socialization: A comparison of parent vs. child's behavior as determinants of disciplinary technique. *Developmental Psychology*, *16*, 1-9.

Haig, B. D. (2005). An abductive theory of scientific method. *Psychological Methods, 10*, 371–388.

Hanson, N. R. (1958). *Patterns of discovery: An inquiry into the conceptual foundations of science*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Harach L. C., & Kuczynski, L. (2005). Construction and maintenance of parent–child relationships: Bi-directional contributions from the perspective of parents. *Journal of Infant and Child Development, 14*, 327–343.

Harman, G. H. (1965). The inference to the best explanation. *Philosophical Review, 74*, 88–95.

Hastings, P. D., & Grusec, J. E. (1998). Parenting goals as organizers of responses to parent-child disagreement. *Developmental Psychology, 34*(3), 465–479.

Hinde, R. A. (1979). *Towards Understanding Relationships*. London, England: Academic Press.

Hinde, R. A., & Stevenson-Hinde, J. (1987). Interpersonal relationships and child development. *Developmental Review, 7*, 1–21.

Hoffman, M. L. (1975). Moral internalization, parental power, and the nature of parent-child interaction. *Developmental Psychology, 11*(*2*), 228–239.

Holden, G. W. (1985). How parents create a social environment via proactive behavior. In T. Garling & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *Children within environments: Towards a psychology of accident prevention* (pp. 193–215). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Holden, G. W. (2010). Childrearing and developmental trajectories: Positive pathways, off-ramps, and dynamic processes. *Child Development Perspectives, 4*, 197–204.

Holden, G. W., & Edwards, L. A. (1989). Parental attitudes toward child rearing: Instruments, issues and implications. *Psychological Bulletin, 106*, 29–58.

Holden, G. W., & Hawk, K. H. (2003). Meta-parenting in the journey of child rearing: A cognitive mechanism for change. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 189–210). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Holden, G. W., & Ritchie, K. L. (1988). Child rearing and the dialectics of parental intelligence. In J. Valsiner (Ed.), *Child development within socio-culturally structured environments: Parental cognition and adult-child interaction* (pp. 30–59). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Holquist, M. (1990). *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his world*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Howes, C. (1999). Attachment relationships in the context of multiple caregivers. In J. Cassidy & P. Shaver (Eds.), *Handbook of attachment. Theory, research and clinical applications* (pp. 671–687). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Huston, T. L. (2002). Power. In H. H. Kelley, E. Berschied, A. Christensen, J. Harvey, T. L. Huston, G., Levinger, E., . . . D. R. Peterson (Eds.), *Close relationships* (pp. 169–219). New York, NY: Freeman.

Kaminski, J. W., Valle, L. A., Filene, J. H., Cynthia L., & Boyle, C. L. (2008). A meta-analytic review of components associated with parent training program effectiveness. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 36*, 567–589.

Kelley, H. H., Berscheid, E., Christensen, A., Harvey, J. H., & Huston T., Levinger, G., . . . Peterson, D. R. (1983). *Close relationships*. New York, NY: Freeman.

Kerr, M., Stattin, H., & Özdemir, M. (2012). Perceived parenting style and adolescent adjustment: Revisiting directions of effects and the role of parental knowledge. *Developmental psychology*, *48*(6), 1540.

Kochanska, G. (2002). Mutually responsive orientation between mothers and their young children: A context for the early development of conscience. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 11*, 191–195.

Kochanska, G., & Kim, S. (2012). Toward a new understanding of legacy of early attachments for future antisocial trajectories: Evidence from two longitudinal studies. *Development and Psychopathology, 24*, 783–806.

Kochanska, G., Kim, S., & Boldt, L. J. (in press). Origins of children's externalizing behavior problems in low-income families: Toddlers' willing stance toward their mothers as the missing link. *Development and Psychopathology*, 25, 891-901.

Kopp, C. B. (1982). Antecedents of self-regulation: A developmental perspective. *Developmental Psychology, 18*, 199–214.

Kuczynski, L. (1984). Socialization goals and mother-child interaction: Strategies for long-term and short-term compliance. *Developmental Psychology, 20*, l06l–l073.

Kuczynski, L. (2003). Beyond bidirectionality: Bilateral conceptual frameworks for understanding dynamics in parent-child relations. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 1–24). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kuczynski, L. Burke, T., & Robson, J. (2013, November). *Parents perspectives on resistance and noncompliance in middle childhood*. Society for the Study of Human Development Conference, Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Kuczynski, L. & Daly, K. (2003). Qualitative methods as inductive (theorygenerating) research: Psychological and sociological approaches. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 373–392). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kuczynski, L., & Hildebrandt, N. (1997). Models of conformity and resistance in socialization theory. In J. E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and the internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 227–256). New York, NY: Wiley.

Kuczynski, L., & Knafo, A. (2014). Innovation and continuity in socialization, internalization and acculturation. In M. Killen & J. G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development* 2nd edition (pp. 93-112. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis.

Kuczynski, L., & Kochanska, G. M. (1990). The development of children's noncompliance strategies from toddlerhood to age 5. *Developmental Psychology, 26*, 398–408.

Kuczynski, L., Lollis, S., & Koguchi, T. (2003). Reconstructing common sense: Metaphors of bidirectionality in parent-child relations. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 421–438). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Kuczynski, L., Marshall, S., & Schell, K. (1997). Value socialization in a bidirectional context. In J. E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and the internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 227–256). New York, NY: Wiley.

Kuczynski, L. Navara, G., & Boiger, M. (2011). The social relational perspective on family acculturation. In S. S. Chuang & R. P. Moreno (Eds.), *On new shores: Understanding immigrant children in North America* (pp. 171–192). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Kuczynski, L., & Parkin, M. (2007). Agency and bidirectionality in socialization: Interactions, transactions, and relational dialectics. In J. E. Grusec & P. Hastings (Eds.), *Handbook of socialization* (pp. 259–283). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Kuczynski, L., & Parkin, M. (2009). Pursuing a dialectical perspective on transaction: A social relational theory of micro family processes. In A. Sameroff (Ed.), *Transactional processes in development* (pp. 247–268). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Kuczynski, L., Pitman, R., & Mitchell, M. B. (2009). Dialectics and transactional models: Conceptualizing antecedents, processes, and consequences of change in parent-child relationships. In J. Mancini & K. Roberto (Eds.), *Pathways of development: Explorations of change* (pp. 151–170). Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.

Kuczynski, L., Pitman, R. Parkin, M., & Rizk, H. (2011, April). *Children's perspectives on resistance and noncompliance in middle childhood*. Biennial Meeting of Society for Research on Child Development, Montreal.

Kuczynski, L., Wojciechowska, I., Dawczyk, A., & Pitman, R. (2012, June). *Pathways to parental knowledge in middle childhood*. Jean Piaget Society Conference, Toronto, Ontario.

Lawrence, J. A., & Valsiner, J. (1993). Conceptual roots of internalization: From transmission to transformation. *Human Development, 36*(3), 150–167.

Lawrence, J. A., & Valsiner, J. (2003). Making personal sense. An account of basic internalization and externalization processes. *Theory and Psychology, 13*(6), 723–752.

Leerkes, E. M., Blankson, N., & O'Brian, M. (2009). Differential effects of maternal sensitivity to infant distressand non-distress on social-emotional functioning. *Child Development, 80*, 762–775.

Leerkes, E. M., Weaver, J. M., & O'Brien, M. (2012). Differentiating maternal sensitivity to infant distress and non-distress. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 12*, 175–184.

Lerner, R. M. (2006). Developmental science, developmental systems, and contemporary theories of human development. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Series Eds.) & R. M. Lerner (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development* (6th ed., pp. 1–17). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Lerner, R., Almerigi, J., Theokas, C., & Lerner, J. (2005). Positive view of youth development: A view of the issues. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 25*, 10–16.

Lerner, R. L., & Benson, J. B. (Eds.). (2013). *Advances in child development and behavior: Vols. 44–45. Embodiment and epigenesis: Theoretical and methodological issues in understanding the role of biology within the relational developmental system.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Lerner, J., Bowers, E., Minor, K., Boyd, M. J., Mueller, M. K., Schmid, K. L., . . . Lerner, R. M. (2012). Positive youth development: Processes, philosophies, and programs. In I. B. Weiner (Series Ed.) & R. M. Lerner, M. A. Easterbrooks, & J. Mistry (Vol. Eds.), *Comprehensive handbook of psychology: Vol. 6. Developmental psychology* (pp. 365–392). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Lerner, R. M., & Busch-Rossnagel, N. A. (Eds.). (1981). *Individuals as producers of their development: A life-span perspective*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Lerner, R. M., & Spanier, G. B. (Eds.). (1978). *Child influences on marital and family interaction: A life span perspective.* New York, NY: Academic Press.

Levitt, M. J., & Cici-Gokaltun. A. (2010). Close relationships across the lifespan. In K. L. Fingerman, C. A. Berg, J. Smith, & T. C. Antonucci (Eds.), *Handbook of life-span development* (pp. 457–486). New York, NY: Springer.

Lewis, C. C. (1981). The effects of parental firm control: A reinterpretation of findings. *Psychological bulletin, 90*(3), 547–563.

Lewis, M., & Rosenblum, L. A. (Eds.). (1974). *The effect of the infant on its caregivers*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Lollis, S. (2003). Conceptualizing the influence of past and future in present parent-child relationships. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 67–87). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lollis, S., & Kuczynski, L. (1997). Beyond one hand clapping: Seeing bidirectionality in parent-child relations. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships, 14*, 441–461.

Lundell, L., Grusec, J. E., McShane, K., & Davidov, M. (2008). Mother–adolescent conflict: Adolescent goals, maternal perspective-taking, and conflict intensity. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 18*, 555–571.

Lüscher, K. (2011). Ambivalence: A "sensitizing construct" for the study and practice of intergenerational relationships. *Journal of Intergenerational Relationships, 9*, 191–206.

Lüscher, K., & Pillemer, K. (1998). Intergenerational ambivalence: A new approach to the study of parent-child relations in later life. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 60*, 413–425.

Maccoby, E. E. (2000). The uniqueness of the parent-child relationship. In W. A. Collins & B. Laursen (Eds.), *Relationships as developmental contexts* (pp. 157–175). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Maccoby, E. E., & Martin, J. A. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent-child interactions. In P. H. Mussen (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4. Socialization, personality, and social development* (pp. 1–101). New York, NY: Wiley.

MacDonald, K. (1992). Warmth as a developmental construct: An evolutionary analysis. *Child Development,* 63, 753–773.

MacMahon, R. J., & Forehand, R. L. (2003). *Helping the noncompliant child, second edition: Family-based treatment for oppositional behaviour*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Mannhiem, K. (1952[1928]). *The problem of generations: Essays in the sociology of knowledge.* London, England: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Manning-Morton, J. (2006). The personal is professional: Professionalism and the birth to threes practitioner. *Contemporary Issues in Early Childhood 7*: 42–52.

Marshall, S. K. (2001). Do I matter? Construct validation of adolescents' perceived mattering to parents and friends. *Journal of Adolescence, 24*, 473–490.

Marshall, S. K., & Lambert, J. D. (2006). Parental mattering: A qualitative inquiry into the tendency to evaluate the self as significant to one's children. *Journal of Family Issues, 27*, 1561–1582.

Matas, L., Arend, R., & Sroufe, L. (1978). Continuity of adaptation in the second year: The relationship between quality of attachment and later competence. *Child Development, 49*, 547–556.

McGuire, T., Dougherty, D. S., & Atkinson, J. (2006). Paradoxing the dialectic: The impact of patients' sexual harassment in the discursive construction of nurses' caregiving roles. *Management Communication Quarterly, 19*, 416–450.

Mead, G. H. (1934). *Mind, self, and society*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Minuchin, S., & Fishman, H. C. (1981). *Family therapy techniques*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Morrow, V. (1999). Conceptualising social capital in relation to the well-being of children and young people: A critical review. *Sociological Review, 47*(4), 744–765.

Morrow, V. (2003). Perspectives on children's agency within families: A view from the sociology of childhood. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 109–129). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Moscovici, S. (1988). Notes towards a description of social representations. *Journal of European Social Psychology, 18*, 211–250.

Nichols, M. P. (2012). *Family therapy: Concepts and methods.* New York, NY: Pearson.

Oliphant, A., & Kuczynski, L. (2011). Mothers' and fathers' perceptions of mutuality in middle childhood: The domain of intimacy. *Journal of Family Issues, 32*(8), 1104–1124.

Overton, W. F. (1975). General systems, structure and development. In K. F. Riegel & G. C. Rosenwald (Eds.), *Structure and transformation: Developmental and historical aspects* (pp. 61–81). New York, NY: Wiley.

Overton, W. F. (1991). Metaphor, recursive systems and paradox in science and developmental theory. In H. W. Reese (Ed.), *Advances in child development and behavior* (pp. 59–71). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Overton, W. F. (2002). Understanding, explanation, and reductionism: Finding a cure for cartesian anxiety. In L. Smith & T. Brown (Eds.), *Reductionism* (pp. 29–51). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Overton, W. F. (2006). Developmental psychology: philosophy, concepts, methodology. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Series Ed.) & R. M. Lerner (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development* (pp. 18–88). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Overton, W. F. (2010). Life-span development: Concepts and issues. In R. M. Lerner (Series Ed.) & W. F. Overton (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of life-span development: Vol. 1. Cognition, biology, and methods across the lifespan* (pp. 1–29). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Overton, W. F. (2013). Relationism and relational-developmental-systems: A paradigm for developmental science in the post-Cartesian era. In R. M. Lerner & J. B. Benson (Eds.), *Advances in child development and behavior: Vol. 44. Embodiment and epigenesis: Theoretical and methodological issues in understanding the role of biology within the relational developmental system.* (pp. 21–94). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Overton, W. F., & Lerner, R. M. (2012). Relational developmental systems: Paradigm for developmental science in the post-genomic era. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 35*, 375–376.

Overton, W. F., Mueller, U., & Newman, J. L. (Eds.). (2008). *Developmental perspectives on embodiment and consciousness*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Overton, W. F., & Reese, H. W. (1973). Models of development: Methodological implications. In J. R. Nesselroade & H. W. Reese (Eds.), *Life-span developmental psychology: Methodological issues* (pp. 65–86). New York, NY: Academic Press.

Palkovitz, R., Marks, L. D., Appleby, D. W., & Holmes, E. K. (2003). Parenting and adult development: Contexts, processes, and products of intergenerational relationships. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent–child relations* (pp. 307–323). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Parke, R. D., Killian, C. M., Dennis, J., Flyr, M. L., McDowell, D. J., & Simpkins, S. (2003). Managing the external environment: The parent and child as active agents in the system.

In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 247–270). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Parkin, C. M., & Kuczynski, L. (2012). Adolescent perspectives on rules and resistance within the parent-child relationship. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 27*, 555–580.

Parpal, M., & Maccoby, E. E. (1985). Material responsiveness and subsequent child compliance. *Child Development, 56*, 1326–1334.

Partridge, T. (2011). Methodological advances toward a dynamic developmental behavioral genetics: bridging the gap. *Research in Human Development, 8*, 242–257.

Patterson, G. R. (1982). *Coercive family process*. Eugene, OR: Castalia.

Patterson, G. R. (1997). Performance models for parenting: A social interactional perspective. In J. E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and the internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 193–226). New York, NY: Wiley.

Patterson, G., Reid, J., & Dishion, T. (1992). *Antisocial boys: Vol. 4. A social interactional approach*. Eugene, OR: Castalia.

Peterson, G. W., & Bush, K. R. (2012). Conceptualizing cultural influences on socialization: Comparing parent-adolescent relationships in the United States and Mexico. In G. W. Peterson & K. R. Bush (Eds.), *Handbook of marriage and the family* (pp. 177–208). New York, NY: Springer.

Pierce, C. S. (1992*). Reasoning and the logic of things: The Cambridge conference lectures of 1898*. Cambridge, MA. Harvard University Press.

Piniata, R. C. (1999). *Enhancing relationships between children and teachers*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Porta, S. D., & Howe, N. (2012). Assessing mothers' and children's perceptions of power through personal, conventional, and prudential conflict situations. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 58*, 507–529.

Quan-McGimpsey, S., Kuczynski, L., & Brophy, K. (2011). The early education teachers' conceptualizations and strategies for managing closeness in child care: The personal domain. *Early Childhood Research Journal, 9*, 232–246.

Reese, H. W. (1982). A comment on the meanings of "dialectics." *Human Development, 25*, 423–429.

Reiss, H.G.T., Collins, W. A., & Berscheid, E. (2000). The relationship context of human behavior and development. *Psychological Bulletin, 126*, 844–872.

Rheingold, H. L. (1969). The social and socializing infant. In D. A. Goslin (Ed.), *Handbook of socialization theory and research* (pp. 779–790). Chicago, IL: Rand McNally.

Riegel, K. F. (1976). The dialectics of human development. *American Psychologist, 10*, 689–700.

Robson, J., & Kuczynski, L. (2013, November). *The construct of rules in middle childhood: How rules are negotiated.* Society for the Study of Human Development, Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

Rumsfeld, D. (2002). (February 12, press conference).

Russell, A., Petit, G., & Mize, J. (1998). Horizontal qualities in parent–child relationships: Parallels with and possible consequences for children's peer relationships. *Developmental Review, 18,* 313–352.

Saleebey, D. (Ed.). (2013). *The strengths perspective in social work practice*. Boston: Pearson.

Sameroff, A. J. (1975a). Transactional models in early social relations. *Human Development, 18*, 65–79.

Sameroff, A. (1975b). Early influences on development: Fact or fancy? *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 21*, 267–293.

Sameroff. A. (2009). The transactional model. In A. Sameroff (Ed.), *Transactional processes in development* (pp. 3–22). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Sameroff, A. J., & Chandler, M. J. (1975). Reproductive risk and the continuum of caretaking casualty. In F. D. Horowitz, M. Hetherington, S. Scarr-Salapatek, & G. Siegel (Eds.), *Review of child development research* (Vol. 4., pp. 187–244). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Sameroff, A. J., & MacKenzie, M. J. (2003). Research strategies for capturing transactional models of development: the limits of the possible. *Development and Psychopathology, 15*, 613–640.

Sato, T., Hikada, T., & Fukuda, M. (2009). Depicting the dynamics of living the life: The trajectory equifinality model. In J. Valsiner, P. Molenaar, M. Lyra, & N. Chaudhary (Eds), *Dynamic process methodology in the social and developmental sciences* (pp. 217–240). New York, NY: Springer.

Scott, J. C. (1990). *Domination and the arts of resistance: Hidden transcripts*. Cambridge, MA: Yale University Press.

Sears, R. R. (1951). A theoretical framework for personality and social behavior. *American Psychologist, 6*(9), 476–482.

Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E. E., & Levin, H. (1957). *Patterns of child rearing.* Evanston, IL: Row & Peterson.

Shantz, C. U., & Hartup, W. W. (1992). *Conflict in child and adolescent development*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Smedslund, J. (2009). The mismatch between current research methods and the nature of psychological phenomena: What researchers must learn from practitioners. *Theory & Psychology, 19*(6), 778–794.

Smetana, J. G. (2006). Social domain theory: Consistencies and variations in children's moral and social judgments. In M. Killen & J. G. Smetana (Eds.), *Handbook of moral development (*pp. 119–153). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Smetana, J. G. (2011). *Adolescents, families, and social development: How adolescents construct their worlds.* West Sussex, England: Wiley.

Stattin, H., & Kerr, M. (2000). Parental monitoring: A reinterpretation. *Child Development, 71*, 1072–1085.

Stayton, D., Hogan, R., & Ainsworth, M. D. S. (1971). Infant obedience and maternal behaviour: The origins of socialization reconsidered. *Child Development, 42*, 1057–1069.

pubertal timing. *Developmental Psychology, 23*, 451–460.

Strauss, C. (1992). Models and motives. In R. G. D'Andrade & C. Strauss (Eds.), *Human motives and cultural models* (pp. 1–20). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Tilton-Weaver, L., & Marshall, S. K. (2008). Adolescents' agency in information management. In M. Kerr, H. Stattin, & R. C. M. E. Engels (Eds.), *What can parents do? New insights into the role of parents in adolescents' problem behavior* (pp. 11–41). Chichester, England: Wiley.

Toomela, A. (2012). Guesses on the future of cultural psychology: Past, present and past. In J. Valsiner (Ed.), *Oxford handbook of culture and psychology* (pp. 989–997). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.

Trommsdorff, G., & Kornadt, H. (2003). Parent-child relations in cross-cultural perspective. In L. Kuczynski (Ed.), *Handbook of dynamics in parent-child relations* (pp. 271–306). Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

Turiel, E. (2010). The development of morality: Reasoning, emotions, and resistance. In R. M. Lerner (Series Ed.) & W. F. Overton (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of life-span development: Vol. 1. Cognition, biology, and methods across the lifespan* (pp. 554–583). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Valsiner, J. (1989). *Human development and culture*. Lexington, MA: Heath.

Valsiner, J. (2000). *Culture and human development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Valsiner, J. (2006). Ambivalence under scrutiny: Returning to the future. *Estudios de Psicologia, 27*, 117–130.

Valsiner, J. (2012). *A guided science*. London, England: Transaction.

Valsiner, J., Branco, A. U., & Dantas, C. M. (1997). Co-construction of human development: Heterogeneity within parental belief orientations. In J. E. Grusec & L. Kuczynski (Eds.), *Parenting and the internalization of values: A handbook of contemporary theory* (pp. 283–304). New York, NY: Wiley.

Valsiner, J., & Cairns, R. (1992). Theoretical perspectives on conflict and development. In C. U. Shantz & W. W. Hartup (Eds.), *Conflict in child and adolescent development* (pp. 15–35). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

van Geert, P. (2003). Dynamic systems approaches and modeling of developmental processes. In J. Valsiner & K. J. Connolly (Eds.), *Handbook of developmental psychology* (pp. 640–672). London, England: Sage.

von Bertalanffy, L. (1968). *General systems theory*. New York, NY: Braziller.

Wagoner, B. (2011). What happened to holism? *Psychological Studies, 56*, 318–324.

Walsh, F. (2006). *Strengthening family resilience.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Wampold, B. E. (2001). *The great psychotherapy debate: Models, methods, and findings*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Watzlawick, P., Beavin, J. H., & Jackson, D. D. (1967). Some tentative axioms of communication. In *Pragmatics of human communication: A study of interactional patterns, pathologies, and paradoxes* (pp. 48–71). New York, NY: Norton.

Weingarten, K. (1991). The discourses of intimacy: Adding a social constructionist and feminist view. *Family Process, 30*, 285–305.

Wenar, C. (1982). On negativism. *Human Development, 25*, 1–23.

White, M., & Epston, D. (1990). *Narrative means to therapeutic ends.* New York, NY: Norton.

Wilson, J. (2012). *Child-focused practice: A collaborative systemic approach.* London, England: Karnac.

Witherington, D. C. (2011). Taking emergence seriously: the centrality of circular causality for dynamic systems approaches to development. *Human Development, 54*, 66–92.

Wrong, D. H. (1961). The oversocialized conception of man in modem sociology. *American Sociological Review,* 26, 183–193.

Youniss, J., & Smollar, J. (1985). *Adolescent relations with mothers, fathers, and friends.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.