EDITED BY BART SOENENS,
MAARTEN VANSTEENKISTE,
AND STIJN VAN PETEGEM

ROUTLEDGE

Autonomy in Adolescent Development

TOWARDS CONCEPTUAL CLARITY

STUDIES IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

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AUTONOMY IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Autonomy is a central feature of adolescent development, playing a key role in adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. However, opinions differ about the nature and definition of autonomy and so important questions regarding the role of autonomy in adolescents' development have remained unanswered. This book helps to address these questions while bringing clarity to the literature on adolescent autonomy.

Autonomy in Adolescent Development: Towards Conceptual Clarity highlights a distinction between two notions of autonomy: autonomy-as-independence and autonomy-as-volition. The chapters in this volume illustrate how this distinction sheds new light on controversial questions regarding autonomy, such as: Is more autonomy always beneficial for adolescents' psychosocial adjustment? Or are there limits to the amount of autonomy ideal for well-being and social adjustment? Is autonomy a universally critical ingredient of optimal development? Or do effects of autonomy differ by cultural context and socioeconomic status? How can parents, siblings, and peers promote the development of autonomy?

Bringing together scholars from varied theoretical backgrounds studying autonomy in different contexts, this book provides an overview of recent conceptual and empirical work from diverse perspectives, yielding refreshing and thought-provoking insights into the nature of adolescent autonomy. *Autonomy in Adolescent Development* is invaluable for advanced students and researchers in adolescent development, acting both as a guide and as a source of inspiration for new research in the area.

Bart Soenens is professor at Ghent University, Belgium, where he teaches undergraduate courses on developmental psychology. His research is mainly about parent–child relationships and about the role of parenting in child and adolescent development.

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Edited by Bart Soenens, Maarten Vansteenkiste, and Stijn Van Petegem

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AUTONOMY IN ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Towards Conceptual Clarity

Edited by Bart Soenens, Maarten Vansteenkiste, and Stijn Van Petegem

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In memory of Prof. Dr. Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı, who passed away shortly after writing her chapter for this book.

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PREFACE

Autonomy is one of the most frequently studied themes in research on adolescent development. However, it is also one of the most complex and enigmatic concepts in developmental psychology. While there is consensus among scholars that autonomy is a central feature of adolescent development and that autonomy plays a key role in adolescents' psychosocial development, opinions about the definition and operationalization of autonomy differ. Because of the lack of a uniform and consensually agreed-upon conceptualization, scholars have not been able to provide unequivocal answers to important questions regarding the role of autonomy in adolescents' development. Is more autonomy always beneficial for adolescents' psychosocial adjustment? Or does too much autonomy come with pitfalls, especially when it develops too early in adolescence? Does autonomy represent a universally critical ingredient of optimal development or do effects of autonomy differ by cultural context and by socioeconomic status? How can the social environment promote the development of autonomy? What can not only parents but also peers and romantic partners do to foster autonomy?

Given the lack of consensus regarding the definition of autonomy, there have been many calls for more conceptual precision. In response to these calls, developmental psychologists have developed multidimensional models that distinguish between several dimensions of autonomy. One conceptual distinction in particular has gained prominence in the literature; that is, the distinction between independence and volitional functioning. Both conceptualizations of autonomy are rooted in different theoretical frameworks and yield different answers to the questions listed above. Independence refers to the degree to which adolescents decide, act, or think without relying on others (such as parents). The opposite end of this dimension entails a position of dependency, where adolescents do rely on others for decisions, solving problems, and/or for emotional support. This conceptualization of autonomy, which we refer to as independence, is distinct from the conceptualization of

autonomy as volitional functioning, which involves acting in a way that is congruent with one's deeply held and self-endorsed preferences, interests, and values. The opposite end of this dimension involves controlled functioning, meaning that people feel pressure to think, feel, or act in particular ways. Both dimensions of autonomy (independence and volitional functioning) are distinct and can be crossed as adolescents can act independently in a volitional or pressured way, but can also rely on others and act dependently in a volitional or pressured way.

The general aim of this volume is to provide an overview of recent conceptual and empirical work on both overarching dimensions of autonomy. This volume brings together scholars from diverse theoretical backgrounds who study autonomy in different micro-level contexts, such as parent–adolescent relationships, peer relationships, and romantic relationships, as well as macro-level contexts, such as the broader culture. We invited all contributing authors to provide an overview of their ongoing research program that focuses on autonomy and requested that they be as clear as possible about how their conceptualization and operationalization of autonomy relates to the two-dimensional framework that distinguishes between independence and volition. Readers will notice that none of the research programs described in this volume deal exclusively with either independence or volition. Scholars differ in the extent to which they emphasize one dimension relative to the other, with some arguing that their viewpoint may reflect a mixture of both and others arguing that both dimensions are differentiated clearly in their theorizing and empirical work. Most, if not all, scholars recognize the necessity to further examine both dimensions and some call for an integrated approach, where the combined and interactive effects of both dimensions of autonomy are studied. A key take-home message of this volume is that it is more fruitful to address the interplay among dimensions of autonomy and to examine their combined role in adolescents' development than to focus exclusively on one dimension.

In Chapter 1, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, Van Petegem, Beyers, and Ryan discuss the distinction between independence and volitional functioning, thereby providing a conceptual framework for the approach to autonomy in this volume. The authors provide an overview of research demonstrating the utility of this distinction in providing answers to key questions about the role of autonomy in adolescent development.

This chapter is followed by several contributions that deal primarily (but not exclusively) with autonomy in parent–adolescent relationships. In Chapter 2, Kansky, Ruzek, and Allen give an overview of their research program, which examines observed autonomy-relatedness in parent–adolescent relationships. They discuss dynamics of autonomy-relatedness not only in mother–adolescent and father–adolescent relationships but also in relationships outside of the family (peers and romantic partners). In Chapter 3, Smetana makes the case for a domain-specific approach to studying autonomy. Based on social domain theory, she discusses past research demonstrating that adolescents have different conceptions of the legitimacy of authority in different social domains and that the effects of autonomy in parent–adolescent relationships depend on the domain involved. Building on the

social domain theory approach and other theories, in Chapter 4, Tilton-Weaver and Marshall further highlight the transactional nature of negotiations between parents and adolescents about issues of autonomy. To this end, they introduce the notion of governance transfer. Chapter 5, written by Grolnick, Levitt, and Caruso, discusses specific ways in which parents can support adolescents' autonomy. It also deals with the question of whether effects of parental support for autonomy depend on factors such as social domain, culture, and neighborhood context.

The next two chapters deal with general (instead of more relationship-specific) aspects of autonomy. In Chapter 6, Assor discusses the notion of an inner compass as a cardinal component of autonomy. Specifically, he describes how the inner compass may form a basis for processes of self-regulation and integration, thereby contributing to autonomy. Chapter 7, authored by Patall and Yang Hooper, focuses on the role of choice in autonomy. The authors present a model explaining how and when contextual affordance of choice contributes to autonomy, and when it does not.

The final two chapters in this volume most explicitly underscore the importance of investigating autonomy in contexts beyond the family. In Chapter 8 Zimmer-Gembeck, Van Petegem, Ducat, Clear, and Mastro discuss the interplay between parental support for autonomy and dynamics of autonomy in romantic relationships. This chapter includes a conceptual model that may guide future research on this topic. Finally, in Chapter 9, Kagitcibasi discusses the meaning of autonomy at the cultural level, emphasizing that cultural values and worldviews determine—at least to some extent—how people understand autonomy and how it affects adolescent development.

Within this volume, we have brought together eminent scholars from diverse theoretical traditions. By doing so, we hope to spark discussion about the notion of autonomy and to stimulate further interest in this important theme. Most of all, we hope that the theories, concepts, and findings discussed herein inspire researchers to be clear about their definition of autonomy and to pay close attention to how they assess autonomy. Doing so is important to avoid both problems associated with the so-called jingle fallacy—the use of similar terms for different concepts—and problems associated with the jangle fallacy—the use of different terms for the same concept. It is our strong belief that the literature on adolescent autonomy can only continue to thrive and yield innovative and practically relevant findings when researchers strive towards further conceptual clarity and use valid operationalizations of this complex yet quintessential psychological construct.

Bart Soenens, Maarten Vansteenkiste, and Stijn Van Petegem

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HOW TO SOLVE THE CONUNDRUM OF ADOLESCENT AUTONOMY?

On the importance of distinguishing between independence and volitional functioning

Bart Soenens, Maarten Vansteenkiste, Stijn Van Petegem, Wim Beyers, and Richard Ryan

This chapter focuses on a distinction between two conceptualizations of autonomy and the relevance of this distinction for adolescent development. Specifically, we discuss theory and research dealing with autonomy-as-independence (i.e., the degree to which adolescents are self-reliant and make decisions without input from others) and autonomy-as-volition (i.e., the degree to which adolescents regulate their behavior based on deeply held values, preferences, and interests). We argue that this distinction helps to provide nuanced answers to controversial questions related to adolescent autonomy. Specifically, we revisit six questions about adolescent autonomy in light of the distinction between independence and volition. Throughout the chapter, we highlight the complex interplay between the two conceptualizations of autonomy and we call for future research addressing their combined and interactive role in adolescent development.

> *Free from what? What does that matter to Zarathustra! But your fiery eyes should tell me: free for what?*
>
> Nietzsche, *Also Sprach Zarathustra*

Psychologists, philosophers, economists, and sociologists have devoted literally thousands of books, papers, and talks to the topic of autonomy. Scholars have debated about several issues related to autonomy, many of which deal with the question whether autonomy is always beneficial or whether instead its effects depend on factors such as timing (What if people achieve autonomy too early?), quantity (Can people be too autonomous?), and cultural context (Is autonomy only a good thing in the West?). These questions have received much attention specifically in regard to adolescent development because adolescence is considered a developmental period during which establishing a sense of autonomy is a key developmental task (Steinberg and Morris, 2001; Zimmer-Gembeck and Collins, 2003). In spite of a broad consensus about the centrality of autonomy to understanding adolescents' functioning, there is much controversy about the exact meaning of autonomy, about its role in adolescent development, and about the way socializing agents can foster healthy autonomy development.

The psychological literature has witnessed a proliferation of jargon related to the notion of autonomy. Autonomy has been used interchangeably with many more different terms, including constructs such as independence, volition, willingness, ownership, freedom, choice, self-reliance, uniqueness, self-sufficiency, and even egoism, narcissism, defiance, and rebellion. As a result, the concept of autonomy has become blurred and fuzzy. This conceptual confusion has also hampered the precise assessment of autonomy. There has been an upsurge in the development of autonomy-related measures, with some measures receiving similar labels while measuring different aspects of autonomy and with other measures having different labels but tapping into similar content (Van Petegem, Vansteenkiste, and Beyers, 2013).

In recent years, theory and research have begun to demonstrate the importance of distinguishing between two broad conceptualizations of autonomy, one of which has to do with self-reliance and independence from others and one of which has to do with the regulation of behavior on the basis of deeply endorsed values, preferences, and interests (Ryan and Lynch, 1989; Soenens et al., 2007). We will refer to this distinction as a distinction between independence and volitional functioning. In this chapter we will argue that this distinction can bring much clarity to a complex area of research. The first section of this chapter deals with the conceptual distinction between independence and volitional functioning. The second section deals with six specific and controversial issues related to adolescent autonomy, and we examine how the distinction between independence and volitional functioning can help to shed a refreshing light on these issues.

Two prevalent—but different—perspectives on autonomy in adolescent psychology

Autonomy as independence

In mainstream adolescent psychology, autonomy is traditionally defined as independence or self-reliance; that is, the extent to which one behaves, decides, or thinks without relying on others (Goossens, 2006; Steinberg, 2002). The opposite of autonomy then involves dependence or reliance on others, and on the parents in particular. This viewpoint is rooted in Separation-Individuation Theory (Blos, 1979), which implies that a normative developmental task for adolescents is to relinquish and transcend an idealized and immature view of their parents and to reduce the psychological dependence on parents' approval. When occurring smoothly, this normative process of separation-individuation would result in more *independent* decision-making, with adolescents taking more decisions by themselves, particularly in the personal domain (e.g., choice of clothing and friendships; Smetana, Campione-Barr, and Daddis, 2004; Smetana, Chapter 3, this volume). In addition to this behavioral component, autonomy according to Separation-Individuation Theory also would manifest at the *emotional* and *functional* level (Hoffman, 1984). Emotional independence is defined as an adolescent's freedom from excessive need for approval and emotional support by parents. Functional independence refers to the extent to which one is capable of managing practical affairs without soliciting parental help.

The developmental challenge for adolescents is not to detach themselves from their attachment figures, yet, to transform the hierarchical parent–child relation into a more horizontal one. Throughout this transformation process, a crucial task for adolescents is to strive towards more independent functioning while at the same time maintaining positive relations with parents (e.g., Cooper and Grotevant, 2011; Grotevant and Cooper, 1986; Youniss and Smollar, 1985). In other words, this gradual process towards increased independence should take place in a supportive context. Research indeed shows that adolescents who display assertiveness and independence in family discussions while simultaneously staying connected to parents display better psychosocial adjustment, as reflected for instance in higher self-esteem, social competence in friendships, and high-quality romantic relationships (Allen, Hauser, Bell, and O'Connor, 1994; Hauser et al., 1984; Kansky et al., Chapter 2, this volume; Oudekerk, Allen, Hessel, and Molloy, 2015).

The pursuit of an optimal balance between the striving for independence and the maintenance of satisfying parent–child relationships can also go awry (Beyers & Goossens, 1999, 2003; Blos, 1979; Levy-Warren, 1999; Mahler and Furer, 1963). Disturbances in the healthy separation-individuation process might have to do with a failure to achieve independence or with a failure to stay well-connected to the caregiver (Kins, Beyers, and Soenens, 2013; Lapsley, Rice, and Shadid, 1989; McClanahan and Holmbeck, 1992). In the case of dysfunctional independence, an adolescent's striving for independence comes at the cost of a close attachment relationship. In other words, these

adolescents tend to detach themselves from socialization figures, as the caregivers engender feelings of rejection, alienation, and mistrust (Beyers, Goossens, Vansant, & Moors, 2003). As adolescents become excessively concerned with demonstrating their self-reliance, they may even display oppositional defiance to the parents' authority, in which case any external interference is perceived as a potential threat for one's striving towards independence (Van Petegem, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, Beyers, and Aelterman, 2015). Alternatively, disturbances in the separation-individuation process might also entail dysfunctional dependence, as manifested through separation anxiety (Wood, 2006). For separation-anxious individuals, the separation from attachment figures represents a threat to the relation and, hence, causes intense distress, loneliness, and fear of being abandoned.

Autonomy as volitional functioning

Other theories have conceptualized autonomy in terms of volitional functioning. A prominent theory in this regard is Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci and Ryan, 2000; Ryan and Deci, 2000, 2017; Vansteenkiste, Niemiec, and Soenens, 2010), a general theory on motivation, personality, and social development in which the concept of autonomy takes a central place. Two concepts in SDT are specifically relevant to the notion of autonomy as volition; that is, the basic psychological need for autonomy and autonomous motivation.

Need for autonomy. Together with the basic psychological needs for relatedness and competence, the need for autonomy is considered an essential ingredient for growth, integration, and well-being (Ryan and Deci, 2000, 2017). When satisfied, this need manifests in feelings of psychological freedom and authenticity. In contrast, when frustrated it entails experiences of heteronomy; that is, feelings of pressure and inner conflict (Ryan, Deci, and Vansteenkiste, 2016). SDT makes strong claims about the importance of this psychological need, stating that it is a fundamental and universal need essential to all individuals' thriving and psychosocial adjustment.

Consistent with these strong claims, there is solid evidence that satisfaction of the need for autonomy is related to higher levels of general well-being and to domain-specific adjustment, both in adults and in adolescents (Deci and Ryan, 2016; Vansteenkiste and Ryan, 2013). For instance, research with adolescents has shown that autonomy need satisfaction is related to developmental outcomes such as well-being (Cordeiro, Paixão, Lens, Lacante, and Luyckx, 2016; Veronneau, Koestner, and Abela, 2005), healthy identity development (Luyckx, Vansteenkiste, Goossens, and Duriez, 2009), physical activity (Gunnell, Bélanger, and Brunet, 2016), and quality of sleep (Campbell et al., 2015). In contrast, frustration of the need for autonomy is related to greater maladjustment and risk for psychopathology (Ryan et al., 2016), stress (Bartholomew, Ntoumanis, Ryan, Bosch, and Thogerson-Ntoumani, 2011), internalizing and externalizing problems (Costa, Cuzzocrea, Gugliandolo, and Larcan, 2016; Mabbe, Soenens, Vansteenkiste, and Van Leeuwen, 2016), eating disorder symptoms (Boone, Vansteenkiste, Soenens,

van der Kaap-Deeder, and Verstuyf, 2014), bullying (Fousiani, Dimitropoulou, Michaelides, and Van Petegem, 2016), and pathological internet use (Liu, Fang, Wan, and Zhou, 2016).

Autonomous motivation. Besides the need for autonomy, the SDT-based concept of autonomous motivation is also relevant. In SDT, autonomous motivation refers to self-endorsed reasons for engaging in an activity or for pursuing a particular goal (Deci and Ryan, 2000). When people are autonomously motivated, they engage in an activity willingly. This is because the activity is inherently satisfying and interesting (i.e., intrinsic motivation) or because people see the personal value of engaging in the activity (i.e., identification). Thus, even when an activity is not inherently enjoyable or challenging (such as following a rule), people can still internalize its importance, thereby experiencing greater ownership over the behavior and displaying autonomous motivation. Autonomous motivation can be contrasted with controlled motivation, which occurs when people feel pressured either by external forces (e.g., threats of punishment and certain types of rewards) or by internal demands (e.g., to avoid feelings of shame or guilt, or to boost one's self-worth) to do something or to pursue a certain goal. Instead of wanting to do an activity (as with autonomous motivation), with controlled motivation people are investing effort because they have to (Ryan and Deci, 2000; Vansteenkiste et al., 2010).

Abundant research has demonstrated the adaptive value of autonomous motivation in diverse areas of individuals' lives, including work (Gagné and Deci, 2005), sports (Pelletier, Fortier, Vallerand, and Briere, 2001), and religious behavior (Ryan, Rigby, and King, 1993) to name a few. Research with adolescents has shown that autonomous motivation is important in domains such as school work and social relationships. For instance, autonomous academic motivation is related to the use of more deep-level strategies for learning, higher competence, and ultimately to higher school grades (Grolnick, Kurowski, Dunlap, and Hevey, 2000; Vansteenkiste, Zhou, Lens, and Soenens, 2005). Similarly, adolescents with more autonomous motives for engaging in friendships were found to experience more social competence (Soenens and Vansteenkiste, 2005).

Theoretically, the need for autonomy, which speaks to the energetic basis of individuals' behavior, and autonomous motivation, which represents the motivational direction of people's functioning, are assumed to be reciprocally related. Specifically, satisfaction of the need for autonomy provides the impetus and psychological flexibility required for autonomous motivation to unfold. That is, when people experience a sense of volition and choice when carrying out activities, they are more likely to develop and maintain autonomous motivation for a given activity and they may orient behavior towards engagement in enjoyable or highly valued activities. Indeed, intrinsically motivating activities function as a magnet to which people get naturally attracted when they experience a sense of volition and psychological freedom. At the same time, when people engage in activities or pursue goals for self-endorsed reasons, they are more likely to experience a sense of authenticity

and psychological freedom, as their actions are fully endorsed by the self and are in line with one's personal convictions and values. That is, autonomy need satisfaction may be the very outcome of engaging in an activity for autonomous reasons (e.g., Chen, Beyers, Vansteenkiste, Soenens, and Van Petegem, 2013; Sheldon and Kasser, 1998). Because autonomous motivation and satisfaction of the need for autonomy reinforce one another mutually, they can both be considered key indicators of volitional functioning.

Contrasting the notions of independence and volitional functioning

Differentiation. Increasingly, theory and research point to the importance of differentiating clearly between independence and volitional functioning (Ryan et al., 2016). Independence is mainly about the question how much adolescents depend on others and who is regulating a certain behavior or goal (i.e., the parent, the adolescent, or both) (Ryan and Lynch, 1989); in other words, it is mainly defined in interpersonal terms. In contrast, volitional functioning is more about within-person concordance; that is, about the degree to which behaviors or goals are aligned with one's deeply held values, preferences, and interests (Sheldon and Elliot, 1999). When behavior and goals are concordant with these values and interests, people experience a sense of psychological freedom and authenticity. The opposite of volitional functioning is heteronomy, which manifests in feelings of being pressured to take a certain course of action, of being alienated from who one really is (Ryan and Deci, 2000).

Because the dimension contrasting independence with dependence is distinct from the dimension contrasting volitional functioning with pressured (heteronomous) functioning, both dimensions can be crossed, resulting in four possible positions. As Figure 1.1 illustrates, adolescents can experience volition both when they act independently and when they are in a dependent position vis-à-vis their parents. For instance, an adolescent can make a decision about her study choice without much input from parents because she is in touch with her preferences and knows quite well what she wants to do. This adolescent chooses to make an independent choice, thereby displaying volitional independence. Another adolescent could choose to consult his parents because they provide valuable input and because he appreciates his parents' opinion. As he chooses to rely on his parents' advice, he is in a position of volitional dependence. This position is akin to the concept of emotional reliance, which refers to individuals' willing reliance on others for emotional support (Ryan, La Guardia, Solky-Butzel, Chirkov, and Kim, 2005).

In a parallel way, adolescents can be heteronomous and, consequently, experience pressure and coercion both in situations of independence and in situations of dependence. When parents consider study choices as personal decisions that every person has to make for himself or when they are not available to provide input, an adolescent has no other option but to make an independent decision. He feels pressured to make this independent decision because he is left to his own devices. Conversely, parents may convey that they know what is best for their child, thereby

pressuring the adolescent to follow the parents' advice. In the case of controlled dependence, adolescents feel forced to depend on parents for advice, assistance, and support.

Several recent studies confirmed the validity of the distinction between independence (versus dependence) and volition (versus pressure) during adolescence. Van Petegem et al. (2013) administered an elaborate battery of autonomy-related measures in two large samples of adolescents and found that these measures could be best represented in a two-dimensional space, with the two retained dimensions reflecting independence and volition. Importantly, in each of the four quadrants, a number of autonomy-relevant concepts and measures could be located, suggesting that many contemporary "autonomy" measures reflect a combination of both viewpoints on autonomy. Hence, this study indicates that the independence-volition distinction is critical to bring structure and clarity in the landscape of autonomy-relevant concepts and measures.

In another study, Van Petegem, Beyers, Vansteenkiste, and Soenens (2012) focused specifically on independent decision-making, which serves as one marker of independence. Specifically, using the Family Decision Making Scale (Dornbusch et al., 1985), they assessed the degree to which adolescents made independent decisions about 20 issues (e.g., what clothes to wear, whether you can hang out with friends your parents don't like). While decisions made by parents alone reflected high dependency, decisions made by adolescents without input from parents reflected independence. In addition, adolescents also scored their autonomous (or volitional) and controlled (or pressured) reasons both for making independent decisions and for depending on their parents. As such, apart from a quantitative indicator of independent decision-making as such, the authors also obtained a measure reflecting the type or quality of reasons for acting (in)dependently. Results confirmed that the degree to which adolescents make dependent or independent decisions was clearly distinct from the underlying motivation for doing so. Moreover, in both studies, adolescents' volitional functioning consistently related to higher emotional well-being and better behavioral adjustment, regardless of whether adolescents decided independently or were dependent on their parents. In contrast, adolescents' degree of independent functioning was virtually unrelated to well-being and was even related positively to problem behaviors such as alcohol abuse (Van Petegem et al., 2012, 2013).

The interplay between independence and volition. Although Figure 1.1 may create the impression that independence and volition constitute orthogonal concepts, this is not the case. Associations between independence and volitional functioning are typically positive. For instance, adolescents displayed more volitional motives for deciding independently about issues than for leaving decisions about these issues to parents (Van Petegem et al., 2012). These findings suggest that, at least in Western societies, situations of independence provide relatively more room for volitional functioning, possibly because such situations provide more opportunity for expressing one's personal preferences, values, and interests in these situations.

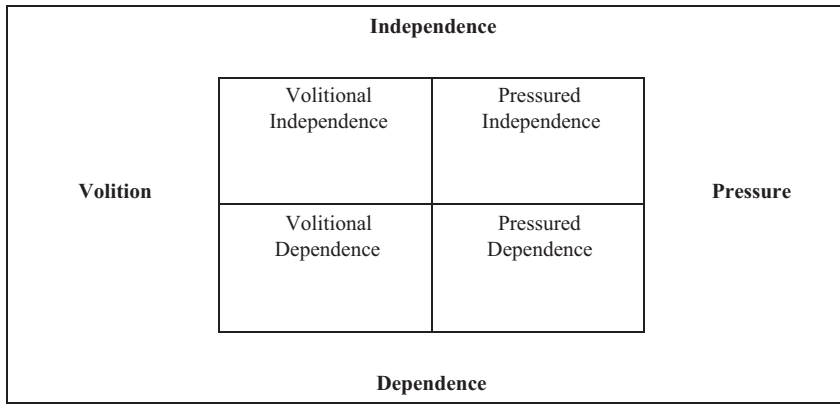

FIGURE 1.1 Graphical representation of the distinction between independence and volitional functioning

The finding that independence and volition are related positively suggests that, instead of pitting the two conceptualizations of autonomy against each other, a more fruitful approach is to examine their dynamic interplay. Longitudinal research could address bidirectional associations between both types of autonomy. Possibly, experiences of volition may generate energy necessary for adolescents to take initiative, to explore different options and lifestyles, and to function more independently. At the same time, independence may also give rise to more volitional functioning across time. Note that for adolescents to function independently, not only does their need for volition need to be nurtured, but they also need to feel sufficiently competent and confident such that they more easily trust the decisions they make by themselves. Also, a strong sense of connection with parents (resulting in relatedness need satisfaction) may be critical, such that satisfaction of all three psychological needs assumed in SDT may be implied in adolescents' independence and, more specifically, in their volitional (self-endorsed) regulation of independence (Chen et al., 2013).

Future research also could examine the conditions under which volitional independence is most likely to surface. For instance, relying on Social Domain Theory (Nucci, 2013; Smetana, Jambon, and Ball, 2013; Smetana, Chapter 3, this volume), it can be predicted that adolescents display more volitional independence with regard to personal issues, which reflect adolescents' self-expression and personal identity (e.g., which music to listen to, and how to decorate one's room). In contrast, when it comes to issues about which parents have legitimate authority (e.g., health-related issues and moral issues), adolescents may display more volitional dependence, accepting more easily their parents' advice and support.

Thus, rather than considering the four quadrants in Figure 1.1 as stable, disposition-like orientations, future research would do well to examine domain-specific differences in these orientations within adolescents' functioning, as well as adolescents' capacity to flexibly switch between orientations depending on the