



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

## **Second-generation Turkish immigrant families in the Netherlands : parenting and toddler behavior problems**

Yaman, A.

### **Citation**

Yaman, A. (2009, December 10). *Second-generation Turkish immigrant families in the Netherlands : parenting and toddler behavior problems*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14516>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14516>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

# Second-generation Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands

Parenting and toddler behavior problems

Ayşe Yaman

Printed by Mostert en van Onderen, Leiden  
Cover design by Steen Bentall

© 2009, Ayşe Yaman, Leiden University

All rights reserved. No parts of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, mechanically, by photocopy, by recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission from the author.

# **Second-generation Turkish immigrant families in the Netherlands**

Parenting and toddler behavior problems

## **Proefschrift**

ter verkrijging van  
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,  
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof.mr. P.F. van der Heijden,  
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties  
te verdedigen op donderdag 10 december 2009  
klokke 10.00 uur

door

**Ayşe Yaman**  
geboren te Schiedam  
in 1979

## **Promotiecommissie**

*Promotores:*

Prof. dr. J. Mesman

Prof. dr. M. H. Van IJzendoorn

Overige leden:

Prof. dr. M. J. Bakermans-Kranenburg

Prof. dr. R. van der Veer

Dr. B. Leyendecker (Ruhr-Universität Bochum, Duitsland)



This research was supported by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO Mosaic) project number: 017.001.166.

# Contents

Chapter 1	General introduction	XX
Chapter 2	Perceived family stress, parenting efficacy, and child externalizing behaviors in second-generation immigrant mothers	XX
Chapter 3	Parenting in an individualistic culture with a collectivistic cultural background: The case of Turkish immigrant families with toddlers in the Netherlands	XX
Chapter 4	Parenting and toddler aggression in second-generation immigrant families: The moderating role of child temperament	XX
Chapter 5	Discussion and conclusion	XX
Chapter 6	References	XX
Appendices		
	Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)	XX
	Dankwoord (Acknowledgements)	XX
	Curriculum Vitae	XX

## Chapter 1

### General introduction

## **Turkish immigration in the Netherlands**

Migration takes place on a worldwide scale and in the second half of the 20th century, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, many Turkish labor migrants came to Europe on a temporary basis, because there was a need of labor forces to fill the shortages in the less skilled segments of the labor market. The majority of these first generation migrants (also named guest-workers) were recruited from the rural areas of the lowest socioeconomic regions in Turkey. Many migrants expected their stay to be temporary and to return to their homeland after a couple of years of hard work, but most of them ended up bringing their families to their new country and settled permanently. Nowadays, Turkish families and their children are the largest immigrant group in Europe (4 million) and they reside in a large number of European countries (Crul, 2008), including the Netherlands (377,000; CBS, 2009). The growth of the Turkish population in the Netherlands is currently mostly due to the increase of the second generation and much less due to migration. Currently, 48% (182,000) of the Turkish population in the Netherlands is from the second generation and it is expected that this percentage will increase to 60% (279,000) in 2050 (CBS, 2009). As the second-generation more often marries first-generation Turkish partners who grew up in Turkey ( $\pm 75\%$ ; Distelbrink & Hooghiemstra, 2005), the majority of children are now growing up in families with generational differences between parents. Despite the growth of the second-generation Turkish immigrant population in the Netherlands, little research has been conducted on parenting and child behavior problems in these families.

## **Acculturation and parenting**

Through immigration, people from different cultures come into contact with each other and in response to a changing cultural context the immigrants undergo an acculturation process (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Berry (1997) formulated an acculturation model in which the first dimension consists of a preference for maintaining one's own heritage culture and ethnic identity (e.g., Turkish culture), and the second dimension is the preference to participate in the host society (e.g., the Netherlands). Second-generation immigrants did not experience migration themselves, but they are exposed to living in two cultures, which can affect their adaptation in general and their parenting behaviors in particular. Thus, their parenting behaviors may differ from those in their home country as well as from those in their resident country, depending on their acculturation level. Immigrant parents who are oriented to the cultural values of the host



country more often adopt child-rearing attitudes and behaviors similar to the host society (e.g., Jain & Belsky, 1997; Yağmurlu & Sanson, 2009). For example, a study on acculturation and parenting values and practices in a sample of Turkish migrants living in Australia showed that mothers who were more willing to interact with the host culture favored more use of inductive discipline methods and child-centered goals which were more similar to the host society than mothers who favored separation from Australian society (Yağmurlu & Sanson, 2009). However, other studies have also shown that (Turkish) immigrants tend to maintain the family values and parenting practices (i.e., parental control) of their heritage culture (e.g., Bornstein & Cote, 2001; Güngör, 2008) and pass them on to the next generations (Phalet & Schönplflug, 2001; Schönplflug, 2001). A study among first- and second-generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands showed that adaptation to the host society was favored with respect to social contact with Dutch people and the Dutch language (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2003), but cultural maintenance was preferred regarding child-rearing and cultural habits.

## **Parenting context of Turkish immigrants living in the Netherlands**

In comparison to the native Dutch population, Turkish migrants in the Netherlands live under lower socioeconomic conditions, have low or no education, are unemployed or have low-paid employment, live more often in large families, and live primarily in socially deprived areas in the Netherlands (Distelbrink & Hooghiemstra, 2005). Although the socioeconomic position (i.e., the educational level) of the second-generation is better than that of the first generation, it is still more unfavorable than in the native population. For example, only 4% of the second-generation Turkish parents are highly educated (higher professional education or the university) in comparison to 35% of the native parents (Distelbrink & Hooghiemstra, 2005). The average age at which Turkish immigrant mothers have their first child is increasing, especially for the second-generation, but it is still lower than the mean age of native Dutch mothers. Moreover, in 31% of Turkish families the number of children is higher than three compared to 22% in native Dutch families. When investigating parenting practices in immigrant families, the sociodemographic context is important to take into account, as contextual factors have been shown to influence parenting practices (e.g., Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van IJzendoorn, & Kroonenberg, 2004; Fox, Platz, & Bentley, 1995). For example, The Netherlands' Prevalence study of Maltreatment of youth (NPM-2005) showed an increased risk of child maltreatment in traditional immigrant families (Turkish, Moroccan, Surinam, and Antilleans), but when the educational level of these families was taken into account, the increased risk for child maltreatment in these families

disappeared (Euser, Van IJzendoorn, Prinzie, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2009). Regarding parenting values, the differences between Turkish immigrant and native Dutch parents in autonomy and conformity as goals they valued for their children, disappeared after correction for parents' educational level (Pels, Nijsten, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, 2006).

## **Parenting in Turkish immigrant families**

Several studies in Western societies have shown that insensitive, authoritarian parenting practices are associated with increased child behavior problems (e.g., Campbell, 2002). Moreover, children with difficult temperaments who are raised in an adverse rearing environment are even more at risk of developing behavior problems because they have more difficulties in regulating their emotions, managing their impulses, and engage more often in novel and dangerous situations (e.g., Belsky, Hsieh, & Crnic, 1998; Frick & Morris, 2004; Van Zeijl et al., 2007). Similar studies on Turkish immigrant families with young children are relatively scarce. Recently, the existing literature on parental functioning in immigrant families living in the Netherlands has been reviewed (Mesman & Yaman, in press). This review confirms that there are very few studies examining parenting in immigrant families in the Netherlands. Overall, the existing studies showed that achievement and obedience of children were more valued in (first- and second-generation) Turkish immigrant families than in native Dutch families. Furthermore, Turkish immigrant mothers reacted more harshly to their infant's crying than Dutch mothers. In addition, Turkish immigrant adolescents characterized the child-rearing behaviors of their parents as more restrictive than their Dutch counterparts. Regarding attitudes toward gender roles, Turkish adolescents seemed to have the least egalitarian ideas compared to other immigrant groups and the native Dutch group. However, conservative attitudes about gender roles seem to shift to more egalitarian ones in second-generation Turkish immigrant families. For example, no differences were found between boys and girls in their perception of strict rules, support, and openness in their relation with their parents. According to the review by Mesman and Yaman (in press), many studies found mean level group differences in parenting behaviors between immigrant and native Dutch groups, but the associations between parenting behaviors and the development of children were generally comparable across ethnic groups. More specifically, a negative parent-child relationship, more restrictive control, and a lack of parental responsiveness were associated with more child emotional and behavioral problems among immigrants as well as the Dutch natives. These findings support the *no-group difference* hypothesis in which associations in developmental processes are not modified by culturally specific experiences, as opposed to the

*group differences* hypothesis that suggests cultural relativity of child socialization and that implies variations in the relation between family characteristics and child behavior problems across ethnic groups. The review concludes that most studies were conducted over a decade ago, their results were anecdotic or based on qualitative research, self-reports, and interviews, and therefore emphasizes the use of standardized observational methods in the future. So far, only a few observational studies were conducted among Turkish immigrant families with young children (Bus, Leseman, & Keultjes, 2000; Leseman & Van den Boom, 1999; Verhallen, Bus, & de Jong, 2006). One study showed that the social-emotional quality of mother-child interactions during book reading and problem solving were lower in Turkish immigrant families, compared to Dutch families (Leseman & Van den Boom, 1999), whereas another study found no differences in maternal support between the groups during book reading (Bus et al., 2000).

## **Behavior problems in Turkish immigrant children**

Externalizing behaviors, such as oppositional behaviors, aggression, and overactivity can occur as early as toddlerhood and are quite common during this period (Keenan & Shaw, 1994; Van Zeijl et al., 2006). In most cases, these behaviors decrease in the fourth year of life (Alink et al., 2006), but in others externalizing behaviors persist into later childhood and even adulthood (e.g., Loeber & Hay, 1997). Early-onset externalizing problems have been found to predict subsequent psychopathology and problems in several domains of functioning, including personal, social, and academic development (Campbell, 2002).

In the literature inconsistent results have been reported regarding child behavior problems (e.g., externalizing behaviors) in Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands with some studies finding more behavior problems in Turkish children compared to Dutch children when *parents* reported these problems (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, van der Ende, & Erol, 1997; Stevens et al., 2003), and other studies showing equal or lower levels of *teacher* or *self*-reported externalizing behaviors in Turkish children than in Dutch children (Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan, & Verhulst, 2000; Zwirs, Burger, Schulpen, & Buitelaar, 2006). In a survey study conducted in several Youth Health Care centers in the Netherlands (Jeugdgezondheidszorg), with a reach of more than 95% of children during the preschool years, professionals and parents filled out questionnaires on the well-being of children: more psychosocial problems in children were reported by parents in non-western ethnic families (12%) than native families (4%), whereas no differences were reported by the professionals (Öry et al., 2003; Zeijl, Crone, Wiefferink, Keuzenkamp, & Reijneveld, 2005). These discrepancies in results may be explained by the fact

that the professionals may have had more difficulties in signaling problems in children with a different ethnic background. In general, most of these studies focused mainly on school-age children and adolescents, whereas studies aimed at young immigrant Turkish toddlers are still lacking.

Overall, studies on Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands mainly focused on the occurrence of behavior problems during middle and late childhood. However, we do not know whether the incidence and the parenting predictors of such behaviors during toddlerhood are similar to those in native Dutch families. This information is necessary to adapt early intervention programs aimed at improving the quality of mother-child interactions to the specific child-rearing context of Turkish immigrant families.

## **The current thesis**

### **Aims of the study**

The general aim of the current series of studies is to examine the early development and parenting predictors of toddler externalizing problem behavior in Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands in comparison with native Dutch families. The current thesis addresses the following issues:

(1) Testing the *no-group difference* hypothesis versus the *group-differences* hypothesis by comparing the levels and interrelations of family stress, parenting efficacy, and toddler externalizing behaviors in second-generation Turkish immigrant and native Dutch families. In the Turkish group, the role of maternal acculturation will also be examined.

(2) Investigating mean level differences in observed maternal sensitivity and discipline, as well as differences in the interrelations of these parenting behaviors between second-generation Turkish immigrant and native Dutch mothers. The level and role of maternal acculturation and gender-differentiated parenting will also be examined.

(3) Examining the influence of child temperament, positive parenting, and authoritarian discipline on physical aggression in Turkish toddlers in the Netherlands.

Second-generation Turkish immigrant parents of 2-year-old children were recruited from the municipal registers of several cities and towns in the western and middle region of the Netherlands. Participating mothers were administered questionnaires on child and parent behaviors, and observations of parenting behaviors were conducted during home-visits. One year

after the first home visit, all families were visited at home again, using the same observational measures and questionnaires as in the first home visit.

### **Outline of the present thesis**

In *Chapter 2* perceived family stress, parenting efficacy, and child externalizing behaviors in second-generation Turkish immigrant families and native Dutch families are compared. *Chapter 3* addresses differences in patterns of parenting between second-generation Turkish immigrant and native Dutch mothers with toddlers. *Chapter 4* reports on the moderating role of child temperament in the association between parenting and physical toddler aggression in second-generation Turkish immigrant families. In *Chapter 5* the main results of the three studies are integrated and discussed.

## Chapter 2

# Perceived family stress, parenting efficacy, and child externalizing behaviors in second-generation immigrant mothers

Yaman, A., Mesman, J., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J.  
*Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology (in press).*

## **Abstract**

In this study we compared the levels of family stress, parenting efficacy, and toddler externalizing behaviors in Dutch ( $n = 175$ ) and second-generation Turkish immigrant families ( $n = 175$ ) living in the Netherlands. In addition, the influence of Turkish mothers' acculturation on toddler externalizing behaviors and its association with perceived stress and efficacy were examined. Turkish mothers reported higher levels of daily stress and marital discord than Dutch mothers, but did not differ in perceptions of parenting efficacy and children's externalizing behaviors. The associations between child and family variables were similar in the Dutch and the Turkish groups as more family stress was related to more externalizing behaviors in toddlers. Low parenting efficacy was the most important predictor of child externalizing behaviors in both groups. Acculturation of Turkish mothers was not associated with family and child variables, and did not moderate the association between family variables and child externalizing behaviors. However, emotional connectedness to the Turkish culture was related to less daily stress and fewer marital problems. The results support the no-group differences hypothesis, and also imply that cultural maintenance may be adaptive for parental well-being.

## Introduction

Parenting toddlers can be a challenge to caregivers. Externalizing behaviors, such as oppositional and aggressive behaviors are quite common during toddlerhood (Keenan & Shaw, 1994; Van Zeijl et al., 2006). Previous studies have shown that maternal experiences of daily stress, marital discord, and low parenting efficacy are related to externalizing behaviors in young children (Belsky, Woodworth, & Crnic, 1996; Carter, Briggs-Gowan, & Davis, 2004; Johnston & Mash, 1989). However, we do not know if these associations also pertain to immigrant families. The aim of our study is to compare the levels and correlates of maternal perceptions of family stress (daily stress and marital discord), parenting efficacy, and child externalizing behaviors in Dutch and second-generation Turkish immigrant families in the Netherlands. In the Turkish group, we also explored the role of maternal acculturation and its association with toddler externalizing behaviors, perceived family stress, and parenting efficacy.

The number of people who have migrated from their birth country to another country has almost doubled during the last fifty years to 191 million immigrants in 2005 (UNFPA, 2006). As a response to the changing cultural context immigrants undergo an acculturation process, in which identification with the culture of origin need not exclude identification with the host culture and vice versa (Berry, 1997; Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). This two-dimensional acculturation model represents the connection to one's own heritage culture and to the host society. Changes associated with acculturation could lead to acculturative stress when immigrants experience these changes as stressors (Berry, 1997). Even the second generation can experience these stresses because they may feel caught between their parents' and their own values and therefore may be more vulnerable in dealing with challenges in certain domains of their lives (e.g., child-rearing, daily situations, and marital relations) when struggling to both maintain the culture of origin and adopt the host culture (Sodowsky & Maestas, 2000). Indeed, (acculturative) stress has shown to be related to parents' perceptions of low parenting efficacy (the perception of one's own efficacy in dealing with the child), daily stress, and stress in marital relations (e.g., Berry, 2006; Wells-Parker, Miller, & Topping, 1990). Thus, lower levels of acculturation might have a negative effect on parental and child well-being. In their turn, feelings of parenting inefficacy, daily stresses, and low marital quality have been found to predict child externalizing behavior problems (e.g., Baker & Heller, 1996; Reid & Crisafulli, 1990). Thus, children in immigrant families may be at risk to show more behavior problems than native children. However, inconsistent results on this issue have been found (Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). These inconsistencies may be illuminated when the link between parental acculturation and child behavior problems in immigrant families is



taken into account (Atzaba-Poria, Pike, & Barrett, 2004; Weiss, Goebel, Page, Wilson, & Warda, 1998). Moreover, the association between certain parenting factors and child behavior problems may vary with the acculturation levels of the parents. For example, higher acculturation levels may buffer the negative effects of family stress and parenting inefficacy on child externalizing behaviors, as more acculturated parents might be somewhat more tolerant of such problem behaviors or may feel they have more easily access to support systems to help alleviate their problems.

In Western societies, the association between family stress and toddler behavior problems has been frequently found (Campbell, Breaux, Ewing, & Szumowski, 1986; Van Zeijl et al., 2006). According to the *group differences* hypothesis, child socialization is culturally relative and factors influencing child behaviors can differ in various ethnic populations. Thus, the relation between family characteristics and child behavior problems may differ across ethnic groups (Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1998; Lansford et al., 2005; Ogbu, 1981). The *no-group difference* hypothesis states that associations in developmental processes are not altered by culturally specific experiences. This means that there can be differences in the levels of behavior problems or parenting characteristics, but the correlations among these variables do not differ between ethnic groups (Ho, Bluestein, & Jenkins, 2008; Lau, Litrownik, Newton, Black, & Everson, 2006; Rowe, Vazsonyi, & Flannery, 1994). This was supported in studies among immigrant families living in the Netherlands (Gaffari, 2004; Wissink, Deković, & Meijer, 2006).

Studies that investigated child externalizing behaviors and family functioning in immigrant families living in the Netherlands focused mainly on school-age children and adolescents. Some studies showed more *parent-reported* behavior problems in Turkish children compared to Dutch children (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, van der Ende, & Erol, 1997; Stevens et al., 2003), and other studies found equal or lower levels of *teacher or self-reported* externalizing behaviors in Turkish children (Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan, & Verhulst, 2000; Murad, Joung, van Lenthe, Bengi-Arslan, & Crijnen, 2003). No studies have been conducted among toddlers, despite the fact that externalizing behaviors such as aggression already emerge in the second year of life (e.g., Alink et al., 2006), and are predictive of problems in several domains of functioning, including personal, social, and academic development (Campbell, 1995). Family functioning in immigrant families has also focused mostly on older children (Sowa, Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan, & Verhulst, 2000; Wissink et al., 2006). Thus, the study of early childhood externalizing problems and their association with family characteristics within immigrant families warrants further research.

The Turkish population is the largest immigration population (360,000) in the Netherlands and includes more than 70,000 children younger than 10 years (CBS, 2006). We specifically

focused on *second-generation* Turkish families because the growth of the number of Turkish inhabitants is mostly due to the increase of the second-generation population (born in the Netherlands, with at least one parent born in Turkey), and much less due to migration (Distelbrink & Hooghiemstra, 2005).

Based on the literature, our hypotheses are (1) Turkish children show more externalizing behaviors than Dutch children as previous findings have shown that Turkish parents report more child behavior problems than Dutch parents; (2) The associations between family stress, parenting inefficacy, and toddler externalizing behaviors will be similar in both ethnic groups (no-group difference hypothesis) as most studies on immigrant families living in the Netherlands have supported this hypothesis; (3) High levels of acculturation are related to the experience of less family stress, more parenting efficacy, and lower levels of child externalizing behaviors because high levels of acculturation have been shown to be advantageous to parent and child well-being; (4) The association between family stress, parenting inefficacy, and toddler externalizing behaviors in Turkish families is moderated by mothers' acculturation level as high acculturation may buffer the negative effects of family stress and parenting inefficacy on child externalizing behaviors.

## **Method**

### **Participants and procedure**

Turkish mothers of 2-year-old children ( $M = 25.17$ ,  $SD = 1.64$ , range 22-31, 87 boys) were recruited from the municipal registers in the Netherlands. Only second-generation Turkish mothers born in the Netherlands were selected to ensure the homogeneity of the sample and to control for the confounding effects of ethnicity and migration. In total, 384 families were reached, 230 of whom participated (60%). For 175 mothers who were also the primary caregivers, all questionnaires on child behavior problems and family functioning used in the present study were obtained (in the Dutch or the Turkish language). One-hundred and fifty-four parents refused to participate, and 86 parents could not be reached. The majority (75%) completed the Dutch version of the questionnaires. The preference for the Dutch version of the questionnaires may be explained by the fact that all second-generation Turkish mothers have attended school in the Netherlands, and are thus more used to *reading and writing* in Dutch than in Turkish, even though they may prefer to *speak* Turkish in daily life. Since we did not have information on non-

respondents we could not examine whether they differed from the participating group on certain characteristics.

The Dutch comparison sample for the current study is derived from the descriptive part of the SCRIPT study (Screening and Intervention of Problem behavior in Toddlerhood). For a detailed description of the recruitment of Dutch participants and the procedures of the SCRIPT study we refer to Alink et al. (2006) and Van Zeijl et al. (2006). Because the sample of 2-year-olds from the SCRIPT study is about four times larger than the Turkish sample, we selected a comparable subsample of 175 Dutch 2-year-olds ( $M = 24.02$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ , range = 22-27, 87 boys). The sample was selected to be similar to the Turkish sample on child gender, maternal education, and the presence of siblings. We were unable to use maternal age and family composition as selection criteria, because Turkish mothers were younger and more often a single parent than Dutch mothers. The results of an independent samples t-test showed that Turkish mothers ( $M = 26.78$ ,  $SD = 3.27$ ) were significantly younger than Dutch mothers ( $M = 32.12$ ,  $SD = 3.50$ ),  $t(174) = 14.77$ ,  $p < .01$  and there were significant differences in family composition (one- versus two-parent families) between the Dutch and Turkish families. There were fewer two-parent families in the Turkish group (93.8%) than in the Dutch group (98.9%)  $\chi^2(2, N = 350) = 10.57$ ,  $p < .05$ .

## Measures

The Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL/1½-5; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000) has previously been translated and validated in Turkish (Erol & Şimşek, 1997) and the Psychological Acculturation Scale has been used in the Netherlands and validated in research on immigrant groups (Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh, & Crijnen, 2004). The remaining questionnaires used in this study were translated by the first author from Dutch into Turkish and back-translated by a Turkish psychology student in order to ensure correct wording.

### *Externalizing behaviors*

The Child Behavior Checklist for ages 1½ to 5 (CBCL/1½-5; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000) was used to assess child externalizing behaviors. Primary caregivers indicated whether their child displayed any of the 100 behavioral descriptions in the last 2 months on a 3-point scale (0 *not true*, 1 *somewhat or sometimes true*, and 2 *very true or often true*). The previous version of the CBCL/1½-5 (the CBCL/2-3) was validated in a Dutch population (Koot, Van den Oord, Verhulst, & Boomsma, 1997) as well as in a Turkish population living in Turkey (Erol & Şimşek, 1997). In the current study, the internal consistencies (Cronbach's alphas) for Turkish and Dutch mother-

reported CBCL were high for the Externalizing Problems syndrome (.91/.90), the sub-syndrome Oppositional (.86/.88) and Aggressive (.78/.77). For the sub-syndrome Overactive the internal consistency was acceptable for both groups with .66 and .61, respectively.

#### *Perceived parenting efficacy*

The extent to which mothers characterized themselves as competent caregivers was measured with the Parental Efficacy Questionnaire (Caprara, personal communication, 1998; Van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Juffer, 1999). The questionnaire consists of 20 items (e.g., I can comfort my child within 5 minutes if he wakes up at night) rated on a 5-point scale (ranging from -2, *I am certainly not capable of doing this*, to +2, *I am certainly capable of doing this*). Cronbach's alpha for the Turkish group was .85 and for the Dutch group was .83.

#### *Daily stress*

To measure daily hassles, mothers were asked to rate the intensity of 25 indices of potentially stressful events on a 5-point scale (ranging from 0, *no hassle*, to 4, *big hassle*). The Parenting Daily Hassles questionnaire (Crnic & Greenberg, 1990) contains 25 items asking about daily hassles related to life in general (Kanner, Coyne, Schaffer, & Lazarus, 1981) e.g., money problems, trouble at work. The Cronbach's alphas in the present study were .93 for the Turkish group and .90 for the Dutch group.

#### *Marital discord*

A subscale of the Dutch Family Problems Questionnaire (Koot, 1997) was used to assess marital discord. Mothers indicated on a 3-point scale whether five statements about their partner relationship were 0 *not true*, 1 *somewhat or sometimes true*, or 2 *true or often true* (e.g., I worry about my relationship with my partner). The internal consistencies of this subscale in this study for the Turkish and the Dutch group were .70 and .67, respectively.

#### *Acculturation*

We measured the acculturation level of the Turkish mothers by focusing on the Turkish and Dutch language use (language acculturation) and psychological acculturation with regard to the Turkish and Dutch culture. With regard to *language use* Turkish mothers were asked how often they spoke the Turkish and Dutch language with important others (their children, spouse, family members, and friends) (Van Oort et al., 2006) on a 5-point scale (ranging from 0, *never*, to 4, *always/ very often*). The internal consistencies for the use of the Turkish and Dutch language

were .81 and .75 respectively. Regarding the *psychological acculturation* of the mothers, the adapted version of the Psychological Acculturation Scale (PAS) was used (Stevens et al., 2004). Emotional connectedness of the mothers to the Turkish culture (six items) and the Dutch culture (six items) (e.g., I feel comfortable around Dutch/ Turkish people) were rated on a 5-point scale (ranging from 0, *totally disagree*, to 4, *totally agree*). The internal consistencies for the emotional connectedness to the Turkish and Dutch culture were .83 and .79 respectively.

## **Statistical analyses**

There were a few missing values on several variables in the Dutch group (1 for daily stress, 1 for parenting efficacy, and 2 for marital discord) and in the Turkish group (3 for daily stress, 3 for parenting efficacy, and 3 for marital discord). They were substituted with the mean score on the variable for children with the same sex, ethnicity and maternal educational level, as a conservative imputation method (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007), to uniformly include the total set of 175 Dutch children and 175 Turkish children in the analyses. The data showed some outliers. When outliers ( $|z| > 3.29$ ) were winsorized (i.e., “moved in close to the good data”) (Hampel, Ronchetti, & Rousseeuw, 1986) by replacement of the outlying scores with the next highest value (with  $|z| < 3.29$ ) in the distribution, the results were the same.

## **Results**

### **Preliminary analyses**

Because we selected a sample of Dutch mothers that was similar to the sample of Turkish mothers regarding child gender, maternal education, and the presence of siblings, there were no significant differences between the groups on these characteristics. As our Turkish and Dutch samples were matched on mother’s educational level, differences between the two groups cannot be associated with mothers’ level of education. Since the Dutch and Turkish groups significantly differed on maternal age and family composition, analyses concerning group differences were controlled for the effects of these variables if these variables were also associated with the outcome variables. Turkish mothers were on average more strongly connected to the Turkish culture ( $M = 21.61$ ,  $SD = 4.60$ ) than to the Dutch culture ( $M = 15.18$ ,  $SD = 5.11$ ),  $t(174) = -12.77$ ,  $p < .01$ . With regard to their language use, Turkish mothers spoke the Turkish language

significantly more often ( $M = 17.99$ ,  $SD = 3.89$ ) than the Dutch language ( $M = 12.30$ ,  $SD = 4.38$ ),  $t(174) = -10.55$ ,  $p < .001$ . To test the validity of the scales we computed the associations between language use and psychological acculturation. Turkish mothers who spoke the Turkish language more often with significant others, spoke the Dutch language less often ( $r = -.49$ ,  $p < .01$ ), were emotionally less connected to the Dutch culture ( $r = -.25$ ,  $p < .01$ ) and more to the Turkish culture ( $r = .34$ ,  $p < .01$ ). Similarly, Turkish mothers who preferred to talk Dutch with significant others connected more to the Dutch culture ( $r = .32$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and less to the Turkish culture ( $r = -.18$ ,  $p < .05$ ). We however did not find a significant association between emotional connectedness to the Turkish and Dutch culture ( $r = .06$ ,  $p < .41$ ). More connectedness to one culture was not related to less connectedness to the other culture, which supports the independence of the two dimensions (Berry, 1997).

### **Differences between the Dutch and Turkish groups**

To test for group differences ANOVAs were performed in which we controlled for mother's age for externalizing behaviors, and for mother's age and family composition for daily stress. Table 2.1 shows significant group differences with regard to daily stress and marital problems with higher mean scores for the Turkish group. No significant differences were found for parenting efficacy, total child externalizing behaviors, and on the three externalizing sub-syndromes Oppositional, Aggression, and Overactive.

#### **Table 2.1**

*Differences between the Dutch and Turkish groups on family variables and child externalizing behaviors*

	Dutch ( <i>n</i> = 175)		Turkish ( <i>n</i> = 175)		Group differences
	Mean	( <i>SD</i> )	Mean	( <i>SD</i> )	<i>F</i> -value
<u>Child</u>					
Externalizing behaviors <sup>1</sup>	15.38	(8.47)	19.50	(10.32)	1.70
Oppositional	9.43	(5.66)	12.24	(6.35)	2.83
Aggression	3.03	(2.55)	3.87	(3.15)	1.03
Overactive	2.95	(1.81)	3.40	(2.08)	0.30
<u>Mother</u>					
Parenting efficacy	24.24	(7.44)	23.54	(8.46)	0.67
Daily stress <sup>2</sup>	12.80	(10.47)	21.25	(15.96)	25.02***
Marital discord	1.44	(1.48)	2.17	(2.10)	13.67***

Note. Covariates used in ANOVAs: <sup>1</sup>Mothers' age. <sup>2</sup>Mothers' age and family composition. \*\*\*  $p < .001$

## Family correlates of child externalizing behaviors

To examine correlates of child externalizing behavior in the Dutch and Turkish groups, correlations between the externalizing composite score and family variables were computed (see Table 2.2). In both the Dutch and the Turkish group, all correlations with the family variables were significant. All associations were in the expected direction, meaning that more parenting efficacy was related to less externalizing behaviors in children, while more daily stress and marital problems were related to more externalizing behaviors in children in both ethnic groups.

To examine the independent predictors of child externalizing behaviors in both ethnic groups, we conducted hierarchical multiple regression analyses for each group, controlling for maternal age in the first step. The beta weights for the Dutch and the Turkish group were similar (see Table 2.2). The proportions of explained variance were .21 ( $p < .01$ ) for the Dutch group and .13 ( $p < .01$ ) for the Turkish group. For both groups, parenting efficacy was the most important predictor whereas marital problems were a significant predictor only in the Dutch group, and not in the Turkish group. More parenting efficacy predicted lower levels of child externalizing behavior.

**Table 2.2**

*Correlations and standardized beta-weights for family variables in relation to child externalizing behaviors*

	Externalizing behaviors		Externalizing behaviors	
	Pearson correlation ( <i>r</i> )		Unique $\beta^1$	
Ethnicity	Dutch	Turkish	Dutch	Turkish
	( <i>n</i> = 175)	( <i>n</i> = 175)	( <i>n</i> = 175)	( <i>n</i> = 175)
<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>			.21**	.13**
Parenting efficacy	-.28**	-.26*	-.21*	-.20*
Daily stress	.27**	.26**	.11	.15
Marital discord	.27**	.23*	.19*	.13

*Note.* <sup>1</sup> Beta-weights are corrected for maternal age. \* *p* < .01, \*\* *p* < .001

To test whether the Dutch and the Turkish group showed a similar fit of the regression model, both regression equations were cross-validated in the other group. Results indicated that all equations cross-validated without significant shrinkage, implying that correlations between the estimated scores derived from each regression equation and the observed externalizing scores were equal in both groups. As shown in Table 2.3 the correlations between the observed scores for externalizing behaviors and the estimates based on the Dutch and Turkish models are very similar with .37 and .38 for the Dutch group and .34 and .33 in the Turkish group. Moreover, to investigate the sensitivity of the estimated scores with respect to the regression equation, estimated scores for externalizing behaviors from both regression equations were correlated within each group. Estimated scores from both regression models were similar (both *r*s > .97)

**Table 2.3**

*Correlations between observed externalizing scores and estimated scores based on the Turkish and Dutch regression models in the Turkish and Dutch groups*

	Turkish	Dutch
	( <i>n</i> = 175)	( <i>n</i> = 175)
Observed – Estimated Turkish	.34**	.37**
Observed – Estimated Dutch	.33**	.38**
Estimated Turkish – Dutch	.98**	.97**

*Note.* \*\* *p* < .001



## Acculturation, family variables, and child externalizing behaviors in the Turkish group

The associations between language use and psychological acculturation to the Dutch and Turkish culture on the one hand, and child externalizing behaviors and family variables on the other, are presented in Table 2.4. Turkish mothers' language use (Turkish and Dutch) and their emotional connectedness to the Dutch culture were not related to any of the child and family variables. However, connection to the Turkish culture was significantly related to the experience of less daily stress and fewer marital problems. We also tested whether language use and psychological acculturation moderated the association between family variables and child externalizing behaviors. Hierarchical multiple regression analyses showed that none of the interaction terms were significant.

**Table 2.4**

*Correlations between Turkish mothers' language use, emotional connectedness to the Dutch/Turkish culture, family, and child variables*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Dutch language use	-						
2. Connection to Dutch culture	.32**	-					
3. Turkish language use	-.49**	-.25**	-				
4. Connection to Turkish culture	-.18*	.06	.34**	-			
5. Parenting efficacy	.14	.02	-.08	.10	-		
6. Daily stress	-.05	.06	.04	-.18*	-.26*	-	
7. Marital discord	.01	-.05	-.06	-.17*	-.22*	.55**	-
8. Child externalizing behaviors	-.05	.12	.02	-.05	-.26**	.26**	.23*

*Note.* \*  $p < .01$ , \*\*  $p < .001$

## Discussion

Second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers perceived more family stress (daily stress and marital problems) than Dutch mothers, but did not report more toddler externalizing behaviors, nor differences in parenting efficacy. In both ethnic groups, the associations between family variables and externalizing behaviors were in the expected direction showing that more family

stress and less parenting efficacy were related to more toddler externalizing behaviors. Parenting efficacy was the most important negative predictor in both groups. Further, Turkish mothers who were more strongly connected to the Turkish culture experienced less daily stress and fewer marital problems. No effects of acculturation on child externalizing behavior or family variables were found, and acculturation did not moderate the association between family variables and child externalizing behaviors.

Contrary to our hypothesis, we found that children from immigrant families do not show more externalizing behaviors than native children. Because previous research was inconsistent, our findings are in line with some, but not all, studies that focused on immigrant children (Crijnen et al., 2000; Mistry, Biesanz, Chien, Howes, & Benner, 2008). As there were no differences between Turkish and Dutch mothers in parenting efficacy (which was the most important negative predictor of externalizing behaviors in both groups), finding no differences in externalizing behaviors between the two ethnic groups is perhaps not so surprising. Importantly, the fact that we compared Turkish and Dutch families with similar family characteristics (such as maternal education) may explain the absence of differences in externalizing behaviors between the two ethnic groups, since we ruled out spurious effects due to differences in demographic characteristics.

The finding that Turkish mothers perceived more daily stress and marital problems than Dutch mothers may be due to the generational differences between partners within Turkish families which were indicated by many respondents during conversations with the first author. Since the majority of the Turkish mothers in this study were married to partners who grew up in Turkey, an acculturation gap between the parents may be present (Leyendecker, Schölmerich, & Çıtlak, 2006). Because the mothers have greater access to the host society (more knowledge of the Dutch rules) and more fluency in the Dutch language they have to arrange most of the organizational and administrative tasks (e.g., filling out forms) which could lead to more daily stress. Interestingly, we found no differences between Turkish and Dutch mothers in parenting efficacy which is somewhat surprising given that Turkish mothers report more daily stress and marital problems. However, we measured daily stress (e.g., money problems or problems with friends and acquaintances) which could mean that Turkish mothers are not affected in their parenting competences when dealing with everyday minor stresses. Future studies are needed to examine which factors buffer against the negative effects of daily stress on parenting efficacy in immigrant families.

Finally, we can not rule out the possibility that cultural differences in answering closed-ended questions played a role in our findings. For example, in some cultures reporting that there are no problems could be perceived as arrogant, whereas in other cultures it is more accepted to report positively (Diener, Suh, Smith, & Shao, 1995). In our study we found significant differences

between Turkish and Dutch mothers in perceptions of negative issues, such as daily stress and marital discord, but *not* in positive issues, such as parenting efficacy.

As in several previous studies (Deater-Deckard, Atzaba-Poria, & Pike, 2004; Vazsonyi, Trejos-Castillo, & Huang, 2006), our findings confirm the no-group difference hypothesis: we found mean level differences in family stress, but associations between family stress, low parenting efficacy, and child externalizing behaviors were similar in both ethnic groups. In both ethnic groups, feelings of parenting efficacy were the strongest predictors of toddler externalizing behaviors, which confirms the importance of maternal perceptions of her competence as a parent when dealing with the potentially difficult toddler years (Edwards & Liu, 2002).

In examining the association between acculturation and family and child variables, we found that more emotional connectedness to the Turkish culture was associated with the experience of less daily stress and fewer marital problems. We found no associations with parenting efficacy and child externalizing behaviors. Experiences of less daily stress could be due to the fact that mothers may experience fewer conflicts with their immediate environments when they consist of primarily Turkish family and friends. In addition, most of the Turkish families in this study lived in areas where many residents had a Turkish background. Fewer marital problems may be due to the fact that the acculturation gap between the mothers and their partners may be smaller when mothers feel more attached to the Turkish culture, and this may lead to fewer marital conflicts. Our results are consistent with previous studies reporting that cultural maintenance was more adaptive for parental and child well-being (Atzaba-Poria et al., 2004). Finally, we did not find that maternal acculturation acted as a moderator in the relation between family variables and child externalizing behaviors. Family stress effects on children were not different when Turkish mothers were less or more acculturated to the Dutch society. This finding can be seen as an extension of the no-group hypothesis in that associations among family and child variables are the same, regardless of culture, and in this case acculturation. One of the limitations of our study is that we had a moderate response rate in the Turkish group (60%). Low participation rates may have resulted in lower representativeness of the general Turkish population. However, the educational level in the Turkish group was comparable with the national data on the educational level of the second-generation Turkish immigrant group in the Netherlands, indicating that our sample was at least in that respect representative. Further research is needed to elucidate the role of fathers in family processes related to acculturation, parenting, and toddler behavior problems. In addition, future studies using observational measures of child externalizing behaviors could shed light on issues of cultural bias in parent-report measures.

In conclusion, our findings point to the importance of investigating protective factors that mitigate the negative effects of family stress on maternal parenting efficacy and the development of toddler behavior problems in immigrant families. Our findings can help to make health and social service professionals more aware of the higher prevalence of daily stress and marital discord in immigrant families compared to their native counterparts, combined with the risk that these factors pose for child externalizing problems. With regard to acculturation, our results show that maintenance of the culture of origin in the host society can be adaptive for parental well-being, and importantly, more connectedness to the culture of origin does not necessarily lead to less connectedness to the culture of the immigration country, as these two dimensions were statistically independent. It is important to make professionals who work with immigrant families more sensitive to the importance of maintaining one's own cultural heritage, and to make them aware that this does not automatically hamper the identification with the culture of the host country.

## Chapter 3

Parenting in an individualistic culture with a collectivistic cultural background: The case of Turkish immigrant families with toddlers in the Netherlands

Yaman, A., Mesman, J., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & Linting, M.  
*Manuscript submitted for publication*

## **Abstract**

Expanding our knowledge on parenting practices of immigrant families is crucial for designing culturally sensitive parenting intervention programs in countries with high immigration rates. We investigated differences in patterns of parenting between second-generation immigrant and native families with young children. Authoritarian and authoritative control and sensitivity of second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers of 2-year-old children ( $n = 70$ ) and native Dutch mothers ( $n = 70$ ) were observed in the home and in the laboratory. Controlling for maternal age and education, Turkish immigrant mothers were less supportive, gave less clear instructions to their children, were more intrusive, and were less authoritative in their control strategies than native Dutch mothers. No differences were found in authoritarian control. In both ethnic groups supportive presence, clarity of instruction, authoritative control, and low intrusiveness loaded on one factor. No differences between ethnic groups were found in gender-differentiated parenting. Maternal emotional connectedness to the Turkish culture was associated with less authoritative control, whereas more use of the Turkish language was related to more sensitivity. Even though mean level differences in parenting behaviors still exist between second-generation Turkish immigrant and native Dutch mothers, the patterns of associations between parenting behaviors were comparable for both groups. This suggests that existing parenting interventions for native families may be applicable to second-generation Turkish immigrants as well.

## Introduction

In the United States, one in five children is the child of an immigrant (UI, 2002) and in Europe the growth of the population is mostly due to immigration (EUROSTAT, 2006). Knowledge about differences in parenting between immigrant and native families, and of the role of acculturation in parenting is crucial for designing culturally sensitive parenting intervention programs. The aim of our study is to compare parenting behaviors in Turkish immigrant and native Dutch mothers in the Netherlands. The Turkish culture is often described as a collectivistic culture, whereas the Dutch culture is seen as individualistic. Parents in individualist cultures have been suggested to be less authoritarian and more authoritative than parents in collectivistic cultures. Further, it has been argued that authoritarian parenting in individualistic cultures is generally associated with lower levels of warmth and sensitivity, whereas the opposite may be true in collectivistic cultures. However, the question is whether these differences are also found when examining second-generation Turkish immigrant parents. These parents have a collectivistic cultural background, but have been living in an individualistic culture since birth. To examine this issue, we investigate mean level differences in parenting, as well as differences in the interrelations of parenting behaviors between Dutch and second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers. We also examined the role of child gender and parental acculturation levels.

Both sensitivity and control have been found to play an important role in the social-emotional development of young children. *Sensitivity* refers to the ability to perceive the child's signals, to interpret these signals correctly, and to respond to them in a prompt and appropriate way (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978). The sensitivity construct is also closely related to measures of maternal warmth and emotional supportiveness (De Wolff & Van IJzendoorn, 1997). Sensitive and warm parenting is predictive of positive child outcomes (e.g., De Wolff & Van IJzendoorn, 1997; Raikes & Thompson, 2008). *Parental control* refers to how rules and limits are imposed on the child (for a review, see Coie & Dodge, 1998) and is often distinguished as authoritarian versus authoritative control. Both authoritarian and authoritative parents expect their children to behave appropriately and to obey rules, but authoritarian parents restrict unwanted behavior without explanation by demanding and physical interference, whereas authoritative parents emphasize discussion, explanation, and clear communication (Baumrind, 1966). More authoritarian and less authoritative control are associated with negative child outcomes (e.g., Patterson, 1982; Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994).

Parents from more 'collectivistic' cultures (e.g., Turkish culture) have been reported to be more authoritarian, using more restraining behaviors during social play, and expecting more

obedience (Ispa et al., 2004; Rubin, 1998). In Turkey, more obedience and dependence is expected from daughters than from sons, leading to more external control on girls compared to boys (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Parents from more 'individualistic' cultures (e.g., Dutch culture) tend to be more authoritative; they are supposed to try to promote autonomy, self-reliance, exploration of the environment, and put less emphasis on obedience and sociability (Harwood, Miller, & Irrizary, 1995; Tamis-LeMonda, Way, & Hughes, 2007). In the four-fold classification by Maccoby and Martin (1983), authoritarian parenting consists of high control combined with low warmth and acceptance. However, in collectivistic cultures authoritarian parents who demand obedience and are restrictive may not necessarily be rejecting or lacking in warmth (e.g., Deković, Pels, & Model, 2006; Rudy & Grusec, 2001, 2006). In collectivistic cultures, authoritarian parenting goals (obedience, respect for adults) are more normative and may not necessarily reflect lack of warmth. For example, perceived higher parental control was not associated with lower warmth in Turkish immigrant families in Belgium (Güngör, 2008).

When individuals migrate from collectivistic to individualistic countries they undergo an acculturation process (Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002) in which cognitions and parenting goals and behaviors may change through contact with the host society (Bornstein & Cote, 2006; Çıtlak, Leyendecker, Schölmerich, Driessen, & Harwood, 2008). However, immigrant parents also maintain the family values and parenting practices of their heritage culture (Arends-Tóth & Vijver, 2008; Kelley & Tseng, 1992).

The Turkish group is the largest immigration population in Europe (Crul, 2008) as well as in the Netherlands (370,000; CBS, 2008). The current study focuses on the second-generation of Turkish immigrants because the growth of the number of Turkish inhabitants is mostly due to the increase of the second-generation population. Nevertheless, few studies have reported on parenting of young children in Turkish immigrant families in the Netherlands. In one of these studies, maternal sensitivity during observations of problem solving tasks was lower in Turkish immigrant families with 3 and 4-year-old children than in Dutch native families, when controlled for socio-economic status (Leseman & Van den Boom, 1999). However, another study among mostly first-generation Turkish immigrant and Dutch families with children between the ages of 0 and 19 years showed no differences between the groups on self-reported responsiveness and expression of affection (Pels, Nijsten, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, 2006). With regard to discipline, authoritarian control was more common among (Turkish) immigrants than among native Dutch families, whereas differences in authoritative control were less evident (Pels et al., 2006). In another study, Turkish immigrant parents of 17-year-olds were less authoritative in their parenting practices than their Dutch counterparts (Van der Veen & Meijnen, 2002). Regarding gender-differentiated



parenting, girls and boys were treated equally in Turkish immigrant families (Çıtlak et al., 2008; Wissink, Deković, & Meijer, 2006).

As these previous studies have been conducted primarily among first-generation Turkish immigrant mothers in the Netherlands, it is unclear how the parenting behaviors of second-generation Turkish immigrant parents compare to those in native Dutch families. Our aim is to investigate this issue.

We hypothesize that Turkish immigrant mothers show more intrusive and less sensitive parenting, and that they use more authoritarian and less authoritative control than Dutch mothers. We expect that in Turkish immigrant families the association between authoritarian control and maternal sensitivity may be positive, as opposed to Dutch families. We do not expect to find differences in parenting behaviors of Turkish immigrant mothers with regard to the gender of their toddlers. Parenting behaviors of Turkish immigrant mothers who report higher levels of acculturation are expected to be more similar to those of Dutch mothers.

## **Method**

### **Participants and procedure**

Second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers of 2-year-old children were recruited from the municipal registers of several cities and towns in the western and middle region of the Netherlands. Only second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers born in the Netherlands (with at least one of their parents born in Turkey) with a 2-year-old child (age 22 - 29 months) were selected to ensure the homogeneity of the sample and to control for confounding effects of ethnicity and migration. All correspondence was in the Turkish and the Dutch language. In total, 384 families were reached of whom 230 (60%) participated in this study by filling out questionnaires on child behavior problems and parenting practices. Unfortunately we were not able to collect any information on non-respondents. Only children for whom the primary parent was the mother (biological or otherwise) were eligible for the study. Of the 230 participating families, 155 families also participated in a videotaped 1-hour home visit during which mothers and children performed several tasks. Eight families were excluded from the group due to serious medical condition in child or mother, physical or mental disability in child or mother, lack of fluency in the Turkish and Dutch language, or interfering factors during a home-visit which made

coding of videotaped interactions impossible. This resulted in a sample of 147 children and their mothers.

The current study is an extension of the descriptive observational part of the SCRIPT study (Screening and Intervention of Problem behavior in Toddlerhood), with questionnaire and observational data of Dutch families with toddlers in the age range of 2 to 4 years. For a detailed description of the recruitment of Dutch participants and the procedures of the SCRIPT study we refer to Van Zeijl et al. (2007). For the present paper, we used the SCRIPT pretest laboratory observations for 70 24-month-old children ( $M = 23.76$ ,  $SD = 0.86$ , range = 22-26, 47 boys) with mothers born in the Netherlands. In the SCRIPT study, these observations were only carried out for children who scored above the 75<sup>th</sup> percentile on the CBCL- Externalizing Problems scale of the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL/1½-5; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000) within their age group (scores  $\geq 19$ ). The selection of high scores on the CBCL has the advantage of increasing the likelihood of including families with extreme scores on the parenting behaviors under investigation. For this reason, and to be able to compare our findings to those from the SCRIPT study, we selected Turkish immigrant children who scored  $\geq 19$  on Externalizing Problems, resulting in a sample of 70 24-month-old Turkish children ( $M = 25.15$ ,  $SD = 1.52$ , range = 22-29, 35 boys) .

## Measures

Internal consistencies of questionnaire data were assessed in the general Dutch ( $N = 175$ ) and Turkish ( $N = 175$ ) population screening samples of 2-year-olds (Yaman, Mesman, Van IJzendoorn, & Bakermans-Kranenburg, in press). The Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL/1½-5) has previously been translated and validated in Turkish (Erol & Şimşek, 1997) and the Psychological Acculturation Scale has been used in the Netherlands and validated in research on immigrant groups (Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh, & Crijnen, 2004).

### *Externalizing behaviors*

The Child Behavior Checklist for ages 1½ to 5 (CBCL/1½-5; Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000) was used to assess child externalizing behaviors. We used the Turkish translation (Erol & Şimşek, 1997) and the Dutch translation (Koot, Van den Oord, Verhulst, & Boomsma, 1997) that have both been found to be valid and reliable. In the current study, the internal consistencies for Turkish and Dutch mother-reported CBCL were high for Externalizing Problems (.91/.90) and its

subscales: Oppositional (.86/.88) and Aggressive (.78/.77). For the Overactive scale the internal consistency was acceptable for both groups with .66 and .61, respectively.

### *Maternal sensitivity*

During three problem-solving tasks (a construction task, a sorting task, and a jigsaw puzzle) mothers' sensitive responsiveness to her child was measured, each task lasting five minutes. These tasks were somewhat difficult for 2-year-old children and therefore mothers were instructed to help their children in a way they would normally do. The observations were rated with the Erickson scales to measure mothers' *Supportive presence*, *Intrusiveness*, and *Clarity of instruction* on 7-point scales (Egeland, Erickson, Moon, Hiester, & Korfmacher, 1990; Erickson, Sroufe, & Egeland, 1985). *Supportive presence* refers to the mother's expression of emotional support and positive regard by encouraging, giving support and confidence, reassuring and acknowledging the child's accomplishments on the tasks. *Intrusiveness* refers to the mother's lack of respect of the child's autonomy when exploring or in problem solving situations, by interfering with the child's needs, desires, interests, or behaviors. *Clarity of instruction* reflects the mother's ability to give her child instructions and feedback in a usable form, to structure the situation so that the child knows what the nature and goals of the task are, without solving the task herself. Scale scores were computed by averaging the scores for the separate tasks.

The scales were coded by the first author and a PhD colleague, who were first trained by the second author (the expert) to code tapes from the Dutch sample ( $n = 20$ ). The intraclass correlations (single rater, absolute agreement) for intercoder reliability between three pairs of coders ranged from .68 to .92 ( $M = 0.78$ ). Then, 20 tapes from the Turkish sample were translated and transcribed in Dutch by the first author, who speaks both the Turkish and Dutch language fluently, for the reliability check of coding the Turkish sample ( $n = 20$ ). The intraclass correlations (single rater, absolute agreement) for the Turkish sample were .71 for supportive presence, .76 for intrusiveness, and .71 for clarity of instruction. For the analyses, total maternal sensitivity was computed by summing the scores for supportive presence and clarity of instruction, and subtracting the score for maternal intrusiveness.

### *Maternal discipline*

Specific maternal discipline strategies were observed during a four-minute clean-up task. After playing with attractive toys, the mother was asked to instruct her child to clean up the toys. The mother was allowed to help her child with three toys. Coding procedures were based on Kuczynski, Kochanska, Radke-Yarrow, and Girnius-Brown (1987) and Van der Mark, Van

IJzendoorn, and Bakermans-Kranenburg (2002). Maternal *authoritative control* (positive feedback, positive atmosphere, induction, and understanding) and *authoritarian control* (commanding and physical interference) were observed. *Positive feedback* and creating a *positive atmosphere* involved giving compliments and making positive remarks when the child was cleaning up, and responding to what the child said (e.g., which toy wants to sleep in the basket?). *Induction* was coded when mothers explained why their child should not play further (even when this is not the real reason) and when mothers showed interest or were considerate of their child's emotions when cleaning up the toys *understanding* was coded. Considering the negative discipline strategies, *commanding* was coded when mothers gave their child instructions to clean up in an authoritarian manner. When the mother used physical force to constrain the child from playing with the toys or to make the child clean up the toys, we coded this as *physical interference*. The number of times the mother had used a specific category was divided by the time of the episode and standardized to three minutes (see Alink et al., 2009).

All five coders (students with a Bachelor's degree) spoke the Turkish and the Dutch language fluently and were blind to other data concerning the participants. First, a Dutch set was coded for intercoder reliability. Coders had a mean intraclass correlation (single rater, absolute agreement) with the expert of .80 for authoritative control (range = .71 - .91,  $n = 25$ ) and .76 for authoritarian control (range = .71 - .86,  $n = 25$ ). Then, the coders observed a Turkish set; the mean intraclass correlations (single rater, absolute agreement) for intercoder reliability (for all separate pairs of coders) were .84 (range = .74 - .97,  $n = 20$ ) for authoritative control and .88 (range = .75 - .94,  $n = 20$ ) for authoritarian control.

### *Acculturation*

To measure the acculturation level of the mother, two components of acculturation were used, namely Turkish and Dutch language use (language acculturation) and psychological acculturation with regard to the Turkish and Dutch culture. With regard to *language use* Turkish immigrant mothers were asked how often they speak the Turkish and Dutch language with important others (their children, spouse, family members, and friends) (Van Oort et al., 2006). This scale consists of 12 items rated on a 5-point scale (ranging from 0, *never*, to 4, *always/very often*). The internal consistencies for the use of the Turkish and Dutch language were .81 and .75 respectively. Regarding the *psychological acculturation* of the mothers, the adapted version of the Psychological Acculturation Scale (PAS) was used (Stevens et al., 2004). Emotional connectedness of the mothers to the Turkish (six items) and the Dutch culture (six items) (e.g., I feel comfortable around Dutch/ Turkish people) were rated on a 5-point scale (ranging from 0,

*totally disagree*, to 4, *totally agree*). The internal consistencies for the emotional connectedness to the Turkish and Dutch culture were .83 and .79 respectively.

## **Statistical Analyses**

The data showed one outlier for authoritarian control in the Dutch group and in the Turkish immigrant group, and one outlier for authoritative control in the Turkish immigrant group. When outliers ( $|z| > 3.29$ ) were winsorized (i.e., “moved in close to the good data”, Hampel, Ronchetti, & Rousseeuw, 1986) by replacement of the outlying scores with the next highest value (with  $|z| < 3.29$ ) in the distribution, the results were the same. One multivariate outlier in the Turkish immigrant group was removed from the analyses.

We used ANOVA to examine differences between the groups and correlation analysis to investigate relations between parenting behaviors in the Turkish immigrant and Dutch group. To investigate whether patterns of associations between parenting behaviors could be captured with similar models in the Turkish immigrant and Dutch group, we performed a confirmatory factor analysis, using the program EQS (Bentler, 1989). We used multigroup analysis, which implies fitting a factor model to several groups simultaneously. Between-group constraints such as equal factor loadings or equal error variances can be formulated to make model estimations more similar between groups, and to investigate specific hypotheses about these similarities. Fitting a model without between-group constraints equals fitting the model to both groups separately, and combining the fit measures. The fit of a confirmatory factor analysis is represented by several indices, of which we report chi-square with degrees of freedom, the root mean square of approximation (RMSEA), and the comparative fit index (CFI; recommended by Bentler, 1990). For the fit to be acceptable, conventional criteria indicate that chi-square should be non-significant, CFI should be higher than .90 (preferably between .95 and 1.00), and RMSEA should be below 0.10. Wald statistics are computed in EQS to compare the current model to models in which particular estimated parameters are fixed to a specific value (mostly zero). Lagrange multiplier statistics are computed to compare a model to models in which particular restrictions are released.

## **Results**

### **Preliminary analyses**

First, we investigated if there were differences between the Turkish immigrant and the Dutch group in maternal age and education. Turkish immigrant mothers ( $M = 26.86$ ,  $SD = 2.99$ ) were significantly younger than Dutch mothers ( $M = 32.71$ ,  $SD = 4.19$ ),  $t(138) = 9.52$ ,  $p < .01$ , and Turkish immigrant mothers had a lower educational level on a scale of 1 to 5 ( $M = 2.83$ ,  $SD = 0.72$ ) than Dutch mothers ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 1.08$ ),  $t(138) = 3.68$ ,  $p < .01$ .

## Parenting in the Dutch and the Turkish immigrant groups

First, we compared Turkish immigrant and Dutch mothers on parenting behaviors (maternal sensitivity and control) without controlling for the effect of maternal age and education (see Table 3.1). We found significant differences between the mothers in overall maternal sensitivity and all its subscales, and in their use of authoritative control. Turkish immigrant mothers were less sensitive during the tasks: they were less supportive, gave less clear instructions, and were more intrusive than Dutch mothers. With regard to control strategies, Turkish immigrant mothers were less authoritative in their strategies during the clean-up task than Dutch mothers. No differences were found in authoritarian control. After controlling for maternal age and education, these differences between the groups remained (see Table 3.1).

**Table 3.1**

*Differences between the Dutch and Turkish immigrant groups on parenting behaviors*

	Dutch ( $n = 70$ )		Turkish ( $n = 70$ )		Group differences ( $F$ -values)	
	Mean ( $SD$ )	Range	Mean ( $SD$ )	Range	<i>Uncorrected</i>	<i>Corrected<sup>1</sup></i>
Sensitivity	6.38 (1.74)	1.6 - 9.8	2.65 (3.05)	-2.8 - 9.5	77.36**	32.95**
Supportive presence	4.67 (0.93)	2.5 - 6.3	3.79 (1.38)	1.5 - 6.7	19.54**	6.01*
Intrusiveness	2.84 (0.77)	1.8 - 5.0	4.06 (1.21)	1.5 - 6.5	50.74**	18.35**
Clarity of instruction	4.55 (0.56)	3.5 - 5.8	2.98 (0.94)	1.0 - 5.3	143.24**	70.04**
Control						
Authoritative	12.80 (5.04)	3.0 - 25.5	9.88 (4.87)	1.7 - 22.2	12.16*	4.41*
Authoritarian	4.67 (4.24)	0.0 - 15.9	5.51 (4.11)	0.0 - 16.6	1.43	0.18

*Note.* <sup>1</sup> Controlled for maternal age and education; \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .001$

## Correlates of parenting behaviors in the Dutch and Turkish immigrant groups

To examine the associations between maternal age, education, maternal sensitivity, and authoritarian and authoritative control Pearson correlations were computed (see Table 3.2). Higher maternal age was related to more sensitivity and supportive presence, and less intrusiveness in the Turkish immigrant group. In the Dutch group, age was not related to any of the parenting behaviors, but was positively related to maternal education. Low maternal education was associated with more intrusiveness and less maternal sensitivity in the Dutch group. In the Turkish immigrant group, lower education was related to less maternal sensitivity and clarity of instruction. We also analyzed the associations between parenting behaviors in both ethnic groups. In the Turkish immigrant group, authoritative control was related in the expected direction to all indicators of maternal sensitivity (more authoritative control relates to more supportive presence and clarity of instruction, and less intrusiveness). In the Dutch group, more authoritative control was related to less authoritarian control and less intrusiveness of the mothers. With regard to authoritarian control, more control was associated with more maternal intrusiveness in both ethnic groups and also with less maternal sensitivity in the Turkish immigrant group. Specifically correlations between supportive presence and the other parental behaviors were higher in the Turkish immigrant group.

**Table 3.2**

*Parenting correlates in the Dutch group and the Turkish immigrant group*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	5a.	5b.	5c.
1. Age mother	-	-.01	.15	-.12	.34**	.32**	-.31**	.21
2. Education	.34**	-	.03	-.17	.25*	.20	-.19	.28*
3. Authoritative control	.02	.05	-	-.18	.37**	.35**	-.30*	.27*
4. Authoritarian control	-.11	-.23	-.38**	-	-.26*	-.12	.39**	-.14
5. Sensitivity	-.06	.26*	.18	-.18	-	.94**	-.83**	.76**
5a. Supportive Presence	-.10	.15	.03	-.04	.82**	-	-.68**	.66**
5b. Intrusiveness	.02	-.38**	-.24*	.32*	-.75**	-.34**	-	-.37**
5c. Clarity of instruction	.00	.03	.16	-.05	.72**	.42**	-.40**	-

*Note.* The correlation coefficients presented below the diagonal are for the Dutch group and above the diagonal for the Turkish immigrant group. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

To investigate whether these group differences in associations between aspects of parenting were substantial, we specified a one-factor structural equation model in which the parenting behaviors were indicators of one underlying parenting dimension. On substantive grounds, we allowed measurement errors of the following variables to be correlated: (a)

authoritarian and authoritative control, because these were observed using the same observation instrument; (b) authoritarian control and intrusiveness, because these both reflect a lack of respect for child autonomy; (c) intrusiveness and support, as these both indicate levels of (negative) involvement with the child, and (d) authoritative control and support, as both indicate positive involvement with the child. We also assumed error variances of the variables measured with the same instrument to be equal.

Fitting this one-factor model to both the Dutch and the Turkish immigrant group without any between group constraints<sup>1</sup> resulted in an unsatisfactory fit;  $X^2 = 16.60$  ( $df = 8$ ;  $p = 0.03$ ), CFI = 0.945, and RMSEA = 0.125. Based on Lagrange multiplier statistics, we decided to improve fit by releasing the constraint of equal error variances between the sensitivity scales. Also, in accordance with the Wald statistics, we made the model more parsimonious by setting the error correlation between authoritative control and supportive presence to zero ( $X^2_{\text{change}} = 0.003$ ,  $p = 0.96$ ).

The resulting model is displayed in Figure 3.1. Fit indices for this model were satisfactory:  $X^2 = 6.44$  ( $df = 6$ ,  $p = 0.38$ ), CFI = 0.997, and RMSEA = 0.033. The results showed small (insignificant) loadings in both groups for authoritarian control, indicating that this variable is not needed for the factor. Also, we found relatively small loadings for authoritative control in both groups. However, authoritative and authoritarian control together did not provide a proper basis for a second factor. When (unstandardized) loadings were restricted to be equal between groups, the fit turned inadequate, indicating that the differences in loadings between the groups were indeed substantial. Thus, the observation instruments did not measure exactly the same factor in both groups, that is, the model was not measurement invariant (see Lubke, Dolan, Kelderman, & Mellenbergh, 2003). Most loadings, in particular for supportive presence, were higher in the Turkish immigrant group, reflecting the relatively high correlations between parenting behaviors in the Turkish immigrant group, specifically between supportive presence and the other behaviors.<sup>2</sup>

From the results in Figure 3.1 we derived that authoritarian control could be removed from the model for both groups, and different patterns of error correlations were found for the Turkish immigrant and for the Dutch group. In fact, for the Dutch group, a very simple model with loadings for authoritative control, supportive presence, intrusiveness, and clarity of instruction, with all error correlations set to zero, and without any constraints did fit as well ( $X^2 =$

---

<sup>1</sup> If the fit of the unconstrained model was unsatisfactory, between group constraints only led to a decrease in model fit.

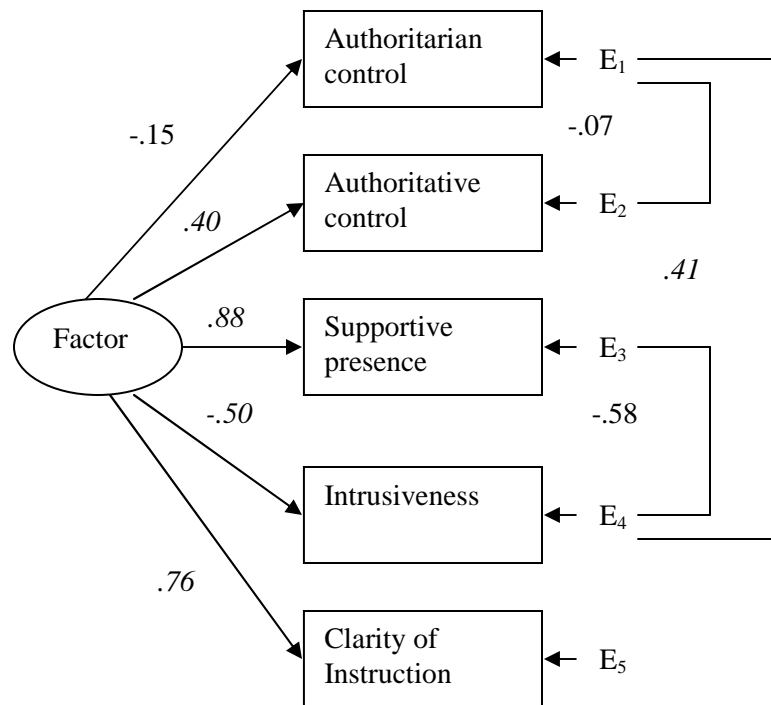
<sup>2</sup> Note that error correlation between intrusiveness and supportive presence in the Turkish group was high but non-significant, due to its high standard error.



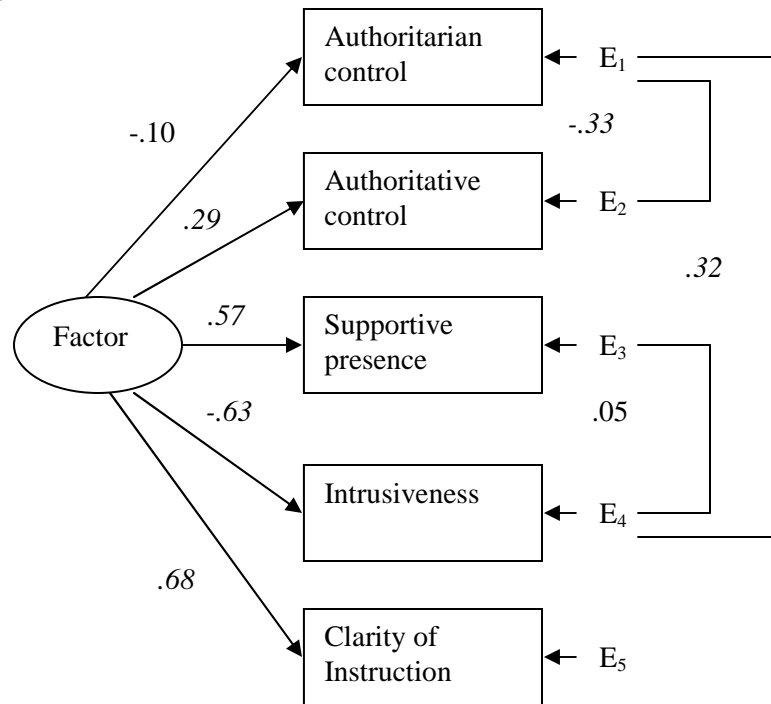
2.437,  $df = 2$ ,  $p = 0.30$ , CFI = 0.984, RMSEA = 0.056). The four loadings resulting from this alternative model were similar to those in Figure 3.1.

Based on the fitted model, we computed an overall positive parenting variable by standardizing and then adding supportive presence, clarity of instruction, and authoritative control and subtracting intrusiveness, and we correlated this variable with maternal age and education in both groups. Positive parenting significantly correlated only with Turkish mothers' age ( $r = .33$ ,  $p < .01$ ). We then compared the two groups and, as expected, Turkish immigrant mothers scored lower on the overall positive parenting variable  $F(1, 138) = 76.45$ ,  $p < .01$ , even after controlling for maternal age and education,  $F(1, 138) = 30.86$ ,  $p < .01$ .

### *Turkish Immigrant Group*



*Dutch Group*



**Figure 3.1**

*Standardized factor loadings and error correlations of the one-factor model for the Turkish immigrant and the Dutch group. Parameters in italic numbers are significant at the 5% level.*

### **Gender-differentiated parenting and the association between acculturation and parenting**

We found no gender-differentiated parenting practices in both ethnic groups, which confirmed that Dutch and Turkish immigrant mothers do not rear their sons and daughters differently.

In the Turkish immigrant group only, we also examined the associations between the Turkish and Dutch language use, emotional connectedness to the Turkish and Dutch culture, maternal age and education on the one hand, and maternal sensitivity, and authoritarian and authoritative control strategies on the other hand. Mothers' higher emotional connectedness to the Turkish culture was related to less authoritative control ( $r = -.25, p < .05$ ), and more use of the Turkish language was associated with more maternal sensitivity ( $r = .26, p < .05$ ) and supportive presence ( $r = .28, p < .05$ ). We found no other relations between Dutch and Turkish language use

and emotional connectedness to the Dutch and the Turkish culture on the one hand, and maternal age, education, maternal sensitivity, and control on the other.

## **Discussion**

Turkish immigrant mothers were observed to be less sensitive and to use less authoritative controlling strategies than Dutch mothers. No differences were found between the two groups in their use of authoritarian control. After controlling for maternal age and education, all differences in parenting behaviors between the groups remained significant. In both groups, parenting behaviors could be captured with similar models in which authoritarian control was not included in a one-factor model of positive parenting. This suggests that authoritarian control represents a different dimension than the other parenting behaviors, in both ethnic groups. We found no differences in gender-differentiated parenting in the two ethnic groups. With regard to maternal acculturation, Turkish immigrant mothers who felt emotionally more connected to the Dutch culture used more authoritative control, whereas mothers who spoke the Turkish language more frequently were more sensitive.

As expected, Turkish immigrant mothers were observed to be more intrusive than Dutch mothers, reflecting more demands without explanations, more (physical) interference in the child's activities, and less respect for the child's autonomy. In addition, Turkish immigrant mothers used less authoritative control than Dutch mothers. These results are consistent with previous studies among collectivistic oriented families in which dependence and obedience in children are encouraged, autonomy is not valued, and authoritative discipline strategies, such as verbal reasoning and induction, are less common. However, contrary to our expectation, no differences in authoritarian control were found between Turkish immigrant and Dutch mothers. This may be due to the fact that the current study included only *second-generation* Turkish immigrant mothers. Their parenting practices may be shifting from strict authoritarian control to more inductive reasoning and explaining (Pels et al., 2006).

Consistent with our hypothesis, Turkish immigrant mothers were less supportive during the problem-solving tasks than Dutch mothers. These findings confirm previous results that compared Turkish immigrant with Dutch native families (Leseman & Van den Boom, 1999). The context of a problem-solving task may have exacerbated differences in sensitivity between the two groups for two reasons. First, immigrant parents tend to have higher academic aspirations for their children than native parents of the same social class (Pels et al., 2006; Phalet & Andriessen, 2003), which may have led to mothers' putting extra pressure on their children to perform well,

making them less sensitive to their children's needs than Dutch mothers. Second, it is also possible that Turkish immigrant mothers are less used to solving structured tasks (e.g., making puzzles) with their children as this activity is less common in Turkish immigrant than in Dutch families. However, the fact that Turkish immigrant mothers also show less authoritative control in the clean-up paradigm does suggest that the problem-solving tasks were not solely responsible for differences in supportive parenting behaviors.

When interpreting the ethnic group differences, we need to keep in mind that these differences become smaller when maternal age and education are taken into account. Thus, maternal age and education partially account for a certain amount of variance in group differences. This does not take away the fact that Turkish toddlers are more often reared by younger and lower educated mothers than Dutch toddlers and therefore as a group experience less sensitive parenting and less authoritative control. However, age and education seem more important than ethnicity in determining the parenting style of Turkish immigrant mothers.

Contrary to our hypothesis, we found that not only in the Dutch group, but also in the Turkish immigrant group, more maternal intrusiveness was associated with lower levels of supportive presence, higher levels of authoritarian, and lower levels of authoritative control. In addition, authoritarian control was associated with lower levels of maternal sensitivity in the Turkish immigrant group. Moreover, the patterns of associations among parenting behaviors for the Dutch and the Turkish immigrant group were similar. This means that when Dutch *and* Turkish immigrant mothers are more supportive, they are also less intrusive, give clearer instructions, and discipline their children in a more authoritative manner. This pattern is consistent with the literature on parenting styles showing that high support, respect for autonomy, and positive control go together and reflect an authoritative parenting style (Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Thus, when parenting behaviors are observed, the structure of parenting behaviors in families with individualistic and families with collectivistic cultural backgrounds is similar, a finding also reported by Wu et al. (2002). We did find ethnically different patterns of error correlations for the Turkish immigrant and for the Dutch group which is probably due to the fact that the three scales of maternal support, intrusiveness, and clarity of instruction were coded by one coder in the Turkish immigrant group, and by three different coders in the Dutch group, which might have created more correlated measurement error in the Turkish immigrant group.

In both groups, authoritarian control did not load significantly on the parenting factor suggesting that authoritarian control represents a different dimension than the other parenting behaviors. As Turkish immigrant mothers were exposed to the Dutch individualistic society all their lives, these mothers are probably acquainted with parenting practices of the host society

which can explain the similar patterns of associations found in both ethnic groups. However, as mentioned above, we did find that Turkish immigrant mothers were less supportive, which can not be explained by their collectivistic family values. As Turkish immigrant mothers belong to a minority group, it is possible that they experience stresses that affect their parenting (Bertrand, Hermanns, & Leseman, 1998; Santos, Bohon, & Sánchez-Sosa, 1998). Indeed, the Turkish immigrant mothers from this study reported more daily stress than their Dutch counterparts (Yaman et al., in press).

Consistent with our hypothesis, second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers did not differ in their parenting behaviors towards their sons and daughters. This was also shown in a previous study among Turkish immigrant families with school-age children in which no differences were found in supportive parenting and authoritative control with regard to the gender of the children (Wissink et al., 2006). According to previous studies, a shift from conservatism with regard to gender roles towards more egalitarian ones is taking place among Turkish immigrant women in Western Europe (Phalet & Haker, 2004 as cited in Güngör & Bornstein, 2008). This may suggest that gender-differentiated parenting among second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers is also shifting in which boys and girls are treated more equally.

In our study, more maternal acculturation was associated with more authoritative control. Thus, acculturation is linked to parenting behaviors more typical of the host culture. On the other hand, Turkish immigrant mothers who spoke the Turkish language more often were more supportive in their interactions with their children. This finding suggests that cultural maintenance, in the form of ethnic language use, may also be advantageous in the parenting context.

There are some limitations of our study that need to be taken into account. First, observations of parenting behaviors in the Turkish immigrant and Dutch group were conducted in different environmental contexts (home versus laboratory) which may have inflated group differences. However, several studies did not find differences in maternal sensitivity and gentle discipline between the home and laboratory settings (e.g., Bornstein et al., 2006; Van der Mark, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Van IJzendoorn, 2002). Further, mean level differences need not affect the associations between the parenting behaviors. Second, we observed sensitivity and discipline during tasks that were perhaps not so common in the Turkish culture. In future studies, parenting behaviors should also be observed during daily situations, such as mealtime, and bedtime. Despite these limitations, this study is one of the very few to observe parenting practices of second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers of toddlers in Europe.

In conclusion, our findings suggest that even in second-generation immigrant families the mean levels of parenting behaviors may still be different from those in the host culture, but that the patterns of associations between parenting behaviors are comparable. In future parenting intervention programs for Turkish immigrant families, a focus on Turkish mothers' sensitivity and authoritative control towards their young children seems to be especially important.

## Chapter 4

# Parenting and toddler aggression in second-generation immigrant families: The moderating role of child temperament

Yaman, A., Mesman, J., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J.  
*Manuscript submitted for publication*

## **Abstract**

This study investigated the influence of parenting practices in the prediction of child physical aggression in second-generation Turkish immigrant families. In addition, the moderating role of child temperament was examined, more specifically, we tested whether it was supportive of a dual-risk model or a differential susceptibility model. In this short-term longitudinal study 94 mothers and their 2-year-old toddlers were included. Observational data were obtained for mothers' positive parenting and authoritarian discipline, and maternal reports for child temperament and physical aggression. All measures were repeated at 3 years of the child's age. Child temperament at age 2 years was a significant predictor of child aggression one year later. We found no main effects of positive parenting nor of authoritarian discipline for the prediction of child aggression. However, we found support for the generalizability of the dual-risk hypothesis to immigrant families: toddlers with difficult temperaments were more adversely affected by a lack of positive parenting than other children, but did not benefit more from high levels of positive parenting than toddlers with more easy temperaments. We found no interaction effects with child temperament for authoritarian discipline. These findings provide an empirical basis for the development of culturally sensitive intervention programs aimed at reducing child behavior problems in immigrant families.



## Introduction

Aggressive behaviors such as biting, hitting, and kicking can be quite common in toddlerhood. Individual differences in the rates of toddler aggression have been shown to be predicted by child difficult temperament, negative parenting, and lack of positive parenting (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2005; Sanson, Hemphill, & Smart, 2004). Moreover, when children with a difficult temperament are raised in an adverse rearing environment they are even more at risk of developing behavior problems (e.g., Belsky, Hsieh, & Crnic, 1998; Van Zeijl et al., 2007). However, little is known about the antecedents of aggression among immigrant children, despite the fact that there are more than 200 million estimated international migrants in the world (IOM, 2008). Testing the generalizability of the results found in Western samples to immigrant families is essential to the development of culturally sensitive interventions. Therefore, we investigated the influence of child temperament, positive parenting, and authoritarian discipline on child physical aggression in second-generation Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands. In addition, we examined the moderating role of child temperament in the association between parenting behaviors and child physical aggression.

Numerous studies have shown that variations in parental sensitivity and control are important factors in explaining the frequency and stability of aggressive behaviors (e.g., Campbell, 1997; Shaw, Bell, & Gilliom, 2000). Sensitivity refers to accurately perceiving and interpreting the child's signals, and responding to these signals adequately and promptly (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1974). Parental control refers to how rules and limits are imposed on the child (Coie & Dodge, 1998). Regarding parental control, a distinction is generally made between authoritarian control (e.g., demanding, physical interference, lack of child involvement) and authoritative control (e.g., explaining, clear communication, discussion) (Baumrind, 1966). Sensitive and authoritative parenting (positive parenting) have been found to positively influence many facets of child development, such as a secure attachment, compliance, and lower levels of hyperactivity and (physical) aggression (e.g., Cheah, Leung, Tahseen, & Schultz, 2009; Côté, Vaillancourt, LeBlanc, Nagin, & Tremblay, 2006; De Wolff & Van IJzendoorn, 1997).

Several processes can account for the influence of insensitive and unresponsive maternal care on child aggressive and disruptive behaviors. In the context of sensitive and responsive parenting, children who are securely attached to their parents do not want to lose parental affection and thus want to comply with their parents' rules and bids (Ainsworth et al., 1974), whereas children experiencing less responsive care may be less securely attached and therefore less motivated to comply to parental requests and thus show more aggressive behaviors (e.g.,

Kochanska, Barry, Aksan, & Boldt, 2008). Moreover, lower levels of maternal sensitivity and stimulation are associated with child affect dysregulation which in turn is associated with behavior problems (NICHD, 2004). Finally, according to Pettit and Bates (1989), positive parenting can predict lower levels of problem behavior because children experiencing positive parental involvement are probably more often positively occupied and thus have a lower need for attracting attention in a negative manner.

Although there is a general consensus about the positive effects of parental sensitivity and warmth on child outcomes in various ethnic and immigrant groups (e.g., Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Tamis-LeMonda, Briggs, McClowry, & Snow, 2009), there is more controversy about the effects of parental (authoritarian) control on child development. Studies conducted among middle-class Western families have shown adverse effects of authoritarian control on child development (e.g., Alink et al., 2009; Shaw, Keenan, & Vondra, 1994), but these effects have not always been confirmed in cross-cultural studies. For example, maternal physical discipline was associated with externalizing child behaviors in European American groups, but not in African American groups (e.g., Deater-Deckard, Bates, Dodge, & Pettit, 1996; Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 2004). However, other studies conducted among various ethnic and immigrant groups did report results that were comparable to those found in Western cultures, showing that authoritarian or harsh control have negative effects on child development (e.g., Iruka, 2009; McLoyd & Smith, 2002). These negative effects were also found among Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands in which strict control in parenting was associated with more behavior problems in both Turkish immigrant and Dutch native adolescents (Wissink, Dekovic, & Meijer, 2006).

Early difficult child temperament (e.g., negative emotionality, low effortful control) has been found to predict externalizing behaviors (such as aggression) at school-age (e.g., Caspi, Henry, McGee, Moffitt, & Silva, 1995; Joussemet, et al., 2008). Children with difficult temperaments are more at risk to develop behavior problems because they have more difficulties in regulating their emotions, managing their impulses, and engage more often in novel and dangerous situations (for a review see Frick & Morris, 2004). Associations between child negative emotionality and behavior problems were also found across various nations and races (Caspi et al., 1994) and in (Turkish) immigrant groups (De Boo & Kolk, 2007). In addition to the main effects of negative parenting, lack of positive parenting, and difficult temperament on child aggression, it is essential to examine child temperament as a moderator (Belsky, 1997).

According to Belsky, Bakermans-Kranenburg, and Van IJzendoorn (2007) different types of parenting-by-temperament interactions can explain child outcomes. These include dual-risk

moderation and differential susceptibility moderation. Regarding child aggression, the dual-risk moderation hypothesis states that the co-occurrence of child difficult temperament and a poor-quality rearing-environment can put children at increased risk for aggressive behaviors as they experience two risk conditions. In the dual risk model, children with difficult temperaments do not benefit more from *positive* child-rearing environments than children with easier temperaments. Several studies have found evidence for this dual risk hypothesis regarding temperament and parenting, in relation to child aggression (e.g., Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Rubin, Hastings, Chen, Stewart, & McNichol, 1998).

According to the differential susceptibility moderation hypothesis, temperamentally difficult children are more sensitive to environmental conditions such as parenting. In addition to being more susceptible to negative child-rearing environments, they also benefit more from positive child-rearing environments. Highly reactive children have indeed been found to be more susceptible to *both* negative influences of unsupportive parenting and positive influences of supportive parenting (e.g., Klein Velderman, Bakermans-Kranenburg, Juffer, & Van IJzendoorn, 2006; Van Zeijl et al., 2007). Thus, to distinguish between dual risk and differential susceptibility in the study of temperament-by-parenting interactions, both negative and positive parenting needs to be examined.

For the development of adequate interventions to prevent aggressive behaviors of immigrant children, we need to know more about the antecedents of child aggressive behaviors within immigrant families. To provide knowledge about these issues for child mental health services, the Turkish immigrant group is an important group to investigate as the Turkish group is the largest immigrant group in the Netherlands and in Europe (CBS, 2008; Crul, 2008). Because the growth of the number of Turkish inhabitants is mostly due to the increase of the second-generation population, we focus on children and their second-generation Turkish mothers born in the Netherlands with at least one of their parents born in Turkey.

In the current study, we aim to answer the following questions:

1. Do child temperament, maternal positive parenting, and authoritarian discipline predict the level of child physical aggression in second-generation Turkish immigrant families?
2. Does difficult temperament moderate the association between parenting behaviors and toddler aggression in these families? If so, does the moderation support the dual risk or the differential susceptibility hypothesis?

Based on the literature, we hypothesize that difficult child temperament, lower levels of positive parenting, and higher levels of authoritarian discipline predict higher levels of child physical aggression. With regard to parenting-by-temperament moderation, we expect to find

support for the differential susceptibility hypothesis, based on the results of the Van Zeijl et al. (2007) study in Dutch families.

## **Method**

### **Participants and procedure**

Second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers of 2-year-old children were recruited from the municipal registers of several cities and towns in the western and middle region of the Netherlands. Only second-generation Turkish mothers born in the Netherlands (with at least one of their parents born in Turkey) with a 2-year-old child (age 22 - 31 months) were selected to ensure the homogeneity of the sample and to control for confounding effects of ethnicity and migration. We sent an introduction letter and a brochure in which we informed the parents that the main researcher or a research assistant would come by to ask for their participation in this study. All correspondence was in the Turkish and the Dutch language. In total, 384 families were reached of whom 149 (39%) mothers filled out questionnaires on child behavior problems and also participated in a video-taped 1-hour home visit during which mothers and children performed several tasks. One-hundred and fifty-four parents did not want to participate. Because we do not have information on non-respondents they cannot be compared to the participating group on background variables. Eight families were excluded from the group due to serious medical condition in child or mother, physical or mental disability in child or mother, lack of fluency in both the Turkish and Dutch language, and interfering factors during a home-visit which made coding impossible. One year after the home-visit, we contacted the mothers for a second home-visit (Time 2). One-hundred and twenty-eight mothers (91%) and their children participated in this second visit. For 94 of these families we had a complete dataset. The children had a mean age of 24.88 months ( $SD = 1.65$ ) at Time 1 and 37.23 months ( $SD = 2.05$ ) at Time 2. Forty-nine percent of the sample consisted of boys. Most children were reared in two-parent families (94%), with mothers who had a mean education of  $M = 2.98$  ( $SD = 0.72$ ) on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 *primary education* to 5 *Master's degree*). The mothers had a mean age of 27.18 years ( $SD = 3.07$ ). The majority of the children had no siblings (65%), 31% had one sibling, and 4% had two or more siblings.

### **Measures**

### *Mother-rated physical aggression*

The Physical Aggression Scale for Early Childhood (PASEC; Alink et al., 2006) was completed by mothers at Time 1 and Time 2. The questionnaire consisted of 11 items concerning physical aggression, including behaviors such as hitting, biting, and destroying things. Mothers were asked whether their child had shown these behaviors during the past 2 months. The items were scored on a 3-point Likert scale (0 = not true, 1 = somewhat or sometimes true, 2 = very true or often true). A physical aggression score was computed by summing the item scores (potential score range = 0 - 22). Internal consistencies of the total physical aggression score were computed for both Time 1 and Time 2. Cronbach's alphas were .85 for Time 1 and .82 for Time 2.

### *Difficult temperament*

Child temperament (as perceived by the mother) was measured with the Infant Characteristics Questionnaire (ICQ; Bates, Freeland, & Lounsbury, 1979). The ICQ was translated into Dutch and found reliable by Kohnstamm (1984). In the study of Van Zeijl and colleagues (2006) a one-component analysis was carried out to derive an overall difficultness factor for different age groups. For 2-year-olds the difficultness factor consisted of 18 items. The questionnaire contained items describing concrete behaviors in well-defined situations (e.g., How easy or difficult is it to calm or soothe your child when he /she is upset?). The items were rated on a 5-point scale, ranging from 0 *not true* to 4 *true*. Internal consistency (Cronbach's alpha) for this scale was .64. Scale scores were computed by averaging item scores.

### *Maternal sensitivity*

The mother's sensitive responsiveness to her child was observed during a series of problem-solving tasks during Time 1 and Time 2 sessions. Mother and child were asked to solve tasks that were somewhat too difficult considering the age of the child. Dyads were given three problem-solving tasks at Time 1 and two tasks at Time 2 consisting of a construction task (at Time 1 and 2), a jigsaw puzzle (at Time 1 and 2), and a sorting task (only at Time 1) for 5 minutes per task. Mothers were instructed to help their children in the way they would normally do. The observations were rated with the Erickson scales to measure mothers' *Supportive presence* and *Intrusiveness* (Egeland, Erickson, Moon, Hiester, & Korfmacher, 1990; Erickson, Sroufe, & Egeland, 1985). *Supportive presence* refers to the mother's expression of emotional support and positive regard by encouraging, giving support and confidence, reassuring and acknowledging the child's accomplishments on the tasks. Supportive presence was coded on a 7-point scale ranging

from 1 (completely failing to be supportive) to 7 (skillfully providing support). *Intrusiveness* refers to the mother's lack of respect of the child's autonomy when exploring or in problem solving situations, by interfering with the child's needs, desires, interests, or behaviors. Intrusiveness was also coded on a 7-point scale, ranging from 1 (not intrusive) to 7 (highly intrusive). Scale scores were computed by averaging the scores for the separate tasks.

The scales for Time 1 were coded by the first author and a PhD colleague, who were first trained by the second author (the expert) to code tapes from the Dutch sample ( $n = 20$ ). The intraclass correlations (single rater, absolute agreement) for intercoder reliability between the three pairs of coders ranged from .68 to .92 ( $M = 0.78$ ). Then, 20 tapes from the Turkish sample were translated and transcribed in Dutch by the first author (who speaks the Dutch and the Turkish language fluently) for the reliability check of coding the Turkish sample ( $n = 20$ ). The intraclass correlations (single rater, absolute agreement) for the Turkish sample were .71 for supportive presence and .76 for intrusiveness. The scales for Time 2 were coded by a native Turkish student with a Bachelor's degree in Psychology who spoke both the Turkish and the Dutch language fluently. She was also trained by the expert and coded tapes of the Turkish reliability sample ( $n = 20$ ). The intraclass correlations (single rater, absolute agreement) were .71 for supportive presence and .74 for intrusiveness.

### *Maternal discipline*

Specific maternal discipline strategies were observed during a four-minute clean-up task. After playing with attractive toys, the mother was asked to instruct her child to clean up the toys. The mother was allowed to help her child with three toys. Coding procedures were based on Kuczynski, Kochanska, Radke-Yarrow, and Girnius-Brown (1987) and Van der Mark, Van IJzendoorn, and Bakermans-Kranenburg (2002). Maternal *authoritative control* (positive feedback, positive atmosphere, induction and understanding) and *authoritarian control* (commanding and physical interference) were observed. *Positive feedback* and creating a *positive atmosphere* involved giving compliments and making positive remarks when the child was cleaning up, and responding to what the child said (e.g., which toy wants to sleep in the basket?). *Induction* was coded when mothers explained why their child should not play further (even when this is not the real reason); when mothers showed interest or were considerate of their child's emotions when cleaning up the toys *understanding* was coded. Considering the authoritarian control strategies, *commanding* was coded when mothers gave their child instructions to clean up in an authoritarian manner. When the mother used physical force to constrain the child from playing with the toys or to make the child clean up the toys, we coded this as *physical*

*interference*. The number of times the mother had used a specific category was divided by the time of the episode and standardized to three minutes (see Alink et al., 2008).

All five coders (students with a Bachelor's degree) spoke the Turkish and the Dutch language fluently and were blind to other data concerning the participants. First, a Dutch set was coded for intercoder reliability. Coders had a mean intraclass correlation (single rater, absolute agreement) with the expert of .80 for authoritative control (range = .71 - .91,  $n = 25$ ) and .76 for authoritarian control (range = .71 - .86,  $n = 25$ ). Then, the coders observed a Turkish set; the mean intraclass correlations (single rater, absolute agreement) for intercoder reliability (for all separate pairs of coders) were .84 (range = .74 - .97,  $n = 20$ ) for authoritative control and .88 (range = .75 - .94,  $n = 20$ ) for authoritarian control.

### *Positive parenting*

We computed an overall positive parenting variable by standardizing and then adding supportive presence and authoritative control and subtracting intrusiveness. Using model fitting, these scales were found to fit a single dimension (for a full description of this model, see Yaman, Mesman, Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van IJzendoorn, & Linting, 2009). We did not include authoritarian control in the overall positive parenting variable as this scale did not fit the model.

## **Data Analyses**

Zero to two outliers ( $|z| > 3.29$ ) were identified on each of the variables (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Outliers were winsorized (i.e., “moved in close to the good data”, Hampel, Ronchetti, & Rousseeuw, 1986) by replacement of the outlying scores with the next highest value in the distribution.

## **Results**

### **Preliminary analyses**

First, we investigated if maternal education and number of siblings were associated with Time 1 and Time 2 child physical aggression, Time 1 and Time 2 positive parenting, and Time 1 and Time 2 authoritarian discipline. Maternal education was significantly correlated with Time 1 child physical aggression  $r(94) = -.32, p < .01$ . Number of siblings was significantly associated

with Time 1 child physical aggression  $r(94) = .24, p < .05$  as well as with Time 1 positive parenting  $r(94) = .23, p < .05$ . Therefore, in our analyses we used maternal education and number of siblings as covariates. Table 4.1 shows the means and standard deviations for child temperament at Time 1, physical aggression at Time 1 and Time 2, observed maternal authoritarian and positive parenting at Time 1 and Time 2.

**Table 4.1**

*Parenting and child behaviors at time 1 and time 2 (N = 94)*

	Time 1		Time 2	
	Mean	(SD)	Mean	(SD)
Positive parenting <sup>a</sup>	-0.01	(2.30)	0.04	(1.96)
Authoritarian discipline	5.68	(4.92)	4.34	(4.06)
Child physical aggression	3.76	(3.97)	3.15	(2.94)
Child temperament	1.57	(0.47)	-	-

*Note:* <sup>a</sup> Positive parenting is the sum of the standardized scores for supportive presence and authoritative discipline, minus the standardized score for intrusiveness.

### Parenting, child physical aggression, and temperament

Correlations between Time 1 and Time 2 child physical aggression, temperament, positive parenting, and authoritarian discipline are presented in Table 4.2. Positive parenting was stable over time. The correlation between Time 1 and Time 2 authoritarian discipline was not significant. Child aggression was stable over time and child temperament at Time 1 was associated with child aggression at Time 1 and Time 2. No other associations were found between child temperament, child aggression, positive parenting, and authoritarian discipline at either time of assessment.

**Table 4.2**

*Pearson correlations among parenting and child behaviors at time 1 and time 2 (N = 94)*

		Time 1				Time 2	
		1.	2.	3.	4.	1.	2.
Time 1	1. Positive parenting <sup>a</sup>	-					
	2. Authoritarian discipline	-.37**	-				
	3. Child physical aggression	.02	-.01	-			



	4. Child temperament	-.10	.08	.20*	-		
Time 2	1. Positive parenting <sup>a</sup>	.36**	-.05	.05	.09	-	
	2. Authoritarian discipline	-.03	.11	-.18	.11	-.08	-
	3. Child physical aggression	-.08	.18	.55**	.37**	-.04	-.04

*Note:* <sup>a</sup> Positive parenting is the sum of the standardized scores for supportive presence and authoritative discipline, minus the standardized score for intrusiveness. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

## Multivariate analyses predicting child physical aggression

Before performing linear regression analyses and computing interaction terms, the predictors were centered in order to reduce possible multicollinearity between the independent variables and the interaction term, and to facilitate the interpretation of the interaction effect (Cohen, Cohen, West, & Aiken, 2003). We performed a linear regression analysis to test the moderating effect of child temperament at Time 1 on the association between the Time 1 positive parenting and Time 2 aggression. In the first step, we controlled for maternal education and number of siblings, Time 1 physical aggression and Time 2 positive parenting. In step 2, we entered the main effects of Time 1 positive parenting and child temperament, and in step 3 we entered the interaction term between Time 1 positive parenting and temperament (Table 4.3).

Child physical aggression and temperament at Time 1 showed a main effect in the prediction of child physical aggression at Time 2. Adding the interaction term significantly improved the model,  $R^2_{\text{change}} = .03$ ,  $F_{\text{change}}(1, 85) = 4.27$ ,  $p < .05$ . The interpretation of the interaction effect can be inferred from the plotted regression lines for children with a difficult and an easy temperament (see Figure 4.1). A median split was applied to Time 1 child temperament. The lines in Figure 4.1 were plotted using predictor values of  $\pm 1$  standard deviation (positive parenting at Time 1) as recommended by Aiken and West (1991). In order to correct for child aggression at Time 1, maternal education, and the number of siblings, we used residual scores for child aggression at Time 2. In the difficult temperament group, less positive parenting at Time 1 predicted more physical aggression at Time 2 (see Figure 4.1). The results are indicative of a double risk model, in which children with difficult temperaments who also have mothers with lower levels of positive parenting show high levels of aggressive behaviors. It should be noted that less positive parenting led to the lowest aggression in the easy temperament group.

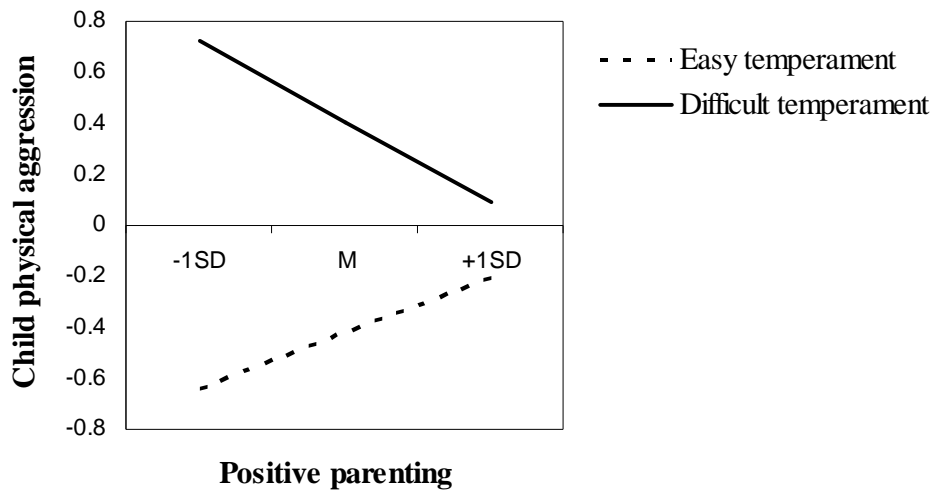
**Table 4.3**

*Regression analysis testing child temperament as a moderator on the association between time 1 positive parenting and time 2 child physical aggression (N = 94)*

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i> -value	<i>R</i> <sup>2</sup>
Step 1 <sup>a</sup>					0.33**
Education mother	-0.12	0.39	-0.03	-0.31	
Number of siblings	-0.50	0.45	-0.10	-1.11	
Time 1 Child physical aggression	0.38	0.07	0.51	5.43**	
Time 2 Positive parenting	-0.12	0.14	-0.08	-0.88	
Step 2					0.39*
Time 1 Positive parenting	0.02	0.12	0.02	0.18	
Time 1 Child temperament	1.88	0.59	0.30	3.20**	
Step 3					0.42*
Positive parenting Time 1 x Child temperament	-0.48	0.23	-0.18	-2.07*	

*Note:* <sup>a</sup>The statistics are derived from the final block of the regression model. \* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

We also investigated the moderating effect of Time 1 child temperament on the association between Time 1 authoritarian discipline (not a component of the positive parenting composite) and Time 2 child aggression. Time 1 child physical aggression ( $\beta = .52, p < .01$ ) and temperament ( $\beta = .23, p < .05$ ) were significant predictors of Time 2 child physical aggression. We found no main effects of authoritarian discipline (T2 authoritarian discipline  $\beta = .01, p = .88$ , T1 authoritarian discipline  $\beta = .15, p = .08$ ). Adding the interaction term did not significantly improve the model,  $R^2_{\text{change}} = .00, F_{\text{change}}(1, 85) = 0.22, p = .64$ .



**Figure 4.1**

*Positive parenting at time 1 predicting child physical aggression at time 2 for children with difficult and easy temperaments*

## Discussion

Our study shows that child temperament at age 2 years (Time 1) is a significant predictor of child aggression one year later (Time 2). Lower levels of Time 1 positive parenting predicted elevated Time 2 child aggression, but only in the group of children with a difficult temperament. However, children with difficult temperaments did not benefit more from higher levels of positive parenting, indicating that the dual risk model is applicable and not the differential susceptibility model. Less positive parenting predicted low levels of Time 2 aggression in the easy temperament group. No interaction effects were found for authoritarian discipline.

As expected, we found that Time 1 child difficult temperament predicted Time 2 child aggression. This is consistent with previous findings in several countries and immigrant groups, showing that difficult child temperament predicts behavior problems at a later age (Caspi et al., 1994, 1995; De Boo & Kolk, 2007). Contrary to our expectations, no main effects of parenting on child physical aggression were found. As suggested by Rothbaum and Weisz' (1994) meta-analytic findings, the association between the quality of parenting and child externalizing behaviors may be less strong for toddlers and preschoolers than for older children. Externalizing behaviors may be more strongly associated with the quality of caregiving when these problem

behaviors are connected with feelings of hostility and the intention to hurt others, as opposed to autonomy seeking in toddlerhood. However, the absence of main effects may also suggest that some children are more vulnerable to the effects of parenting than others. Indeed, we found a significant interaction effect between positive parenting and difficult child temperament in the prediction of child physical aggression. Thus, lower levels of positive parenting (risk 1) were related to higher levels of physical aggression, but only for children with difficult temperaments (risk 2). Because children with difficult temperaments did not benefit more from higher levels of positive parenting than children with easier temperaments, these findings point to a dual-risk model, rather than a differential susceptibility model. Similar interaction effects were also found in previous studies that focused on the influence of positive parenting behaviors such as maternal sensitivity on the development of child externalizing behaviors (e.g., Karreman, Van Tuijl, Van Aken, & Deković, 2009; Van Aken et al., 2007), however these studies did not test both the dual risk model and the differential susceptibility model.

As we found support for the dual risk model, interventions aimed at second-generation Turkish immigrant families should especially focus on temperamentally vulnerable children who also experience a lack of positive parenting. Increasing positive parenting through intervention for parents of children with difficult temperaments may thus decrease the risk for aggressive outcomes, but because we did not find evidence for differential susceptibility, this should not be expected to lead to even better outcomes compared to those for children with easy temperaments. In the easy temperament group less positive parenting led to lower aggression. We speculate that this unexpected finding might be a suppression effect: children with an easy temperament might suppress their feelings of distress and anger when their parents are punitive and crush any sign of protest in their mostly easy-going children. In this group of families with children with an easy temperament interventions enhancing positive parenting might lead to more aggression later on, as children may feel free to openly communicate their feelings of anger and distress to their non-punitive parent. Of course, this speculative interpretation should be tested in experimental research.

We did not find main effects of authoritarian discipline on child aggression, nor did we find a moderating effect of child temperament in the relation between authoritarian discipline and child physical aggression. These findings may be due to the fact that no distinction was made between obedience-demanding and punishment-oriented aspects of authoritarian discipline in the Turkish context that may influence child behaviors in a different manner. Obedience-demanding parenting (i.e., immediate compliance without explanation) has been found to have a positive influence on the prosocial behavior of Turkish immigrant children, whereas punishment-oriented

discipline tended to have negative effects (Yağmurlu & Sanson, 2008). Thus, obedience-demanding parenting behaviors are not necessarily unfavorable to child development in Turkish immigrant families, as obedience is highly valued and may be perceived as normative in the Turkish culture. In our study authoritarian discipline consisted of commanding (e.g., saying no, repeating the command) and physical interference (e.g., taking away forbidden toys, preventing the child to touch them). These discipline behaviors seem to reflect primarily obedience-demanding behaviors and may therefore not have had an adverse effect on child behaviors in our sample.

To our knowledge, this is the first study to examine the moderating role of child temperament in the association between observed parenting practices of second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers and the aggressive behaviors of their toddlers. However, there are some limitations to this study. First, although we observed mothers' parenting behaviors, we used mother-reports to measure both child temperament and physical aggression, so some shared method variance for these variables can not be excluded. Nevertheless, we found only modest associations between the two constructs, which suggest that they were sufficiently differentiated. We also tested for associations between the two measures across time, and not at the same point in time, thus preventing the association between predictor and outcome to be inflated by current mood or temporary response biases. Second, it was quite surprising that authoritarian discipline was not stable over time. However, our results do confirm the idea that disciplinary techniques, such as power assertion, are flexible and dependent on the child's misbehavior, and that discipline techniques are varied according to the situation instead of reflecting an invariant discipline approach on the mother's part (Grusec & Kuczynski, 1980). Finally, as our study was a short-term longitudinal study, we do not know if temperamentally difficult children reared by mothers with low levels of positive parenting behaviors will continue to show aggressive behaviors into middle-childhood and adolescence or that they experience the beneficial effects of a supportive rearing environment only at a later age.

In conclusion, this study provides empirical evidence for the generalizability of the dual-risk hypothesis to second-generation immigrant families: toddlers with difficult temperaments are more adversely affected by a lack of positive parenting than other children, but do not benefit more from high levels of positive parenting. We recommend that future studies also employ observational methods of child temperament and aggression, and make a distinction between various culturally relevant components of authoritarian parenting. Our findings imply that in order to reduce child behavior problems in second-generation Turkish immigrant families, it is important to design interventions that focus on immigrant families who struggle with the

challenges of the disruptive behaviors of their temperamentally difficult toddlers. These interventions should particularly aim at enhancing maternal sensitivity and authoritative control in these families.

## Chapter 5

### Discussion and conclusion

## **Introduction**

The focus of this thesis was the early development and parenting predictors of toddler externalizing behaviors in second-generation Turkish immigrant families living in the Netherlands in comparison with native Dutch families. First, the levels and interrelations of family stress, parenting efficacy, and toddler externalizing behaviors in both groups were examined. Next, differences in patterns of observed parenting behaviors and gender-differentiated parenting in both groups were described. Finally, the moderating effect of child temperament on the association between parenting and child aggression, and the influence of maternal acculturation on family stress and parenting behaviors were investigated.

## **Turkish immigrant and native Dutch families: Differences and similarities**

### **Mean level differences**

In chapter 2 and 3 of this thesis we compared the levels of family stress (daily stress and marital discord), parenting efficacy, observed parenting behaviors (maternal sensitivity and discipline), and toddler externalizing behaviors between second-generation Turkish immigrant and native Dutch families. We found no mean level differences between the groups in parent-reported toddler externalizing behaviors, parenting efficacy, and observed authoritarian discipline. However Turkish immigrant mothers perceived more daily stress and marital problems compared to Dutch mothers. In addition, Turkish immigrant mothers were observed to be less sensitive and used less authoritative discipline strategies than their Dutch counterparts.

Our findings regarding parent-reported child externalizing behaviors in Turkish versus Dutch families were not consistent with previous studies that used parents as informants (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, van der Ende, & Erol, 1997; Stevens et al., 2003). Contrary to our expectations, we found that Turkish and Dutch toddlers showed similar levels of mother-reported externalizing behaviors. Although the above mentioned studies controlled for the effects of parental education, we matched the Turkish and Dutch families on several additional pertinent characteristics (maternal education, child gender, and the presence of siblings) which may explain the absence of



differences in toddler externalizing behaviors in both groups, for example, the presence of siblings is generally associated with higher levels of externalizing behaviors in all groups. Furthermore, our sample of Turkish families was rather homogenous as we only included second-generation Turkish mothers who were born in the Netherlands. Moreover, we focused on externalizing behaviors of toddlers instead of school-age children and adolescents.

We did find differences between the two groups in daily stress and marital problems: Turkish immigrant mothers experienced more daily stress and marital problems than native Dutch mothers. This may be due to generational differences between partners within Turkish families. As the majority of the Turkish mothers in this study were married to first-generation Turkish partners who grew up in Turkey, an acculturation gap between the parents may be present (Leyendecker, Schölmerich, & Çıtlak, 2006). Compared to the often newly arrived first-generation Turkish fathers, Turkish second-generation mothers have a larger social network (e.g., family and friends) in the Netherlands, easier access to the host society (e.g., more knowledge of Dutch rules and norms), and are more fluent in the Dutch language. Because of this difference, most of the organizational and administrative tasks (e.g., filling out forms, going to the general practitioner) are generally arranged by the mothers, which could lead to their experience of more daily stress. The fact that mothers are responsible for these tasks may also result in marital frictions between the partners, as the mothers may feel unequally burdened and/or the (more traditional) fathers may dislike the leading role of the mothers.

Despite the higher levels of Turkish immigrant mothers' daily stress, we found no differences between Turkish and Dutch mothers in their feelings of parenting efficacy. This remarkable finding may be due to factors that buffer against the negative effects of daily stress on maternal parenting efficacy, such as social support which has been shown to influence maternal feelings of efficacy (Coleman & Karraker, 1997). As significantly more first- and second-generation Turkish parents report to have strong family ties compared to Dutch parents (91% versus 52%; Distelbrink & Hooghiemstra, 2005) the negative effects of stress may have been mitigated in the Turkish group.

Regarding observed parenting behaviors, we found no differences in maternal authoritarian discipline (commanding and physical interference) between the two groups, but we did find that Turkish immigrant mothers were less supportive, more intrusive, gave less clear instructions during problem-solving tasks, and used less authoritative discipline strategies (e.g., positive feedback, induction) during a clean-up task. In general, in "collectivistic" oriented cultures (e.g., Turkish culture), more obedience is expected of children, more authoritarian control is applied, and more restraining behaviors are used during social play than in

“individualistic” cultures (e.g., Dutch culture) (Ispe et al., 2004; Rubin, 1998). For example, in the Turkish culture “uslu” children are highly valued which means that children are good-mannered, obedient, quiet, and not too boisterous (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).

Our findings of more intrusive behaviors and less use of authoritative discipline in Turkish immigrant families correspond to child-rearing attitudes in collectivistic oriented cultures, but less maternal support and the lack of difference in authoritarian discipline do not. It was quite surprising to find that Turkish immigrant and native Dutch mothers were similar in their use of authoritarian discipline. Our observation may indicate that the levels of authoritarian discipline among second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers are changing towards those of the host culture. Indeed, the parenting practices of the second-generation seem to be shifting from strict authoritarian control to more inductive reasoning and explaining, as mixed patterns of authoritarian and authoritative control were being used by these parents in a different study (Pels, Nijsten, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, 2006). For example, during interviews with Turkish immigrant parents, yelling, threatening, and the use of physical punishment in reaction to children’s misbehavior were seldom mentioned (Nijsten, 2006), whereas using punishment in response to children’s problem behavior or disobedience have been found to be relatively common in Turkey, especially among families from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Erkman & Rohner, 2006; Kircaali-Iftar, 2005). Moreover, although we found no differences between the Turkish and the Dutch group in the levels of observed authoritarian parenting (i.e., commanding and physical interference), there may be differences in the certain types of authoritarian control used by mothers that were not examined separately in this study. For example, shaming, guilt induction, and reference to authority figures, such as fathers, teachers, and doctors may be more common in Turkish families, especially in mothers with a low socio-economic status (e.g., Çatay, Allen, & Samstag, 2008). Because these specific strategies were very rare in Western families for which the instrument was originally devised, we did not code these behaviors separately, but they were included in the commanding behaviors category. Differentiating these aspects of control may shed light on the culture-specific discipline behaviors in Turkish immigrant families.

Our finding that Turkish immigrant mothers were less supportive (e.g., less emotional availability, giving fewer compliments, more concerned about their own adequacy than about the child’s emotional needs) confirms the results of a previous study that compared Turkish immigrant and native Dutch mothers (Leseman & Van den Boom, 1999). Apparently, during certain activities such as problem solving tasks, Turkish immigrant mothers are less sensitive to their children’s needs than Dutch mothers. As (Turkish) immigrant families have higher academic aspirations than native Dutch families of the same social class (Pels et al., 2006; Phalet &

Andriessen, 2003), Turkish immigrant mothers may have had a tendency to focus more on achievement of their children. Possibly putting achievement before the needs of their children, these mothers showed high levels of unsupportive and intrusive behavior. Previous research has shown that these maternal behaviors negatively affect children's learning and motivation in instruction situations (Bus, 1993). Another explanation for lower levels of maternal sensitivity in the Turkish group could be that Turkish immigrant mothers are less used to solving structured tasks (e.g., making puzzles) with their children as this type of activity is less common in Turkish immigrant than in Dutch families. In addition to observing parenting behaviors in these "demanding" contexts, it is important to also compare observations of Turkish and Dutch mothers in non-demanding contexts, such as daily caregiving routines.

Finally, second-generation Turkish immigrant mothers did not differ in their parenting behaviors towards their sons and daughters, whereas in Turkey more obedience and dependence is expected from daughters than from sons, leading to more external control on girls compared to boys (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007; Kağıtçıbaşı & Sunar, 1992). Our findings confirm previous studies on Turkish immigrant families (Çıtlak, Leyendecker, Schölmerich, Driessen, & Harwood, 2008; Wissink, Deković, & Meijer, 2006) and support the idea that with regard to gender roles, a shift from traditional attitudes towards more egalitarian ones is taking place (Güngör & Bornstein, 2008).

Overall, when interpreting the ethnic group differences, we need to keep in mind that these differences become smaller when maternal education is taken into account. Thus, maternal education accounts for a substantial amount of variance in ethnic group differences (see for similar findings Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van IJzendoorn, & Kroonenberg, 2004). This does not take away the fact that Turkish toddlers are more often reared by lower educated mothers than Dutch toddlers and therefore as a group experience less sensitive parenting and less authoritative discipline. But the roots of the difference in child rearing practices should not be automatically sought in ethnic or cultural differences as long as socio-economic disparities might be more plausible, immediate causes.

### **Associations between family processes and child behavior**

Based on previous empirical studies among immigrant families living in the Netherlands, we expected to find similarities in the interrelations among mother-reported family stress, parenting efficacy, and toddler externalizing behaviors as well as among observed parenting behaviors between the second-generation Turkish immigrant and the native Dutch group. More family

stress and less parenting efficacy were indeed related to higher levels of toddler externalizing behaviors, and parenting efficacy was the most important negative predictor in both groups. The importance of feeling efficacious as a parent during their children's toddler period is not so surprising, as this period is challenging to parents in virtually all cultures. During this developmental period children's motor and cognitive skills expand and make increasing attempts to obtain autonomy, which requires parents to develop and try out new parenting skills (Coleman & Karraker, 2003; Edwards & Liu, 2002).

Parental insecurity about their abilities to deal with their children's changing behavior may be related to higher levels of child problem behaviors regardless of culture, or in both cultures children with difficult behaviors may evoke more insecurity in their mothers' feelings about their parenting capacities. In order to investigate the interrelations among observed parenting behaviors, we performed a confirmatory factor analysis to fit a factor model to both groups. In both groups supportive presence, clarity of instruction, authoritative discipline, and low intrusiveness loaded on one factor. Thus, more supportive mothers were also less intrusive, gave clearer instructions, and disciplined their children in a more authoritative manner, irrespective of their ethnicity. This pattern is consistent with literature on parenting styles in which high support, respect for autonomy and positive control go together and reflect an authoritative parenting style (Baumrind, 1966; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

In both groups, authoritarian discipline did not load on the parenting factor suggesting that these parenting behaviors represent a different dimension. These findings suggest that authoritative parenting is indicative of more positive patterns of parenting in families with individualistic cultural backgrounds as well as families with collectivistic cultural origins. This is in contrast with the idea that parents in collectivistic cultures tend to be more authoritarian and commonly use higher levels of control, although not necessarily in combination with lower levels of warmth (Rudey & Grusec, 2001, 2006). However, as the second-generation Turkish mothers in our sample had been exposed to the Dutch individualistic society all their lives (all mothers were born in the Netherlands), this may have led to a shift from their collectivistic parenting behaviors to parenting behaviors that are similar to those in their resident country.

Overall, our findings support the "*no-group difference*" hypothesis: we found *mean level* differences between the second-generation Turkish immigrant and native Dutch group, but the *interrelations* between the variables in both groups were similar. According to this hypothesis, differences among ethnic groups in developmental processes may exist, but as individuals of different ethnic origins are exposed to influences common to all ethnic groups in a society,

culturally specific experiences will not alter the associations among developmental or parenting dimensions (Rowe, Vazsonyi, & Flannery, 1994).

## **Family processes *within* Turkish immigrant families**

### **Parenting, toddler aggression, and temperament**

Although several studies have been conducted on the mental health (e.g., externalizing behaviors) of (Turkish) immigrant children compared to their native counterparts (for a review see Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008), the moderating role of child temperament in the association between parenting (positive parenting and authoritarian discipline) and child aggressive behaviors in Turkish immigrant families has not been investigated before. We found that lower levels of positive parenting were related to higher levels of physical aggression, but only for children with difficult temperaments. These findings support the *dual-risk hypothesis* which states that the co-occurrence of child difficult temperament and a poor-quality rearing-environment can put children at increased risk for aggressive behaviors as they experience two risk conditions. Similar interaction effects were also found in previous studies that focused on the influence of a lack of positive parenting behaviors on the development of child externalizing behaviors in native Dutch families (e.g., Karreman, Van Tuijl, Van Aken, & Deković, 2009; Van Aken et al., 2007; Van Zeijl et al., 2007). As positive parenting behaviors (high support, low intrusiveness, and authoritative control) can be said to reflect dyadic regulation, low levels of these behaviors seem to have a particularly adverse effect on the self-regulation, impulse control, and rule internalization of temperamentally difficult children which in turn can lead to physical aggression. Apparently, children with a difficult temperament are more strongly in need of their mothers' support and authoritative control compared to children with an easy temperament. Finding similar interaction effects as in native Dutch families supports again the no-group difference hypothesis.

Regarding authoritarian discipline, we did not find main effects of observed authoritarian discipline on child aggression. This may be due to the possibility that in Turkish immigrant families, authoritarian discipline (i.e., commanding and physical interference) reflects a normative controlling function, particularly with respect to young children. Almost all parents of toddlers need to use limit-setting in the form of demands and commands in teaching their toddlers rules, and will also have to physically interfere to stop a child from being naughty from time to

time. It may be that the normativeness of the authoritarian behaviors measured here limits its predictive value regarding problem behaviors in toddlerhood. For example, in a study on the stability and change of toddler behavior problems, the association between mothers' controlling behaviors and child noncompliance was not present when children were two years old, but only emerged after the age of four (Smith, Calkins, Keane, Anastopoulos, & Shelton, 2004). Future longitudinal studies are needed to illuminate the effects of authoritarian discipline on child aggressive behaviors at different ages in Turkish immigrant families.

The moderating effect of child temperament on the relation between positive parenting (which includes authoritative discipline) and child aggression corresponds with the findings of a previous study among Dutch toddlers (Van Zeijl et al., 2007). However, the absence of a moderating effect for authoritarian discipline in our study is not consistent with results of Van Zeijl and colleagues. Apparently, authoritarian discipline only influences (in particular temperamentally reactive) children's aggression in the Dutch families. In future studies it is important to distinguish between both types of discipline behaviors as they may have different influences on child aggression in Turkish and Dutch families, and because our findings have shown that authoritarian discipline represents a different dimension than the other parenting behaviors, including authoritative discipline.

### **Acculturation, family stress, and parenting**

Depending on parents' acculturation levels, immigrant families may show different behaviors with regard to child-rearing (e.g., Dumka, Roosa, & Jackson, 1997; Yağmurlu & Sanson, 2008). Supporting the bi-dimensional model of Berry (1997), we found no associations between emotional connection to the Turkish and the Dutch culture, which shows that acculturation to the Dutch society does not necessarily implicate less strong identification with the Turkish culture. We did find that Turkish immigrant mothers who felt emotionally more connected to the Turkish culture experienced less daily stress and fewer marital problems. Experiences of less daily stress could be due to the fact that mothers may experience fewer conflicts with their immediate environments as most of the Turkish families in this study lived in areas where many residents had a Turkish background. Fewer marital problems may be due to the fact that the acculturation gap between the mothers and their partners is likely to be smaller when mothers feel more attached to the Turkish culture, and this may lead to fewer conflicts with their first generation husbands.

Mothers also used less authoritative control when they were emotionally more connected to the Turkish culture, suggesting that their emotional bond to their culture of origin keeps them from changing their disciplinary strategies towards practices that are more typical of the host culture. But mothers who spoke the Turkish language more often with important others, including their children, were more sensitive in their interactions with their toddlers. As close family relations are important in Turkish immigrant families, having harmonious relationships with important others (e.g., partner, parents), who speak the Turkish language most of the time, may result in overall sensitive behaviors in interactions with the children.

On the whole, our findings on acculturation showed that maintenance of the culture of origin in the host society can be adaptive for certain specific parenting practices (more sensitive behaviors) and parental well-being (less daily stress and marital discord) and that more connectedness to the culture of origin does not necessarily lead to less connectedness to the culture of the host society.

## **Study limitations and directions for future research**

This study had several limitations that need to be taken into account. The first limitation concerns the moderate response rate in the Turkish group (60%) that may have resulted in less representativeness of our findings for the general Turkish population living in the Netherlands. Groups with a non-western background in the Netherlands are generally difficult to recruit for research purposes, and our response rate is comparable to that of previous studies among second-generation non-western families (CBS, 2005). Moreover, the educational level of the second-generation Turkish immigrant parents was comparable with the national data on the educational level of the second-generation Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, indicating that in that respect our sample was representative.

The second limitation of our study is that we used maternal reports of child behaviors. As the level of child behavior problems may depend on the informant, we do not know to what extent we measured perceptions of child externalizing behaviors instead of the actual externalizing behaviors of children. Moreover, comparing maternal reports of parents with different cultural backgrounds may reflect cultural differences in ideas of what constitutes appropriate normal child behaviors (Stevens & Vollebergh, 2008). However, in our study, we used the Child Behavior Checklist which contains objective descriptions of child behaviors where mothers only report on the frequency of its occurrence instead of giving value judgments. Furthermore, using this checklist, Weisz and McCarty (1999) investigated whether parents from

various cultures differ in their reports of child behavior problems and found no or negligible differences in these comparisons, which suggests that there is little evidence for cultural bias with respect to the checklist.

In this study, we obtained information on child externalizing behaviors through mother-reports, without asking for the father's observations, as mothers are most often primary caregivers, especially in Turkish families. Future studies may try and include Turkish immigrant fathers to examine paternal influences on child behavior problems, and observational measures of child externalizing behaviors are needed to shed light on issues of cultural bias in parent-report measures.

Although standardized observations were used to assess parenting behaviors in both the Turkish immigrant and the native Dutch families, the observations in the Turkish group were conducted at home, whereas they were conducted in a laboratory setting for the Dutch group. Although we had attempted to observe parenting behaviors of Turkish mothers in the laboratory, the majority of the mothers unfortunately refused to travel to the university, even when offered a financial compensation or the possibility of being accompanied during their travel. Observing parenting behaviors in different environmental contexts may have influenced our results on the mean level differences in parenting behaviors. For example, mothers observed in the home and in the laboratory were almost twice as active and responsive when in the laboratory than when at home (Belsky, 1980). However, other studies found no mean level differences in parenting behaviors observed in home and laboratory settings (e.g., Bornstein et al., 2006; Van der Mark, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Van IJzendoorn, 2002).

## **Implications for interventions**

The present thesis provides evidence for the no-group difference hypothesis of parenting and child development in different cultures: there are mean level differences in family stress and parenting behaviors between second-generation Turkish immigrant and native Dutch families, but the interrelations between these family processes are comparable. In future parenting intervention programs for Turkish immigrant families, professionals should be made aware of the higher prevalence of family stress that can be a risk for child externalizing behaviors, and of the importance of maintaining the culture of origin for the parent's experience of lower family stress and more sensitive behaviors. Our no-group difference findings suggest that the focus of parenting interventions can be similar to that of existing programs for native parents of young children. As in native Dutch families, sensitivity and authoritative discipline are related to more



optimal parenting and child development in Turkish immigrant families, indicating the importance of these parenting behaviors for preventive intervention efforts. However, it is important to adapt the *procedures* of these interventions to the specific cultural context in Turkish immigrant families (e.g., conducting home-visits) (Mesman & Yaman, in press). Based on the results of this thesis, a study has recently started to test the effectiveness of a preventive intervention program “*Video-feedback intervention to promote positive parenting and sensitive discipline (VIPP-SD)*” adapted to the specific child-rearing context of Turkish immigrant families (VIPP-TM). We hope that this study can provide a much needed evidence-based culturally sensitive intervention for Turkish families in the Netherlands experiencing problems in managing difficult toddler behaviors.

Chapter 6  
References

## A

- Achenbach, T. M., & Rescorla, L. A. (2000). *Manual for ASEBA Preschool Forms & Profiles*. Burlington, VT: University of Vermont, Research Center for Children, Youth & Families.
- Aiken, L. S., & West, S. G. (1991). *Multiple regression: Testing and interpreting interactions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., Bell, S. M., & Stayton, D. J. (1974). Infant-mother attachment and social development: Socialization as a product of reciprocal responsiveness to signals. In M. P. M. Richards (Ed.), *The integration of a child into a social world* (pp. 99-135). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Ainsworth, M. D. S., Blehar, M., Waters, E., & Wall, S. (1978). *Patterns of attachment*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Alink, L. R. A., Mesman, J., Van Zeijl, J., Stolk, M. N., Juffer, F., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. et al. (2009). Maternal sensitivity moderates the relation between negative discipline and aggression in early childhood. *Social Development, 18*, 99-120.
- Alink, L. R. A., Mesman, J., Van Zeijl, J., Stolk, M. N., Juffer, F., Koot, H. M. et al. (2006). The early childhood aggression curve: Development of physical aggression in 10- to 50-month-old children. *Child Development, 77*, 954-966.
- Arends-Tóth, J., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2003). Multiculturalism and acculturation: Views of Dutch and Turkish-Dutch. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 33*, 249-266.
- Arends-Tóth, J., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2008). Family relationships among immigrants and majority members in the Netherlands: The role of acculturation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 57*, 466-487.
- Atzaba-Poria, N., Pike, A., & Barrett, M. (2004). Internalising and externalising problems in middle childhood: A study of Indian (ethnic minority) and English (ethnic majority) children living in Britain. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 28*, 449-460.

## B

- Baker, B. L., & Heller, T. L. (1996). Preschool children with externalizing behaviors: Experience of fathers and mothers. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 24*, 513-532.
- Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Kroonenberg, P. (2004). Differences in attachment security between African-American and white children: ethnicity or socio-economic status? *Infant Behavior and Development, 27*, 417-433.

- Bates, J. E., Freeland, C. A. B., & Lounsbury, M. L. (1979). Measurement of infant difficultness. *Child Development, 50*, 794-803.
- Baumrind, D. (1966). Effects of authoritative parental control on child behavior. *Child Development, 37*, 887-907.
- Belsky, J. (1980). Mother-infant interaction at home and in the laboratory: A comparative study. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 137*, 37-47.
- Belsky, J. (1997). Theory testing, effect-size evaluation, and differential susceptibility to rearing influence: The case of mothering and attachment. *Child Development, 64*, 598-600.
- Belsky, J., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (2007). For better and for worse. Differential susceptibility to environmental influences. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 16*, 300-304.
- Belsky, J., Hsieh, K., & Crnic, K. (1998). Mothering, fathering, and infant negativity as antecedents of boys' externalizing problems and inhibition at age 3 years: Differential susceptibility to rearing experience? *Development and Psychopathology, 10*, 301-319.
- Belsky, J., Woodworth, S., & Crnic, K. (1996). Trouble in the second year: Three questions about family interaction. *Child Development, 67*, 556-578.
- Bengi-Arslan, L., Verhulst, F. C., van der Ende, J., & Erol, N. (1997). Understanding childhood (problem) behaviors from a cultural perspective: Comparison of problem behaviors and competencies in Turkish immigrant, Turkish and Dutch children. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 32*, 477-484.
- Bentler, P. M. (1989). *EQS structural equations program manual*. Los Angeles: BDMP Statistical Software.
- Bentler, P. M. (1990). Comparative fit indexes in structural models. *Psychological Bulletin, 107*, 238-246.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 46*, 5-68.
- Berry, J. W. (2006) Acculturative stress. In P. T. P. Wong, L. C. J. Wong, (Eds.), *Handbook of Multicultural Perspectives on Stress and Coping* (pp. 287-298). New York: Springer.
- Berry, J. W., Poortinga, Y. H., Segall, M. H., & Dasen, P. R. (2002). *Cross-cultural psychology: Research and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bertrand, R. M., Hermanns, J. M. A., & Leseman, P. P. M. (1998). Behoefte aan opvoedingsondersteuning in Nederlandse, Marokkaanse en Turkse gezinnen met kinderen

- van 0-6 jaar [The need for family support in Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, and Moroccan-Dutch families]. *Nederlands Tijdschrift voor Opvoeding, Vorming en Onderwijs*, 14, 50-71.
- Bornstein, M. H., & Cote, L. R. (2001). Mother-infant interaction and acculturation: I Behavioral comparisons in Japanese American and South American families. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 25, 549-563.
- Bornstein, M. H., & Cote, L. R. (2006). Parenting cognitions and practices in the acculturative process. In M. Bornstein & L. Cote (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development* (pp. 173-196). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bornstein, M. H., Gini, M., Putnick, D. L., Haynes, O. M., Painter, K. M., & Suwalsky, J. T. D. (2006). Short-term reliability and continuity of emotional availability in mother-child dyads across contexts of observation. *Infancy*, 10, 1-16.
- Bus, A. G. (1993). Attachment and emergent literacy. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 19, 573-581.
- Bus, A. G., Leseman, P. P. M., & Keultjes, P. (2000). Joint book reading across cultures: A comparison of Surinamese-Dutch, Turkish-Dutch, and Dutch parent-child dyads. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 32, 53-76.

## C

- Campbell, S. B. (1995). Behavior problems in preschool children: A review of recent research. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 36, 113-149.
- Campbell, S. B. (1997). Behavior problems in preschool children: Developmental and family issues. In T. H. Ollendick & R. J. Prinz (Eds.), *Advances in Clinical Child Psychology: Vol. 19*. New York: Plenum Press.
- Campbell, S. B. (2002). *Behavior problems in preschool children: Clinical and developmental issues*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Campbell, S. B., Breaux, A. M., Ewing, L. J., & Szumowski, E. K. (1986). Correlates and predictors of hyperactivity and aggression: A longitudinal study of parent-referred problem preschoolers. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 14, 217-234.
- Carter, A. S., Briggs-Gowan, M. J., & Davis, N. O. (2004). Assessment of young children's social-emotional development and psychopathology: Recent advances and recommendations for practice. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45, 109-134.
- Caspi, A., Henry, B., McGee, R. O., Moffitt, T. E., & Silva, P. A. (1995). Temperamental origins of child and adolescent behavior problems: From age three to age fifteen. *Child Development*, 66, 55-68.

- Caspi, A., Moffitt, T. E., Silva, P. A., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., Krueger, R. F., & Schmutte, P. S. (1994). Are some people crime-prone? Replications of the personality-crime relationship across countries, genders, races, and methods. *Criminology*, *32*, 163-195.
- Çatay, Z., Allen, R., & Samstag, L. W. (2008). Maternal regulation strategies in the United States and Turkey: A brief report. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *39*, 644-649.
- CBS (2005). Enquêteonderzoek onder allochtonen. Problemen en oplossingen [A survey among migrants: Problems and solutions]. Voorburg/ Heerlen: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- CBS (2006). Allochtonen in Nederland [Migrants in The Netherlands]. Voorburg/ Heerlen: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- CBS (2008). Allochtonen in Nederland [Migrants in The Netherlands]. Voorburg/ Heerlen: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- CBS (2009). Bevolkingstrends [Population trends]. Voorburg/ Heerlen: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- Cheah, C. S. L., Leung, C. Y. Y., Tahseen, M., & Schultz, D. (2009). Authoritative parenting among immigrant Chinese mothers of preschoolers. *Journal of Family Psychology*, *23*, 311-320.
- Çıtlak, B., Leyendecker, B., Schölmerich, A., Driessen, R., & Harwood, R. L. (2008). Socialization goals among first- and second-generation migrant Turkish and German mothers. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *32*, 56-65.
- Cohen, J., Cohen, P., West, S. G., & Aiken, L. S. (2003). *Applied multiple regression/correlation analysis for the behavioral sciences*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Coie, J. D., & Dodge, K. A. (1998). Aggression and antisocial behavior. In W. Damon & N. Eisenberg (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology. Vol. 3. Social, emotional, and personality development* (pp. 779-862). New York: Wiley.
- Coleman, P. K., & Karraker, K. H. (2003). Maternal self-efficacy beliefs, competence in parenting, and toddlers' behavior, and developmental status. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, *24*, 126-148.
- Côté, S. M., Vaillancourt, T., LeBlanc, J. C., Nagin, D. S., & Tremblay, R. E. (2006). The development of physical aggression from toddlerhood to pre-adolescence: A nation wide longitudinal study of Canadian children. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *34*, 71-85.

- Crijnen, A. A. M., Beng-Arslan, L., & Verhulst, F. C. (2000). Teacher-reported problem behaviour in Turkish immigrant and Dutch children: A cross-cultural comparison. *Acta Psychiatrica Scandinavica*, *102*, 439-444.
- Crul, M. (2008). The second generation in Europe. *Canadian Diversity*, *6*, 17-19.
- Crnic, K. A., & Greenberg, M. T. (1990). Minor parenting stresses with young children. *Child Development*, *61*, 1628-1637.

## D

- Deater-Deckard, K., Atzaba-Poria, N., & Pike, A. (2004). Mother- and father-child mutuality in Anglo and Indian British families: A link with lower externalizing problems. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *32*, 609-620.
- Deater-Deckard, K., Bates, J. E., Dodge, K. A., & Pettit, G. S. (1996). Physical discipline among African American and European American mothers: Links to children's externalizing behaviors. *Developmental Psychology*, *32*, 1065-1072.
- Deater-Deckard, K., & Dodge, K. A. (1997). Spare the rod, spoil the authors: Emerging theme in research on parenting and child development. *Psychological Inquiry*, *8*, 230-235.
- Deater-Deckard, K., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (1998). Multiple risk factors in the development of externalizing behavior problems: Group and individual differences. *Development and Psychopathology*, *10*, 469-493.
- De Boo, G. M., & Kolk, A. M. (2007). Ethnic and gender differences in temperament, and the relationship between temperament and depressive and aggressive mood. *Personality and Individual Differences*, *43*, 1756-1766.
- Deković, M., Pels, T., & Model, S. (Eds.). (2006). *Child rearing in six ethnic families. The multicultural Dutch experience*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- De Wolff, M. S., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (1997). Sensitivity and Attachment: A meta-analysis on parental antecedents of infant attachment. *Child Development*, *68*, 571-591.
- Diener, E., Suh, E. M., Smith, H., & Shao, L. (1995). National differences in reported subjective well-being: Why do they occur? *Social Indicators Research*, *34*, 7-32.
- Distelbrink, M., & Hooghiemstra, E. (2005). Allochtone gezinnen: Feiten en cijfers. [Migrant families: Facts and numbers] In: Den Haag Nederlandse Gezinsraad: NGR.
- Dumka, L. E., Roosa, M. W., & Jackson, K. M. (1997). Risk, conflict, mothers' parenting, and children's adjustment in low-income, Mexican immigrant, and Mexican American families. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, *59*, 309-323.

## E

- Edwards, C. P., & Liu, W. L. (2002). Parenting toddlers. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 1. Children and parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 45–71). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.
- Egeland, B., Erickson, M. F., Moon, J. C., Hiester, M. K., & Korfmacher, J. (1990). *Revised Erickson Scales: 24 month tools coding manual. Project STEEP-revised 1990. From mother-child project scales 1978*. Minnesota: Department of Psychology.
- Eisenberg, N., Zhou, Q., Spinrad, T. L., Valiente, C., Fabes, R. A., & Liew, J. (2005). Relations among positive parenting, children's effortful control, and externalizing problems: A three-wave longitudinal study. *Child Development, 76*, 1055-1071.
- Erickson, M. F., Sroufe, L. A., & Egeland, B. (1985). The relationship between quality of attachment and behavior problems in preschool in a high-risk sample. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 50*, 147-166.
- Erkman, F., & Rohner, R. P. (2006). Youths' perceptions of corporal punishment, parental acceptance, and psychological adjustment in a Turkish Metropolis. *Cross-Cultural Research, 40*, 250-267.
- Erol, N., & Şimsek, Z. (1997). Türkiye Ruh Sağlığı Profili: Çocuk ve gençlerde yeterlik alanları ile sorun davranışların dağılımı [Mental health profile of Turkey: distribution of competence and behavioral problems]. In: N. Erol, C. Kılıç, M. Ulusoy, M. Keçeci, & Z. Şimşek (Eds.), *Türkiye Ruh Sağlığı Profili: Ön Rapor [Mental Health Profile of Turkey: Preliminary Report]*. Ankara: Aydoğdu Ofset, pp 12–33.
- Eurostat (2006). First Demographic Estimates, Statistics in Focus 1/2006. Eurostat Luxembourg.
- Euser, E. M., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Prinzie, P., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2009). *Races or resources: Elevated child maltreatment rates in ethnic minorities and the role of socio-economic differences*. Manuscript submitted for publication.

## F

- Fox, R. A., Platz, D. L., & Bentley, K. S. (1995). Maternal factors related to parenting practices, developmental expectations, and perceptions of child behavior problems. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology, 156*, 431-441.
- Frick, P. J., & Morris, A. S. (2004). Temperament and developmental pathways to conduct problems. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology, 33*, 54-68.



## G

- Gaffari, N. (2004). *Opvoeding, acculturatie en delinquent gedrag. Een vergelijkend onderzoek onder autochtone, Turkse en Marokkaanse jongeren. [Parenting, acculturation, and delinquent behavior. A comparative study among native Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan youth]*. Unpublished master's thesis, Leiden University, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Grusec, J. E., & Kuczynski, L. (1980). Direction of effect in socialization: A comparison of the parent's versus the child's behavior as determinants of disciplinary techniques. *Developmental Psychology, 16*, 1-9.
- Güngör, D. (2008). The meaning of parental control in migrant, sending, and host communities: Adaptation of persistence? *Applied Psychology: An International Review, 57*, 397-416.
- Güngör, D., & Bornstein, M. H. (2008). Gender, development, values, adaptation, and discrimination in acculturating adolescents: The case of Turk heritage youth born and living in Belgium. *Sex Roles, 60*, 537-548.

## H

- Hampel, F. R., Ronchetti, E. M., & Rousseeuw, P. J. (1986). *Robust statistics: The approach based on influence functions*. New York: Wiley.
- Harwood, R. L., Miller, J. G., & Irizarry, N. L. (1995). *Culture and attachment: Perceptions of the child in context*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Ho, C., Bluestein, D. N., & Jenkins, J. M. (2008). Cultural differences in the relationship between parenting and children's behavior. *Developmental Psychology, 44*, 507-522.
- Huntsinger, C. S., & Jose, P. E. (2009). Relations among parental acceptance and control and children's social adjustment in Chinese American and European American families. *Journal of Family Psychology, 23*, 321-330.

## I

- IOM (2008). World Migration 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy. <http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/facts-and-figures/global-estimates-and-trends>.
- Iruka, I. U. (2009). Ethnic variation in the association between family structures and practices on child outcomes at 36 months: Results from early head start. *Early Education and Development, 20*, 148-173.

Ispa, J. M., Fine, M. A., Halgunseth, L. C., Harper, S., Robinson, J., Boyce, L., et al. (2004). Maternal intrusiveness, maternal warmth, and mother-toddler relationship outcomes: Variations across low-income ethnic and acculturation groups. *Child Development, 75*, 1613-1631.

## **J**

Jain, A., & Belsky, J. (1997). Fathering and acculturation: Immigrant Indian families with young children. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 59*, 873-883.

Johnston, C., & Mash, E. J. (1989). A measure of parenting satisfaction and efficacy. *Journal of Clinical Child Psychology, 18*, 167-175.

Joussemet, M., Vitaro, F., Barker, E. D., Côté, S., Nagin, D. S., Zoccolillo, M. et al. (2008). Controlling parenting and physical aggression during elementary school. *Child Development, 79*, 411-425.

## **K**

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (2007). Family, self, and human development across cultures. Theory and applications (2nd ed.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç., & Sunar, D. (1992). Family and socialization in Turkey. In I. E. Sigel (Series Ed.) & J. L. Roopnarine & D. B. Carter (Vol. Eds.), *Advances in applied developmental psychology: Vol. 5. Parent-child socialization in diverse cultures* (1st ed., pp. 75- 88). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Kanner, A. D., Coyne, J. C., Schaffer, C., & Lazarus, R. S. (1981). Comparison of two modes of stress measurement: Daily hassles and uplifts versus major life events. *Journal of Behavioral Medicine, 4*, 1-39.

Karreman, A., Van Tuijl, C., Van Aken, M. A. G., & Deković, M. (2009). Predicting young children's externalizing problems. Interactions among effortful control, parenting, and child gender. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 55*, 111-134.

Keenan, K., & Shaw, D. (1994). The development of aggression in toddlers: A study of low-income families. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 22*, 53-77.

Kelley, M. L., & Tseng, H. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing. A comparison of immigrant Chinese and Caucasian American mothers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 23*, 444-455.

- Kircaali-Iftar, G. (2004). How do Turkish mothers discipline children? An analysis from a behavioural perspective. *Child: Care, Health & Development*, 31, 193-201.
- Klein Velderman, M., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., Juffer, F., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (2006). Effects of attachment-based interventions on maternal sensitivity and infant attachment: Differential susceptibility of highly reactive infants. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 20, 266-274.
- Kochanska, G., Barry, R. A., Aksan, N., & Boldt, L. J. (2008). A developmental model of maternal and child contributions to disruptive conduct: the first six years. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 49, 1220-1227.
- Kohnstamm, G. A., (1984, april). *Bates' Infant Characteristic Questionnaire (ICQ) in the Netherlands*. Paper presented at the fourth biennial International Conference on Infant Studies, New York.
- Koot, H. M. (1997). Handleiding bij de vragenlijst voor gezinsproblemen [Manual accompanying the Dutch Family Problems Questionnaire]. Rotterdam: Sophia Kinderziekenhuis/Erasmus Universiteit, Afdeling Kinder- en Jeugdpsychiatrie.
- Koot, H. M., Van den Oord, E. J. C. G., Verhulst, F. C., & Boomsma, D. I. (1997). Behavioral and emotional problems in young preschoolers: Cross-cultural testing of the validity of the Child Behavior Checklist/ 2-3. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 25, 183-196.
- Kuczynski, L., Kochanska, G., Radke-Yarrow, M., Girnius-Brown, O. (1987). A developmental interpretation of young children's noncompliance. *Developmental Psychology*, 23, 799-806.

## L

- Lansford, J. E., Chang, L., Dodge, K. A., Malone, P. S., Oburu, P., Palmerus, K., et al. (2005). Physical discipline and children's adjustment: Cultural normativeness as a moderator. *Child Development*, 76, 1234-1246.
- Lansford, J. E., Deater-Deckard, K., Dodge, K. A., Bates, J. E., & Pettit, G. S. (2004). Ethnic differences in the link between physical discipline and later adolescent externalizing behaviors. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 45, 801- 812.
- Lau, A. S., Litrownik, A. J., Newton, R. R., Black, M. M., & Everson, M. D. (2006). Factors affecting the link between physical discipline and child externalizing problems in black and white families. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 34, 89-103.

- Leseman, P. P. M., & Van den Boom, D. C. (1999). Effects of quantity and quality of home proximal processes on Dutch, Surinamese-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch pre-schoolers' cognitive development. *Infant and Child Development*, 8, 19-38.
- Leyendecker, B., Schölmerich, A., & Çıtlak, B. (2006). Similarities and differences between first- and second-generation Turkish migrant mothers in Germany: The acculturation gap. In M. H. Bornstein & Cote, L. R. (Eds.), *Acculturation and parent-child relationships: Measurement and development* (297-315). London, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Loeber, R., & Hay, D. (1997). Key issues in the development of aggression and violence from childhood to early adulthood. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 48, 371-410.
- Lubke, G. H., Dolan, C. V., Kelderman H., & Mellenberg, G. J. (2003). On the relationship between sources of within- and between-group differences and measurement invariance in the common factor model. *Intelligence*, 31, 543-566.

## M

- Maccoby, E. E., & Martin, J. A. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent-child interaction. In E. M. Hetherington (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology. Vol. 4. Socialization, personality, and social development* (4th ed., pp. 1-101). New York: Wiley.
- McLoyd, V. C., & Smith, J. (2002). Physical discipline and behavior problems in African American, European Americans, and Hispanic children: Emotional support as a moderator. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 64, 40-53.
- Mesman, J., & Yaman, A. (in press). Opvoeden in twee culturen. In J. de Jong & S. Colijn (Eds). *Handboek transculturele psychotherapie en psychiatrie*. Utrecht: De Tijdstroom.
- Mistry, R. S., Biesanz, J. C., Chien, N., Howes, C., & Benner, A. D. (2008). Socioeconomic status, parental investments, and the cognitive and behavioral outcomes of low-income children from immigrant and native households. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 23, 193-212.
- Murad, S. D., Joung, I. M. A., Van Lenthe, F. J., Bengi-Arslan, L., & Crijnen, A. A. M. (2003). Predictors of self-reported problem behaviours in Turkish immigrant and Dutch adolescents in the Netherlands. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 44, 412-433.

## N

- NICHD Early Childhood Care Research Network (2004). Affect dysregulation in the mother-

child relationship in the toddler years: Antecedents and consequences. *Development and Psychopathology*, 16, 43-68.

Nijsten, C. C. (2006). Coming from the East: Child rearing in Turkish families. In M. Deković, T. Pels, & S. Model (Eds.), *Child rearing in six ethnic families. The multi-cultural Dutch experience* (pp. 25- 57). Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

## O

Ogbu, J. U. (1981). Origin of human competence: A cultural-ecological perspective. *Child Development*, 52, 413-429.

Öry, F., Bouhalhoul, R., Bengi, L., Belhaj, K., Dahhan, N., de Wit, J. et al., (2003). Toegankelijkheid van de ouder- en kindzorg voor Marokkaanse en Turkse gezinnen [Accessibility of parent- and childcare for Moroccan and Turkish families]. Leiden: TNO Preventie en Gezondheid.

## P

Patterson, G. R. (1982). *Coercive family process: A social learning approach*. Eugene, Oregon: Castalia.

Pels, T., Nijsten, C., Oosterwegel, A., & Vollebergh, W. (2006). Myths and realities of child rearing: Minority families and indigenous Dutch families compared. In M. Deković, T. Pels, & S. Model (Eds.), *Child rearing in six ethnic families. The multi-cultural Dutch experience* (pp. 213-244). Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Pettit, G. S., & Bates, J. E. (1989). Family interaction patterns and children's behavior problems from infancy to 4 years. *Developmental Psychology*, 25, 413-420.

Phalet, K., & Andriessen, I. (2003). Acculturation, motivation and educational attainment. In L. Hagendoorn, J. Veenman, & W. Vollebergh (Eds.), *Integrating immigrants in the Netherlands* (pp. 145-172). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Phalet, K., & Schönplflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of collectivism and achievement values in two acculturation contexts: The case of Turkish families in Germany and Turkish and Moroccan families in the Netherlands. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32, 186-201.

## R

- Raikes, H. A., & Thompson, R. A. (2008). Attachment security and parenting quality predict children's problem solving, attributions and loneliness with peers. *Attachment & Human Development, 10*, 319-344.
- Reid, W. J., & Crisafulli, A. (1990). Marital discord and child behavior problems: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 18*, 105-117.
- Rothbaum, F., & Weisz, J. R. (1994). Parental caregiving and child externalizing behavior in nonclinical samples: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 116*, 55-74.
- Rowe, D. C., Vazsonyi, A. T., & Flannery, D. J. (1994). No more than skin deep: Ethnic and racial similarity in developmental process. *Psychological Review, 101*, 396-413.
- Rubin, K. H. (1998). Social and emotional development from a cultural perspective. *Developmental Psychology, 34*, 611-615.
- Rubin, K. H., Hastings, P., Chen, X., Stewart, S., McNichol, K. (1998). Intrapersonal and maternal correlates of aggression, conflict, and externalizing problems in toddlers. *Child Development, 69*, 1614-1629.
- Rudey, D., & Grusec, J. E. (2001). Correlates of authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist cultures and implications for understanding the transmission of values. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 202-212.
- Rudey, D., & Grusec, J. E., (2006). Authoritarian parenting in individualist and collectivist groups: Associations with maternal emotion and cognition and children's self-esteem. *Journal of Family Psychology, 20*, 68-78.

## S

- Sanson, A., Hemphill, S. A., & Smart, D. (2004). Connections between temperament and social development: A review. *Social Development, 13*, 142-170.
- Santos, S. J., Bohon, L. M., & Sánchez-Sosa, J. J. (1998). Childhood family relationships, marital and work conflict, and mental health distress in Mexican immigrants. *Journal of Community Psychology, 26*, 491-508.
- Schönpflug, U. (2001). Intergenerational transmission of values: The role of transmission belts. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 174-185.
- Shaw, D. S., Bell, R. Q., & Gilliom, M. (2000). A truly early starter model of antisocial behavior revisited. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review, 3*, 155-172.
- Shaw, D. S., Keenan, K., & Vondra, J. I. (1994). Developmental precursors of externalizing behavior: Ages 1 to 3. *Developmental Psychology, 30*, 355-364.

- Smith, C. L., Calkins, S. D., Keane, S. P., Anastopoulos, A. D., & Shelton, T. L. (2004). Predicting stability and change in toddler behavior problems: Contributions of maternal behavior and child gender. *Developmental Psychology, 40*, 29-42.
- Sodowsky, G. R., & Maestas, M. V. (2000). Acculturation, ethnic identity, and acculturative stress: Evidence and measurement. In R. H. Dana (Ed.), *Handbook of Cross-Cultural and Multicultural Personality Assessment* (pp. 131-172). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Sowa, H., Crijnen, A. A. M., Bengi-Arslan, L., & Verhulst, F. C. (2000). Factors associated with problem behaviors in Turkish immigrant children in the Netherlands. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 35*, 177-184.
- Stevens, G. W. J. M., Pels, T., Bengi-Arslan, L., Verhulst, F. C., Vollebergh, W. A. M., & Crijnen, A. A. M. (2003). Parent, teacher and self-reported problem behavior in the Netherlands. Comparing Moroccan immigrant with Dutch and with Turkish immigrant children and adolescents. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 38*, 576-585.
- Stevens, G. W. J. M., Pels, T., Vollebergh, W. A. M., & Crijnen, A. A. M. (2004). Patterns of psychological acculturation in adult and adolescent Moroccan immigrants living in the Netherlands. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 35*, 689-704.
- Stevens, G. W. J. M., & Vollebergh, W. A. M. (2008). Mental health in migrant children. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 49*, 276-294.

## T

- Tabachnick, B. G., & Fidell, L. S. (2007). *Using multivariate statistics* (5th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Briggs, R. D., McClowry, S. G., & Snow, D. L. (2009). Maternal control and sensitivity, child gender, and maternal education in relation to children's behavioral outcomes in African American families. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology, 30*, 321-331.
- Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Way, N., Hughes, D., Yoshikawa, H., Kalman, R. K., & Niwa, E. Y. (2007). Parents' goals for children: The dynamic coexistence of individualism and collectivism in cultures and individuals. *Social Development, 17*, 183-209.

## U

- UNFPA (2006). United Nations Population Fund: State of World Population 2006. The good, the bad, the promising: Migration in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century. In a passage to hope: Women and

international migration (chap.1). Retrieved June 23, 2008, from <http://www.unfpa.org/publications/detail.cfm?ID=311&filterListType=5>.

Urban Institute (2002, November). *The health and well-being of children in immigrant families* (Issue Series B, No. B-52). Washington, DC: Reardon-Anderson, J., Capps, R., & Fix, M.

## V

Van Aken, C., Junger, M., Verhoeven, M., Van Aken, M. A. G., & Deković, M. (2007). The interactive effects of temperament and maternal parenting on toddlers' externalizing behaviours. *Infant and Child Development, 16*, 553-572.

Van der Mark, I. L., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & Van IJzendoorn, M. H. (2002). The role of parenting, attachment, and temperamental fearfulness in the prediction of compliance in toddler girls. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 20*, 361-378.

Van der Mark, I. L., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (2002). Development of empathy in girls during the second year of life: Associations with parenting, attachment, and temperament. *Social Development, 11*, 451-468.

Van der Veen, I., & Meijnen, G. W. (2002). The parents of successful secondary school students of Turkish and Moroccan background in the Netherlands: Parenting practices and the relationship with parents. *Social Behavior and Personality, 30*, 303-316.

Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & Juffer, F. (1999). *The Parental Efficacy Questionnaire*. Unpublished Manuscript, Centre for Child and Family Studies, Leiden University, the Netherlands.

Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Juffer, F. (2000). *Preventive intervention of behavior problems in early childhood: The role of attachment security, parental sensitivity, and parental disciplining in the emergence of antisocial behavior*. Leiden, the Netherlands: Leiden University, Centre for Child & Family Studies.

Van Oort, F. V. A., van der Ende, J., Crijnen, A. A. M., Verhulst, F. C., Mackenbach, J. P., Bengi-Arslan, L. et al. (2006). *Cultural ambivalence as a risk factor for mental health problems in ethnic minority young adults*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Erasmus MC, University Medical Center Rotterdam, The Netherlands.

Van Zeijl, J., Mesman, J., Stolk, M. N., Alink, L. R. A., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., et al. (2006). Terrible ones? Assessment of externalizing behaviors in



- infancy with the Child Behavior Checklist. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 47, 801-810.
- Van Zeijl, J., Mesman, J., Stolk, M. N., Alink, L. R. A., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. et al. (2007). Differential susceptibility to discipline: The moderating effect of child temperament on the association between maternal discipline and early childhood externalizing problems. *Journal of Family Psychology*, 21, 626-636.
- Vazsonyi, A. T., Trejos-Castillo, E., & Huang, L. (2006). Are developmental processes affected by immigration? Family processes, internalizing, and externalizing behaviors. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 35, 799-813.
- Verhallen, M. J. A. J., Bus, A. G., & de Jong, M. T. (2006). The promise of multimedia stories for kindergarten children at risk. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 98, 410-419.

## W

- Weiss, S. J., Goebel, P., Page, A., Wilson, P., & Warda, M. (1998). The impact of cultural and familial context on behavioral and emotional problems of preschool Latino children. *Child Psychiatry and Human Development*, 29, 287-301.
- Weisz, J. R., & McCarty, C. A. (1999). Can we trust parent reports in research on cultural and ethnic differences in child psychopathology? Using the bicultural family design to test parental culture effects. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 108, 598-605.
- Wells-Parker, E., Miller, D. I., & Topping, J. F. (1990). Development of control-of-outcome scales and self-efficacy scales for women in four life roles. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 54, 564-575.
- Wissink, I. B., Deković, M., & Meijer, A. M. (2006). Parenting behavior, quality of the parent-adolescent relationship, and adolescent functioning in four ethnic groups. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 26, 133-159.
- Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., et al. (2002). Similarities and differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 26, 481-491.

## Y

- Yağmurlu, B., & Sanson, A. (2008). Parenting and temperament as predictors of prosocial behaviour in Australian and Turkish Australian children. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 61, 1-12.

- Yağmurlu, B., & Sanson, A. (2009). Acculturation and parenting among Turkish mothers in Australia. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 40*, 361-380.
- Yaman, A., Mesman, J., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., & Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J. (in press). Perceived family stress, parenting efficacy, and child externalizing behaviors in second-generation immigrant mothers. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*.
- Yaman, A., Mesman, J., Van IJzendoorn, M. H., Bakermans-Kranenburg, M. J., & Linting, M. (2009). Parenting in an individualistic culture with a collectivistic cultural background: The case of Turkish immigrant families with toddlers in the Netherlands. Unpublished manuscript.

## **Z**

- Zeijl, E., Crone, M., Wiefferink, K., Keuzenkamp, S., & Reijneveld, M. (2005). *Kinderen in Nederland [Children in the Netherlands]*. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau
- Zwirs, B. W. C., Burger, H., Schulpen, T. W. J., & Buitelaar, J. K. (2006). Different treatment thresholds in non-western children with behavioral problems. *Journal of American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 45*, 476-483.

Appendix A

Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

## Samenvatting

In de jaren '60 en '70 kwamen Turkse gastarbeiders naar Nederland met de intentie om geld te verdienen en vervolgens weer terug te keren naar Turkije. De overgrote meerderheid van gastarbeiders liet echter op den duur het gezin naar Nederland overkomen in het kader van de gezinshereniging. Momenteel wonen in Nederland 377.000 personen van Turkse afkomst; daarmee vormen zij de grootste etnische minderheid in Nederland. Van deze groep bestaat 48% uit tweede-generatie migranten (182.000). De huidige groei van de Turkse populatie in Nederland komt voornamelijk door de toename van de tweede-generatie gezinnen. Volgens de meest recente prognoses (CBS, 2008) zal in 2050 60% (279.000) van de Turkse bevolking in Nederland uit tweede-generatie migranten bestaan.

Ondanks de groei van de Turkse bevolking in Nederland weten we nog relatief weinig over de ontwikkeling van gedragsproblemen bij jonge kinderen in Turkse migrantengezinnen en over de ouder- en opvoedingsfactoren die hierop van invloed kunnen zijn. Al in de vroege kindertijd kunnen kinderen gedragsproblemen laten zien, waarbij externaliserend gedrag zoals ongehoorzaamheid, agressie en overactiviteit vrij vaak voorkomen (zie bijvoorbeeld Van Zeijl et al., 2006). Meestal neemt dit gedrag af na het vierde levensjaar (zie Alink et al., 2006), maar bij sommige kinderen blijft dit gedrag voorkomen tot in de adolescentie of volwassenheid (Loeber & Hay, 1997). Daarnaast kan externaliserend gedrag leiden tot diverse problemen op latere leeftijd, zoals leerproblemen, delinquentie of depressie (Campbell, 1995). Uit bestaande onderzoeken in Westerse culturen blijkt dat ouderfactoren zoals dagelijkse stress, problemen in de partnerrelatie en een gebrek aan zelfvertrouwen over de opvoeding samenhangen met de ontwikkeling van gedragsproblemen bij kinderen (zie bijvoorbeeld Campbell, Shaw, & Gilliom, 2000; Coleman & Karraker, 2003; Reid & Crisafulli, 1990). Opvoedingsfactoren die in veel studies in verband zijn gebracht met gedragsproblemen zijn een gebrek aan sensitiviteit en negatief of autoritair disciplineren (Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994). Sensitiviteit verwijst naar de mate waarin ouders in staat zijn zich te verplaatsen in hun kind en passend en snel reageren op het gedrag van het kind. Bij disciplineren gaat het om de strategieën die ouders gebruiken om lastig gedrag te hanteren of te voorkomen. Deze strategieën kunnen positief ofwel autoritair zijn (uitleg geven, begrip tonen), maar ook negatief ofwel autoritair (fysiek ingrijpen, verbieden zonder uitleg). De vraag is of deze ouder- en opvoedingsfactoren in vergelijkbare mate voorkomen in Turkse gezinnen als in Nederlandse gezinnen en of ze op gelijke wijze samenhangen met gedragsproblemen bij jonge kinderen. Ook weten we nog niet of het acculturatieniveau van Turkse ouders van invloed is op hun manier van opvoeden. Acculturatie vindt plaats zodra leden van een etnische groep een

verandering ondergaan als gevolg van voortdurend en langdurig contact met een andere (dominante) cultuur (Berry, 1997). Dit betekent dat de manier waarop Turkse moeders hun kinderen opvoeden kan verschillen naarmate zij zich meer verbonden voelen met de Turkse dan wel de Nederlandse cultuur.

Aangezien de Turkse populatie de grootste etnische minderheidsgroep in Nederland is en gemiddeld een slechtere sociaal-economische positie heeft dan autochtone gezinnen, is deze groep zeer relevant voor de jeugdhulpverlening. Voordat echter gewerkt kan worden aan de ontwikkeling van opvoedingsinterventies voor Turkse gezinnen, moeten de kenmerken van de ouders, de opvoeding en van de kinderen in deze gezinnen in kaart worden gebracht. Deze kennis kan dan worden aangewend om cultuur-sensitieve interventies te ontwikkelen die aansluiten bij de gezinssituaties van Turkse gezinnen in Nederland. Dit proefschrift richt zich op *tweede-generatie* Turkse migrantengezinnen (hierna: migrantengezinnen) waarbij de volgende onderzoeksvragen centraal staan:

(1) Laten peuters in Turkse migrantengezinnen net zoveel externaliserende gedragsproblemen zien als peuters in Nederlandse gezinnen? Ervaren hun moeders net zoveel stress, en voelen ze zich even competent bij het opvoeden als Nederlandse moeders? En is de samenhang tussen kenmerken van de ouder en gedragsproblemen van het kind in beide groepen vergelijkbaar? Daarnaast is onderzocht of verbondenheid met de Turkse of Nederlandse cultuur samenhangt met de mate waarin Turkse moeders stress ervaren en vertrouwen hebben in hun opvoedingsvaardigheden (*Hoofdstuk 2*).

(2) Hoe sensitief zijn Turkse moeders in vergelijking met Nederlandse moeders, en disciplineren ze hun kinderen op een soortgelijke manier? Is de onderlinge samenhang tussen deze opvoedingsgedragingen in beide groepen vergelijkbaar? In de Turkse groep hebben we bovendien onderzocht of het acculturatieniveau van de moeders samenhangt met de mate waarin zij sensitief opvoeden en gebruik maken van autoritatieve (positieve) en autoritaire (negatieve) strategieën voor disciplineren. Daarnaast hebben we bekeken of Turkse moeders hun zonen en dochters verschillend opvoeden (*Hoofdstuk 3*).

(3) Voorspellen sensitiviteit en disciplineringsstrategieën van Turkse moeders fysieke agressie van peuters? Hierbij is ook onderzocht of de mate waarin opvoeding en agressie van peuters samenhangt verschillend is voor kinderen met een makkelijk of een moeilijk temperament (*Hoofdstuk 4*).

## **Opzet van de studie**

Verschillende gemeenten in het westen en het midden van Nederland hebben adressen verstrekt van Turkse gezinnen met 2-jarige peuters van wie de moeders in Nederland zijn geboren en ten minste één ouder hebben die in Turkije is geboren. Deze gezinnen ontvingen een brief en een folder in zowel de Turkse als de Nederlandse taal met uitleg over het onderzoek en de mededeling dat de onderzoeker binnenkort zou langskomen om te vragen of moeders wilden deelnemen aan het onderzoek. Er zijn in totaal 384 gezinnen bereikt, waarvan 230 gezinnen aan dit onderzoek hebben deelgenomen door vragenlijsten in te vullen (60%). Van deze gezinnen hebben 155 moeders en hun peuters meegedaan aan de huisbezoeken. Achteraf werden acht gezinnen uitgesloten van de analyses, bijvoorbeeld vanwege medische problemen van het kind. Tijdens het huisbezoek deden moeder en kind verschillende spelletjes en taakjes die op video werden opgenomen, zodat later de sensitiviteit en disciplineringsstrategieën van de moeders gecodeerd konden worden. Het coderen werd gedaan door onafhankelijke codeurs die zowel de Turkse als de Nederlandse taal beheersten. Om de *ontwikkeling* van moeder- en kindgedrag te bestuderen, vond bij de gezinnen een jaar later wederom een huisbezoek plaats. Aan dit vervolg heeft 91% van de gezinnen deelgenomen.

Deze studie is een uitbreiding van de SCRIPT studie (*Screening and Intervention of Problem behavior in Toddlerhood; Van IJzendoorn & Juffer, 2000*) die is uitgevoerd onder Nederlandse gezinnen met peuters. In de huidige studie zijn dezelfde vragenlijsten afgenomen en observaties verricht als in de SCRIPT studie. Onze vragenlijstgegevens hebben we vergeleken met een groep Nederlandse gezinnen die vergelijkbaar waren wat betreft het opleidingsniveau van de moeder, sekse van het kind, en de aanwezigheid van broertjes en zusjes in het gezin (zie hoofdstuk 2). In de SCRIPT studie werden de kinderen met de 25% hoogste scores op de schaal Externaliserende Problemen van de Child Behavior Checklist (1½ -5) geselecteerd voor observatieonderzoek. Om de Turkse groep te vergelijken met de Nederlandse groep hebben we een selectie gemaakt van Turkse peuters die volgens hun moeders eveneens veel externaliserend gedrag lieten zien. Ook konden we op deze manier kinderen selecteren van wie de moeders waarschijnlijk meer negatieve opvoedingsstrategieën gebruikten. Deze selectie heeft geleid tot een steekproef van 70 gezinnen (zie hoofdstuk 3). Vervolgens hebben we in de Turkse groep onderzocht of de mate waarin opvoeding en fysieke agressie bij peuters samenhangt verschillend is voor kinderen met een moeilijk en kinderen met een relatief gemakkelijk temperament (zie hoofdstuk 4).

Omdat sociaaldemografische factoren zoals leeftijd en opleidingsniveau van de moeders en aantal kinderen in een gezin verschillend kunnen zijn voor Turkse en Nederlandse gezinnen en

van invloed kunnen zijn op het opvoedingsgedrag van moeders, hebben we bij de analyses steeds rekening gehouden met deze factoren.

## **Voorspellers van externaliserend gedrag bij Turkse peuters**

Onderzoek naar gedragsproblemen bij schoolgaande kinderen in Turkse migrantengezinnen heeft aangetoond dat Turkse ouders meer gedragsproblemen bij hun eigen kinderen rapporteren dan Nederlandse ouders (zie bijvoorbeeld Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, van der Ende, & Erol, 1997). Of dit ook geldt voor peuters was nog onduidelijk, omdat onderzoek naar deze groep in Nederland nog niet eerder was gedaan. Omdat moeders in migrantengezinnen in twee culturen leven kan het zijn dat ze in hun leven moeilijkheden ervaren met het vinden van een balans tussen de cultuur van herkomst en die van de omgeving (Pels, Distelbrink, & Postma, 2009). Hierdoor zouden ze meer spanningen kunnen ervaren die kunnen leiden tot onzekerheden over hun opvoedingsvaardigheden. Daarnaast kiezen tweede-generatie Turkse migranten vaak voor een huwelijkspartner die niet in Nederland is geboren maar voor het huwelijk naar Nederland is gekomen (Distelbrink & Hooghiemstra, 2005). Dit kan leiden tot verschillen in acculturatieniveaus tussen de ouders. Vanwege deze verschillen kan het zijn dat Turkse moeders meer problemen in de partnerrelatie ervaren dan Nederlandse moeders.

Onderzoek onder Westerse bevolkingsgroepen heeft aangetoond dat kinderen meer externaliserend gedrag laten zien als ze moeders hebben die meer spanningen ervaren, problemen in de partnerrelatie ondervinden en weinig vertrouwen hebben in hun opvoedingsvaardigheden (zie bijvoorbeeld Van Zeijl et al., 2006). De vraag is of deze verbanden ook gelden voor (Turkse) migrantengezinnen. Volgens de *no-group difference* hypothese kunnen etnische groepen verschillen in bijvoorbeeld opvoedingsgedrag, terwijl de invloed hiervan op de ontwikkeling van kinderen hetzelfde is. Daarentegen gaat de *group differences* hypothese er van uit dat in diverse etnische groepen de invloed van het gedrag van ouders op de ontwikkeling van het kind zal verschillen. Omdat er nog geen onderzoek was gedaan naar de relatie tussen opvoedingskenmerken en het externaliserend gedrag van peuters in Turkse migrantengezinnen, wisten we nog niet of deze relatie hetzelfde zou zijn als bij autochtone gezinnen (*no-group difference* hypothese) of dat de effecten van deze opvoedingskenmerken binnen de Turkse groep tot verschillende uitkomsten zouden leiden (*group differences* hypothese). Wel hebben verschillende studies onder Turkse migrantengezinnen vaker steun gevonden voor de *no-group difference* hypothese (zie bijvoorbeeld Wissink, Deković, & Meijer, 2006). Daarnaast is het

mogelijk dat in Turkse migrantengezinnen het acculturatieniveau van moeder een rol speelt in de opvoeding van de kinderen.

In *hoofdstuk 2* is onderzocht of er verschillen zijn tussen Turkse en Nederlandse moeders in stress, huwelijksproblemen en onzekerheden over opvoedingsvaardigheden en het externaliserend gedrag van hun kinderen, en hoe deze factoren aan elkaar gerelateerd zijn. Ook hebben we onderzocht of het acculturatieniveau van Turkse moeders gerelateerd is aan deze factoren. We vonden dat Turkse moeders meer dagelijkse stress en meer problemen in de partnerrelatie hadden dan Nederlandse moeders. Wel hadden Turkse en Nederlandse moeders evenveel vertrouwen in hun opvoedingsvaardigheden en ze ervoeren hun peuters als even lastig. Zowel Turkse als Nederlandse peuters lieten meer externaliserend gedrag zien als de moeders meer stress ondervonden en als moeders zich minder bekwaam voelden in hun opvoedingsvaardigheden. Minder vertrouwen in de eigen opvoedingsvaardigheden bleek het meest van invloed te zijn op het externaliserend gedrag van zowel Turkse als Nederlandse peuters. Ten slotte is aangetoond dat naarmate Turkse moeders zich meer verbonden voelden met de Turkse cultuur zij ook minder stress ervoeren. Deze uitkomsten ondersteunen de *no-group difference* hypothese: hoewel Turkse moeders meer stress ervaren dan Nederlandse moeders, zijn de invloeden van stress en weinig vertrouwen in de opvoedingsvaardigheden op externaliserend gedrag vergelijkbaar in beide groepen. Daarnaast laten de resultaten zien dat het behoud van de eigen cultuur een voordeel is voor het welbevinden van Turkse moeders.

## **Opvoedingsgedrag van Turkse moeders in Nederland**

Tweede-generatie Turkse moeders kunnen in hun manier van opvoeden beïnvloed worden door hun cultuur van herkomst, die wat meer collectivistisch van aard is, en door de Nederlandse cultuur, die wat meer individualistisch van aard is. In collectivistische culturen worden eigenschappen als conformisme, gehoorzaamheid en afhankelijkheid meer gewaardeerd dan in individualistische culturen en worden kinderen vaker op een autoritaire manier gedisciplineerd (zie bijvoorbeeld Ispa et al., 2004; Rubin, 1998). In de Turkse cultuur worden bijvoorbeeld kinderen die “*uslu*” zijn, wat gehoorzaam, rustig en niet al te luidruchtig betekent, erg gewaardeerd (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). Onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat ook in eerste- en tweede-generatie Turkse migrantengezinnen gehoorzaamheid en prestatiegerichtheid van kinderen meer worden gewaardeerd dan in autochtone Nederlandse gezinnen. Daarnaast is aangetoond dat Turkse adolescenten in Nederland hun opvoeding vaak als strenger en meer conformistisch typeren dan hun Nederlandse leeftijdgenoten (zie voor een overzicht Mesman & Yaman, in druk).



Echter, diverse studies hebben aangetoond dat in collectivistische culturen autoritaire controle van ouders niet altijd gepaard gaat met minder warmte en een minder sensitieve houding, een combinatie die in Westerse individualistische culturen juist wel vaak wordt gevonden (zie bijvoorbeeld Rudy & Grusec, 2001, 2006).

Er zijn slechts weinig studies die de opvoedingssituatie in Turkse migrantengezinnen hebben onderzocht en de resultaten van de studies die dat wel deden zijn veelal gebaseerd op semi-gestructureerde interviews die kwalitatief en anekdotisch van aard zijn, terwijl zelden objectieve gestandaardiseerde observaties zijn gebruikt (Mesman & Yaman, in druk). Uit een studie die dat wel deed bleek dat Turkse moeders minder ondersteunend waren ten opzichte van hun jonge kinderen tijdens taaksituaties dan Nederlandse moeders (Leseman & Van den Boom, 1999). Deze studie was echter niet gericht op de relatie met externaliserende gedragsproblemen van peuters.

In *hoofdstuk 3* is onderzocht of Turkse moeders minder sensitief zijn dan Nederlandse moeders en of zij in vergelijking met Nederlandse moeders vaker autoritaire en minder vaak autoritatieve disciplineringsstrategieën gebruiken. Vervolgens hebben we bekeken of de onderlinge samenhang tussen deze opvoedingsgedragingen vergelijkbaar is in Turkse migrantengezinnen en Nederlandse gezinnen. Daarnaast is onderzocht of Turkse moeders hun zonen en dochters verschillend opvoeden en of het acculturatieniveau van Turkse moeders gerelateerd is aan hun opvoedingsgedrag. De resultaten lieten zien dat tijdens taakjes Turkse moeders minder sensitief waren dan Nederlandse moeders. Ze gaven minder complimenten, pakte vaker onderdelen van het taakje af en gaven minder duidelijke instructies. Ook gebruikten Turkse moeders tijdens een opruimtaakje minder vaak autoritatieve disciplineringsstrategieën zoals het geven van uitleg en complimenten. Wat betreft autoritaire disciplining waren er geen verschillen tussen Turkse en Nederlandse moeders; in beide groepen werd evenveel gebruik gemaakt van bijvoorbeeld commanderen en afpakken. Ten aanzien van de onderlinge samenhang tussen deze opvoedingsgedragingen bleek dat in beide groepen sensitiviteit (bestaande uit steunende aanwezigheid, helderheid van instructies en het bieden van ruimte) en autoritatieve disciplining bij elkaar hoorden (dat is: vaak samen voorkwamen), terwijl autoritaire disciplining een andere dimensie leek te weerspiegelen. Ook met betrekking tot opvoedingsgedrag hebben we dus steun gevonden voor de *no-group difference* hypothese: Turkse moeders waren minder sensitief en gebruikten minder vaak autoritatieve disciplineringsstrategieën, maar de onderlinge samenhang tussen deze opvoedingsgedragingen was vergelijkbaar in beide groepen. Daarnaast vonden we dat Turkse moeders hun zonen en dochters in termen van sensitiviteit en disciplining niet verschillend opvoeden. Wat betreft het

acculturatieniveau van Turkse moeders maakten moeders minder vaak gebruik van autoritatieve disciplineringsstrategieën als ze zich meer verbonden voelden met de Turkse cultuur, maar ook sensitiever waren in de omgang met hun peuter als ze vaker de Turkse taal spraken met bijvoorbeeld hun partner en familieleden.

## **Opvoeding, temperament en de ontwikkeling van fysieke agressie in Turkse migrantengezinnen**

Onderzoek in verschillende etnische groepen heeft laten zien dat ouderlijke sensitiviteit en warmte positieve effecten hebben op de ontwikkeling van kinderen (zie bijvoorbeeld Tamis-LeMonda, Briggs, McClowry, & Snow, 2009). Maar onderzoek naar de invloed van (autoritaire) disciplinerende op de sociaal-emotionele ontwikkeling van kinderen heeft inconsistente resultaten opgeleverd. Disciplinerende blijkt bijvoorbeeld niet in alle populaties op dezelfde manier samen te hangen met de ontwikkeling en het gedrag van kinderen. Zo bleek dat hardhandig disciplineren alleen in Europees-Amerikaanse gezinnen een negatieve invloed had op emotionele en gedragsproblemen van kinderen en niet in Afrikaans-Amerikaanse gezinnen (Deater-Deckard, Bates, Dodge, & Pettit, 1996). Er zijn echter ook studies die in verschillende etnische groepen en (Turkse) migrantengroepen vergelijkbare resultaten laten zien als in Westerse gezinnen, namelijk dat een hardhandige en strenge disciplinerende een negatieve invloed heeft op de sociaal-emotionele ontwikkeling van kinderen (Iruka, 2009; McLoyd & Smith, 2002; Wissink, Deković, & Meijer, 2006).

Naast de invloed van opvoeding op de ontwikkeling van kinderen, is het ook belangrijk om de invloed van het temperament van het kind te onderzoeken. Kinderen met een moeilijk temperament hebben bijvoorbeeld meer moeite met het reguleren van hun emoties en het beheersen van hun agressie dan kinderen met een relatief gemakkelijk temperament (zie voor een overzicht Frick & Morris, 2004). Volgens de dual-risk hypothese lopen deze kinderen een groter risico om gedragsproblemen te laten zien als ze een insensitieve opvoeding ervaren dan kinderen met een relatief gemakkelijk temperament. De differential susceptibility hypothese gaat er van uit dat sommige kinderen vanwege hun moeilijke temperament ontvankelijker zijn voor de omgeving dan kinderen met een relatief gemakkelijk temperament. Belsky (1997, 2005) benadrukt dat deze kinderen niet alleen ontvankelijker zijn voor een negatieve omgeving, maar ook voor een positieve omgeving. Om onderscheid te maken tussen deze twee hypothesen is het van belang om zowel negatieve als positieve opvoedingsgedragingen apart te onderzoeken.

In *hoofdstuk 4* is onderzocht of Turkse peuters meer fysieke agressie laten zien als moeders minder positief zijn in hun opvoedingsgedrag (sensitiviteit en autoritair disciplineren) en meer autoritaire disciplineringsstrategieën hanteren. Vervolgens hebben we de *dual-risk* hypothese en de *differential susceptibility* hypothese getoetst. Weinig positief opvoeden en autoritair disciplineren hadden beiden geen significant effect op de fysieke agressie van peuters in de hele groep. Wel vonden we bewijs voor de *dual-risk* hypothese: kinderen met een moeilijk temperament lieten op 3-jarige leeftijd meer fysieke agressie zien als zij ook weinig positief werden opgevoed. Omdat dit modererende effect van temperament ook is gevonden in een eerdere studie onder Nederlandse peuters (Van Zeijl et al., 2007), ondersteunen onze resultaten opnieuw de *no-group difference* hypothese. We hebben geen steun gevonden voor de *differential susceptibility* hypothese: kinderen met een moeilijk temperament lieten in de context van een positieve opvoeding niet minder fysieke agressie zien. Vervolgens hebben we deze twee hypothesen getoetst met betrekking tot autoritaire disciplining van moeder. We vonden voor geen van beide hypothesen steun.

## **Beperkingen van het onderzoek**

Deze studie heeft een aantal beperkingen. De eerste beperking is dat we met 60% een matige respons hadden. Omdat we geen gegevens hebben van gezinnen die niet aan het onderzoek hebben deelgenomen, weten wij niet of onze bevindingen te generaliseren zijn naar de gehele tweede-generatie Turkse gezinnen in Nederland. Een tweede beperking is het gebruik van vragenlijsten om externaliserend gedrag van kinderen te meten in plaats van dit gedrag te observeren. Toekomstig onderzoek zou ook observaties van kindgedrag moeten verrichten. Een derde beperking is dat we alleen moeders in dit onderzoek hebben betrokken. Om meer inzicht te krijgen in externaliserende gedragsproblemen van Turkse peuters is het ook van belang om de invloed van het opvoedingsgedrag en de mate van het acculturatieniveau van (veelal eerste-generatie) Turkse vaders op deze problemen te onderzoeken. Tot slot hebben we het opvoedingsgedrag van Turkse en Nederlandse moeders in twee verschillende situaties geobserveerd (thuis versus op de universiteit). Omdat Turkse moeders liever niet naar de universiteit komen, is het voor de vergelijkbaarheid belangrijk om in toekomstig onderzoek Nederlandse moeders ook thuis te observeren.

## **Conclusie en aanbevelingen voor toekomstig onderzoek**

De bevindingen van dit onderzoek wijzen er op dat tweede-generatie Turkse moeders meer stress ervaren, minder sensitief zijn en minder vaak autoritatieve disciplineringsstrategieën toepassen dan Nederlandse moeders, maar dat de uitwerking van deze kenmerken op de ontwikkeling van externaliserend gedrag bij peuters vergelijkbaar is in beide groepen. Bovendien blijkt in de Turkse groep het temperament van het kind in de ontwikkeling van externaliserend gedrag van belang te zijn. Kinderen met een moeilijk temperament blijken meer vatbaar te zijn voor een ongunstige opvoedingsomgeving dan kinderen met een relatief gemakkelijk temperament. Dit komt overeen met de resultaten van de SCRIPT studie onder Nederlandse peuters (Van Zeijl et al., 2007). Naar aanleiding van onze uitkomsten kunnen we concluderen dat het bevorderen van ouderlijke sensitiviteit en het aanleren van autoritatieve disciplineringsstrategieën ter voorkoming van externaliserende gedragsproblemen in Turkse migrantengezinnen net zo relevant is als in Nederlandse gezinnen. In Turkse migrantengezinnen zou bovendien ook aandacht moeten zijn voor het belang van het behoud van de cultuur van herkomst, omdat dit van invloed is op het verminderen van stress en het verhogen van sensitief gedrag van moeders. De resultaten van dit proefschrift hebben geleid tot de ontwikkeling van een cultuur-sensitieve versie van de “*Video-feedback Intervention to promote Positive Parenting and Sensitive Discipline (VIPP-SD)*”, specifiek gericht op tweede generatie Turkse migrantengezinnen (VIPP-TM). De effectiviteit van deze interventie wordt in de komende jaren getoetst in een gerandomiseerde studie met controlegroep waarbij wordt gekeken of de interventie effectief is in het bevorderen van ouderlijke sensitiviteit en autoritatieve disciplinering en het verminderen van gedragsproblemen bij kinderen in Turkse migrantengezinnen.

## Appendix B

### Dankwoord (Acknowledgements)

## **Alle begin heeft een einde, zo ook mijn promotietraject**

Nu mijn promotietraject zijn einde nadert, wil ik alle mensen die hebben bijgedragen aan het tot stand komen van mijn proefschrift graag bedanken. Allereerst ben ik erg dankbaar dat ik door het Mozaïekprogramma van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek de kans heb gekregen om mijn onderzoeksidee uit te werken tot een promotieonderzoek.

Vervolgens wil ik alle Turkse moeders, vaders en hun kinderen die hebben meegewerkt aan dit onderzoek heel erg bedanken. Zonder jullie was dit onderzoek niet mogelijk geweest. Bedankt voor jullie deelname en gastvrijheid!

Bij de werving van de gezinnen heb ik hulp gehad van een aantal (ex-)collega's. Romi en Katharina wil ik bedanken voor hun bijdrage aan de werving van de gezinnen. In het bijzonder wil ik Anne noemen; dank je wel voor je grote inzet en al je hulp!

Tijdens mijn promotietraject heb ik het erg fijn gehad met mijn (ex-)collega's. In het begin met Ina, Mariska, Marianne, Jolanda en Linda. We hadden en hebben het samen nog steeds erg leuk met onze etentjes en uitjes! Joke, Reineke, Gea en Esther, ik heb jullie ondersteuning erg gewaardeerd! Anja, bedankt voor de koffie en de gesprekken die we daarbij hadden! Mijn medepromovendi bedank ik voor de gezellige etentjes en de leuke gesprekken. We hebben heel veel gedeeld samen. In het bijzonder wil ik Eveline en Sengül bedanken voor hun steun en adviezen. Ik vond het erg fijn om jullie als collega's te hebben! Linda, ik denk dat ik jou niet genoeg kan bedanken. Je bent de meest behulpzame en gezellige kamergenoot die een promovenda kan wensen. Je stond altijd voor mij klaar en ik zal je heel erg missen!

Tot slot wil ik mijn familie graag bedanken. Abla, bedankt voor al je tips en je steun. Abi, fijn dat ik altijd op je kon rekenen. En mijn schattige neefjes, Arda en Koray, dankzij jullie kon ik alles om mij heen even vergeten! In het bijzonder wil ik mijn zus Raziye bedanken die er altijd voor mij was: Raaz, heel erg bedankt voor je begrip, je steun en je positieve instelling.

Canım annem ve babam, sizlerin sayesinde bu günlere geldim. Bana güvendiğiniz için ve her zaman yanımda olduğunuz için size çok teşekkür ederim.

Appendix C  
Curriculum Vitae

Ayşe Yaman werd geboren op 14 juni 1979 in Schiedam. In 1996 behaalde zij haar Havo diploma aan de Openbare Scholengemeenschap Schravenlant te Schiedam. In hetzelfde jaar begon ze aan de opleiding voor Sociaal-Pedagogische Hulpverlening aan de Ichthus Hogeschool te Rotterdam waar ze haar propedeuse behaalde. Vervolgens begon ze aan haar studie Psychologie aan de Universiteit Leiden waar ze in 2002 afstudeerde bij de vakgroep Ontwikkelings- en Onderwijspsychologie. Na haar afstuderen werkte ze een jaar als onderzoeksassistente op het instituut Beleid & Management Gezondheidszorg (iBMG) van het Erasmus Medisch Centrum. In augustus 2004 ontving zij van de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO) een Mozaïeksubsidie die haar in staat stelde haar promotieonderzoek bij de vakgroep Algemene en Gezinspedagogiek aan de Universiteit Leiden uit te voeren. Hierbij richtte zij zich op de invloed van opvoeding op de ontwikkeling van externaliserende gedragsproblemen bij peuters in tweede-generatie Turkse migrantengezinnen. De resultaten van haar onderzoek zijn beschreven in dit proefschrift. Sinds september 2008 is ze ook werkzaam als onderzoeker ter ondersteuning van een onderzoek waarin de effectiviteit van een opvoedingsinterventie ter preventie van gedragsproblemen bij jonge kinderen wordt getoetst bij tweede-generatie Turkse migrantengezinnen. Vanaf 1 januari 2010 gaat ze als kinderpsycholoog bij i-psy De Jutters werken.