Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' emotional functioning : in between cultures?

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General Introduction

Emotions form an important element of everyday life. Not only do emotions serve as a signal that personal concerns are at stake (Frijda, 1986), but they also have an important impact on our social life. For example, anger signals that someone is keeping you from reaching goals and expressing the anger may be used to create a social distance. In turn, the social environment influences our emotions through cultural frameworks that provide guidance on what to feel and when, and how to express our emotions (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992). Most of our knowledge concerning cultural differences in emotion stem from studies comparing distinct monocultural groups. Yet, little is known about the emotional functioning of bicultural youngsters who must contend with two, often conflicting, cultural frameworks regarding appropriate feelings and expressions in certain situations. Does bicultural adolescents' emotional functioning resemble that of their peers in the dominant culture or that of their peers in the culture of origin, or neither, leaving them emotionally in between two cultures?

The present thesis specifically focused on second-generation Moroccan-Dutch adolescents, who represent one of the largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands (CBS, 2010). Moreover, prior work demonstrates that compared with their Dutch peers, Moroccan-Dutch adolescents are more likely to experience psychological difficulties, including behavioural problems (Stevens et al., 2003; Van Zurk, 2003). It is not unthinkable that these difficulties arise from emotionally falling in between two cultures, where adaptive and expected emotional functioning in one cultural context differs from another cultural context.

The aim of this thesis was to examine to what extent Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' emotional functioning indeed reflect such an 'in between two cultures position'. Therefore, we first examined the cultural position of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' emotional functioning by comparing various aspects of their emotional functioning to those of their Moroccan peers living in Morocco and their Dutch peers living in the Netherlands. We specifically focused on aspects of emotional functioning that are influenced by culture and have proven to contribute to one's psychological wellbeing and to one's ability to navigate adaptively in social contexts: emotion awareness, emotion acknowledgement, emotion regulation, and emotion expression. Second, in order to assess the consequences of their cultural position, we examined the contribution of their emotional functioning to both internalizing and externalizing problems.

In this chapter, theories regarding emotions and the influence of culture used throughout this thesis will be introduced. This is followed by general information about Moroccan-Dutch adolescents living in the Netherlands. At the end of the chapter the specific research themes that further structure the thesis will be clarified.

Emotional functioning

After a long tradition of treating emotions as mainly biological or physiological phenomena (e.g., James, 1884), today's emotion theories acknowledge a broader concept of emotion that provides room for socio-cultural influences (Frijda, 1986; Gross & Thompson, 2007; Russell, 2009; Scherer, 2005). According to appraisal theorists, the initial cause of an emotion is an event or circumstance that is relevant, either positively or negatively, for one or more of an individual's concerns or goals (e.g., Ellsworth & Scherer, 2003). A concern refers to an important issue for an individual that could be biological (e.g., food) or more social (e.g., wellbeing of the family members). This process of cognitively evaluating the significance of the stimulus, primary appraisal, is immediate and unconscious and activates bodily systems, preparing to react towards or away from the stimulus (action readiness). Levenson (1999) talks about the core system of emotions in this respect, eliciting automatic action patterns that are essential for survival, such as escaping from danger and fighting when being attacked.

These primitive action tendencies are, however, often not accepted by the social environment. Therefore, in socially complex situations, when personal as well as social interests are at stake, the action tendency elicited by the primary appraisal is often suppressed in order to find a more socially acceptable outlet. According to Levenson (1999), a cognitive control system enables people to accomplish adaptive goals in emotionally arousing situations by revising their perception of the situation (secondary appraisal). Specifically, cognitive reappraisal processes determine which emotion is felt and if and how emotions are expressed in order to maximize one's goodness of fit with the environmental conditions, including taking one's coping abilities in the situation into account (Lazarus, 1991).

The ability to reach one's goals in an emotion-eliciting situation, while at the same time meeting socio-cultural demands of the environment, is referred to as emotional competence (Saarni, 1999). Emotional competence refers to one's ability to identify, understand, regulate, express, and use emotions in an adaptive manner (Mayer & Salovey, 1997; Petrides & Furnham, 2003). Developmental psychologists argue that emotional competence is vital in various developmental tasks, such as building and maintaining social relationships, and is related to far-reaching positive social, psychological, and academic outcomes (e.g., Denham et al., 2003; Hessler & Katz, 2010; Miller et al., 2006; Nelis et al., 2011; Trentacosta, Izard, Mostow, & Fine, 2006). The focus of the present thesis was on three aspects of adolescents' emotional functioning that are part of their emotional competence: emotion awareness, emotion regulation, and emotion communication.

As described in detail below, emotion awareness (identifying and understanding one's own and others' emotions) is a precursor for adaptive emotion regulation (the ability to modify one's emotion experiences and expressions in order to accomplish one's goals) (Saarni, 1999). In turn, both emotion awareness and emotion regulation have positive effects on how emotions are communicated in social relations (Saarni, 2011). Note that although emotion regulation and emotion communication both have to do with managing emotions, the two concepts are distinguishable. Emotion regulation refers to one's internal or covert emotion arousal, where one copes with one's (negative) emotions. The outcome of this internal emotion regulation may be shown in overt behavior, for example acting out behavior. Emotion communication, in contrast, refers to how one manages emotion-expressive behavior to influence the social relation and/or the communication partner in a particular manner. Emotion regulation and emotion communication may overlap when one's regulates emotion in a certain way to send out a message to another person or to elicit a specific reaction from that person (Saari, 2011). For example, when a child starts crying harder to get attention from the caregiver. Below we describe the various aspects of emotional competence that were examined in this thesis in detail.

Emotion awareness refers to the ability to differentiate between each of one's own emotions, to identify their antecedents, and to recognize the physiological changes that come along with them (Rieffe et al., 2007b, 2008). Emotion awareness is considered a precondition for adaptive emotion regulation (Lambie & Marcel, 2002). In order to control one's emotional impulses according socio-cultural expectations, one must interfere with the earlier described automatic emotion process by understanding and acknowledging aspects of the emotional process. Consequently, one's own emotions can be used to one's advantage. Prior work has shown that adolescents' emotion awareness contributes to a decrease in psychological difficulties, including internalizing problems. Internalizing problems are thoughts and behaviors that are over-controlled and directed inward, causing personal distress. In various studies Rieffe and colleagues (2007b, 2008, 2010) show that emotion awareness predicts lower levels of non-productive thinking, somatic complaints, depression, and social anxiety in 10 to 15-year-olds.

One specific aspect of emotion awareness is the ability to understand and one's emotions. In this thesis we focused on adolescents' *acknowledgement* of guilt, shame, and anger, which are referred to as social emotions. Guilt is elicited by judging one's behavior in relation to the other as immoral, wanting to make amends for the wrongdoing. Shame in contrast arises after evaluating one's behavior as a violation of not living up to the expectations or standards of others (e.g., Olthof, Schouten, Kuipers, Stegge, & Jennekens-Schinkel, 2000; Tangney, Stuewig, & Mashek, 2007). Because one's negative evaluation associated with shame refers not to the specific behavior, but to the person as a whole, the action tendency activated when feeling shame is to withdraw in order to protect one's self-esteem (e.g., Tangney et al., 2007; Wallbott & Scherer, 1995). Anger is elicited by perceiving that the path to reaching one's goals is being obstructed by someone (e.g., Scherer, 1993). Consequently, anger promotes an active, confronting action tendency, trying to influence the behavior of others to terminate or restore the violation (Fischer & Roseman, 2007), an effort to pursue one's goal (Frijda, 1986).

In the course of children's development, anger, in contrast to shame and guilt, is almost immediately observed. Emotion theorists argue that shame and guilt do not emerge before the first year (Barrett, 2005; Lewis, 1993) because these emotions require a certain cognitive, self-conscious level. Later in development, from middle and late childhood, children's conceptual knowledge and the ability to explain the determinants of these emotions further develop due to significant increases in cognitive abilities (e.g., Ferguson, Stegge, & Damhuis, 1991). At the same time, adolescents' social lives and relationships change. They become preoccupied with being accepted, valued, and approved by others outside the family. Consequently, shame and guilt experiences become increasingly important in this developmental stage, since these two emotions arise out of evaluation of the self from the viewpoint of others (Tangney, et al., 2007).

Too much or too little of shame and/or guilt may lead to psychological or social difficulties. Indeed, enduring, intense feelings of both shame and guilt may contribute to internalizing difficulties (e.g., Ferguson, Stegge, Miller, & Olsen, 1999; Harper & Arias, 2004). For example, an ashamed person could blame oneself for not living up to other people's standards, whereas a guilt-ridden person is angered with oneself for the wrongful act that could not be made up for (Peterson, Swartz, & Seligman, 1981). However, higher levels of shame and lower levels of guilt have also been associated with anger toward others. Briefly stated, acting-out with anger after an ashamed situation is often a self-defensive strategy protecting one's self-esteem, whereas reacting with anger after a wrongful act is an indication for the minimization of one's own involvement (Tangney & Dearing, 2002; Tangney et al., 2007).

Too much anger, however, is also dysfunctional in terms of psychological and social functioning. Rose and Asher (1999) for example found that children who expressed their anger in an aggressive or hostile manner had fewer best friends than children who used less provoking means. Therefore, children as young as three years old show a decline in idiosyncratic, innate anger impulses and become more guided by social considerations (Alink et. al., 2006). More specifically, children learn to attend to the feelings of others and learn for example not to bluntly express their anger as this does not improve interpersonal relations and therefore doesn't help obtain goals.

The ability to manage subjective emotion experiences is referred to as *emotion regulation*. Developmental literature indicates learning to regulate anger in an appropriate manner is one of the crucial tasks in childhood. When children are young, their anger regulation is to a great extent handled externally: caregivers socialise and guide their children in how to cope with anger (Skinner & Zimmer-Gembeck, 2007). Later, children internalize appropriate anger regulation strategies. In this thesis, we explored adolescents' anger regulation styles from a functionalistic perspective, emphasizing the functional roles of certain anger regulation styles in terms of psychological functioning.

In the third chapter of this thesis we first focused on a broad pallet of emotion regulation styles, including both internal-directed styles, such as rumination and reflecting upon the situation, and external-directed styles, such as calmly confronting the aggressor. In the last two chapters we examined adolescents' anger communication styles to the wrongdoer. Prior work on children's emotion expression tends to focus on children's knowledge, justification, and suppressing of negative emotions, such as anger (e.g., Carlson & Wang, 2007). Indeed, expressing anger in an inappropriate way, for example by using aggression, is related to diverse psychological and social difficulties. However, expressing anger is not necessarily maladaptive. Instead, expressing anger could be beneficial for the social relationship, as long as the angry feeling is justified and the expression style is in line with socio-cultural expectations (Rieffe & Meerum Terwogt, 2006). Within friendships, for example, the honest expression of anger is likely to be appreciated and might strengthen the relationship (Von Salisch & Vogelgesang, 2005).

Cultural influence on emotional functioning

Emotion awareness, emotion acknowledgment, emotion regulation, and emotion communication cannot be properly understood in a sociocultural vacuum. Through culture children acquire the (emotional) knowledge and skills needed to interact smoothly within their socio-cultural environment (Harris, 1989; Super & Harkness, 1993). More specifically, culture provides an information system, including concerns, beliefs, guidelines, and norms that motivates behaviour to maintain social order among its members and prevents social chaos (Matsumoto, et al., 2008). These social functions of culture are made possible because the knowledge system is largely shared by its members and is transmitted from generation to generation (Keesing, 1981). Although one should acknowledge the heterogeneity and dynamic characteristics within and between cultures, cultural models that describe central concerns, norms, and values related to emotion help us understand and predict adaptive emotional functioning at an individual level (Matsumoto et al., 2008; Mesquita & Albert, 2007).

In this context, long-standing theoretical perspectives differentiate between individualistic-oriented and collectivistic-oriented cultures (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1995). Individualistic-oriented cultures, represented in Western countries, emphasize the development of an independent self-concept or identity (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Ideally, the self is independent from others, promoting one's concerns above those of others. In contrast, in Asia and North African countries collectivistic-oriented cultures foster the interdependent self, where the self is considered as part of the group. According to Markus and Kitayama (1991) "experiencing interdependence entails seeing oneself as part of an encompassing social relationship and recognizing that one's behavior is determined, contingent on, and to a large extent, organized by what the actor perceives to be the thoughts, feelings and actions of others in the relationship" (p. 226). In this light, ingroup concerns are highly valued and relatedness and communal relationships are encouraged (Kim, Triandis, Choi, Kagitčibasi, & Yoon, 1994; Yamaguchi, 1994). Conformity, maintaining harmony, and modesty are central values in these cultures (Triandis, 1995).

Cultural priorities appear to be related to values regarding emotions. For example, in collectivistic-oriented cultures, negative emotions that emphasize personal needs such as anger, fear, and sadness are discouraged. This is the case not only because of these emotions risk jeopardizing the highly valued group harmony, but also because they undervalue respect for authority (Kitayama & Markus, 1995). Individualistic-oriented cultures, in contrast, are more likely to tolerate these so-called "social-disengaging" emotions (Kitayama, Mesquita, & Karasawa, 2006), because of an interest in self-assertion, individual rights, and freedom. Collectivistic-oriented cultures, however, value emotions that seem more in line with primary concerns of the social community. Shame, for example, involves one's awareness of the shortcomings of the self. As such, the dependability of the self in relation to others is emphasized, reflecting modesty and a sense of respect for social hierarchy and conformity in collectivistic-oriented cultures. However, in individualistic-orientated cultures shame is considered undesirable and harmful for children's self-esteem (Ferguson et al, 1999). Thus, the desirability and appropriateness of emotions within cultural groups is subject to the (social) function of emotions in relation to the cultural model.

These cultural differences in the value that is attributed to specific emotions are reflected in the emotion socialization process. For example, in individualistic-oriented cultures, mothers discuss anger, fear, and sadness with their children more often in terms of situational causes than their counterparts in collectivistic-oriented cultures, who in contrast more often provide moral judgments about the inappropriateness of experiencing and expressing these emotions (Wang, 2001). The internalization of these socialization practices is already reflected in preschoolers' *emotion awareness*: where children in individualistic-oriented cultures show a greater understanding of emotional situations than their peers in collectivistic-oriented cultures (Wang, 2003), children in collectivistic-oriented cultures are more likely to distinguish between real and expressed emotions, and refer to social rules in their explanations for such distinctions (Joshi & MacLean, 1994).

Furthermore, as shame is a more salient emotion in collectivistic-oriented than in individualistic-oriented culture, Asian parents are more likely to create shame-inducing situations for their children than American parents, for example by discussing children's transgressions in front of strangers (Fung, 1999). Consequently, studies show that shame is both more frequently reported and *acknowledged* among Asian than Western children (e.g, Anolli & Pascucci, 2005; Bear, Uribe-Zarain, Manning, & Shiomi 2009; Fung, 1999; Rodriguez Mosquera, Manstead, & Fischer, 2002;). Anger, however, is a more prominent emotion in Western cultures. Using hypothetical conflict situations, Cole and colleagues (2002) asked Nepalese and American children how they would feel in these situations. Results showed that Tamang children, who are raised with Tibetan Buddhist philosophy emphasizing selflessness and freedom of emotional desires, appraised the conflict situations in a way that did not elicit any anger. This was in contrast to their Brahman and American peers who may feel justified feeling anger because of their high social status and focus on individual needs. Tamang children, in turn, reported shame more often in these situations, which may reflect their low social status in Nepalese society.

In addition to cultural differences to which a given emotion is understand and acknowledged in particular social situations, *emotion regulation* styles that are congruent to the cultural model tend to occur more frequently than styles that are incongruent (Mesquita & Albert, 2007). Similarly, previous studies generally indicate that collectivistic-oriented cultural groups, in line with cultural models, are more likely to regulate their emotions in a way to adjust one's feelings to the social environment than their individualistic-oriented counterparts (Flammer et al., 1995; Lam & Zane, 2004; McCarty et al., 1999; Oerter, Oerter, Agostiani, Kim, & Wibowo, 1996). Distancing oneself from a situation, for example, has been shown to be a regulation style that is used more frequently among Asian than Western populations (e.g., Bjorck, Cuthbertson, Thurman, & Lee, 2001). Regulation styles that are characterized by an attempt to change the environment to fit individual needs seem however more likely among individualistic-oriented cultural groups. Studies reveal that confrontational regulation styles, for example by sharing one's own emotions with others, are more frequent among Western than Asian groups (e.g., Kim, Sherman, Ko, & Taylor, 2006; Tweed, White, Lehman, 2004).

Most knowledge concerning cultural influences on emotion regulation has been generated by focusing on *emotion expression*. Numerous studies have indicated that in collectivistic-oriented cultures social disengaging emotions are more likely to be suppressed in order to maintain harmonious relationships than in individualistic-oriented cultures where individual needs are more highly valued (Butler, Lee, & Gross, 2007; Cole, et al., 2002; Kitayama, et al., 2000; Matsumoto, 1990; Novin, Banerjee, Dadkah, & Rieffe, 2009; Raval, Martini, & Raval, 2007; Zahn-Waxler, Cole, Mizuta, & Hiruma, 1996). Some recent studies go beyond the suppression-expression distinction, however, and attempt to map cultural differences and similarities in various types of expression styles. Specifically, comparing the anger expression of Dutch with South-Korean children, Novin and colleagues (2010) show that when anger is expressed in both cultural groups, South-Korean children are more likely to express their anger in a subtle manner, taking the peer-aggressors' feelings and social norms into consideration. Dutch children, in contrast, are more likely to confront the peer-aggressor with their anger in a direct, confrontational way.

The above-described studies provide a brief overview of how and why cultural groups differ in their emotion awareness, emotion acknowledgment, emotion regulation, and emotion expression. The influence of cultural models seems in this respect relatively straightforward when comparing two monocultural groups. Yet, much less is known about the emotional functioning of adolescents who are influenced by two distinguishable cultures: by the culture of their parents and by the culture of the dominant society. Is the emotional functioning of bicultural adolescents a replication of the emotional functioning of either monocultural group, or does their emotional functioning fall in between two cultures? In order to shed light on this issue we focused on Moroccan-Dutch adolescents by first examining their emotional functioning compared to that of their Moroccan and Dutch peers in order to determine the cultural position of their emotion patterns. Secondly, we assessed the adaptiveness of their emotional functioning that represents their cultural position, by relating it to their psychological functioning,

Cultural differences between Moroccan, Dutch, and Moroccan-Dutch youth

Contemporary cross-cultural knowledge and theories regarding emotional functioning are largely based upon observations of and comparisons between Asian and Western populations. Much less is known about emotional functioning of North-African populations, however, which also appear to greatly differ in their cultural models from Western models as well. Yet, a large proportion of the immigrant population in Western Europe consists of people with a North African origin (European Union, 2010). For example, approximately 350,000 individuals with a Moroccan background live in the Netherlands today, of whom 18% are (pre)adolescents (10-20 years). More than 90% of these adolescents are so-called second-generation immigrants: they were born in the Netherlands, but have at least one parent who was born in Morocco (CBS, 2010). Furthermore, more than half of the Moroccan-Dutch adolescents are enrolled in junior vocational education (VMBO), compared to a quarter of their Dutch peers (van Praag, 2006). The primary aim of this thesis is to shed light on the emotional functioning of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents. Moroccan-Dutch adolescents form an intriguing population for the investigation of bicultural adolescents' emotional functioning, because they not only belong to one of the largest immigrant groups living in the Netherlands (CBS, 2010), but also embody the intertwinement of both individualistic and collectivistic cultures.

In the study by Gelfand and colleagues (2004), the Dutch and the Morocco culture are described as clear examples of the two poles on the individualistic-collectivistic continuum. These cultural diversities are clearly noticeable in socialization patterns within Dutch and Morocco families (Pels & De Haan, 2007, for review). In Morocco, children are brought up by not only the parents, but also by uncles, aunts, older siblings and neighbors (Pels, 1991). This extended family is important in their daily lives. Loyalty and integrity are highly stressed within Moroccan families. Conformity and discipline, which enable the individual to act in accordance to norms of the family and the Islamic religion, are central aspects in children's childrearing (Davis & Davis, 1983; Pels, 1991). Parents teach their children about the importance of maintaining the family honor, by shaming them purposely in social situations (Davis & Davis, 1989). Traditionally, the Moroccan family is characterized by a hierarchical system, where parents and elderly are authoritarian figures. Children ought to show respect to them by not interrupting, waiting until they are spoken to, and not asking questions or asking for reasons. However, Moroccan socialization today is subject to significant changes towards a more child-centered approach of childrearing, due to increasing schooling opportunities (Pels, 1991).

In contrast to the importance of dependence and conformity in Morocco, Dutch parents highly value assertiveness of their children more highly and also the right to stand up for one's goals (Pels, 1991). Moreover, individualistic values, such as ambition, capability, freedom, and independence are rated as more desirable than collectivistic values such as tradition, honor, and family security (Fischer, Manstead, & Rodriguez Mosquera, 2002). Directness and honesty in communication are much appreciated, while at the same time individual differences are tolerated. In other words, children are taught not to be afraid to speak up for themselves, even if this may be unpleasant for another (Stephenson, 1989). According to Pels (1991), the Dutch individual is likely to be driven by the desire to be autonomous, independent of traditions and social structures. In child rearing special attention is given to children's individual development.

Bicultural Moroccan-Dutch adolescents must contend with these two cultures, experiencing a complex socialisation process where what is adaptive emotional behaviour in one culture could be entirely maladaptive in the other. These cultural variations can cause misinterpretations and misunderstandings and are especially relevant for ethnic minority groups, who may be described as living 'in between' cultures. Their parents are likely to transmit collectivistic aspects (Sam, 2000), while on the other hand the Dutch, individualistic society also socialises the child. These youths must therefore learn and adapt to potentially conflicting sets of rules in order to function well within society.

Research themes and thesis structure

Although cross-cultural literature convincingly shows that cultural groups differ in their emotional functioning due to different norms and values concerning emotions, little is known about how growing up with two cultures could influence one's emotional functioning. As mentioned earlier, it is unknown whether the emotional functioning of bicultural adolescents is similar to that of either monocultural group, whether their emotional functioning reflects a unique position in between both monocultural groups, and whether it falls in between the two monocultural groups. In other words, what is the cultural position of bicultural adolescents' emotional functioning? Additionally, the question arises to what extent the cultural position of their emotional functioning is predictive of their psychological functioning. Theoretically, it may be that differences with both cultural groups predict more psychological difficulties.

In this thesis, bicultural adolescents' cultural position of their emotional functioning and the effects on their psychological wellbeing were taken into account by examining three key aspects of adolescents' emotional competence that are influenced by cultural frameworks and that contribute to psychological functioning: emotion awareness and acknowledgment, emotion regulation, and emotion communication.

In **chapter 2** our concern was to gain knowledge about the extent to which Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' emotion awareness plays a role in their social and psychological functioning compared to their Dutch and Moroccan peers. In order to regulate emotions appropriately in a culture-specific environment, attention to one's own and others' emotions is needed. Moreover, emotional awareness contributes to fewer internalizing problems. Although the concept of emotional awareness appears to be universal, key aspects significant for adolescents' daily functioning may differ cross-culturally due to cultural differences in beliefs and values concerning emotions.

In **chapter 3** we focused on the acknowledgment of three specific emotions that are particularly important for interpersonal functioning, but of which the desirability differs cross-culturally: shame, guilt, and anger. Shame is experienced more often and more intensely in collectivistic cultures, since it is aimed at keeping one in line with group norms. Guilt in contrast is aimed at living up to personal standards regarding moral behaviour, and is experienced more often and more intensely in individualistic cultures. And anger is tolerated less often in collectivistic cultures (e.g., Anolli & Pascussi, 2005; Cole, et al., 2002). In this chapter we examined the acknowledgement of shame, guilt, and anger in terms of psychological health in individualistic-oriented Dutch and collectivistic-oriented Moroccan groups, but critically explored the bicultural position of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' shame, guilt, and anger acknowledgments. This can provide further insight into the persistence of the parental culture on emotion experiences on the one hand and the influences of the dominant culture on the other hand. Understanding and acknowledging emotions is, however, only part of the story. Regulating these emotions appropriately in a culture-specific environment is another vital aspect for bicultural adolescents. How does bicultural background affect emotion regulation? In **chapter 4**, Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' regulation styles when angered by a peer were assessed and compared with those of their Dutch and Moroccan counterparts. Here, relations with psychological functioning for each cultural group were explored to gain insight into the functionality of specific anger regulation styles. Moreover, Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' bicultural identification was taken into account to shed light on Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' use of typical Dutch and typical Moroccan anger regulation styles.

In **chapters 5** and **6** we concentrated specifically on Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' anger expression styles. In **chapter 5**, Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' internalization of Dutch and Moroccan anger communication styles with friends and unknown peers were explored by means of hypothetical vignettes. In **chapter 6**, Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' reactions in a peer-conflict were further analyzed in a real-life experimental design, addressing possible differences in adolescents' reactions to a peer with the same or a different ethnicity. Finally, **chapter 7** integrates and discusses the results concerning Moroccan-Dutch adolescents' emotion awareness, acknowledgment of social emotions, anger regulation styles, and anger expression styles.

The data for the various studies was collected in one large data-collection effort that encompassed the total body of participants. This thesis is composed of five independent papers that have been submitted to international scientific journals and are either in press or currently being reviewed. A certain degree of overlap between the chapters is therefore inevitable.