Sensitive parenting in Turkish ethnic minority families

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Chapter 4

Sensitive parenting in Turkish minority mothers: The role of ethnic and religious socialization

Abstract

The aim of this study was to examine self-reported ethnic identity, ethnic socialization, religious identity, religious socialization, and authoritarian parenting in relation to observed maternal sensitivity in Turkish minority families in the Netherlands. Seventy mothers with a child between the ages of 2 and 4 years with high scores on externalizing problems participated. Mothers and children were observed in a free play situation and a problem-solving task. These interactions were coded with the Emotional Availability Scales (Biringen, 2008). Mothers reported on their ethnic and religious identity, ethnic and religious socialization practices, and on their authoritarian parenting practices. Results showed that not religious socialization in general, but only the specific form of Islamic socialization was negatively related to observed maternal sensitivity. Islamic socialization reflects literal interpretations of religious content, which may relate to a more rigid approach to parenting that is not conducive to sensitivity. General religious socialization reflects symbolic interpretations of religious content, which apparently does not interfere with sensitive parenting. Maternal ethnic identity and ethnic socialization were not related to observed maternal sensitivity, which is consistent with findings that religion is more central to the identity of Turkish minorities in the Netherlands than ethnicity. Religious rather than ethnic socialization may therefore play a more salient role in everyday parenting, which may explain why it is more clearly linked to other aspects of parenting. Authoritarian parenting was not related to observed maternal sensitivity. The results show the importance of assessing specific aspects of ethnicity-related and religion-related variables to understand their relation with parenting quality in different developmental stages.

Keywords: maternal sensitivity, ethnic identity, ethnic socialization, religious identity, religious socialization

Introduction

Ethnic identity and ethnic socialization have been found to play an important role in family life (Hughes et al., 2006), especially in ethnic minority families for whom the need to be aware of and prepare for ethnic prejudice and discrimination is more salient (Neblett et al., 2008; Shelton et al., 2005). Parental ethnic identity and ethnic socialization have both been found to be positively associated with supportive parenting behaviors (Caldwell, Zimmerman, Bernat, Sellers, & Notaro, 2002; Hughes et al., 2006), but findings regarding the relation between religiosity and parenting quality are inconsistent. Some studies report a positive relation between religiosity and an authoritative parenting style (e.g., Gunnoe, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999), whereas others show a positive relation between religiosity and corporal punishment or an authoritarian parenting style (e.g., Mahoney, Pargament, Tarakeshwar, & Swank, 2001; Socolar, Cabinum-Foeller, & Sinal, 2008). Further, studies on religiosity and parenting have generally focused on Christians, which precludes conclusions about other world religions (Acevedo, Ellison, & Yilmaz, 2013). In addition, research to date has mostly included adolescents, even though ethnic and religious socialization already occurs in early childhood (Bartkowski, Xu, & Levin, 2008; Hughes et al., 2006). The goal of the current study is to examine parental ethnic and religious identity as well as ethnic and religious socialization in relation to observed sensitive parenting in Muslim Turkish ethnic minority mothers with toddlers in the Netherlands.

Ethnicity refers to belonging to a social group with a common national or cultural tradition (*Oxford dictionaries*, 2014). Ethnic identity can be defined as a person's sense of belonging to an ethnic group and the part of one's thinking, perceptions, feelings, and behavior that is due to group membership (Rotheram & Phinney, 1986). Parents from the Turkish culture tend to expect more obedience from their children and show more authoritarian values and parenting compared to parents from individualistic cultures, such as the Netherlands (e.g., Durgel, Leyendecker, Yagmurlu, & Harwood, 2009; Pels, Nijsten, Oosterwegel, & Vollebergh, 2006). However, it should be noted that studies have found that there is great variance within cultures, for instance, Turkey, due to different socioeconomic backgrounds (Goregenli, 1997; Sunar & Fisek, 2005) and rural-urban settlement differences (Nacak, Yagmurlu, Durgel, & Van de Vijver, 2011). Strong ethnic identity may be related to authoritarian parenting practices in case of a collectivistic background. The intergenerational transmission of ethnic identity occurs through ethnic socialization, which refers to parental transmission of information, values, and perspectives regarding ethnicity to their children, and it has been found that immigrant families emphasize children's acquisition of, for instance, their native cultural values, beliefs, and practices (Hughes et al., 2006; Quintana & Vera, 1999). Ethnic socialization has been found to be positively related to maternal warmth (Caldwell et al., 2002), positive and involved parenting (Frabutt, Walker, & MacKinnon-Lewis, 2002), and academic involvement at home and at school (McKay, Atkins, Hawkins,

Brown, & Lynn, 2003; Smalls, 2009). The positive relation between ethnic socialization and maternal warmth may reflect a common underlying parenting goal which relates to enhancing children's self-esteem (Caldwell et al., 2002). For instance, in a study on child-rearing goals 2% of the parents indicated enhancing ethnic identity as an important child-rearing goal whereas, when asked explicitly, 89% indicated ethnic socialization as an important goal (Marshall, 1995).

Parents' religion is generally intertwined with their ethnic background (Tarakeshwar, Stanton, & Pargament, 2003), and also plays a role in parenting. Religious identity can be defined as the extent to which individuals feel connected to their religion and interpret religion as part of their identity. To our knowledge, there are no studies assessing religious identity of parents in relation to their quality of parenting. Religiosity can be defined as the extent to which individuals assign importance to certain aspects of their religion in their daily lives. Some studies assessing religiosity of parents in relation to their parenting behaviors have shown positive effects of religiosity on child-rearing, such as a more authoritative parenting style (Gunnoe et al., 1999; Vermeer, 2011), supportiveness (Snider, Clements, & Vazsonyi, 2004), and a better quality of the mother-child relation (Pearce & Axinn, 1998). On the other hand, religiosity has also been found to predict corporal punishment and more authoritarian parenting styles (Socolar et al., 2008). In addition, the most religious families tend to be the most strict, most rigid, and authoritarian, and therefore less likely to be using authoritative child-rearing practices (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993). These conflicting results may be due to the rather distal operationalization of religiosity in most studies, which does not reveal more proximal religion-related family processes. The role of religion in child-rearing may represent a construct more proximal to the prediction of actual parenting styles and behaviors. Analogous to the concept of ethnic socialization, the term religious socialization then refers to parental attempts to transmit their religious beliefs, ideas, and related behavioral requirements to their children. To our knowledge there are no studies examining religious socialization in relation to parenting quality, except for one early study that examined whether parents' religious beliefs influenced the interaction with their children and whether parents tried to expose their children to their religion at home (Gunnoe et al., 1999). In this study religiosity was related positively with authoritative parenting and negatively with authoritarian parenting.

Studies on ethnic socialization and religion in relation to the quality of parent-child interactions generally focus on adolescents. However, there is ample evidence that parenting patterns in early childhood vary between ethnic groups (e.g., Bornstein et al., 2010; Keller et al., 2009), and given that ethnicity and religion are generally salient aspects of parental identity, ethnic and religious socialization are likely to be relevant well before adolescence (Hughes et al., 2006). Indeed, studies have shown that parents change their ethnic socialization strategies to fit children's developmental capabilities and experiences (Fatimilehin, 1999; Hughes & Chen, 1997). For instance, activities regarding cultural socialization such as celebrating cultural holidays may be relevant when children are quite

young, whereas racial and ethnic issues such as discrimination are discussed more when children reach adolescence (Hughes et al., 2006).

In early childhood, the quality of parent-child interactions is generally examined in terms of parental sensitive responsiveness, which refers to a parent's ability to perceive child signals, to interpret these signals correctly, and to respond to them promptly and appropriately (Ainsworth, Bell, & Stayton, 1974). Maternal sensitivity positively influences many aspects of child development, including attachment security (e.g., Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van IJzendoorn, & Juffer, 2003), self-regulation (e.g., Eisenberg et al., 2001), and cognitive competence (e.g., Bernier, Carlson, & Whipple, 2010; Tamis-Lemonda, Bornstein, & Baumwell, 2001). The salience of sensitivity as a key indicator of parenting quality in early childhood across cultural groups has been demonstrated in a recent review in which the same relations for minority families were found (Mesman, Van IJzendoorn, Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2012).

An authoritarian parenting style, characterized by the use of restrictive and parent-centered behaviors, is generally not conducive to sensitive parenting (Harwood, Schoelmerich, Schulze, & Gonzalez, 1999; Ispa et al., 2004; Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992; Rudy & Grusec, 2001), suggesting that cultural and religious factors that are related to a more authoritarian parenting style may be related to lower parental sensitivity. There is evidence that an authoritarian parenting style is more common among individuals with a collectivistic cultural background (e.g., Durgel et al., 2009; Pels et al., 2006) and those with strong religious beliefs (Ellison & Sherkat, 1993; Socolar et al., 2008). A strong ethnic identity and high levels of ethnic socialization in parents from a collectivistic background may therefore be related to higher levels of authoritarian parenting, which in turn may relate to lower levels of sensitivity. The same model may apply to parental religious identity and religious child-rearing, as these may also predict lower sensitivity as a result of a more authoritarian parenting style.

In the current study, we focus on Muslim Turkish second-generation minority mothers of young children in the Netherlands. The Turkish group represents the largest ethnic minority group in the Netherlands (CBS, 2012). The Turkish immigrants first came to the Netherlands as invited guest workers in the period 1960-1970. Their intention was to make a living and return to their countries of origin, but many stayed in the Netherlands. Second-generation Turkish mothers have lived in the Netherlands for (almost) all of their lives, and they have adopted some of the Dutch behaviors through the process of acculturation (Forum, 2012).

Turkish-Dutch minorities have a strong ethnic identification with their home country (Forum, 2012). For instance, Verkuyten and Yildiz (2007) showed that Turkish-Dutch minorities in the Netherlands had a strong ethnic in-group identification and a more neutral Dutch national identification. The Netherlands is considered to have a more individualistic culture (Hofstede, 2001), whereas Turkey is considered to have a more collectivistic culture (Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Parents from a Turkish cultural

background generally show more authoritarian values and parenting behaviors (e.g., Pels et al., 2006). In lower-educated families and families from rural areas obedience and close family ties are highly valued (Imamoglu, 1998; Sunar, 2002), compared to valuing autonomy and close family ties in higher-educated families and families from urban areas (Imamoglu, 1998). In immigration context, a study on socialization goals of Turkish immigrant and German mothers in Germany showed that German mothers valued independence, the ability to control negative impulses, and to be socially skilled, whereas Turkish mothers valued children's respectful and well-mannered behavior and close family ties more, next to autonomy (Durgel et al., 2009). In both groups, mothers with a higher educational level showed more goals related to autonomy and emotional well-being of the child. Lower educated mothers showed more goals related to close family ties and showing respectful behavior. It is estimated that 87% of the Turkish-Dutch people are Muslim (Forum, 2012) and being Muslim is an important factor of what it means to be Turkish in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). However, a report on Muslims in the Netherlands (SCP, 2004) reveals that the religiosity of Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch people is lower for the higher educated persons compared to the lower educated persons. The same report shows that practicing Muslims strongly support family solidarity, traditional gender roles and limited autonomy for children compared to non-practicing Muslims. Furthermore, the traditional family solidarity is under pressure in immigrant families, which makes religion a strengthening part of parental authority (SCP, 2004). When they migrate, Turkish families often maintain strong links to the Turkish culture, with traditional family values, limited contact with the host community, preference for Turkish marriage partners, and maintenance of the Turkish language between generations (Crul & Doomernick, 2003).

As mentioned earlier, the studies on religiosity and parenting mostly focused on Christians. In a recent study however, religious values and child-rearing values of Muslim Turkish adults in Turkey were assessed (Acevedo et al., 2013). Religious salience, was found to be positively associated with valuing obedience to authority and good manners while it was negatively associated with valuing independence, controlled for age, gender and education level of the participants.

Studies of culture and religiosity in relation to parenting quality are generally conducted with questionnaires (e.g. Pearce & Axinn, 1998), and there is a lack of studies linking ethnic identity, ethnic socialization, religious identity and religiosity to observed parenting. The goal of the current study is to examine parental ethnic and religious identity as well as ethnic and religious socialization in relation to observed sensitive parenting in Muslim Turkish ethnic minority mothers with toddlers in the Netherlands. In addition, we test the potential mediating role of an authoritarian parenting style in the relation of ethnicity-related and religion-related parent characteristics with sensitivity. Three main hypotheses were tested. First, we expected a significant positive association between mothers' ethnic identity and ethnic socialization with their observed sensitivity. Second, we expected a significant association between mothers' religious identity, religious socialization and

Islamic socialization with observed sensitivity, but we did not have a specific hypothesis about the direction of these associations due to inconsistent results in the literature. Third, we expected that an authoritarian parenting style would play a mediating role in the relation of ethnicity-related and religion-related parent characteristics with sensitivity; with a more authoritarian parenting style predicting less sensitive parenting.

Method

Sample and Procedure

The sample consisted of 70 Turkish minority mothers in the Netherlands and their 2- to 4-year-old children ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 0.53$). The mothers were recruited from municipal records in the context of a parenting intervention RCT study (Yagmur, Mesman, Malda, Bakermans-Kranenburg, & Ekmekci, 2014), based on their children's high levels of externalizing problems as measured by the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL/1½-5, Achenbach & Rescorla, 2000). The current study used data that were collected before the intervention was implemented (pretest). To ensure the homogeneity of the immigrant sample and to make sure that all mothers had at least some years of education in the Netherlands, only second-generation immigrant mothers born in the Netherlands (with at least one of their parents born in Turkey) were included. All participating mothers gave written consent and were visited at home by a trained undergraduate or graduate Turkish student. Mothers completed a questionnaire after the home visit. The home visits took approximately one and a half hours and were conducted in Dutch, unless mother indicated to prefer Turkish. Instruction cards for the video observation and the questionnaire were available in both Dutch and Turkish. Sixty-one percent of the children in the sample consisted of boys. The mothers' average age was 29.77 years ($SD = 3.35$, range = 22-38). All children lived in two-parent families with both their biological parents. The majority of the children had no siblings (41%), whereas 40% of the children had one sibling, and 19% had two or more siblings. Fifty-three percent of the children were firstborns.

Measures

Maternal sensitivity. During the home visits, maternal sensitivity was measured in a 10-minute unstructured free-play episode with toys brought by the intervener and in a 10-minute problem-solving task. During the 10-minute unstructured free-play episode, mother and child were free to play with all the toys, and mothers were instructed to play with their child the way they would normally do. In the 10-minute problem-solving task mother and child were given two tasks (each 5 minutes) in which they were asked to solve puzzles that were somewhat too difficult considering the age of the child. Different puzzles were used for two and for three year old children. Mothers were instructed to help their child the way they would normally do.

Mother-child interactions were coded using the Sensitivity scales of the 4th Edition of the Emotional Availability Scales (EA Scales; Biringen, 2008). The sensitivity scales consists of seven subscales, two with scores ranging from 1-7 and five with scores ranging from 1-3 (total potential score range for each scale 7-29). *Sensitivity* refers to appropriate responding to the child's signals combined with positive affect. During the training of a team of (under)graduate coders provided by the fourth author, who completed the online EA Scales-training and who is an experienced coder of parent-child interactions, three types of alterations were made to prevent persistent interpretation problems and to improve intercoder agreement. These alterations consisted of removing subjective criteria, adjustment of the criteria for some scores on subscales to make them more linear, and improvement of the independence of the separate dimensions by removing overlapping criteria (full description available from the authors).

The three coders were unaware of other data concerning the participants. The scores for maternal behavior during free play and problem-solving were significantly correlated (r = .55), and were therefore standardized and averaged into a composite score for sensitivity (except for one mother, for whom only the standardized score on the problem-solving task was used, due to a technical failure during the free play session). Two coders were Dutch-Turkish and one coder was Dutch. The Dutch coder was assigned to mother-child dyads who communicated in Dutch, and also coded videos of dyads speaking Turkish that had been subtitled in Dutch by bilingual colleagues. Intercoder reliability (15 cases) within the team of three coders ranged from .73 to .96, with an average of .83 (intraclass correlation, single rater, absolute agreement).

Ethnic identity. Maternal ethnic identity was measured with the Multi-Ethnic Identity Measurement ([MEIM], Phinney, 1992). The scale consisted of 12 items of the MEIM (items 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20) regarding the importance of culture in the identity of the participant (e.g., "I have a clear sense of my Turkish background and what it means for me"). Only items referring positively to the cultural background were used. Mothers were asked to indicate for each statement how much they agreed or disagreed on a scale from (1) *totally disagree* to (4) *totally agree*. An average item score was computed for the analyses. The internal consistency of the scale was high (Cronbach's α of .89).

Ethnic socialization. Maternal ethnic socialization was measured with a cultural parenting scale developed for this study. The questionnaire consisted of seven items about the extent to which parents use their ethnic background in child-rearing (e.g., "I teach my child Turkish traditions and customs"). Mothers were asked to indicate for each statement how much they agreed or disagreed on a scale from (1) *totally disagree* to (5) *totally agree*. An average item score was computed for the analyses. The internal consistency of the scale was high (Cronbach's α of .94).

Religious identity. Maternal religious identity was measured with a questionnaire (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007) consisting of 13 items regarding the importance of religion in the identity of the participant (e.g., "I am proud of my religion", "I strictly live according to

the rules of my religion"). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *totally disagree* to (5) *totally agree*. An average item score was computed for the analyses. The internal consistency of the scale was high (Cronbach's α of .95).

Religious socialization. Maternal religious socialization was measured with a questionnaire developed for this study. This questionnaire consisted of ten items about the extent to which parents use their religion in child-rearing (e.g., "I teach my child a lot about my religion", "My religion helps me to raise my child well"). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *totally disagree* to (5) *totally agree*. An average item score was computed for the analyses. The internal consistency of the scale was high (Cronbach's α of .96).

Islamic socialization. In addition to religious socialization Islamic socialization was measured to be able to compare general religious values with goals related to the specific religion. Maternal Islamic socialization was measured with a questionnaire also developed for this study. This questionnaire consisted of seven items specific about to which extent mothers want their children to live according to specific rules of the Islam in the future (e.g., "I hope my child will live according to the rules of the Quran in the future", "I find it important that my child learns prayers from the Quran in the future"). The items were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *totally disagree* to (5) *totally agree*. An average item score was computed for the analyses. The internal consistency of the scale was high (Cronbach's α of .91).

Authoritarian parenting. The Child-Rearing Practices Report ([CRPR], Block, 1986) was used to assess the authoritarian parenting style of mothers. The authoritarian parenting scale consisted of 11 items (e.g., "I teach my child to always control his/her behaviors") and was rated by mothers on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from (1) *totally disagree* to (5) *totally agree*. The internal consistency (Cronbach's α = .64) was acceptable, and the average of the 11 item scores was used in the analyses.

Educational level. Maternal educational level was measured on a 5-point scale: *primary school* (1), *vocational school* (2), *secondary school/middle vocational education* (3), *high vocational education* (4) and *university or higher* (5).

Results

Descriptive statistics of the main variables are presented in Table 1. All variables were inspected for possible outliers that were defined as values larger than 3.29 *SD* above or below the mean. Three outliers were identified, one on ethnic identity and two on ethnic socialization, and then winsorized (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). On average, mothers had moderately high scores on ethnic identity as evidenced by item mean scores of around 3, which refers to "agree" with the statements. Religious identity was scored on a different scale, but also showed a medium-high item average, reflecting scores just below "mostly agree"

regarding the statements about the importance that mothers attach to religion. Mothers generally scored high on ethnic, religious, and Islamic socialization, with item mean scores reflecting "mostly agree" with statements about the importance of transmitting values and knowledge related to their ethnicity and religion to their children. The mean scores on authoritarian parenting reflected the mid-point of the scale "do not agree, do not disagree", thus, mothers evaluated themselves as being moderately authoritarian in their parenting.

Table 1. *Descriptive Statistics of Main Variables*

	Maximum range	*Observed range*	*M*	(*SD*)
Educational level	1.00 - 5.00	1.00 - 5.00	3.01	(0.88)
Culture				
Ethnic identity	1.00 - 4.00	1.67 - 4.00	3.01	(0.52)
Ethnic socialization	1.00 - 5.00	1.50 - 5.00	4.14	(0.83)
Religiosity				
Religious identity	1.00 - 5.00	1.31 - 5.00	3.73	(0.87)
Religious socialization	1.00 - 5.00	2.00 - 5.00	3.97	(0.84)
Islamic socialization	1.00 - 5.00	1.71 - 5.00	4.02	(0.86)
Authoritarian parenting style	1.00 - 5.00	2.55 - 4.50	3.40	(0.51)
Observed sensitivity [a]	-	-2.43 - 1.75	0.00	(0.88)

N = 70

[a] The maximum range for Observed sensitivity is empty, because standardized scores were used for this variable.

Table 2 presents the bivariate correlations between the main variables. Looking at the correlations among the predictor variables (education and the religious and ethnic constructs), we found that maternal educational level was not related to maternal sensitivity or authoritarian parenting style. Mothers reporting higher religious and Islamic socialization were lower educated, and reported stronger religious identification. Mothers with a strong ethnic identity showed more ethnic socialization, religious identification and religious socialization. In addition, religious and Islamic socialization were positively correlated. Confidence intervals were calculated for the correlations between religious identification and religious socialization, religious identification and Islamic socialization, and religious socialization and Islamic socialization, respectively, 95% CI [.69, .96], 95% CI [.59, .91], and 95% CI [.57, .90].

Ethnic identity and ethnic socialization were not related to observed sensitivity. Regarding religiosity-related variables, mothers' religious identity and religious socialization were not significantly associated with observed sensitivity. Islamic socialization was negatively related to observed sensitivity, in that mothers who reported more Islamic socialization showed lower levels of sensitivity towards their children. This relation remained significant when controlling for the educational level of mothers, with partial $r = -.30$, $p < .05$. Higher scores on ethnic socialization and religious socialization were related to higher levels of authoritarian parenting. However, authoritarian parenting was not significantly related to observed maternal sensitivity, and authoritarian parenting

thus did not mediate the association between Islamic parenting and sensitivity. When ethnic and religious identification, ethnic and religious socialization, and Islamic socialization were entered together in a regression analyses, these variables explained 13.1% of the variance in observed sensitivity and 13.3% of the variance in self-reported authoritarian parenting.

Table 2. *Correlations between Main Variables (N = 70)*

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Educational level	-							
2. Ethnic identity	-.13	-						
3. Ethnic socialization	-.22	.53**	-					
4. Religious identity	-.22	.26*	.12	-				
5. Religious socialization	-.28*	.28*	.16	.82**	-			
6. Islamic socialization	-.25*	.19	.04	.75**	.73**	-		
7. Authoritarian style	-.20	.22	.28*	.23	.26*	.23	-	
8. Observed sensitivity	.09	-.02	.13	-.18	-.14	-.31**	-.19	-

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

Discussion

Turkish minority mothers who reported higher levels of Islamic socialization showed lower levels of sensitivity towards their toddlers. This association remained significant when controlling for maternal education and was not mediated by authoritarian parenting style. Furthermore, maternal ethnic identity and ethnic socialization, were not related to observed maternal sensitivity. Religious identity and religious socialization of mothers were also not related to observed maternal sensitivity.

Although we found a relation between Islamic socialization and sensitivity, religious identity and religious socialization were not related to maternal sensitivity. These results could be due to the different aspects of religiosity included in this study. A distinction between two orthogonal dimensions of religious attitudes can be made, exclusion versus inclusion of transcendence and literal versus symbolic (Wulff, 1991). The first dimension, exclusion versus inclusion of transcendence, refers to whether a person is religious or not. The second dimension, literal versus symbolic, indicates whether religious contents are approached in a literal and rigid or in a symbolic and more interpretative way. Using those dimensions, four religious attitudes are defined: literal inclusion, literal exclusion, symbolic exclusion, and symbolic inclusion. Because all our participants were Muslims, only the literal inclusion and symbolic inclusion are relevant. Literal inclusion is a religious position in which a person believes in a transcendent reality and interprets religious contents in a literal way. Symbolic inclusion is a religious position in which a person searches for a deeper, symbolic meaning instead of adopting religious contents as they are.

From this point of view, Islamic socialization was operationalized as representing literal inclusion in the current study, because the scale reflects the extent to which parents want their children to obey to the specific behavioral rules of the Islam (e.g., "I hope my child will live according to the rules of the Quran in the future", "I find it important that my child learns prayers from the Quran in the future"). Conversely, the religious identity and religious socialization scales represent symbolic inclusion, because they reflect the extent to which mothers feel connected to their religion and see their religion as part of their identity, and the general role of their religion in their child-rearing practices (e.g., "I am proud of my religion", "My religion helps me to raise my child well"). Consistent with the symbolic inclusion dimension, these descriptors leave room for an interpretative stance toward religiosity, whereas strict adherence to behavioral rules related to religion can be seen as more rigid, consistent with the literal inclusion perspective. Rigidity is defined as a lack of adaptability and the absence of carefully considering the situation to identify the most appropriate response (Butcher et al., 2004), whereas the hallmark of sensitive parenting is a parent's ability to adapt their responses to the needs of the child. It is then not surprising that parents who adopt a literal inclusion approach to religious socialization, as captured by the Islamic socialization scale, show lower levels of sensitivity when interacting with their children. This is consistent with previous findings that religiosity reflecting the exclusion-inclusion of transcendence dimension is not related to parenting styles, whereas high scores on the literal-symbolic dimension (reflecting symbolic religiosity) are related to a more authoritative autonomy-supporting parenting style and lower psychological control (Duriez & Soenens, 2004), which both fit the idea of sensitive parenting.

In contrast to findings from earlier studies (Caldwell et al., 2002; Hughes et al., 2006), ethnic identity and ethnic socialization were not related to sensitive parenting in early childhood in the current study. However, the on average high scores on the ethnic socialization scale that we found in our sample show the importance of ethnic socialization for mothers with young children. Studies on ethnic identity in relation to parenting are generally conducted in adolescent groups with questionnaires on parenting behavior, whereas in the current study an observational measure of parenting was used in a sample with toddlers, which may explain why we did not replicate previous findings. It may also be that religious aspects of socialization are simply more salient in early childhood than ethnic aspects of socialization in Turkish minority families. There is indeed some evidence that religion is more central than ethnicity to the identity of Turkish minorities in the Netherlands (SCP, 2012), which could mean that for parents religious socialization is more salient compared to ethnic socialization. Therefore religious socialization could play a substantial role in parenting and thus translate to a stronger association with other aspects of parenting.

A higher educational level was related to lower religious and Islamic socialization in the current study. We do not know of any previous studies that have reported on the relation between educational level and religious parenting, but our results are consistent with findings that educational level is negatively related to general religiosity (e.g., SCP, 2004). In our

study ethnic identity and ethnic socialization were not significantly related to educational level, which is consistent with findings from other studies (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; Phinney & Chavira, 1995), but in contrast with findings showing that ethnic identity and ethnic socialization are more salient in parents with a higher educational level (Hughes et al., 2006; Vermeer, 2011).

Muslim societies have been found to score high on collectivism and authoritarianism in some studies (Al-Mahroos, 2007; Dwairy, 2004; Rudy & Grusec, 2006). In the current study ethnic socialization and religious socialization were positively related to authoritarian parenting style. Authoritarian child-rearing values in Turkish families have been found to match with a traditional family system (SCP, 2004), and higher levels of authoritarian parenting have been found to often characterize parents from collectivistic cultures (Harwood et al., 1999; Rudy & Grusec, 2001). A study comparing authoritarian parenting in individualistic (Western European) and collectivistic (Egyptian, Iranian, Indian and Pakistani) cultures showed that maternal authoritarianism was related to maternal negative emotion and cognition towards their children in the individualist group but not in the collectivist group (Rudy & Grusec, 2006). However, contrary to our third hypothesis, authoritarian parenting was not significantly related to observed sensitivity, and thus not a mediator in the relation between ethnic or religious socialization and sensitivity. However, as expected the correlation between authoritarian parenting and sensitivity was negative ($r =$ -.19), and would reach significance with increased statistical power in a somewhat larger sample.

Ethnic identity and religious identity were positively related in the current study. This was also the case in earlier studies (SCP, 2004; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). For both ethnic and religious variables, maternal identification was positively related to their socialization efforts in the same areas. However, ethnic and religious socialization were not interrelated. Identity can be seen as a relatively abstract construct, which could possibly explain the significant relations with and among the various identity measures. The absence of a relation between ethnic socialization and religious socialization could be due to the more concrete nature of these constructs, representing more distinct behaviors in daily life.

Some limitations of this study should be noted. First, the small sample size and the fact that the mothers in our sample were more highly educated than the general population of Turkish minority adults in the Netherlands (SCP, 2011) may limit the sample's representativeness of the population, and has limited its statistical power. In addition, in the current study only mothers were included whereas the relation between fathers' views on culture and religion could also be related to fathers' parenting behaviors. For instance, it has been shown that religious fathers are more involved in parenting (King, 2003), indicating that the inclusion of fathers in future studies on this topic is worthwhile. The mothers in this study had children with high externalizing problems and were mothers who accepted to participate in an intervention study. Including only mothers with children scoring high on externalizing problems could have resulted in higher scores on authoritarian parenting and lower scores on

sensitive parenting. It should be noted that even in this sample of children with externalizing problems the Turkish mothers scored high on sensitive parenting. Finally, our study did not systematically assess literal and symbolic inclusion for both general religious socialization and Islamic socialization. It would be important to disentangle the differential relations of these dimensions with parenting quality. In future studies, data collection in the country of origin of minorities should be added to disentangle influences of minority status, ethnicity-related and culture-related parent characteristics on parenting.

To our knowledge there are no studies assessing ethnicity-related and religion-related parent characteristics in relation to the observed quality of parenting in early childhood. Our findings show that both ethnic and (Islamic) religious socialization are important to second-generation Turkish minority mothers with a preschool-aged child living in the Netherlands. Further, higher levels of Islamic socialization in the form of teaching religious rules are related to lower levels of observed maternal sensitivity. Our results emphasize the importance of distinguishing between literal versus symbolic manifestations of religious socialization to understand their relation with parenting quality. More generally, this study shows that religious socialization deserves more research attention in various ethnic and religious groups and across different developmental periods.