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Arends-Tóth, J.V.; van de Vijver, F.J.R.

Published in:
Applied Psychology-An International Review

Publication date:
2008

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication in Tilburg University Research Portal](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Arends-Tóth, J. V., & 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(3), 466-487.

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Family Relationships among Immigrants and Majority Members in the Netherlands: The Role of Acculturation

Judit Arends-Tóth

Statistics Netherlands, The Netherlands

Fons J.R. Van de Vijver*

*Tilburg University, The Netherlands, and North-West University,
South Africa*

This study examined the nature and size of differences in family relationships in five cultural groups in the Netherlands (Dutch mainstreamers, and Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean immigrants). In order to get a better insight into the differences in family relationships, a distinction was made between family values and family ties. Family values refer to obligations and beliefs about family relationships whereas family ties involve more behavior-related relational aspects. Results confirmed that the cultural differences in mean scores between immigrants and majority members were larger for family values than for family ties. Individual background variables had a much stronger association with family values than with family ties. In addition, first-generation immigrants had more traditional family values and reported stronger family ties than did Dutch mainstreamers. Second-generation immigrants had more traditional family values than Dutch mainstreamers but they did not report stronger family ties. In conclusion, the distinction between family values and family ties as different expressions of family relationships is highly relevant in an acculturation context, because cultural differences between the various immigrant groups and the mainstream group are not the same for values and ties, and acculturative changes are different for both.

On se penche dans cette étude sur les relations familiales, leur nature et leurs différences dans cinq groupes culturels des Pays-Bas (Hollandais de souche et immigrants turcs, marocains, surinamiens et antillais). Pour accéder à une meilleure appréhension des différences dans les relations familiales, on a opéré une distinction entre les valeurs et les liens familiaux. Les valeurs familiales font référence aux obligations et aux croyances concernant les relations familiales alors que les liens familiaux touchent des aspects relationnels plus

* Address for correspondence: Fons J.R. Van de Vijver, Department of Psychology, Tilburg University, P.O. Box 90153, 5000 LE Tilburg, The Netherlands. Email: judit.arends@planet.nl; fons.vandevijver@uvt.nl

comportementaux. Les résultats confirment que les différences culturelles (estimées au niveau des moyennes) entre les immigrants et les membres de la majorité de la population sont plus nettes pour les valeurs que pour les liens familiaux. Le fond culturel des individus est plus fortement associé aux valeurs qu'aux liens familiaux. De plus, les migrants de première génération présentent davantage de valeurs familiales traditionnelles et témoignent de liens familiaux plus forts que ceux des Hollandais de souche. Les migrants de seconde génération ont également plus de valeurs familiales traditionnelles que les Hollandais de souche, mais pas de liens familiaux plus étroits. Disons pour conclure que distinguer valeurs et liens familiaux comme étant des expressions différentes des relations en famille est tout à fait pertinent dans un contexte d'acculturation puisque les différences culturelles entre les divers groupes de migrants et les autochtones ne sont pas identiques pour les valeurs et les liens et que l'impact dû à l'acculturation n'est pas le même dans les deux cas.

INTRODUCTION

Family relationships have traditionally been regarded as one of the key determinants of social cohesion and solidarity in modern society. The family is the base from which family members participate in society and family relationships also have significant consequences for individual well-being (Ingoldsby & Smith, 1995). However, little is understood about the nature and size of cultural differences in these aspects (Georgas, Berry, Van de Vijver, Kagitçibasi, & Poortinga, 2006). This study aims to explore family relationships in Dutch mainstreamers and members of the four largest non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamers, and Antilleans¹). More specifically, we describe the nature and strength of family relationships and variations across and within cultural groups, as well as consequences of family relationships for individual well-being.

Cultural Variations and the Family

Differences among the world's nations in demographic, economic, and household conditions often have profound effects on social structure and processes, including family formation and development. Culture has a strong impact on people's lives as cultural values influence people's feelings, thoughts, and behaviors (e.g. Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). Cultural values and beliefs are often used to identify cultural groups and differentiate among them (Marín & Gamba, 2003). Values represent central or desirable goals that serve as standards that guide the selection or

¹ For reasons of readability we use these labels rather than the longer though more accurate labels of Turkish Dutch, Moroccan Dutch, Surinamese Dutch, and Antillean Dutch.

evaluation of behavior, people, and events. Several dimensions of cultural variability have been employed to distinguish cultures. The values of individualism and collectivism have received much attention in recent decades in cross-cultural psychology and have been used as a higher-order concept that can explain cultural differences over a wide range of situations (e.g. Fijneman, Willemsen, & Poortinga, 1996; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). Individualism–collectivism refers to how communities have organised their relationship between the individual and the group. In individualistic countries the expression of individual interests and values is more valued than in collectivistic countries, in which the common interest is more salient. The significance of family relationships can be regarded as an important difference between people with individualistic and collectivistic backgrounds. Collectivists are generally more inclined than individualists to take care of other members of the in-group, notably family members (Triandis, 1995). A strong family orientation, usually described as a cultural value that is related to a strong attachment to nuclear and extended families as well as attitudes, feelings, and behaviors of loyalty, connectedness, obligations, responsibility, and solidarity that family members have for each other, is an important characteristic of collectivistic societies. The Netherlands has a high score on individualism (Hofstede, 2001). The largest non-Western immigrant groups in the Netherlands come from countries that have higher scores on collectivism (scores of these countries are not available in the original Hofstede database but indirect information can be obtained from scores by neighboring and similar countries). Although the Hofstede data were collected about 40 years ago, there are no indications that the relative standing of the countries in this study on individualism–collectivism has undergone important changes in this period.

Cultural values such as individualism and collectivism are shared by a group of people and communicated from one generation to the next, which means that values are both maintained and possibly changed as individuals interact. Acculturation, a process of cultural change and learning that individuals experience as a result of prolonged intercultural contact (e.g. Berry & Sam, 1997), could therefore be expected to modify cultural values, particularly where value systems of the countries of origin and settlement differ. Because families are both universally important and subject to cultural change (Kagitçibasi, 1996), they serve as an ideal topic for studying the effects of acculturation (Georgas, Berry, Shaw, Christakopoulou, & Mylonas, 1996).

Acculturation and the Family

Families that move from more collectivist cultures to a more individualist culture (which is typically the case for non-Western immigrants in the

Netherlands) come in contact with a culture with different family relationships (Greenfield & Cocking, 1994). The perceived importance of the family and family relationships can change in the process of acculturation. The numerous, mainly American, studies on the influence of acculturation on family relationships do not show convergent results. In some studies adaptation to the dominant culture was related with less family cohesion, less support, and more family conflict (e.g. Brooks, Stuewig, & Lecroy, 1998). Research with Hispanic families demonstrated that the second-generation and younger immigrants adjust more to the majority culture and display weaker family norms than do first-generation and older immigrants (e.g. Sabogal, Marín, Otero-Sabogal, VanOss Marín, & Perez-Stable, 1987). Other studies, however, reported that family relationships were strengthened during the process of acculturation. For example, more adapted Mexican Americans reported more contacts and support among family members (e.g. Keefe & Padilla, 1987). Finally, some studies did not find significant relations (e.g. Fuligni, 1998).

The question of how these results can be reconciled is not easy to answer. Incompatibilities in findings of the various studies may, at least partly, be due to an insufficient distinction between various aspects of family relationships; acculturation may not impact on all these aspects in the same way and at the same pace. Marín (1992) suggests that beliefs and feelings of solidarity are less influenced by acculturation than are behaviors. In the current study, a distinction is made between two aspects of family relationships, namely more value-related aspects of families (labeled family values) and more behavior oriented aspects of families (labeled family ties). It is expected that family values (that include “more basic” beliefs and feelings of solidarity and family obligations) are less likely to change with acculturation than are family ties.

Longitudinal studies are eminently suitable to address changes in family relationships as a result of acculturation; however, such studies are costly and difficult to realise. The alternative way of research is cross-sectional research in which samples of individuals with different acculturation experiences are compared (Georgas et al., 1996). Generation of immigrants has been the most widely used marker of time in acculturation research. It is a proxy variable that is assumed to indicate the extent of change among people experiencing acculturation based on time in a particular setting. It is relatively unambiguous and relatively simple to measure, as it is based on factual information (Phinney, 2006). It is useful in providing a broad picture of differences that are likely to have occurred across first, second, and third generations of immigrants (Mendoza, 1989). Later generations are more exposed to and influenced by the mainstream culture and their behavioral patterns are more likely to resemble those of mainstreamers (Kwak & Berry, 2001; Nagata, 1994; Sodowsky & Carry, 1988). The mechanisms behind this

generation shift are not clear. The larger economic success and upward mobility of later generations, which are usually accompanied by a higher level of adjustment to the mainstream society, may be factors that explain how acculturation influences family relationships in immigrant families. Other background factors that are relevant for the endorsement of family values are age and gender. Older people and males endorse traditional family values to a greater extent than do younger people and females (Georgas et al., 1996). Finally, in a study among Chinese immigrants to North America, intergenerational value changes were negatively associated with family cohesiveness (Hynie, Lalonde, & Lee, 2006).

Families provide the environment for immigrants to cope with acculturative stress by social sharing and by exchanging information on how to deal with various acculturation-related problems such as negative views and reactions of the majority group. A lack of acceptance of immigrant groups by mainstreamers, as manifested in prejudice and discrimination, is likely to strengthen the family relationships as a buffer to cope with the stress. Immigrants who experience more prejudice and discrimination could hold stronger family relationships (stronger family values and ties) than immigrants who experience less prejudice and discrimination.

Well-Being and the Family

While many factors appear to contribute to individual well-being in general, the family is a particularly important factor. Few if any relationships are more important, salient, and long-lasting to people's well-being than their family relationships. Studies performed in Western countries have accumulated strong evidence showing that family life has a major impact on well-being (e.g. Argyle, 1987; Chilman, 1982). Family interaction contributes to the development and course of many physical and mental health issues (Segrin & Flora, 2005). The family can promote a positive emotional state as family members feel valued and cared for. Also, the family can promote health-protective behaviors as family networks aid people in recognising symptoms and seeking medical care in case of a suspected illness. Perceived family support can have various positive relations with well-being, such as experiencing less stress, and the reduced likelihood that youngsters show problematic behavior (e.g. Dick, Manson, & Beats, 1993). Negative family relationships can have various adverse consequences; for example, intergenerational value discrepancies in family relationships related to conflicts within the family can challenge well-being (e.g. Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1993). Loneliness, an important indicator of well-being, is negatively associated with perceived family support (e.g. Segrin, 2003). A study among Russian immigrants to Israel also pointed to the importance of the family for psychological adjustment (Lerner, Kertes, & Zilber, 2005).

Dutch Society

The Netherlands, like all Western European societies, has become culturally diverse. A heterogeneous group of immigrants have taken up permanent residence in the country as a result of the Dutch colonial history in the Caribbean area (e.g. Surinamers and Antilleans), the recruitment of cheap labor from the Mediterranean region in the 1960s (e.g. Turks and Moroccans), and in recent years the influx of refugees mainly from Africa, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. At present, 18 per cent of the population in the Netherlands is of foreign origin; by 2010 the three largest Dutch cities will have a foreign majority (Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2005).

Turks, Moroccans, Surinamers, and Antilleans form the largest groups of non-Western immigrants in the Netherlands. There is a distinction in cultural distance between Turks and Moroccans on the one hand and Surinamers and Antilleans on the other hand (Schalk-Soekar, Van de Vijver, & Hoogsteder, 2004). In general, Surinamers and Antilleans are more familiar with the Dutch culture and language than are Turks and Moroccans.

The Present Study

The present study addresses the nature and size of differences in family relationships in five cultural groups in the Netherlands. In order to get a better insight into the differences in family relationships, a distinction is made between family values and family ties. Family values refer to obligations and beliefs about family relationships (e.g. family duties and beliefs about support to and from other family members) whereas family ties involve more behavior-related relational aspects (e.g. sharing of information, discussing personal or family problems, and the extent of family cohesion). First, we examine the question to what extent aspects of family relationships and well-being have the same psychological meaning across five cultural groups in the Netherlands (Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean immigrants, and mainstream Dutch groups). Equivalence of the concepts is a prerequisite for comparisons of scores among cultural groups.

Second, similarities and differences in family relationships among the different cultural groups are addressed. We expect more traditional family values and stronger family ties among immigrants than among Dutch mainstreamers since the non-Western immigrants we studied tend to come from more collectivistic cultures that are characterised by a stronger family orientation (Hypothesis 1). In a 30-country study, Georgas et al. (2006) found much larger differences in family values than in family-related behaviors. Generalising these findings to the cultural groups and the Netherlands, we expect more differences in family values than in family ties between immigrants and Dutch mainstreamers (Hypothesis 2).

Third, we are interested in the association between background factors (e.g. age, education, gender, and employment) and family values and ties. We expect that differences in values and ties can be at least partly accounted for by these background variables (Hypothesis 3).

Fourth, the extent of changes in family relationships in the immigrant groups is addressed, as well as the role of perceived discrimination. Immigrants undergo a process of cultural adjustment that has advanced more in the second generation than in the first generation. Therefore, we expect that second-generation immigrants report weaker family ties and less traditional family values than first-generation immigrants (Hypothesis 4). In addition, we expect that immigrants who experience more prejudice and discrimination report more traditional family values and stronger family ties than immigrants who experience less prejudice and discrimination (Hypothesis 5).

Finally, we address the question of whether the commonly held model, according to which family relationships are associated with individual well-being, applies to all cultural groups. A model of the role of family values and family ties on well-being for the five cultural groups is examined. We expect that stronger family ties (which imply more cohesion and less conflict among family members) are associated with more individual well-being than weaker family ties (which imply less cohesion and more conflict among family members) (Hypothesis 6a). Individualistic and affluent societies, like the Netherlands, are characterised by relatively weak family values (Georgas et al., 2006) and high levels of well-being (Diener, Diener, & Diener, 1995); cross-national studies (e.g. Diener et al., 1995; Inglehart, 1997; Veenhoven, 1999) found a strong positive relation between modernity and subjective well-being and this relation was also found at the individual level (Kedem-Friedrich & Al-Atawneh, 2004). Therefore, we expect that individuals who hold more traditional family values (and hence, show less modernity in a Western country like the Netherlands) report less well-being (Hypothesis 6b).

METHOD

Participants

This study is part of a large-scale panel study on family-related issues (the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study, NKPS) that was conducted in the period 2002–04. For this study, face-to-face structured interviews of 6,338 Dutch mainstreamers, 422 Turkish, 369 Moroccan, 429 Surinamese, and 394 Antillean adults were usable.

The selection of the mainstream Dutch group was based on a random sample of addresses of private residences in the Netherlands ($N = 40,000$),

from which 21,571 addresses were useful. For the selection of the immigrant sample the municipal population registers of 13 municipalities with relatively large numbers of immigrants were used. From these municipal population registers, a random sample of households were selected which had at least one person born in either Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, or the Dutch Antilles, or had at least one parent who was born there. The final selection consisted of 765 Turks, 648 Moroccans, 862 Surinamers, and 826 Antilleans.

Sample members received an introductory letter describing the purpose of the study. A day or two after sending the letter, a trained interviewer contacted the addressee to make an appointment for an interview. In order to ensure random selection of family members, the birthday rule was applied: The first person to have his or her birthday after the first time the household was reached, was selected for the interview.

Of the Dutch mainstream sample members, 9,771 people agreed to be interviewed (45.4%). For this study, 6,338 interviews were usable as the others either had more than 25 per cent missing values on the items or were born outside the Netherlands (and were considered as not being Dutch mainstreamers). The sample of Dutch mainstreamers in our study consisted of 3,721 females and 2,617 males. Their age varied from 18 to 79 years, with a mean of 46.95 ($SD = 15.01$). The mean educational level, which varied from no elementary school (1) to university degree (8), was 5.20 ($SD = 1.83$). The employment rate was 63.3 per cent.

Response rates in the immigrant sample varied from 47.7 per cent among immigrants from the Dutch Antilles to 56.9 per cent among immigrants from Morocco (the response rate of Turks was 55.2% and that of Surinamers was 49.8%). A total of 165 interviewers conducted 1,614 usable interviews with 422 Turks, 369 Moroccans, 429 Surinamers, and 394 Antilleans. The questionnaires for the Turkish and Moroccan respondents were translated, back-translated, and tested in a pilot study with Turkish and Moroccan respondents. In this pilot study no semantic differences were found between the two versions. Bilingual interviewers took the interviews in the language the respondent requested. The sample of immigrants consisted of 836 females and 778 males (Turks: 53.6% males; Moroccans: 58% males; Surinamers: 36% males, and Antilleans: 46.4% males). A chi-square test of the gender composition per cultural group showed a highly significant value, $\chi^2(4, N = 7,952) = 70.58, p < .01$. The age of the immigrant sample varied from 18 to 79 years, with a mean of 39.61 ($SD = 12.52$). The mean age of Turks was 37.71 ($SD = 11.42$), the mean age of Moroccans was 39.13 ($SD = 12.91$), the mean age of Surinamers was 43.25 ($SD = 12.85$), and the mean age of Antilleans was 38.13 ($SD = 12.12$). These differences were highly significant, $F(4, 7947) = 91.95, p < .01$. The mean educational level, which varied from no elementary school (1) to university degree (8), was 3.83 ($SD = 2.05$). For the Turks the mean educational level was 3.16 ($SD = 1.77$), for Moroccans

it was 2.95 ($SD = 2.11$), for Surinamers it was 4.41 ($SD = 1.85$), and for Antilleans it was 4.73 ($SD = 1.92$). The cross-cultural differences in education were highly significant, $F(4, 7933) = 245.15$, $p < .01$. Finally, the employment rates per cultural group were as follows: Turks: 49.3 per cent; Moroccans: 43.4 per cent; Surinamers: 65.5 per cent, and Antilleans: 65.0 per cent. Again, these differences were significant, $\chi^2(4, N = 7,952) = 91.64$, $p < .01$. We return to these differences in background characteristics in the next section. The sample consisted of 1,226 first-generation immigrants (who came to the Netherlands after the age of 6 years) and 388 second-generation immigrants (who were born in the Netherlands or came to the Netherlands before the age of 6 years).

The differences in background variables across the cultural groups were addressed with Bonferroni multiple comparisons. No significant differences in gender were found between Moroccans and Turks, Antilleans and Turks, Surinamers and Dutch, and Antilleans and Dutch. The differences in age were not significant between Turks and Moroccans, Turks and Antilleans, and Moroccans and Antilleans. Educational level did not show significant differences between Turks and Moroccans or between Surinamers and Antilleans. Finally, differences in employment rate were not significant between Turks and Moroccans, Surinamers and Antilleans, Surinamers and Moroccans, and Antilleans and Dutch.

Measurements

Family values were measured with nine items; each item was formulated as a brief statement. The words “should” and “ought to” were employed in all statements to emphasise the normative aspect. Three items addressed extended family obligations (e.g. “If you have worries, your family should support you”), three addressed what parents should do for their children and grandchildren (e.g. “If it is necessary, parents should take in grown-up children”) (downward intergenerational obligations), and three measured what children should do for their parents (e.g. “Children should take care of their elderly parents”) (upward intergenerational obligations). Response categories ranged from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating more support for traditional family values.

Family ties, addressing behavioral aspects of extended family relationships, were measured with seven items using a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). Five items referred to positive ties (e.g. “We have very strong family ties”, “I discuss problems more easily with my family than with friends”), and two items addressed the negative side of family ties (these two items were reversed in the data analysis): “There are regular quarrels in our family” and “In our family people gossip a lot about each other”. A higher score indicated stronger family ties.

Well-being was measured with two scales, health perception and feelings of loneliness. The scale of *health perception* included physical and mental health. *Physical health* was measured by one item asking respondents to indicate how, in general, they would say their physical health was on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from (1) *excellent* to (5) *very poor*. *Mental health* was measured with three items (e.g. "How often did you feel happy in the past four weeks?"). Answers could be given on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from (1) *always* to (5) *never*. Items of the scale of health perception measures were reversed so that higher scores on an item reflected more perceived health. *Feelings of loneliness* (e.g. "I have many people in whom I can confide" and "I often feel lonely") was measured by four items on a 3-point scale, ranging from (1) *yes*, (2) *sometimes*, to (3) *no*. Two items of the loneliness scale were reverse scored so that higher scores on an item reflected more loneliness.

Perceived discrimination was measured in the immigrant sample with six items on a 5-point scale. An example of an item is: "Does it happen to your cultural group that it is discriminated against by Dutch people?" The answers options ranged from (1) *never* to (5) *very often*. A higher score indicated a higher level of perceived discrimination.

Structural Equivalence and Internal Consistency

An essential condition for making valid comparisons among cultural groups is similarity of the psychological meaning of the concepts that are measured. This condition, called structural equivalence, is often assessed using exploratory or confirmatory factor analysis of two (or more) data sets with a view to establishing whether similar factors emerge. Similarity of factors is the criterion for structural equivalence. In exploratory factor analysis, employed in the current research, correspondence between factors is expressed in terms of some factorial agreement index, such as Tucker's phi. A value higher than .90 is seen as evidence for factorial similarity (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

Structural equivalence was examined per scale by comparing the factor solution in a cultural group (e.g. Turks) with the factor solution in the combined and weighted four other cultural groups (Dutch, Moroccans, Surinamese, and Antilleans). In all five cultural groups, unidimensional scales emerged for family values and family ties. For well-being, a two-factorial solution was obtained: Items of general and mental health loaded on one factor and the four loneliness items formed another factor. The six items of perceived discrimination formed a unidimensional scale in each of the four immigrant groups. The values of the Tucker's phi coefficients for each cultural group and each scale are presented in Table 1. The lowest observed value was .90, which implies that the scales are equivalent across

TABLE 1
Tucker's Phi Coefficients per Scale for Each Cultural Group

<i>Scales</i>	<i>Dutch</i>	<i>Turks</i>	<i>Moroccans</i>	<i>Surinamers</i>	<i>Antilleans</i>
Family values	1	.99	.98	1	1
Family ties	.99	.96	.98	.99	.98
Well-being:					
Health and loneliness	.97 and .97	.97 and .94	.98 and .98	.95 and .90	.99 and .99
Perceived discrimination	–	1	.97	1	.99

cultural groups and that the scales have the same (psychological) meaning across the groups. It was shown that the structures of the concepts were identical for the five cultural groups, implying that the concepts can be compared, which provides an affirmative answer to the first research question.

The values of Cronbach's alpha for family ties varied from .64 (Turks) to .78 (Dutch); for family values Cronbach's alpha were between .79 (Turks) and .83 (Surinamers). For well-being, the values of Cronbach's alpha varied from .70 (Turks) to .80 (Moroccans), and for perceived discrimination, the lowest value was .60 (Moroccans) and the highest was .75 (Surinamers). It can be concluded that the internal consistencies were fair and sufficiently high to warrant further analyses.

RESULTS

The results are divided into three parts. The first part investigates similarities and differences in family relationships (in family values and family ties) among the five cultural groups. The second part deals with the role of generational status and perceived discrimination on family relationships among the four immigrant groups. The last part presents the structural model regarding the role of family relationships on well-being.

Comparisons of Family Relationships across Cultural Groups

Figure 1 shows that the mean scores of Turks and Moroccans were the highest on both family values and family ties, followed by Surinamers, Antilleans, and finally, Dutch mainstreamers. In order to examine differences in family relationships of cultural groups, a multivariate analysis of variance was carried out with cultural group (five levels) as the independent factor and family values and family ties as dependent variables. The analysis of variance revealed that the multivariate effect of culture was significant,

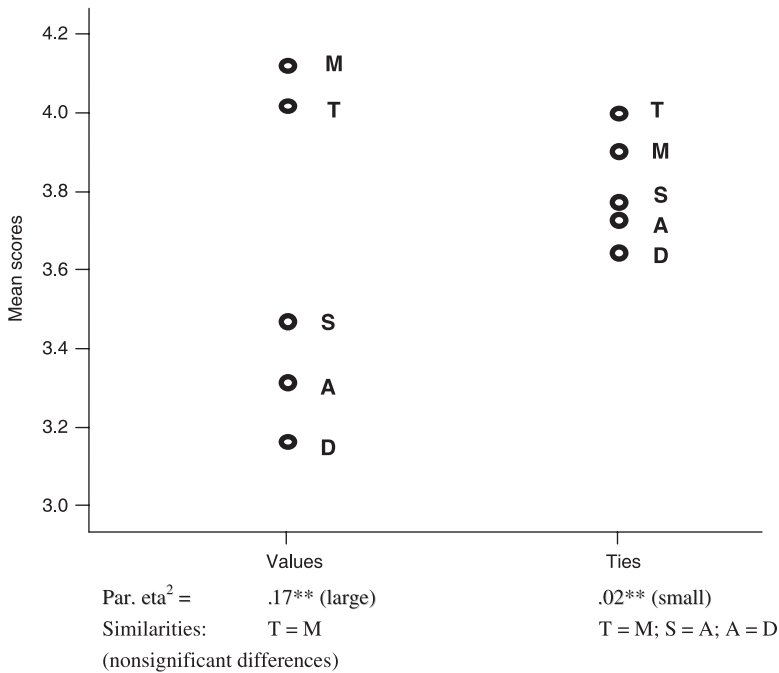


FIGURE 1. Mean scores of cultural groups for family values and family ties.

Note: T = Turks, M = Moroccans, S = Surinamers, A = Antilleans, and D = Dutch mainstreamers. ** $p < .01$.

Wilks' Lambda = .83, $F(4, 7951) = 195.39, p < .01$, and had a medium effect size of $\eta^2 = .09$ (which means that culture accounted for 9 per cent of the variance in family relationships). The univariate analysis of family values revealed a large effect size ($\eta^2 = .17$), pointing to a large difference among cultural groups. Bonferroni post-hoc tests showed no difference between Turks and Moroccans, while all other cultural differences were significant. Family ties had a small effect size ($\eta^2 = .02$). The Moroccan and Turkish samples showed the highest scores; there were no significant differences between Turks and Moroccans, nor between Antilleans and Surinamers and Antilleans and Dutch mainstreamers (see Figure 1).

In order to test Hypothesis 2 (the difference between immigrants and Dutch mainstreamers are smaller for family ties than for family values), a repeated-measures analysis of variance was carried out with cultural group (two levels: mainstreamers and immigrants) as the independent factor and family values and family ties as the within-subject factor. The analysis of

variance revealed a significant main effect of the within-subject factor; ties yielded higher means than values (of 3.75 and 3.45, respectively), $F(1, 7950) = 769.31, p < .01$. The hypothesis predicted a significant interaction of cultural group and the within-subject factor. The interaction was significant, $F(1, 7950) = 261.13, p < .01$. Cohen's d was employed to compare the size of the differences in family values and family ties between Dutch mainstreamers and the immigrant groups. The difference between the mean scores of immigrants and Dutch mainstreamers was large for family values ($d = .89$) and small for family ties ($d = .32$). It can be concluded that the first two hypotheses were confirmed.

In order to test the third hypothesis (differences in values and ties can at least partially be accounted for by background variables), the effect of culture was compared before and after correction for individual background characteristics (data were available for gender, age, educational level, and employment status). In the first step, the relation of background variables and family relationships was investigated. Two separate multiple regression analyses were carried out for the five cultural groups combined, with family values and family ties as dependent variables and age, gender, educational level, and employment status as independent variables. The regression analysis of family values yielded a significant adjusted squared multiple correlation ($R^2 = .14, F(4, 7937) = 332.31, p < .01$). All four predictors were significant ($p < .01$). The strongest predictor was educational level ($\beta = -.31$), followed by gender ($\beta = -.17$), employment ($\beta = .14$), and age ($\beta = -.12$), implying that males, lower educated, unemployed, and younger participants have more traditional family values than females, higher educated, working, and older participants. The regression analysis of family ties also yielded a significant though small adjusted squared multiple correlation ($R^2 = .02, F(4, 7937) = 35.22, p < .01$). Educational level and age were significant (with β values of $-.09$ and $.08$, respectively), implying that lower educated and younger participants report stronger family ties than higher educated and older participants. Gender and employment status did not reach significance.

In the second step, the residual scores on family values and family ties were treated as test variables, meaning that the scores on family values and family ties were corrected for individual background characteristics (i.e. age, gender, education, and employment). After correction, the multivariate effect size was still significant (Wilks' Lambda = $.92, F(4, 4937) = 90.38, p < .01$), although its value decreased considerably from $.09$ before to $.04$ after correction. The (univariate) effect size of family values changed from $.17$ to $.08$, and the effect size of family ties did not change ($\eta^2 = .02$). In summary, individual background characteristics accounted for half of the cultural differences in family values and were not significantly related to family ties. The third hypothesis was confirmed for values but not for ties.

The Role of Generation and Perceived Discrimination in Family Relationships among Immigrants

The specific contributions of perceived discrimination and generation on family relationships were studied in the combined immigrant sample. Their contribution was investigated after correction for individual background characteristics (i.e. gender, age, educational level, and employment) because the previous regression analysis showed that these characteristics were related to family relationships. Multiple regression analyses on the residual scores of family values and family ties were carried out. The regression analysis of corrected scores of family values yielded a low, though significant, adjusted squared multiple correlation ($R^2 = .03$, $F(2, 684) = 10.16$, $p < .01$). Perceived discrimination was positively ($\beta = .15$, $p < .01$) and generational status negatively ($\beta = -.08$, $p < .05$) associated with family values; participants who perceived more discrimination and first-generation immigrants held more traditional family values. The regression analysis of corrected scores of family ties also revealed a low and significant adjusted squared multiple correlation ($R^2 = .01$, $F(2, 684) = 5.70$, $p < .01$). Perceived discrimination was not significantly associated with family ties ($\beta = .06$, $p = .10$), while generation status had a significant negative relation ($\beta = -.11$, $p < .01$); first-generation immigrants reported stronger family ties.

In summary, perceived discrimination was found to be associated with family values but not with family ties (Hypothesis 5 was partly confirmed). Generational status was associated with both aspects of family relationships: First-generation immigrants had more traditional family values and reported stronger family ties than did second-generation immigrants (Hypothesis 4 was confirmed). A comparison of first- and second-generation immigrants with Dutch mainstreamers revealed that first-generation immigrants had more traditional family values and reported stronger family ties than did Dutch mainstreamers ($d_{values} = .96$, $d_{ties} = .39$); second-generation immigrants had more traditional family values than Dutch mainstreamers ($d = .58$), but they did not report stronger family ties (ns).

Model of Family Relationships and Well-Being

To investigate the role of family values and family ties in well-being, a structural equation modeling (multi-group) analysis was performed using Amos 5.0 (Arbuckle, 2003). A MIMIC model (Multiple Indicators, Multiple Causes; Jöreskog & Goldberger, 1975) was tested. In this model two or more antecedent conditions impact on a single latent variable that is measured using two or more indicators. Family values and family ties are assumed to be associated with a latent variable, well-being, which is measured by two indicators, general and mental health and loneliness. Cultural

TABLE 2
Results of the Structural Equation Model Analysis

<i>Model</i>	χ^2/df	GFI	AGFI	TLI	RMSEA	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf
Unconstrained	1.27	1.00	1.00	1.00	.01	–	–
Measurement weights	1.54	1.00	1.00	.99	.01	7.52	
<i>Structural weights</i>	<i>1.90*</i>	<i>1.00</i>	<i>.99</i>	<i>.99</i>	<i>.01</i>	<i>18.42*</i>	8
Structural covariances	6.39**	.99	.98	.93	.03	152.94**	12
Structural residuals	6.12**	.99	.98	.93	.03	16.58**	4
Measurement residuals	6.52**	.98	.98	.93	.03	65.52**	8

Note: Most restrictive model with a good fit is printed in italics. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

similarities and differences were explored by testing the fit of a hierarchy of models with increasing constraints on the number of culturally invariant parameters to the data (see Table 2). As can be seen in the table, the structural-weights model was the most restricted model with an adequate fit: $\chi^2(17, N = 7951) = 32.31, p < .01$; $\chi^2/df = 1.90$ (recommended: < 2.50), the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) was 1 (recommended: $\geq .95$), the Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) was .99 (recommended: $\geq .90$), the Tucker Lewis Index (TLI) was .99 (recommended: $\geq .90$), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) was .01 (recommended: $\leq .08$).

The model is drawn in Figure 2. In all five cultural groups family ties were related to well-being positively in the same way; in line with Hypothesis 6a, stronger family ties were associated with more well-being (standardised path coefficient, $\beta = .32; p < .01$). Family values showed a weaker and negative relation with well-being ($\beta = -.11; p < .01$), implying that more traditional family values were associated with less well-being, which confirmed Hypothesis 6b. The correlations between family values and family ties were significantly positive in all cultural groups. Their strength, however, varied among the five cultural groups; the strongest correlations were found for Turks, followed by Moroccans, Surinamers, Antilleans, and finally, Dutch mainstreamers. We return to these dissimilarities in the Discussion.

DISCUSSION

The aim of this study was to investigate the nature and size of differences in family relationships in five cultural groups in the Netherlands (Dutch mainstreamers, Turks, Moroccans, Surinamers, and Antilleans). A distinction was made between family values and family ties. Family ties that consist of the behavioral (and emotional) aspects of family relationships showed relatively small cultural differences, while the differences in family values were relatively large, especially between Moroccans and Turks on one hand

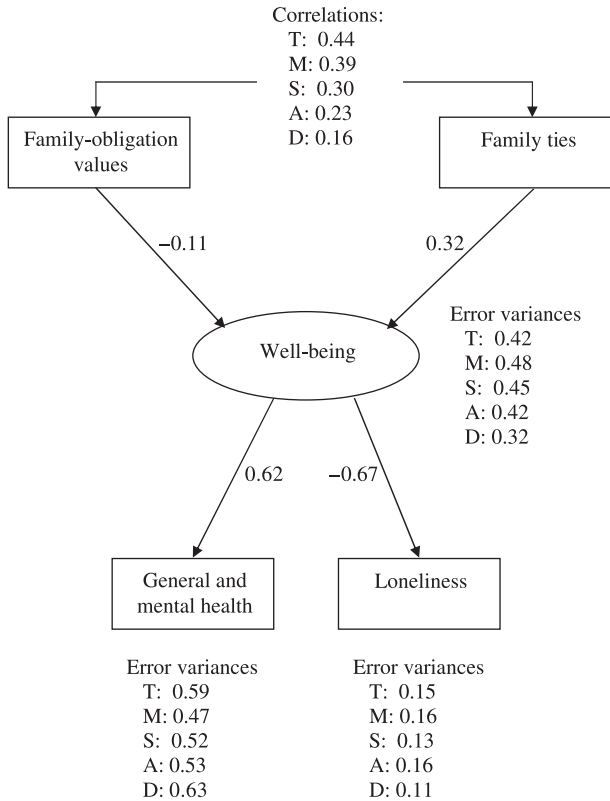


FIGURE 2. A model of family relationships and well-being.

Note: T = Turks, M = Moroccans, S = Surinamers, A = Antilleans, and D = Dutch mainstreamers. All depicted parameters are significant, $p < .01$.

and Surinamers, Antilleans, and Dutch mainstreamers on the other. As hypothesised, cultural differences were smaller for family ties than for family values. Our study can shed some light on the nature of this difference. Individual background variables (i.e. age, gender, educational level, and employment) had a much stronger association with family values than with family ties. According to Finch (1989), individuals in Western countries are more calculating than their ancestors were about the attention, time, and support they provide to family members. In this line of reasoning, ties between family members are mainly structured by feelings of affection and calculations about personal gains and losses. Therefore, the strength of

family ties may be associated more with psychological variables, such as quality of contacts, emotional engagement with family relationships, affection, and solidarity aspects, than by background characteristics. On the other hand, family values are more associated with context-related factors. It is quite likely in our view that the larger context relatedness of family values indicates that they are more under normative (external) control.

The distinction between family values and family ties is also important for well-being. Family values showed a relatively weak and negative direct relation with well-being, while family ties showed a stronger and positive direct relation. Stronger family ties, which are accompanied by more cohesion and less conflict among family members, were associated with more individual well-being in all five cultural groups. In addition, the hypothesis was confirmed that within the context of a modern, Western society like the Netherlands, more traditional family values are associated with less well-being.

Family values and family ties shared an important similarity; both yielded the same rank order of mean score in the five cultural groups: Moroccans and/or Turks scored the highest, followed by Surinamers, Antilleans, and finally, Dutch mainstreamers. This rank order, often found in research in the Netherlands, reflects the “ethnic hierarchy”, the evaluation of ethnic groups by mainstreamers according to liking of and likeness to ethnic groups (Kleinpenning, 1993; Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004). Ethnic groups that are less similar to the mainstreamers are placed lower in the hierarchy (Turks and Moroccans) than ethnic groups that are more similar. Ethnic groups that are more alike and more liked by mainstreamers (Surinamers and Antilleans) differ less in their values and behaviors from Dutch mainstreamers. This pattern was found in the current study for family values, family ties, and perceived discrimination. In our study, Moroccans and Turks differed most from Dutch mainstreamers in family values and family ties, followed by Surinamers and Antilleans. The pattern (rank order) of cultural differences on both aspects of family relationships in this study is quite consistent: Ethnic groups that are more similar to mainstreamers (i.e. Surinamers and Antilleans) differ less in their family values and family ties from Dutch mainstreamers. This was also confirmed by the pattern of perceived discrimination: Turks and Moroccans scored higher than Surinamers and Antilleans. Correlations between family values and family ties were highest for Turks and Moroccans, lower for Surinamers and Antilleans, and lowest for mainstream Dutch. These findings suggest that the values and ties become more loosely associated when groups adopt more elements of the Dutch culture.

In our view, the differences in the correlations of family-related psychological variables with acculturation outcomes (adjustment) may be indicative of a more profound change in family relationships during acculturation. Generational differences in family relationships were shown in all four

immigrant groups. The change pattern of the two aspects of family relationships was different. First-generation immigrants had more traditional family values and reported stronger family ties than second-generation immigrants and Dutch mainstreamers, and second-generation immigrants had more traditional family values than Dutch mainstreamers but they did not report stronger family ties. The present study has demonstrated that traditional family values and strong family ties decrease across generations. Feldman, Mont-Reynaud, and Rosenthal (1992) also found that not only behaviors but also values are subject to change with acculturative experiences. However, the current study shows that immigrants continue to maintain traditional family values. As suggested by Marín (1992), beliefs and values are more resistant to change than are behaviors. It can be concluded that during the process of acculturation, emotional and behavioral factors (family ties) change earlier and more easily than psychologically more central aspects, such as family values. The received view in psychology, according to which values influence people's feelings, thoughts and behaviors, is not easy to combine with our findings that adjustment to the mainstream society is reached earlier for behaviors than for values. Rather, our findings are more in line with a view that adjustment is slower in more personal domains and that the relation between behavior and values may even be reversed here: Behavioral change seems to precede value change.

Perceived discrimination, as expected, was associated with more traditional family values. We also expected that perceived discrimination would be related to family ties as families provide the context for immigrants to cope with acculturative stress by social sharing and by exchanging information on how to deal with prejudice and discrimination; however, this expectation was not confirmed. Results of recent studies about perceived discrimination in the Netherlands showed that immigrants experience prejudice and discrimination, in particular when they are low in the ethnic hierarchy, but they usually do not actively cope with discrimination (Van den Berg & Evers, 2006). The most frequently used coping strategy was inactivity (doing nothing).

An important limitation of the current study involves the absence of a direct measure of acculturation. We used a proxy measure of acculturation (i.e. generational status), but a more detailed pattern of the relation of acculturation with family-related values would have been obtained if a direct measure of acculturation strategies had been used. A longitudinal design would have been even better to collect information about individual changes due to acculturation. Moreover, if acculturation had been directly measured with the two-statement measurement method (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006), we could have addressed the question of whether immigrants who score higher on the mainstream dimension (and are more focused on adopting the mainstream culture) would score higher on family values.

Practical Implications

The current study has three practical implications. The first involves the distinction between family values and family ties as these two aspects of family relationships were differentially associated with well-being, showed dissimilar cultural differences, and showed a different change pattern across generations. Within the context of the Netherlands, we found acculturative changes in immigrant families both in family ties and family values in the direction of the mainstreamers; however, the difference between immigrants and Dutch mainstreamers in family values was higher than in family ties. In addition, second-generation immigrants did not differ in family ties from Dutch mainstreamers. Professionals working with immigrants can benefit from this insight by focusing more on family values than on family ties in intervention with immigrant families as potential sources of intercultural and intergenerational conflict. Conflicts about family values in immigrant families often focus on family obligations; second-generation immigrants, notably adolescent girls, often prefer more freedom and independence than their parents find desirable (Pels, 2000). A good insight into the background of such a conflict is essential for effective counseling.

The second implication refers to the influence of the ethnic hierarchy and the role of discrimination. Groups lower in the ethnic hierarchy tend to be confronted with the negative aspects of acculturation, such as discrimination and stress, to a larger extent than groups higher in the hierarchy. Knowledge of the ethnic hierarchy is essential for adequate service delivery to acculturating groups. Being discriminated against is a common experience among immigrants in the Netherlands, particularly among Turks and Moroccans; passive forms of coping, such as doing nothing or cognitive restructuring (e.g. by construing the event as unimportant), are common (Van den Berg & Evers, 2006). Our study shows that discrimination experiences reinforce traditional family values. It may be important to deal more with discrimination and the role of the family in counseling. The family is an important resource for coping with negative acculturation experiences. Counselors may stimulate communication in the family about these experiences.

Finally, there is a need to disseminate the results among the public at large. A previous study showed that many Dutch mainstreamers know little about immigrant groups and this was particularly the case for the private domains of life (Schalk-Soekar et al., 2004). The prototypical image of large cultural differences in immigrant and mainstream groups regarding family relationships is in need of modification; the large differences involve only family values. The underlying picture of large cultural differences between immigrants and mainstream groups in the Netherlands is prevalent in public discourse. However, our study shows that at least in the domain of the

family, the picture is overrated and refers more to the climate of the public discourse than to the cultural groups involved.

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