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van Bergen, D.D.; Wachter, G.G.; Feddes, A.R.

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# Externalizing behaviours of Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youth: The role of parental cultural socialization

Diana D. van Bergen[a], Gusta G. Wachter[b§] and Allard R. Feddes[c]

[a]Faculty of Behavioral and Social Sciences, Department of Pedagogy and Educational Sciences, Groningen University, Groningen, The Netherlands; [b]Epidemiology and Health Promotion, Public Health Service Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands; [c]Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, Programme Group Social Psychology, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

**ABSTRACT**

The present study examines whether perceived parental cultural socialization (e.g., encouraging cultural practices, traditions, language and cultural pride) is negatively associated with externalizing problem behaviours (e.g., fighting, expression of anger, lying and stealing) among Turkish-Dutch ($n = 143$) and Moroccan-Dutch ($n = 164$) youth (age 14–18), with ethnic in-group connectedness as a mediator. The results show that Turkish-Dutch youth, who report more cultural socialization efforts by their parents, are less likely to exhibit externalizing behaviours, because of their increased connectedness to the ethnic in-group. For Moroccan-Dutch youth, however, in-group connectedness is lower and we find no indirect effect of perceived parental cultural socialization on externalizing behaviours. We conclude that Turkish-Dutch youth seem to reap mental health benefits from what they perceive as their parents' cultural socialization efforts. Thus, it is important to study ethnic differences in parental cultural socialization to enhance youth development across diverse youth populations in Europe.

## Introduction

Over the past decade, many Western European countries, including the Netherlands, have developed political contexts in which the loyalties of Muslim immigrants (e.g., Turks and Moroccans) and their children to their ethno-cultural

**CONTACT** Diana D. van Bergen ✉ d.d.van.bergen@rug.nl
§Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), The Hague, The Netherlands

in-groups are openly questioned and increasingly seen as a hindrance to their socio-cultural integration (Van Bergen, De Ruyter & Pels, 2016). In such climates, parental cultural socialization, which is the verbal and non-verbal communication from parents to their children about culture, heritage, ethno-cultural pride, traditions and language (see Hughes et al., 2008), is a contested aspect of immigrant youth socialization. This is in sharp contrast with research findings from the United States, which indicate the importance of parental cultural socialization for the favourable psychosocial outcomes of youth from culturally diverse and/or ethnic minority groups (Hughes et al., 2008; Neblett, Rivas-Drake, & Umaña-Taylor, 2012; Rodriguez, Umaña-Taylor, Smith, & Johnson, 2009). These studies show that cultural socialization from parents is likely to enhance positive self-perception and to assist youth in building the self-confidence to meet the challenges associated with their positions as ethnic minority groups. However, there is a paucity of research on the role of parental cultural socialization and its association with psychosocial development for ethnic minority groups in Europe. Our study aims to fill this gap and is timely, as Muslim identities are currently under threat in Western Europe.

In an immigration context, the transmission of ethno-cultural ties by parents, while important, appears to be increasingly difficult. Turkish and Moroccan immigrant parents may find that their cultural socialization efforts compete with messages from mainstream society (Güngör, Fleischmann, & Phalet, 2011). As a consequence, cultural transmission is more fiercely motivated and more vigorously pursued in Turkish and Moroccan families than in families of Western European descent (Güngör et al., 2011). Collectivistic cultures in general (including Turkish and Moroccan cultures) place higher value on family loyalty than Western cultures (Kagitcibasi & Keats, 1997). Indeed, research shows that Turkish and Moroccan immigrant parents in Western European counties consider collectivistic values important to transmit to their children (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001).

From a developmental perspective, adolescence is the time when youth start searching for, and exploring and adopting social identities (Erikson, 1968). For immigrant youth, ethnic identity (e.g., a form of a social identity) becomes particularly salient during adolescence (Hughes et al., 2008). This is due to their positions as ethno-cultural minorities of a dominant culture, which renders questions about ethno-cultural belonging, loyalties and identification particularly relevant. Immigrant parents, as the primary cultural socialization agents and caregivers, play a key role in shaping the ethno-cultural identities of youth (Neblett et al., 2012). Evidence for this can be found in the research of developmental scholars (Bronfenbrenner, 1977; Erikson, 1968), which establish the family as one of the most important influences on youth socialization.

## Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youth and their vulnerability to problem behaviour

Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch immigrants are the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands and, together, make up about 7% of the population

(Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Turkish and Moroccan Muslim immigrant families' socioeconomic deprivation and perceived discrimination may put them under a considerable amount of stress (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). This leaves Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youth vulnerable to problem behaviours, including externalizing behaviours (Paalman, Terwee, Jansma, & Jansen, 2013). Externalizing behaviours (e.g., fighting, expression of anger, lying and stealing; see Tremblay, Van Aken, & Koops, 2009) are particularly salient in childhood and adolescence and are associated with a higher risk of mental health problems, poor academic outcomes, unemployment and crime (Tremblay et al., 2009). Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youth disproportionately exhibit externalizing behaviours (Adriaanse, Veling, Doreleijers, & Van Domburgh, 2014; Van Oort, 2006), and there is also evidence that Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youth are at increased risk of offending (Van der Laan & Blom, 2010), dropping out of school and unemployment (Adriaanse et al., 2014). Youth from these ethnic minority groups in Germany and Belgium also seem to have increased rates of externalizing behaviours (Lahlah, 2013). Studying factors that reduce the development of externalizing behaviours among the youth belonging to these ethnic groups is therefore important.

## Parental cultural socialization and their children's psychosocial development

Parental cultural socialization may have beneficial effects on ethnic minority youth's psychosocial development by fostering the sense of belonging and feeling of security needed to successfully navigate the dominant culture (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013). Furthermore, parental cultural socialization can assist youth to think positively about themselves (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013). Therefore, parental cultural socialization is an important tool in reducing a variety of problem behaviours among minority youth (Smith & Silva, 2011).

Social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) suggests that parents set examples for their children's views, including those towards their ethnic in-group (see also Van Bergen et al., 2016). Social learning theory posits that if youth recognize their parents' expressions and behaviours as meaningful and in line with their own needs, the youth subsequently cognitively process and retain these parental cues. Accordingly, by observing their parents' behaviours, expressions, emotions and reactions as it relates to their ethnicity and culture, youth's attachment to their in-group is shaped. Parental cultural socialization encourages youth to explore their ethnic group membership and to resolve their identity (Erikson, 1968) in terms of what meaning their ethnicity has in their lives. In line with social learning theory, research on several ethnic groups in the United States shows that parents who engage in cultural socialization facilitate their children's knowledge about their ethnic group and thereby establish stronger and more positive ethnic identities (Rodriguez et al., 2009).

Similarly, researchers in Europe (Phalet & Schönplug, 2001) find that Turkish and Moroccan immigrant parents consider it critical that their children maintain their ethnic ties, and this is reflected in the socialization practices through which they aim to transmit their culture. By teaching their children positive views of what it means to be Turkish or Moroccan, parents want their children to build strong ethnic identities, which may help them to cope with their minority status and with their perceived low-status in Western European societies (Van Bergen et al., 2016). In this way, Turkish and Moroccan immigrant youth can be expected to have better psychosocial development and engage in fewer externalizing behaviours.

## The ethnic identity and psychosocial development of youth

Social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Umaña-Taylor, 2011) can be used to describe why ethno-cultural identities are beneficial for youth psychosocial development. Immigrant youth can improve their self-esteem by identifying with their ethnic minority in-group, if they are proud of their ethnic background. Self-perceived ethnic group membership is of such relevance to their self-concept that many youth only feel good about themselves when they feel good about their ethnic identity. Ethnic in-group connectedness, through its provision of collective cultural pride, a sense of belonging and shared resources, could thus reduce externalizing behaviours. This connectedness can also protect youth against acculturation stress, and hereby improve how they fare in mainstream society and serve as a buffer against the harmful effects of discrimination (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Together, these factors are believed to foster self-esteem and increase empathy, hereby diminishing externalizing behaviours (Jagers, Sydnor, Mouttapa, & Flay, 2007).

A meta-review by Smith and Silva (2011) shows that secure connections to the ethnic in-group are protective against the externalizing behaviours of Asian-American, Latino-American and African-American youth, albeit with small effect size. A few studies however, find that in-group connectedness may have a detrimental effect on externalizing behaviours among some ethnic groups (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014; Umaña-Taylor, 2011). This may happen if immigrant parents do not supplement their cultural socialization efforts (which increases ethnic connectedness) with preparation for bias and advice on how to constructively cope with stigma (Elmore & Gaylord-Harden, 2013). In addition, it may be that the association between ethnic identity and externalizing behaviours depends on the structure and the density of the ethnic community itself (which is further explained in the next section). In other words, the proposed beneficial effects of a strong ethnic identification on youth's psychosocial adjustment deserve further examination.

Vedder, Sam and Liebkind (2007) report that in six European countries, including the Netherlands, higher ethnic in-group connectedness is associated with

fewer externalizing behaviours among Turkish immigrant youth. In contrast Wissink, Deković, Sağmur, Stams, and De Haan (2008) do not find support for the notion that stronger identification with the Turkish in-group is beneficial in reducing the manifestation of anti-social behaviour among Turkish-Dutch youth. Furthermore, Wissink et al. (2008) find that a stronger ethnic identity is associated with less anti-social behaviour among Moroccan-Dutch youth, while Maes, Stevens and Verkuyten (2014) find a significant association between identification with a Moroccan identity and increased rates of externalizing behaviours among Moroccan-Dutch youth. These mixed research outcomes regarding the extent to which ethnic identification protects Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch from externalizing behaviours emphasizes the need for a replication study that also takes into account ethnic group differences. This is therefore an additional aim of our paper.

## The differences between Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youth

Ethnic group differences may exist in the relationship between parental cultural socialization and externalizing behaviours. Immigrant parents belonging to different ethnic groups vary in the extent to which they engage in cultural socialization (Umaña-Taylor, 2011), which may result in differences in ethno-cultural identification among immigrant youth with their ethnic minority group. Research shows that Turkish-Dutch parents aim to transmit collective cultural values to their children more than Moroccan-Dutch parents (Güngör et al., 2011; Phalet & Schönplug, 2001). Possibly as a result of this discrepancy, more Turkish-Dutch youth than Moroccan-Dutch youth report identifying primarily with their ethnic in-group (54 vs. 47%, respectively; see Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016).

Next, the structure of the ethnic community is different for both ethnicities. Turkish families in Europe show higher levels of ethnic retention than Moroccan families in terms of use of the mother tongue and partner choice (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2011). As a whole, researchers (Phalet & Schönplug, 2001) depict Turkish communities as matching the pattern of 'selected or lagged acculturation' (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), bearing more signs of collective cultural continuity and social cohesion. Social control and care by community members may also protect Turkish-Dutch youth against the manifestation of externalizing behaviours (Eldering, 2014). This cohesive structure of the Turkish-Dutch community may thus go hand in hand with the greater beneficial effects of cultural socialization for Turkish-Dutch youth.

## The present study

We use a pathway model to test whether, in line with research from the United States, perceived parental cultural socialization is beneficial in reducing the

externalizing behaviours of youth, with psychological connectedness to the ethnic in-group as a mediator. We hypothesize that, overall, more perceived parental cultural socialization is associated with more connectedness to the ethnic in-group (H1). Next, we hypothesize that more in-group connectedness is related to fewer externalizing behaviours (H2). Third, we hypothesize that more parental cultural socialization is associated with a decreased risk of externalizing behaviours, mediated through enhanced in-group connectedness (H3). Furthermore, we explore whether the pathway model leading from cultural socialization to fewer externalizing behaviours is stronger for Turkish-Dutch youth than for Moroccan-Dutch youth through greater in-group connectedness.

We use youth perceptions of parental cultural socialization rather than parent reports as a criterion because it is required that youth perceive their parents' views as adequate and meaningful before adopting similar ethno-cultural expressions. Thus, youth perceptions of parents' intentions, instead of the parents' actual intentions, are more likely to influence the propensity of youth to engage in externalizing behaviours. Measuring youth perceptions of parenting may however include the potential risk of projection, leading to an overestimate of the contribution of parental cultural socialization. Therefore, we also test an alternative model in which the independent and dependent variables are reversed, running from externalizing behaviours to perceived parenting.

## Method

### Data and participants

The data in this paper come from the Young and Diverse survey that was conducted from April to July 2011 at secondary schools in the Netherlands. The number of schools in the full sample was nine, and the full sample size was $n = 968$; however, the sample retained for analysis included only eight schools (because not all schools had Turkish-Dutch or Moroccan-Dutch students). Schools with a high share of immigrant-origin students were oversampled to obtain a large enough sample for statistical analysis. In three schools, over 95% of students were of non-Western descent; in five schools, 20–40% of students were of non-Western descent; and in three schools, less than 20% of students were of non-Western descent. Parental approval was obtained in cooperation with the school boards. Students gave their written informed consent before enrolling in the study. One family did not want their child to participate, and two students opted out. The final sample consisted of 143 Turkish-Dutch students between 14 and 18 years of age (mean age = 15.6, SD = .95) and 164 Moroccan-Dutch students between 14 and 18 years of age (mean age = 15.7, SD = .88).

## Measures

### Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch ethnicity

Both parents' country of birth were compared with the participants' self-identification (the latter was the determinant in the case of mixed backgrounds). At least one of the countries where the participants' parents were born had to coincide with the self-chosen ethnicity of 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' for youth to be classified accordingly. No participants whose parents were born in Morocco or Turkey did not identify as Moroccan or Turkish, respectively.

### Externalizing behaviours

We used a subscale of the Strength and Difficulties Questionnaire (Goodman, Meltzer, & Bailey, 1998), with proven cross-cultural validity among the ethnic groups we studied (Paalman et al., 2013), to measure self-reported externalizing problem behaviours. This measure consisted of five items (e.g., 'I often get accused of lying and cheating'; 'I get angry easily', 1 = not true to 3 = true). Cronbach's alpha was .69 for Turkish-Dutch participants and .56 for Moroccan-Dutch participants. Because the item 'I usually do as I am told' loaded on a different factor than the other four items for both groups, it was excluded. This also improved the internal consistency of the scale. Thus, the externalizing behaviours subscale we used in the analysis consisted of four items and had an alpha of .75 for Turkish-Dutch participants and .64 for Moroccan-Dutch participants.

### Perceived cultural socialization

Perceived parental cultural socialization was measured with six items from the youth version of the parental ethnic socialization scale (Hughes et al., 2008; e.g., 'How often have your parents told you that you should be proud of your ethnic background?', 1 = never to 5 very often). Reliability was high in both groups ($\alpha$ = .77 for the Turkish-Dutch participants and .79 for the Moroccan-Dutch participants).

### In-group connectedness

We used the Dutch-validated version of the Psychological Acculturation Scale (PAS) to measure emotional attachment to the ethnic in-group (Stevens, 2004). This scale consists of seven items (e.g., 'I am proud of my Turkish/Moroccan origin', 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Cronbach's alpha was .91 for Turkish-Dutch participants and .89 for Moroccan-Dutch participants. The PAS scale is closely related to the concept of ethnic identity, because ethnic identity involves a sense of emotional attachment to that group.

### Control variables

*Gender, level of education and socioeconomic status (SES)* were included as control variables in all analyses. Students' level of education was measured according to

the Dutch educational system (1 = vocational training, 2 = higher intermediate education or 3 = pre-university education). The highest completed education of either one of the participants' parents was used as an indicator of SES. Missing values on SES were dealt with using full information maximum likelihood. There were no missing values on the other variables.

### Statistical Analysis

We analyzed the multiple group path model using MPLUS version 7 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998–2012). The type = complex setting was used to correct for clustering at the class level (there were an insufficient number of clusters to perform multilevel analysis). Estimates were calculated using robust maximum likelihood.

## Results

### Preliminary analysis

Means and standard deviations are presented in Table 1. A univariate analysis of variances shows ethnic differences in perceived cultural socialization ($F(1, 305) = 13.26, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .042$); Turkish-Dutch participants report higher levels than Moroccan-Dutch participants. Ethnic differences in externalizing behaviours are found to be marginally significant ($F(1, 305) = 3.28, p = .071, \eta_p^2 = .011$), with higher levels of externalizing behaviours among Turkish-Dutch participants than among Moroccan-Dutch participants. The groups do not differ significantly on in-group connectedness. In Table 2, the correlations between the variables are given for both ethnic groups.

### The path model

The hypothesized multiple group path model fits the data well ($\chi^2 (7) = 7.525$, $p = .38$; CFI = .991; SRMR = .033; RMSEA = .022; 90% confidence interval (CI) .00 to .10). The path models with standardized beta coefficients for both Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch participants are shown separately in Figures 1 and 2. As hypothesized, the results indicate that parental cultural socialization is

Table 1. Means and standard deviations for Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch participants.

|  | | Participants | |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Item scale range | Turkish-Dutch | Moroccan-Dutch |
| Parental cultural socialization | 1(low)-5(high) | 3.37 (.87) | 3.01 (.89) |
| In-group connectedness | 1(low)-5(high) | 4.36 (.81) | 4.33 (.73) |
| Externalizing problem behaviour | 1(low)-3(high) | 1.47 (.49) | 1.38 (.42) |
| Male | 1/0 | .48 | .44 |
| Education | 1(low)-3(high) | 1.96 (.79) | 2.10 (.72) |
| SES | 1(low)-5(high) | 3.50 (1.15) | 3.65 (1.43) |

**Table 2.** Pearsons correlations for Turkish-Dutch (*N* = 143, above diagonal) and Moroccan-Dutch (*N* = 164, below diagonal) participants on the main variables.
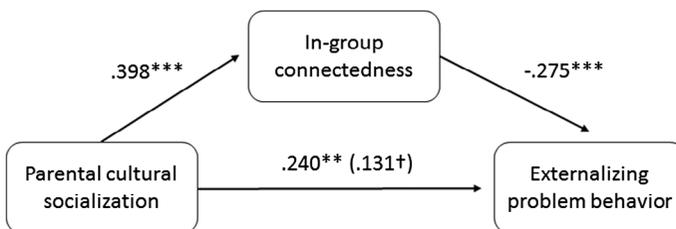
| | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Parental cultural socialization | – | .41*** | .14† |
| 2. In-group connectedness | .25** | – | −.13 |
| 3. Externalizing problem behaviour | .26** | .13 | – |

***p* < .001; ***p* < .01; **p* < .05; †*p* < .10.

significantly and positively associated with in-group connectedness (H1) for youth of both ethnicities. Constraining the effect to be equal across both groups did not significantly deteriorate the model fit, indicating that this association was the same for both ethnic groups (Wald statistic = 2.006 (1), *p* = .16).

Next, we predicted a negative relationship between in-group connectedness and externalizing behaviours (H2). The results show that among Turkish-Dutch participants, stronger in-group connectedness is related to fewer externalizing behaviours, but no significant association is found for the Moroccan-Dutch participants (Wald statistic = 14.219 (1), *p* < .001).

Finally, we hypothesized that, for both groups, more parental cultural socialization is associated with a decreased risk of externalizing behaviours through enhanced in-group connectedness (H3). For Turkish-Dutch participants, we find a significant negative indirect effect through in-group connectedness (*b* = −.11; SE = .03; *p* < .001; 95% CI −.167 to −.051). Thus, more parental cultural socialization among Turkish families is associated with fewer externalizing behaviours; this association is mediated through increased levels of in-group connectedness. For Moroccan-Dutch participants, however, we find no indirect effect of in-group connectedness on externalizing behaviours (*b* = .02; SE = .02; *p* = .18; 95% CI −.010 to .055). A significant Wald test of parameter constraints confirms the difference in indirect effects between Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch participants (Wald statistic = 18.685 (1), *p* < .001). As Figure 1 shows, the total effect of parental cultural socialization on externalizing behaviours is marginally



**Figure 1.** Path model of the association between parental cultural socialization and externalizing problem behavior mediated by in-group connectedness for Turkish-Dutch youth.

Notes: The total effect is shown between brackets. ***p* < .001; ***p* < .01; **p* < .05; †*p* < .10; gender (*b* = .21; SE = .09; *p* < .05) and education (*b* = −.19; SE = .09; *p* < .10) were (marginally) significantly associated with externalizing problem behaviour.
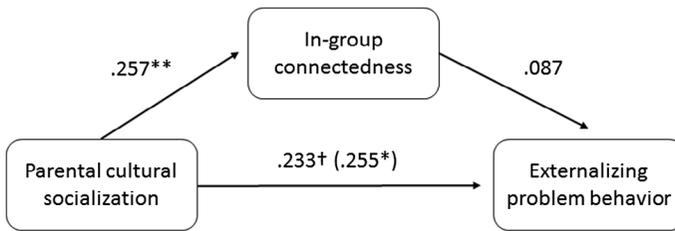
**Figure 2.** Path model of the association between parental cultural socialization and externalizing problem behaviour mediated by in-group connectedness for Moroccan-Dutch youth. Notes: The total effect is shown between brackets. ***$p < .001$; **$p < .01$; †$p < .10$; gender had a significant association with externalizing problem behaviour ($b = .28$; SE $= .06$; $p < .001$).

significant. This might be due to the relatively low power of this test. By comparison, the test of indirect effects has much more power (Kenny and Judd, 2013).

The path model explains 15.6% ($p < .01$) of the variance in externalizing behaviours among Turkish-Dutch participants and 15.9% ($p < .05$) of the variance among Moroccan-Dutch participants. With regard to in-group connectedness, 19% of the variance is explained by the model for Turkish-Dutch participants. However, no significant proportion of variance in in-group connectedness is explained by the model for Moroccan-Dutch participants ($R^2 = .081$, $p = .089$).

The alternative model, in which the paths between parental cultural socialization and externalizing behaviours are reversed, and mediated through in-group connectedness, has a poorer fit to the data. This is indicated by a higher AIC and BIC (AIC = 2380.559; BIC = 2488.638) than our original model (AIC = 1951.637; BIC = 2059.716). The amount of variance explained in in-group connectedness is higher in the original model (Turkish-Dutch $R^2 = .190$, $p = .004$; Moroccan-Dutch $R^2 = .081$, $p = .089$) than in the reversed model (Turkish-Dutch $R^2 = .074$, $p = .018$; Moroccan-Dutch $R^2 = .042$, $p = .160$).

## Discussion

Because parenting plays a role in the manifestation of the externalizing behaviours of youth (Kokkinos & Voulgaridou, 2016) and given the research from the United States on the (mostly) beneficial association between parental cultural socialization and youth resiliency against externalizing problems (Smith & Silva, 2011), we examine whether perceived parental cultural socialization plays a beneficial role in reducing the externalizing behaviours of Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch youth. Considering the different social and religious positions of Turkish- and Moroccan-Dutch (Muslim) youth vis-a-vis mainstream society compared to minorities (e.g., Mexican- or African-Americans) in the USA, a separate examination of European minorities is valuable.

The results show that Turkish-Dutch youth, who report more cultural socialization efforts by their parents, are less likely to exhibit externalizing behaviours

through increased connectedness to the ethnic in-group, but we find no such indirect effect for Moroccan-Dutch youth. This finding seems to underpin research showing that Turkish immigrant parents make more efforts to, and are more effective in, transmitting collective in-group values than Moroccan immigrant parents (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001; Güngör et al., 2011). Thus, the social learning theory (Bandura, 1986) which suggests that parents – through their ethno-cultural expressions, affect their children's adoption of ethnic loyalties, applies more to Turkish-Dutch youth.

Next, the findings for Turkish-Dutch youth in regards to the indirect effect between cultural socialization and externalizing behaviours seem to corroborate the research from the United States, indicating that a strong sense of ethnic in-group connectedness strengthens the self-concept of minority youth and thereby decreases the risk of externalizing behaviours (Umaña-Taylor, 2011; Smith & Silva, 2011). That the indirect effect emerges for Turkish-Dutch youth but not for Moroccan-Dutch youth may also suggest different acculturating patterns for these ethnic groups (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). In other words, variations in the social structure of their ethnic communities may explain these outcomes. Because the Turkish immigrant communities maintain their ethno-cultural heritage more strongly than the Moroccan immigrant communities in the Netherlands, Turkish-Dutch communities are more socially cohesive and exert more social control (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016), which may explain why in-group connectedness reduces externalizing behaviours among Turkish-Dutch youth. This potential explanation needs to be studied further.

We find that the association between in-group connectedness and externalizing behaviours is moderate and negative for Turkish-Dutch youth, and non-significant for Moroccan-Dutch youth. Thus, our suggestion based on the social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) that an ethnic positive self-concept results in psychosocial health benefits has more relevance for the Turkish-Dutch youth. This result however contradicts Wissink et al. (2008), who find that a stronger ethnic identity is not related to anti-social behaviour among Turkish-Dutch youth. This difference may be due to the somewhat younger age of Turkish-Dutch participants in the study by Wissink et al. (2008) or because the present study uses different measures for ethnic in-group connectedness (ethnic identity versus in-group connectedness; anti-social behaviour versus externalizing behaviours).

When studied as a direct effect, higher perceived parental cultural socialization is associated with higher levels of externalizing behaviours among youth of both ethnicities, but this effect is more pronounced for Moroccan-Dutch youth. Elmore and Gaylord-Harden's (2013) research may explain this difference. They suggest that in some ethnic groups, if cultural socialization efforts are not delivered in tandem with preparation for bias and advice for how to constructively cope with stigma, their children may exhibit more externalizing behaviours. Moroccan-Dutch youth occupy the lowest position in the perceived ethnic

hierarchy and report higher rates of discrimination than Turkish-Dutch youth (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Therefore, if Moroccan-Dutch parents emphasize Moroccan identities to their children, without teaching them how to navigate the social stigma in the Netherlands' dominant culture, cultural socialization may be more harmful than helpful. Future research would need to test this explanation, as this study does not capture preparedness for bias and how to cope with it.

The study also has a few limitations and offers suggestions for future research. The internal consistency of the externalizing behaviour scale is rather low especially among Moroccan-Dutch participants. This might partially explain why we do not find a significant indirect effect for parental cultural socialization on externalizing behaviours among Moroccan-Dutch youth, and a modest association in the Turkish-Dutch group. This finding also underscores the need to examine additional socializing agents in future research, such as peer and school contexts, which may play a role in the formation of ethnic in-group connectedness and thereby influence externalizing behaviours (Umaña-Taylor, 2011). Next, based on cultural and religious similarities among immigrant families in Europe from the Middle East (Eldering, 2014), it is theoretically plausible, and would need to be examined whether our results bear meaning for other ethnic groups from that region living in western Europe. Our results clearly emphasize the importance of studying each ethnicity separately rather than under the umbrella of 'Muslim immigrant youth'. Last, using a longitudinal design (instead of cross-sectional) and having multiple informants (instead of youth self-report only) is recommended in future studies.

To conclude, our findings of Turkish-Dutch youth whose parental cultural socialization practices result in higher in-group connectedness, which in turn results in lower externalizing behaviours, can be inspiring for future preventive measures against problem behaviours among minority youth in Europe.

## Disclosure statement

## Funding

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