

## **Multiculturalism and acculturation: Views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch**

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### *Abstract*

*The psychological component of immigration in the Netherlands was studied by comparing views on multiculturalism and acculturation orientation of Turkish migrants between Dutch majority (N = 1565) and Turkish–Dutch minority (N = 185) members. Multiculturalism was measured with an adaptation of the Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995); acculturation orientation was investigated in different domains of life. The results revealed that Dutch on average had a neutral attitude towards multiculturalism in the Netherlands while Turkish–Dutch showed a more positive attitude. Regarding the acculturation strategies, Dutch adults preferred assimilation above integration of Turkish migrants in all life domains. Turkish–Dutch adults made a distinction in public and private domains: integration was preferred in public domains, and separation in private domains. In public domains both cultural groups agreed that Turkish migrants should adapt to the Dutch culture. In private domains there was no agreement at all in the views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch. These results suggest that the views on acculturation and multiculturalism differ substantially for majority and minority group members. Implications are discussed. Copyright © 2002 John Wiley & Sons, Ltd.*

Due to increased international migration during the last decades, the population of several Western European societies, including the Netherlands, has become culturally diverse. Interest in the possibilities and concerns of immigration, especially its effects on immigrants and its implications for the receiving society, has stimulated research in the social sciences. Two complementary domains in psychology explicitly address this field: acculturation and intergroup relations (Berry, 2001). Acculturation research in cross-cultural psychology has focused mainly on changes and continuities in cultural orientation of immigrants<sup>1</sup> following migration, while research on intergroup relations in social psychology has been largely concerned with studying the attitudes of majority people toward migrant groups. Although the outcomes of the acculturation process and the intergroup relations depend substantially on mutual expectations and interactions between the members of the majority and the migrant groups, very few studies have systematically compared their mutual views thus far

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<sup>1</sup>The terms immigrants, minorities, minority and immigrant groups refer to people with a lower power (numerical, economic, and political), while dominant, majority, and native groups refer to people with the higher power in the society.

(Berry, 2001; Bourhis, Moïse, Perreault, & Senécal, 1997; Taylor & Lambert, 1996; Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2001). The present study addresses this issue by comparing the views of native Dutch and Turkish–Dutch in the Netherlands<sup>2</sup> on multiculturalism and acculturation attitudes. The central research question is to what extent the views on these topics differ between Dutch majority and Turkish–Dutch minority group members.

## A FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING IMMIGRATION

The framework for studying immigration developed by Berry (2001) enables comparisons between views of migrant and majority group members. This framework illustrates the different components involved in the study of immigration, including contextual, psychological, and policy components. The psychological component of immigration addresses two central attitudes: the acculturation attitudes held by immigrants and the multicultural ideology of the majority group.

## ACCULTURATION ATTITUDES

The term acculturation has been coined to describe the process of all changes that take place when individuals of different ethnocultural groups come into prolonged contact with one another (Berry, 1992). Although acculturation processes involve both the migrant and the dominant population, the changes are most consequential for the migrant group members. Therefore, acculturation research has investigated mainly the experiences and attitudes of immigrants.

Acculturation attitudes, according to Berry (1997), refer to two fundamental issues facing immigrants: one involves the decision to maintain one's culture of origin and the other refers to the extent to which the immigrant wishes to have contacts with and participation in the mainstream culture. Bourhis and his associates (1997) proposed a refinement by changing the nature of the second aspect, making it cultural instead of social. These authors state that the two underlying fundamental attitudes refer then to *cultural maintenance* (the importance of maintaining key aspects of the ethnic culture) and to *cultural adaptation* (the importance of adapting to key aspects of the majority group).

Various models have been developed to measure the relationships between the two acculturation attitudes. The theoretical conceptualization has shifted from a unidimensional assimilation model to the recognition that acculturation is a complex, multifaceted process (Berry, 1997; for reviews see Flannery, Reise, & Yu, 2001; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000; Ward, 1996). Two of these models play an important role in the present study. The *unidimensional model* implies a process of change along a single dimension, a shift from cultural maintenance to full adaptation to the culture of the majority (Gordon, 1964). In the *bidimensional model*, cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation constitute relatively independent dimensions: increasing identification with one culture does not necessarily require decreasing identification with the other culture (Berry, 1997; Hutnik, 1986; LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993; Moghaddam, 1988; Sanchez & Fernandez, 1993; Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez, 1980). Empirical studies comparing acculturation models have supported the bidimensional nature of acculturation (e.g. Flannery et al., 2001; Ryder et al., 2000).

Currently, the most popular and widely used bidimensional model is that of Berry (1992, 1997). In this model, combinations of the two dimensions yield the following four acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization (see Figure 1). The integration strategy

<sup>2</sup>Turkish–Dutch in this article refers to people who were born in Turkey or who had at least one parent who was born in Turkey. Dutch in this article refers to people who were born in the Netherlands and whose parents were born in the Netherlands.

<p><b>Maintain heritage culture and identity?</b></p> <p>Yes</p>	<p><b>Separation</b></p>	<p><b>Integration</b></p>
	<p><b>Marginalization</b></p>	<p><b>Assimilation</b></p>
<p>No</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>Yes</p>

**Seek contact with and participate in the host society at large? (Berry, 1992)**  
**Adapt to culture of the majority? (Bourhis et al., 1997)**

Figure 1. Four acculturation strategies of immigrant groups

reflects a desire to maintain key features of the migrant culture while also adopting key features of the majority group. Assimilation occurs when maintenance of the migrant culture is seen as undesirable while adaptation to the culture of the majority group is highly important. The separation strategy reflects a preference to maintain features of the migrant culture while rejecting the culture of the majority group. Finally, marginalization refers to a rejection of both the migrant and the majority culture.

In measuring acculturation strategies of immigrants, a number of relevant life domains are selected for which cultural choices can be made. Two methods have been commonly applied. One uses two statements for a particular life domain, one for each of the two underlying dimensions (e.g. importance of having ethnic friends and importance of having friends from the majority group), and then converts the two dimension scores into scores for the four strategies. The other uses four statements for the life domains, one for each of the four strategies (e.g. importance of having ethnic and majority group friends as an integration item). Recently, the latter method has been criticized on a number of conceptual and methodological grounds (e.g. Dona & Berry, 1994; Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001). The former method in which the two dimensions are addressed independently is proposed as a more effective way of measuring acculturation attitudes.

Results using both methods showed that there was usually an overall coherent preference for one particular acculturation strategy: the majority of migrants preferred integration, followed either by assimilation or separation, while marginalization tended to be the least preferred acculturation strategy (e.g. Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989; Berry & Sam, 1997; Lasry & Sayegh, 1992; Van de Vijver, Helms-Lorenz, & Feltzer, 1999; Van Oudenhoven, Willemsma, & Prins, 1996). Some studies, however, reported variation of strategies across life domains. Developments in one domain need not always follow the same course as developments in other domains. There is a main distinction between private (at home) and public (outside home) domains. In private domains, immigrants preferred cultural maintenance more than in public domains of life (Phalet, Van Lotringen, & Entzinger, 2000; Taylor & Lambert, 1996; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

### MULTICULTURAL IDEOLOGIES

Multicultural ideologies of the dominant group of the society constitute a fundamental element in intergroup relations; the ideologies will underlie policy options for managing cultural diversity within

a society and define the constraints of the acculturation process for migrants (Berry, 2001). Multicultural ideology refers to the overall evaluation of the majority group addressing the degree to which they possess positive attitudes toward immigrants and cultural diversity. A positive overall evaluation implies a combination of a positive view on cultural maintenance of ethnic groups and an appreciation of the need to accommodate diversity in an equitable way. This ideology, which attempts to strike a balance between unity and diversity within a society, is a precondition for multiculturalism (Citrin, Sears, Muste, & Wong, 2001).

The term multiculturalism was introduced in Canada as a policy goal, in rejection of the idea of cultural assimilation in which new citizens were expected to give up their original ethnic identity in favor of the adoption of a new identity. Multiculturalism refers to an attitude to a culturally plural society; more specifically, it refers to the attitude in which groups value and actively support mutual cultural differences and equal chances and opportunities. This means that cultural diversity is not only recognized as a demographic characteristic of the society but also evaluated by its citizens as important for the functioning of the society as a whole (Berry, 1984; Berry & Kalin, 1995).

Despite the growing prominence of multiculturalism in Western government policies, multiculturalism has received scant attention in empirical research. Studies on multiculturalism indicate that majority group members generally do not have positive feelings about immigrants (Simon & Lynch, 1999). Ho (1990) found only moderate support for multiculturalism in Australia. Taylor and Lambert (1996) showed that cultural diversity was in general not valued by the majority of European Americans. In their opinion minority groups should maintain their culture only in private domains of life and in more public domains of life they should adapt to the customs and culture of the European Americans. Zick, Wagner, Van Dick, and Petzel (2001) concluded that the idea of multiculturalism is not prominent in German society. Taken together, the ideology of multiculturalism seems to be more endorsed in government policies in various countries than could be expected on the basis of public opinion surveys of majority group members (Citrin et al., 2001).

## MUTUAL VIEWS OF MINORITY AND MAJORITY GROUP MEMBERS

The outcomes of the acculturation process and the intergroup relations depend substantially on mutual expectations and interactions between the members of the majority and the migrant groups. Recent research in immigration issues has focused more on reciprocal views, involving individuals of both groups in contact (Berry, 1997; Bourhis et al., 1997; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000).

### Acculturation Attitudes

The four acculturation strategies can be assessed both among migrant and majority group members. In the former case, migrant group members are asked to indicate their preferred acculturation strategies, while in the latter case majority group members are asked to indicate which acculturation strategy they think migrants should use. Depending on the combination of preferred and expected choices of acculturation strategies by both groups, their social relationship can be consensual, problematic, or conflictual (Bourhis et al., 1997; Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001). When both migrants and majority group members share a preference for either integration or assimilation, a consensual relationship is expected, characterized by positive and effective communication and low intergroup tension. Problematic relationships may emerge when migrants and the majority group members only partly agree on the desirable acculturation orientation (e.g. migrant group members favor integration but

majority group members prefer that migrants assimilate). Conflictual relationships can emerge when majority group members endorse segregation or when migrants endorse the separation strategy, because in these cases there is no positive communication at all between the two groups as the groups ignore each other.

Only few recent empirical studies compared acculturation strategies of migrants and majority group members (e.g. Phalet et al., 2000; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Van Oudenhoven, Prins, & Buunk, 1998; Verkuyten en Thijs, 1999). The conclusions emerging from these studies were that members of migrant groups supported cultural maintenance more than did majority groups members, and that cultural adaptation was more favored by natives than by migrants. In the studies of Van Oudenhoven and his associates, and Verkuijten and Thijs, Dutch majority group members expressed most support for an assimilation strategy by migrants whereas migrants preferred integration.

### **Multicultural Ideologies**

National surveys in Canada addressed multicultural ideologies of both minority and majority groups with the same instrument. Berry and Kalin (1995) employed a multicultural ideology scale, which assessed support for having a culturally diverse society in Canada, in which ethnocultural groups maintain and share their cultures with others, and all groups participate in the life of the larger society. Multicultural ideology has been assessed using a bipolar unidimensional scale with positive evaluation of cultural diversity and support of multiculturalism at one pole, and negative evaluation of diversity, segregation, assimilation, and exclusion at the other (Berry, 1984). The results revealed that both the minority and the majority groups support multiculturalism in Canada, though the support by minorities is stronger.

### **Intergroup Attitudes**

Theories of intergroup attitudes provide a framework for understanding differences in attitudes toward acculturation strategies and multiculturalism by migrants and majority group members. People derive many of their self-conceptions and positive feelings about themselves by referring to their membership of emotionally significant social categories or groups (the ingroups). In examining intergroup attitudes, social comparison forms an important aspect. One of the most consistent findings is that members of social groups attempt to achieve positive distinctiveness for their group (i.e. a favorable evaluation of the ingroup over relevant outgroups). Furthermore, positive affect toward ingroup and the absence of these positive feelings toward outgroups lead to bias and prejudice (Tajfel, 1978). Research has shown that although ingroup favoritism and outgroup derogation (in the form of prejudice or discrimination) are universal and serve similar psychological functions, these features vary across individuals and groups (Brewer & Brown, 1998). There is evidence that group status and social position play an important moderating role in this process: the greater one's social status, the greater one's tendency to display ingroup favoritism (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). Furthermore, studies in this area have shown that members of both high- and low-status groups tend to favor the high-status group on status-relevant dimensions and accept the system of hierarchy itself when the status distinction between groups is believed to be legitimate (deserved) (Levin, Federico, Sidanius, & Rabinowitz, 2002).

Group-based status distinctions are, however, formed and maintained not only as a function of ingroup favoritism, but also as a desire that the own ingroup be dominant or have control over other outgroups (Sidanius, Pratto, & Rabinowitz, 1994). High-status majority group members may want to maintain or extend their culture and comparatively superior status and power in the society by

demanding immigrants to adapt to the mainstream dominant culture, or by endorsing segregation or exclusion of immigrants. Montreuil and Bourhis (2001) showed that acculturation attitudes of the majority group toward immigrant groups depend also on the perceived status and cultural similarity of the migrant group. In their study, integration was more endorsed for groups with a higher status (with more cultural similarity and less social distance) whereas assimilation, segregation, and exclusion were more strongly endorsed for groups with lower status (also characterized by less cultural similarity and more social distance).

Outgroups are also assumed to hinder ingroup goals. A perceived threat to the security of one's ethnic identity and social power can also influence the evaluation of outgroups. Majority members often see minorities (especially, when they are culturally very different) and their desire to maintain their heritage culture as a threat to their own culture and to the unity of the society as a whole (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Therefore, majority group members may want to enforce adaptation. Migrant groups, on the other hand, may perceive adaptation to majority culture as a threat to their group identity and culture (Verkuyten & Thijs, 1999). In addition, to survive economically and to become successful in the society, migrants may favor the high-status group and therefore they adapt to the mainstream culture to a certain degree. Migrants often find themselves in between two demanding groups, their own group and the majority group. To satisfy both sets of possibly not always compatible demands, the integration acculturation strategy remains the most obvious option.

## **CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE NETHERLANDS**

In the last 30 years, many people from different cultural backgrounds came to live in the Netherlands. A large number of immigrants came from the former Dutch colonies, from Southern Europe, Turkey and Morocco as foreign laborers during the 1960s, and recently from different countries as refugees (CBS, 1999). At present, 17% of the population is of foreign origin. This figure includes those who are foreign born and those born in the Netherlands with at least one nonnative parent. It is estimated that around the year 2010 almost half of the population of the three largest cities will consist of migrants, which is unprecedented in Dutch history. Therefore, it is not surprising that the topic of managing cultural diversity in the Netherlands has gained much prominence in the public discourse on migrants.

The Netherlands is one of the countries in Europe that has adopted the ideal of multiculturalism as policy goal (Baubock, Heller, & Zolberg, 1996). This multiculturalist approach aims at promoting respect for cultural differences combined with egalitarian goals. It means that minorities have equal access to institutions and their share in its products and services, and that they can maintain their ethnic culture. The government, which by constitution is obliged to treat all groups alike, does not interfere in this process of cultural maintenance. In practice, the government policy implies that minority groups can keep key features of their own culture while accepting and adopting the values and culture of the Dutch majority. Despite the Dutch government policy of multiculturalism, intolerance and prejudice of native Dutch toward migrants has become a more serious problem in recent years (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

## **THE PRESENT STUDY**

The Netherlands with its growing cultural diversity and its multiculturalist policy approach provides a good place for research on immigration issues. The purpose of the present study was to investigate the psychological component of immigration in the Netherlands, in particular, the extent of preconditions

of multiculturalism; how Turkish–Dutch minority and Dutch majority group members think about multiculturalism in the Netherlands and about perceived opportunities and acculturation orientations of Turkish migrants. Our central question was to what extent these concepts differ between these two cultural groups. The main reasons for choosing the Turkish group for this study were twofold: size (as one of the largest migrant groups in the Netherlands) and prominence as migrant group (Turks are often seen by Dutch as the prototypical migrant group with relatively low status; Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989; Pettigrew, 1998).

More specifically, four attitudes were examined both among Dutch and Turkish–Dutch: (1) attitudes toward the Netherlands as a multicultural society, (2) attitudes toward cultural maintenance of Turkish migrants, (3) attitudes toward cultural adaptation of Turkish migrants, and (4) perceived opportunities of Turkish migrants. The following five predictions were examined:

- (1) Turkish–Dutch are expected to support the ideal of multiculturalism more than the Dutch majority do since Turkish–Dutch gain more from multiculturalism (as they can maintain their own culture and can obtain higher social status). Dutch, on the other hand, focus more on the possible negative aspects of multiculturalism (as it may threaten their dominant cultural and social status).
- (2) Turkish–Dutch place more emphasis on cultural maintenance of Turkish migrants than Dutch do. On the other hand, Dutch stress the importance of cultural adaptation of Turkish migrant more than Turkish–Dutch do.
- (3) Regarding the combinations of cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation we predict that Turkish–Dutch prefer integration (as being the most adequate strategy to satisfy demands of both groups) and Dutch prefer assimilation (as the least threat to their cultural and social dominance).
- (4) Since Turkish migrants are often associated with immigrants with relatively low status and they may perceive prejudice of native Dutch, we expect that perceived opportunities of Turkish migrants are evaluated more negatively by Turkish–Dutch than by Dutch.
- (5) The question was addressed what the degree of coherence is between multiculturalism and acculturation. We expected that persons in both cultural groups who support the ideal of multiculturalism favor also cultural maintenance and cultural adaptation of Turkish migrants.

Finally, we looked for differences related to background variables, including age, gender, educational level, and employment, making it possible to control for them when testing our expectations.

## METHOD

### Participants

A group of 1565 Dutch and a group of 185 Turkish–Dutch participants were involved in this study. The Dutch sample consisted of 693 females and 872 males; their mean age was 48.99 year ( $SD = 15.42$ ). The Turkish–Dutch sample consisted of 83 females and 102 males, with a mean age of 30.51 years ( $SD = 10.42$ ). The educational level, with scores ranging from 1 (primary education) to 5 (university degree), was higher in the Dutch sample ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ) than in the Turkish–Dutch sample ( $M = 2.86$ ,  $SD = 1.38$ ). In the Dutch sample 46% of the participants were employed; the employment rate was 51.9% in the Turkish–Dutch sample. The Turkish–Dutch sample consisted of 112 first-generation and 71 second-generation Turkish–Dutch (two missing cases). The Dutch and the Turkish–Dutch samples differed significantly in age  $t(287.1) = 21.46$ ,  $p < 0.001$ , and in educational level  $t(1698) = 5.27$ ,  $p < 0.001$  (gender and employment status were not significantly different).

The Dutch participants were members of a telepanel of a research center in the Netherlands (CentERdata), which is assumed to be a fairly good representative sample of the Dutch native population. They fill in a questionnaire about various research topics using a personal computer every two weeks. The Turkish–Dutch participants were approached using a variety of network sources, including different organizations and institutions of the Turkish–Dutch, and government agencies in the southern part of the Netherlands. The response rate was 32.5%. It should be noted that it is virtually impossible to draw a random sample of Turkish–Dutch in the Netherlands. For reasons of privacy, it is not possible to obtain a list of names and addresses of immigrants for research purposes. The most widely applied method is snowball sampling, followed by a comparison of important background characteristics of the sampled participants with the migrant population at large in order to gain insight into possible sample bias. This procedure showed that our sample was quite similar to the Turkish population in the Netherlands (CBS, 1999; Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000) in terms of age, gender, and employment status. The only difference was related to schooling; our sample was somewhat higher educated than the Turkish population in the Netherlands,  $\chi^2(4, N = 183) = 70.96, p < 0.001$ .

### Instruments and Procedure

The inventory consisted of three parts. The first asked for demographic information, like gender, age, educational level, and employment status. The second was formed by the ‘*Dutch Multicultural Ideology Scale*’ (10 items), a translation and adaptation of the Canadian Multicultural Ideology Scale (Berry & Kalin, 1995). This scale assesses support for having a culturally diverse society in Canada. There are ten items, with five worded in a negative direction (see Table 1). Items were independently

Table 1. Items, factor loadings, and effect sizes of the multiculturalism scale (8 items) for Dutch and Turkish–Dutch

Items	Dutch	Turkish–Dutch	Effect sizes <sup>a</sup>
1. Dutch should recognize that the Dutch society consist of groups with different cultural backgrounds	0.52	0.67	–0.21**
2. Ethnic minorities should be helped to preserve their cultural heritage in the Netherlands	0.80	0.70	–1.02***
3. It is best for the Netherlands if all people forget their different cultural backgrounds as soon as possible	0.75	0.47	0.87***
4. A society that has a variety of cultural groups is more able to tackle new problems as they occur	0.67	0.65	–0.71***
5. The unity of this country is weakened by Dutch of different cultural backgrounds sticking to their old ways	0.68	0.44	1.07***
6. If Dutch of different cultural origins want to keep their own culture, they should keep it to themselves	—	—	—
7. A society that has a variety of cultural groups has more problems with national unity than societies with one or two basic cultural groups	0.58	0.39	1.10***
8. Dutch natives should do more to learn about the customs and heritage of different cultural groups in this country	0.65	0.57	–0.59***
9. Immigrant parents must encourage their children to retain the culture and traditions of their homeland	0.64	0.48	–1.16***
10. People who come to live in the Netherlands should change their behavior to be more like the Dutch	—	—	—

<sup>a</sup>Effect size is defined as the difference of Dutch mean and the Turkish mean, divided by their pooled standard deviation. \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .



translated into Dutch by four different persons. The four translations were then compared and differences were discussed until consensus was reached. In the case of item 1, where a literal translation was impossible an adaptation was chosen that was as close as possible to the original English text. Furthermore, the terms 'ethnic and racial groups' were translated into the more common Dutch term 'cultural groups'.

The third part of the inventory measured the *Acculturation attitudes toward Turkish and Dutch culture* (10 items) in five domains of life: child rearing, education, language usage, social contacts, and cultural habits (the latter involves, among other things, culturally accepted ways of doing things). In each domain, there were two items formulated, one in the Dutch direction and the other in the Turkish. For example, the two items about child-rearing were: 'Turkish migrants should rear their children in the Turkish way' and 'Turkish migrants should rear their children in the Dutch way'. Also, the *Attitude toward 'perceived opportunities' of Turkish migrants* (compared to those of native Dutch) was measured with five items, involving different areas of life. An example of an item is: 'Turkish individuals have the same opportunity in the Dutch society as Dutch individuals have.'

All 25 responses were given on a 7-point Likert scale, with answer options ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). The 15 items in the third part were randomly presented.

The Dutch questionnaire was translated into Turkish and independently back-translated by two bilinguals. The few minor differences observed were resolved by discussion. Dutch participants answered the questions in Dutch on their personal computers at home, which have a modem connection to the telepanel research center. Turkish–Dutch subjects filled in the questionnaire at home. They could choose in which language (Turkish or Dutch) they wanted to fill in the questionnaire; 53.5% of the Turkish–Dutch participants used the Dutch version, and 46.5% the Turkish version.

## RESULTS

Results are divided into five sections: (1) scale analyses, (2) multiculturalism attitudes, (3) attitudes *vis-à-vis* acculturation (cultural maintenance, cultural adaptation, preferred acculturation strategies) and perceived life-opportunities, (4) relationships among attitudes, and (5) the influence of background individual variables on attitudes.

### Scale Analyses

Factor analyses were first employed to address dimensionality of scales; analyses were carried out for each of the two samples separately. Similarities of factor-analytic solutions of the two samples (factorial agreements) were addressed next. The most widely used statistic is Tucker's coefficient of agreement, also known as Tucker's phi. Values higher than 0.90 are seen as evidence for factorial similarity (Van de Vijver & Leung, 1997).

### *Multiculturalism*

Based on the Canadian results, a one-factor solution of the ten items of the 'Multicultural Ideology Scale' was expected for the two samples. For the Dutch sample, all the 10 items loaded high (lowest loading: 0.48) on a single factor, but for the Turkish–Dutch sample, items 7 and 10 showed much lower

loadings (of 0.09 and 0.12, respectively). Item 7 was a long and possibly difficult item for Turkish–Dutch and item 10 is the only item that refers to behavior. Using all the ten items, the factorial agreement, Tucker’s phi was 0.92; without items 7 and 10, a value of 0.98 was obtained. Although the value of 0.92 is still above the threshold level of 0.90, the low loadings of items 7 and 10, and the sharp decrease of Tucker’s phi when including these items made us decide to eliminate the two items from further analyses.

Our analyses provided strong support for the factorial similarity of the scale (with eight items) across the two samples. Factor loadings of the eight items are presented in Table 1. For the Dutch sample, 44.48% of the variance was explained for the eight items, and for the Turkish–Dutch sample 31.07%. Cronbach’s alpha was 0.82 for the Dutch sample, and 0.67 for the Turkish–Dutch sample.

#### *Acculturation Attitudes toward Dutch Culture*

The one-factorial solution of the five items was compared across both groups. A highly unsatisfactory value of Tucker’s phi of 0.55 was found, which did not give support to factorial agreement between the two samples. For the Turkish–Dutch sample, two factors emerged (eigenvalues: 1.51 and 1.37). On the first factor, the items measuring social contact with Dutch, Dutch education, and speaking Dutch showed high loadings (of 0.60, 0.74, and 0.76, respectively); the factor was labeled *adaptation in public domains*. The second factor, with high loadings for items dealing with child rearing (0.81) and cultural habits (0.78), was called *adaptation in private domains*. Values of Tucker’s phi for the two-factorial solutions were 0.88 and 0.86, which did not strongly support the factorial similarity across the two samples.

In order to be able to compare the results of the two samples, we split the adaptation scale into two separate subscales, based on the results of two-factorial solutions of the Turkish–Dutch sample. The three adaptation items in the public domain constituted the first scale, while the two items about adaptation in private life formed the second scale. Tucker’s phi was 0.97 for the first scale and 1 for the second scale (Tucker’s phi can only obtain values of +1 or –1 in the case of two items).

The results of the factor analyses on items measuring attitudes toward Dutch culture revealed two comparable factors in our samples. One was measuring *adaptation (to Dutch culture) in public domains*, explaining 50.37% and 49.77% of the variance in the Dutch and the Turkish–Dutch sample, respectively. The other measured *adaptation (to Dutch culture) in private domains*, explaining 74.84% of the variance in the Dutch and 66.37% of the variance in the Turkish–Dutch sample.

#### *Acculturation Attitudes toward Turkish Culture*

All five items measuring the attitude toward Turkish culture loaded positively on one factor in both the Dutch and the Turkish–Dutch samples, accounting for 45.96% and 50.05% of the total variance, respectively. This factor was labeled as *(Turkish) cultural maintenance scale*. The value of Tucker’s phi was 0.99.

#### *Perceived Opportunities*

All the five items measuring perceived opportunities of Turkish migrants loaded positively on a single factor in both Dutch and Turkish–Dutch samples, accounting for 64.72% and 57.53% of the variance, respectively. This factor was called *perceived opportunity*. A Tucker’s phi value of 0.99 was obtained.

### Attitudes on Multiculturalism

The mean score of the Dutch participants on the multiculturalism scale was 4.10 ( $SD = 1.02$ ), which is close to the midpoint of the scale (which is four and indicates a neutral viewpoint), while the mean score of the Turkish sample was 5.46 ( $SD = 0.83$ ). This difference was highly significant,  $t(1748) = -18.64$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . In order to assess the extent of differences between the two samples by taking the large differences in sample sizes into account, effect sizes (Cohen's  $d$ , defined as the Dutch minus the Turkish–Dutch average score divided by their pooled standard deviation) were computed. Effect sizes with absolute values between 0.20 and 0.50 refer to small differences, between 0.50 and 0.80 to moderate ones, and above 0.80 to large differences (Cohen, 1988). On the basis of the obtained large effect size on the mean scores ( $d = -1.30$ ), it can be concluded that Turkish–Dutch favor multiculturalism in the Netherlands more highly than native Dutch do, which confirms our first prediction.

An examination of the effect sizes of the eight items (see Table 1) revealed that items measuring supporting and helping minorities to maintain their own cultures showed the largest differences between the Dutch and the Turkish–Dutch samples; cultural maintenance was valued more highly by Turkish–Dutch than by Dutch participants. Furthermore, compared to Turkish–Dutch, Dutch agreed more with statements about disadvantages of a diverse society (e.g. weakening unity) and less with statements about its advantages (e.g. better tackling of new problems). Dutch were neutral about the importance of their contribution to the success of the Dutch multicultural society (need to learning different customs) while Turkish–Dutch were more positive.

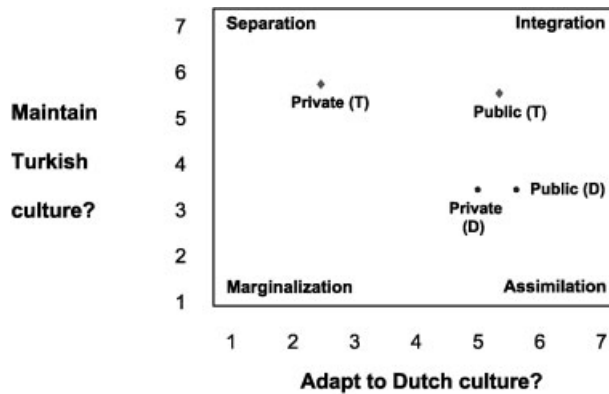
### Attitudes on Acculturation and Perceived Opportunities

The differences between the mean scores of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch on acculturation attitudes were all significant: for the cultural maintenance scale, the result from a  $t$ -test was  $t(1748) = -24.97$ , for the adaptation scale in public domains,  $t(1748) = 3.36$ , and in private domains  $t(1748) = 22.44$ , all  $ps < 0.001$ . The effect size of the cultural maintenance scale was very large ( $d = -2.30$ ): cultural maintenance of Turkish migrants was not valued by Dutch while it was preferred by Turkish–Dutch. This finding supports our second prediction on cultural maintenance. Results on cultural adaptation revealed that Dutch and Turkish–Dutch differed much less in their views on adaptation in public domains ( $d = 0.34$ ) than in private domains ( $d = 2.10$ ). These results give strong support to our prediction regarding cultural adaptation in private domains and much weaker support to our prediction about adaptation in public domains.

#### *Preferred Acculturation Strategies*

In order to compute scores for the four acculturation strategies, the Turkish cultural maintenance scale, just as in the case for the Dutch adaptation scale, was split into a private and a public subscale. After splitting the scale into two subscales, the factorial agreement remained high: Tucker's phi was 1 for the subscale of *Turkish cultural maintenance in private domains*, and 0.995 for the subscale *Turkish cultural maintenance in public domains*.

The preferred strategies of the two groups in the private and public domains have been drawn in Figure 2. The four angular points of the square in the figure represent the prototypical acculturation strategies. The preferred strategy is the strategy represented by the nearest angular point. For the Dutch natives assimilation was the most preferred acculturation strategy in both the public and the private



Note. T = Turkish-Dutch, D = Dutch

Figure 2. Acculturation strategies most preferred by Dutch and Turkish–Dutch

domains. Turkish–Dutch participants made a clear distinction in preference in public and private domains. In public domains, integration was the most preferred strategy and in private domains separation was by far the most preferred strategy. These results confirm the third prediction on preferred acculturation strategies with respect to public domains.

In summary, in public domains of life there was partial agreement between the views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch on the most preferred acculturation strategy of Turkish migrants: both cultural groups agreed on the need for Turkish migrants to adapt to the Dutch culture in these domains of life. However, views on cultural maintenance by Turkish migrants showed disagreements in all domains of life. Dutch are less in favor of cultural maintenance than Turkish–Dutch. In private domains there was also disagreement about cultural adaptation: unlike Dutch natives, Turkish–Dutch participants did not value Dutch adaptation in private domains. These results demonstrate domain dependence of acculturation orientation of the Turkish–Dutch, and domain independence of the Dutch natives. Dutch natives valued cultural adaptation of Turkish migrants in all domains of life, while Turkish–Dutch adults preferred cultural adaptation only in public domains of life.

Regarding perceived opportunities, views of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch did not differ significantly: both the Dutch and the Turkish–Dutch perceived that Turkish migrants had the same life-opportunities in the Netherlands as Dutch natives,  $t(1748) = 1.67$ , *ns*, which does not confirm our fourth prediction.

### Relationships among Attitudes

The relationship between multiculturalism and acculturation orientation was addressed using Pearson product–moment correlations in both samples separately. The differences between the correlations were tested using Fisher's  $z$ -transformations. Strong positive correlations were observed between multiculturalism and Turkish cultural maintenance in both samples (Dutch:  $r = 0.52$ ; Turkish–Dutch:  $r = 0.43$ , both  $ps < 0.001$ ). The difference between the correlations was not significant ( $z = 1.49$ , *ns*). Both Dutch and Turkish–Dutch who were more supportive of multiculturalism were more inclined to support cultural maintenance by Turkish migrants. This result confirms the fifth prediction that dealt with cultural maintenance. Dutch adaptation in private domains showed similar findings: a negative and significant correlation with multiculturalism was found in both groups (Dutch:  $r = -0.51$ ; Turkish–Dutch:  $r = -0.40$ , both  $ps < 0.001$ ;  $z = -1.28$ , *ns*). Participants who were more supportive

of multiculturalism were less in favor of Dutch adaptation in private life. Finally, the most interesting correlations were found for adaptation to the Dutch culture in the public domain. Dutch showed a negative correlation of  $-0.16$  ( $p < 0.01$ ) and Turkish–Dutch a positive correlation of  $0.22$  ( $p < 0.01$ ). The difference between these correlations was highly significant ( $z = -4.92$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ). Dutch respondents who were more supportive of multiculturalism were less likely to demand adaptation from Turkish migrants in public life. A tolerance of pluralism may underlie both attitudes. However, Turkish–Dutch who were more supportive of a multicultural society were more inclined to favor adaptation to Dutch culture in public life. They were more prepared to invest in public life. The prediction on cultural adaptation is only confirmed in the Turkish–Dutch sample regarding public domains.

### **Influence of Background Variables**

To investigate the influence of background individual variables on the measured attitudes, five separate multiple regression analyses were carried out for the two cultural groups combined, with multiculturalism, Dutch adaptation in public and private domains, Turkish cultural maintenance and perceived opportunities as dependent variables and age, gender, educational level, and employment as independent variables. All the five regression analyses yielded low, though significant adjusted squared multiple correlations, ranging from  $0.03$  to  $0.09$  ( $p < 0.001$ ). The best predictors were age and educational level (see Table 2). In the next stage of analysis, the residual scores on each scale were treated as test variables. Differences in the original (before correction) and residual (after correction) scores between the two samples were compared. If the four background variables affect score differences between the two samples, the effect sizes for the residual scores should be smaller than the effect sizes of the original scores. As Table 2 shows, correcting for age, gender, educational level, and employment decreases the effect sizes, but the differences between the Dutch and the Turkish–Dutch on the scales multiculturalism, Turkish cultural maintenance, and Dutch adaptation in private domains remained still high and significant. The four background variables, however, affect score differences between the two samples on the scale Dutch adaptation in public domains.

Another way to examine the role of the four background variables was to match the Dutch and the Turkish–Dutch on the four individual characteristics. Dutch and Turkish–Dutch participants were selected on the basis of having exactly the same age, gender, educational level, and employment ( $N = 139$  in both groups). Just as with the statistical controlling for the four background variables, the matched samples showed large effect sizes on the scales measuring multiculturalism, Turkish cultural maintenance and Dutch adaptation in private domains (see Table 2).

It can be concluded that the obtained differences between Dutch and Turkish–Dutch adults in attitudes regarding multiculturalism and acculturation attitudes could not be accounted for by group differences in age, gender, educational level, and employment.

## **DISCUSSION**

The present study addressed the views of the Dutch majority and the Turkish–Dutch minority on the two psychological components of immigration: multiculturalism and acculturation. Results revealed that Dutch natives had on average a rather neutral view on multiculturalism in the Netherlands while Turkish–Dutch were clearly more in favor of it. Moreover, Dutch preferred the assimilation acculturation strategy by Turkish migrants above integration in all domains of life, whereas Turkish–Dutch made a clear distinction in domains of acculturation strategies. They preferred

Table 2. Relationships between background variables and various acculturation attitudes: (1) multiple regression analysis; (2) effect sizes before and after correction for predictors<sup>a</sup>; (3) effect sizes in groups of Dutch and Turkish–Dutch, matched on background characteristics<sup>b</sup>

Attitudes	Predictors (betas)				Effect sizes			
	Age	Gender <sup>c</sup>	Education	Employment <sup>d</sup>	Adj. $R^2$	Before correction	After correction	Matched group
Multiculturalism	-0.18***	0.03	0.15***	-0.02	0.05**	-1.32***	-1.17***	-1.72***
Adaptation in public domain	0.19***	0.05*	-0.00	-0.01	0.04***	0.34**	0.11	0.11
Adaptation in private domain	0.31***	-0.03	-0.05*	0.05	0.09***	2.10***	1.68***	1.96***
Cultural maintenance	-0.20***	0.03	-0.07**	-0.08**	0.05***	-2.30***	-1.94***	-2.14***
Opportunities	0.04	0.01	-0.17***	-0.02	0.03***	0.14	0.16	0.31**

<sup>a</sup>Participants without missing values (on the four predictors):  $n_{\text{Dutch}} = 1515$ ;  $n_{\text{Turkish-Dutch}} = 182$ .

<sup>b</sup>139 Dutch and 139 Turkish–Dutch participants with exactly the same age, gender, educational level and employment.

<sup>c</sup>Male = 1, female = 2.

<sup>d</sup>Unemployed = 1, employed = 2.

\* $p < 0.05$ ; \*\* $p < 0.01$ ; \*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

integration in public domains and separation in private domains of life. Views on perceived opportunities of Turkish migrants, however, did not differ significantly for the two groups.

Our findings indicate that views on acculturation and multiculturalism held by the two groups differ in two aspects. The first involves the desirability of cultural maintenance. For the Turkish–Dutch cultural maintenance is a key issue in the acculturation process while the Dutch have on average a slightly negative attitude toward it. The second refers to domain specificity of cultural adaptation. Turkish–Dutch participants were more inclined to endorse statements about adaptation in public life than in private life, while Dutch participants did not show this domain specificity. These differences suggest that the underlying psychological processes of acculturation and multiculturalism (including structure, meaning, implications, and consequences) are different for majority and minority group members. Conceptually, acculturation is a more homogeneous construct for majority people while it is more heterogeneous for minorities. The structure of acculturation (combination of cultural maintenance and adaptation) is different in the two cultural groups: acculturation is unidimensional in majority group members and bidimensional in minority groups (Verkuyten & Thijs, 1999; Zick et al., 2001). For majority group members, cultural maintenance and adaptation are conflicting options: maintenance of minority culture implies a lack of adaptation to the majority culture, and vice versa.

It was found in the majority group that support for multiculturalism was positively related to support for cultural maintenance and negatively to cultural adaptation; this finding suggests that acculturation attitudes and multicultural ideologies of majority members can be represented as a bipolar continuum with positive attitudes toward cultural diversity and cultural maintenance of minorities at one pole and negative attitudes toward immigrants and an emphasis on assimilation at the other pole. For the minorities, cultural maintenance is important for psychological and social reasons while at the same time cultural adaptation to the majority culture is also important to acquire a position in the society (Taylor & Moghaddam, 1994). For minorities cultural maintenance and adaptation to the larger society are relatively independent options that do not exclude each other (e.g. Berry, 2001; Verkuyten & Thijs, 1999). Our results showed that the bidimensional acculturation model for minorities was preferred only in public domains. This finding indicates that there are substantial variations in life domains of acculturation for minorities.

Life domains have a different meaning for the majority and migrant group members in the Netherlands. For the majority group the culture of the private domain and the public domain are identical. The private domain, including the family, child-rearing values, cultural habits, and the primary community, is an integrated structural part of life and it plays an important role in socializing individuals for participation in the public domain (Rex, 1997). Majority people are likely to apply this homogeneous, domain-independent view on culture also to migrants. For the migrant groups, however, the private domain can be part of another social and cultural subsystem, which significantly differs from the main society. The private domain offers scope for cultural maintenance without adaptation to the mainstream society. Adaptation in the public domain, however, is of value and importance to minorities, especially in relation to equality of opportunities in society. These differences between majority and minority people in the role of life domains in the acculturation process suggest that an instrument that does not take life-domains into account does not adequately cover the concept of acculturation and multiculturalism.

Finding a place for both accepting and supporting cultural maintenance (and therefore cultural diversity in the society) and equality of opportunities are important elements of a multicultural policy. These two elements may not always be in balance. Emphasis upon diversity without allowing for equality could lead to segregation and differential incorporation, whereas emphasis on equality at the expense of diversity could lead to forms of assimilation. The latter situation seems to occur now in the Netherlands: Dutch natives perceive equal opportunities of (Turkish) migrants in the society, while they think that cultural diversity (i.e. maintenance of minority cultures) is not favorable to the society

at large. The Turkish migrant group, on the other hand, has adopted the main preconditions of multiculturalism (i.e. accepting and supporting cultural diversity, participating in the larger society, and perceiving equal life opportunities), and their views reflect a more genuine multicultural perspective. While the views of Dutch natives on cultural diversity are not very supportive for multiculturalism, appreciation of equal opportunities seems fairly well adopted in the Netherlands. However, it should be kept in mind that agreeing on statements that Turkish migrants have the same opportunities as majority people does not mean that there is no prejudice and discrimination in the Netherlands. Everyday life practices are not always in agreement with this view of equal opportunities (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1996).

One of the main principles of multiculturalism has been the emphasis on cultural diversity. However, this principle is perceived differently by majority and minority group members reflecting their competing interests and implications. Berry and Kalin (1995) argue that groups are more in favor of multiculturalism when they see gains of multiculturalism for themselves. This mechanism may underlie the differences we saw in this study in the support of multiculturalism by members of migrant and mainstream groups. The latter group often views the desire of migrant groups to maintain their culture as a threat to the majority culture and the unity of the society (Van Oudenhoven et al., 1998). Moreover, acceptance of cultural diversity is seen as a threat to the superior cultural and social status. In contrast, migrants are more supportive of the ideal of multiculturalism since it offers many advantages to them such as maintaining their own culture and obtaining higher social status in society.

Generation level of minorities can have an important influence on attitudes toward acculturation. Stephenson (2000) argues that significant difference in loss of cultural maintenance occurs between the second and third generations. Because the Netherlands is a 'young' migration country, views on acculturation can only be measured among the first and second generations. Cultural differences and differences in views will be smaller with generations, but do not necessarily disappear.

Our study has policy implications. The difference in attitudes toward multiculturalism and acculturation by Dutch and Turkish–Dutch could in principle lead to problematic or even conflictual relational outcomes. However, the likelihood of such conflicts should not be overstated. Both groups agree on the need to adapt to Dutch culture in public life, where most cross-cultural encounters take place. Therefore, an implication for the Dutch multiculturalist policy approach can be to promote the development of an integrative acculturation strategy first in public domains of life. An important precondition for success of all major interventions is a change in the attitudes of Dutch majority regarding their negative perception of the impact of immigration on national unity and on the Dutch culture in general. Furthermore, the importance of the role and contribution of the majority group members to the success of the Dutch multicultural society could also be addressed. In addition, the psychological need and benefit for minorities to maintain their own culture could be more emphasized for the Dutch majority.

Finally, some limitations of the study need to be mentioned here. First, the scale structure and pattern of results require verification on a larger, more representative sample of various migrant groups. This particular sample represents only a small subset of the Turkish–Dutch population. These aspects limit the generalizability of these results to the larger Turkish–Dutch population in particular and to migrants in general. The second limitation involves the country in which the study took place. As argued above, acculturation strategies and outcomes are influenced by their cultural context. For example, the domain specificity of acculturation strategies of migrants may be a consequence of a combination of pressure on migrants by the native Dutch to adapt in public life and by Turkish migrants on each other to maintain the Turkish culture in the private domain. The findings of studies on multiculturalism may also vary with the social status of the migrants (which is relatively low for Turks in the Netherlands). Also, cultural distance and vitality of the groups play an important role.

In order to gain more insight in the psychological component of immigration, research should devote more attention to the dissimilarities between majority and minority group members in



structure, meanings, motives, and implications of acculturation and multiculturalism. Empirical studies should focus more on mutual views of majority and minority group members as the realization of a multicultural society depends substantially on their reciprocal attitudes and behaviors.

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