

Mental health in Moroccan youth in the Netherlands

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Mental Health in Moroccan Youth in the Netherlands

Emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse jeugdigen in Nederland

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Contents

Chapter 1	Introduction	9
Chapter 2	Parent, teacher and self reported problem behavior in the Netherlands: Comparing Moroccan immigrant with Dutch and with Turkish immigrant children and adolescents <i>Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 2003, 38, 576-585</i>	19
Chapter 3	Patterns of psychological acculturation in adult and adolescent Moroccan immigrants living in the Netherlands <i>Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, in press</i>	39
Chapter 4	Problem behavior and acculturation in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands: Effects of gender and parent-child conflict <i>Submitted for publication</i>	57
Chapter 5	Parenting and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth in the Netherlands <i>Submitted for publication</i>	73
Chapter 6	Predicting externalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands <i>Submitted for publication</i>	91
Chapter 7	Predicting internalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands	107
Chapter 8	General discussion	119
References		135
Summary		157
Samenvatting (summary in Dutch)		163
Dankwoord		169
Curriculum Vitae		170

1 | **Introduction**

Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis is about the mental health of Moroccan youth in the Netherlands. It is indicated that Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents are at high risk of developing emotional and behavioral problems. For instance, police records show that Moroccan immigrant adolescents are over-represented in the population of juvenile delinquents and are relatively young when they first get into contact with the police (Van Gemert, 1998). In addition, Moroccan immigrant youth are over-represented in judicial youth care (Justitiële Jeugdzorg), and more and more Moroccan adolescents apply for youth assistance (Jeugdhulpverlening) (Vollebergh, 2002). Moreover, several qualitative studies identified risk factors for the psychological development of Moroccan immigrant youth (e.g., Brouwer, 1997; Pels, 2003b; Van Gemert, 1998).

Why are Moroccan immigrant youth expected to be at high risk of problem behavior? First, their migrant status possibly brings about stress. Migrant families are frequently confronted with poverty, unemployment, and accommodation problems (Dijkman, 1996; Martens, 1999). In addition, problems may occur both between migrant parents and between migrant parents and their children, because of role changes and acculturation differences within the family (Sluzki, 1979; Pels & De Haan, 2003). For instance, the long separation between fathers and their families to some extent undermined male authority. In the father's absence, his wife and children gained independence (Wermölder, 1990). Furthermore, because of loss of their social circle, migrant families may face isolation (Rogler, 1994). Migrant children possibly experience cultural incompatibilities between the home culture and the host culture, resulting from differences between family and societal values, interaction styles, and social roles (Guarnaccia & Lopez, 1998). In addition, the limited language mastery of migrant children may cause problems at school (Sam & Berry, 1995). Discrepancies between the education and job aspirations of second-generation migrant children and their chances in the school system and labor market serve as a risk factor for problem behavior (Eldering & Knorth, 1997). Finally, structural adversity and rejection by the host society may cause stress and negatively influences psychological adaptation (Berry & Sam, 1997; Bourhis, Moiese, Perreault & Senecal, 1997).

Second, cultural factors might also influence the psychological development of Moroccan immigrant youth. As qualitative research indicated that some Moroccan parents bring up their adolescent children with less personal attention than Dutch parents (Pels, 1991, 1998), and parental support and monitoring protects against the development of problem behavior (e.g., Hammen & Rudolph, 1996; Helsen, Vollebergh & Meeus, 2000), it may be expected that Moroccan adolescents experience more problem behavior than their indigenous peers. Compared to girls, boys are more thrown on their own resources, which seem to make

boys especially vulnerable to problem behavior. In addition, more than native Dutch parents, Moroccan parents correct their children by exerting power, by warning, threatening or punishing (Pels & De Haan, 2003), which also turns out to be an important risk factor for behavioral problems (Patterson, DeBaryshe & Ramsey, 1989).

Although some police and youth care records showed that Moroccan immigrant youth are at relatively high risk of developing emotional and behavioral problems, and Moroccan youth may have to cope with stressors related to migration and culture, little is known about the extent to which Moroccan youth in the general population experience emotional and behavioral problems. The same accounts for the factors associated with this problem behavior. This study is developed to provide insight into these questions.

Prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth

The first aim of this study is to examine the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth and to compare this with problem behavior in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native youth. International studies on problem behavior in immigrant and non-immigrant youth revealed mixed findings. In some studies, adolescent immigrants reported more emotional and behavioral problems than their non-immigrant peers in the host country, whereas other studies indicated fewer or as many problems (Darwish Murad, Joung, Van Lenthe, Bengi-Arslan & Crijnen, 2003; Davies & McKelvey, 1998; Livaditis et al., 2000). The same was found for parent- and teacher-reports on problem behavior (Chang, Morrissey & Koplewicz, 1995; Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan & Verhulst, 2000; Davies & McKelvey, 1998; Loo & Rapport, 1998; Rutter et al., 1974; Weisz, Sigman, Weiss & Mosk, 1993). Dutch research has predominantly focused on self-reports of migrant pupils. In all studies, migrant adolescents reported more emotional problems or less psychological well-being than native Dutch adolescents (Beker & Maas, 1998; Bun & Van de Looij-Jansen 2000; Ter Bogt, Van Dorsselaer & Vollebergh, 2003; Vollebergh & Huiberts, 1996). Furthermore, Beker and Maas (1998) and Junger-Tas, Cruyff, Van de Looij-Jansen and Reelick (2003) found an increased level of behavioral problems in immigrant adolescents, whereas Ter Bogt et al. (2003) did not reveal differences between Dutch native and immigrant pupils.

Predicting emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth

The second aim of this study is to gain insight into the factors related to emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. The relation of acculturation, parenting

and other child, family, school/peer and migration predictors to emotional and behavioral problems is investigated.

Acculturation and problem behavior

Immigrant children have to deal with cultural differences between the home and the host culture (Guarnaccia & Lopez, 1998). Their acculturation strategy, i.e., the degree of cultural maintenance and adaptation to the host culture, may influence the psychological development of immigrant youth. Associations between acculturation and psychological functioning have been examined in a number of studies. Contradictory results were found (Aycan & Kanungo, 1998; Berry, 1997; Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Eyou, Adair & Dixon, 2000; Katragadda & Tidwell, 1998; Nguyen, Messe & Stollak, 1999; Rodriguez, Myers, Morris & Cardoza, 2000; Sam, 2000; Sam & Berry, 1995; Ward & Kennedy, 1993; Wong, 1999). The mixed findings may have been largely due to differences in the minority groups (e.g., culture of origin, attitudes towards immigrants in the host culture), and differences across studies in measures of acculturation and psychological problems. In this study, patterns of psychological acculturation in Moroccan immigrant adolescents are identified and associations with emotional and behavioral problems examined.

Parenting and problem behavior

The upbringing of Moroccan parents has previously been identified as a possible risk factor for problem behavior in their children. As no large-scale research has been conducted on the relation of parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth, this subject is elaborated in our study. Moreover, gender and age differences in the way Moroccan immigrant parents bring up their children are examined. In research in Western populations, high levels of parental warmth were associated with low levels of emotional and behavioral problems, parental discipline has been shown to relate positively to behavioral problems, and high levels of parental monitoring were related to low levels of behavioral problems (e.g., Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Hammen & Rudolph, 1996; Miller, Cowan, Cowan, Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1993; Patterson et al., 1989; Straus, Sugarman & Giles-Sims, 1997).

Additional predictors of problem behavior

Finally, we aim to provide an overview of the predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. In our study, a child, family, school/peer, and migration factor is distinguished. Literature indicated an association between the child variables gender, age, and chronic health problems and problem behavior in children and adolescents (e.g., Bongers, Koot, Van der Ende & Verhulst, 2003; Crijnen, Achenbach & Verhulst, 1997; Gortmaker, Walker, Weitzman & Sobol, 1990; Lilienfeld, 2003; Zahn-

Waxler, 1993). In addition, many characteristics of and processes in the family affect the child's psychological development. In previous studies, factors such as parental support, parent-child conflict, parental psychopathology, life-events, marital conflict, marital and socio-economic status were clearly related to emotional and behavioral problems (e.g., Amato & Keith, 1991; Berden, Althaus & Verhulst, 1990; Bradley & Corwyn, 2002; Buehler & Gerard, 2002; Burt, Krueger, McGue & Iacono, 2003; Dumka, Roosa & Jackson, 1997; Goodyer, 1993; Helsen et al., 2000; Kaslow, Deering & Racusin, 1994; Marmorstein & Iacono, 2004; McClure, Brennan, Hammen & Le Brocque, 2001; Mordoch & Hall, 2002; Osborne & Fincham, 1996; Stice, Ragan & Randall, 2004; Windle, 1992).

As children grow up, peers become increasingly important. The influence of deviant peers and hanging out on behavioral problems in adolescents is well known (Erickson, Crosnoe & Dornbusch, 2000; Galambos & Maggs, 1991; Keenan, Loeber, Zhang & Stouthamer Loeber, 1995; Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999; Pettit, Bates, Dodge & Meece, 1999). In contrast, the relation between peer support and emotional and behavioral problems is somewhat ambiguous: Some authors indicated peer support as a protective factor, others as a risk factor or a factor of no influence (Harter & Whitesell, 1996; Helsen et al., 2000; Hirsch & DuBois, 1992; McCreary, Slavin & Berry, 1996; Reicher, 1993; Stice et al., 2004; Windle, 1992). Moroccan youth may also be faced with risk factors that are specific for migrants. For instance, some research indicated that ethnic minority youth who experience more discrimination show more emotional problems (Fisher, Wallace & Fenton, 2000; Jasinskaja Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Liebkind & Jasinskaja Lahti, 2000; Simons et al., 2002; Szalacha et al., 2003; Verkuyten, 1998; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). In addition, fluency in the language used in the host society has shown to be a protective factor of emotional and behavioral problems in immigrant children (Pawliuk et al., 1996).

The present study

The study described in this thesis concerns the prevalence and predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan youth in the Netherlands. A random sample of general population youth aged 4 through 18 living in Rotterdam or The Hague of whom at least one parent was born in Morocco, is used. Reports from parents, adolescents, and teachers on children's emotional and behavioral problems were obtained. Adolescents and parents were also questioned on a variety of themes that have been identified as important predictors of problem behavior in previous research. We are able to compare levels emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth with levels of emotional and behavioral problems in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native youth (Bengi-Arslan et al., 1997; Crijnen et al., 2000; Darwish Murad et al., 2003).

With this study, we aim to:

1. Determine the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents, and to compare this with the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents.
2. Identify patterns of psychological acculturation in Moroccan immigrant adolescents and adults.
3. Determine the factors associated with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth.
 - a. Examine the relation between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents.
 - b. Gain insight into the association between parenting and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents.
 - c. Determine other factors associated with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents.

Methods

Sample

Children, aged 4 through 18 with at least one parent born in Morocco, were randomly selected from municipal registers of two major cities in the Netherlands, The Hague and Rotterdam. The sample originally consisted of 1,260 children aged between 4 and 18 years. Since the sample contained some children belonging to the same family, and only one child per family was to be included in the study, 96 children were excluded. Another 37 children were excluded because they either did not have a parent born in Morocco were mentally retarded or lived in Morocco. A total of 1,127 children were eligible for inclusion in the sample. Seventy-three percent of their parents participated in the study ($N = 819$). Four hundred fifteen parents were interviewed about an adolescent child aged 11 through 18. These adolescents were included in the study. Ten parents did not give permission to interview their child, and 29 adolescents refused to participate (response rate 91%, $N = 376$). Furthermore, another 11 adolescents whose parents were not interviewed participated in the study. Thus, in total 387 adolescents took part in the study. Six hundred sixty-three adolescents and/or parents granted permission for the teacher to complete a questionnaire. Excluded from the study were 11 teachers, because it was found that the child or adolescent did not attend school anymore. Five hundred forty-one teachers filled out a questionnaire (response rate 83%).

In Table 1.1 the sample is described. In 57% of the families both parents only completed elementary school or received no schooling at all; in 54% of the families both

parents did not have a job. Furthermore, when at least one of the parents had a job, the highest level of employment was low in 59% of the families.

Table 1.1 Sample description

% Girls	49%
Mean age children/adolescents (SD)	11 (4.0)
% Children/adolescents born in the Netherlands	82%
% Mothers participating	82%
Mean number of years in the Netherlands participating parent (SD)	18 (7.6)
Mean age participating parent (SD)	40 (9.0)
% Married parents	89%
Family educational level*	57% no schooling/elementary school
Family employment*	54% has no job**
Family level of employment*	59% low level of employment***
Mean number of children in family (SD)	5 (2.1)

Standard deviation between brackets; * The highest educational/employment level of both parents; ** Parents who were 65 years or older were excluded; *** Of the families in which at least one parent has a job (46%), in 59% the highest level of employment is low.

Assessment procedure

Data collection took place from April 2001 to July 2002. Parents and adolescents were sent an introductory letter in Dutch and Arabic, describing the aims of the study. About 1 to 2 weeks later, a trained Moroccan interviewer visited the respondents' home. When parents were not at home, at least one visit was made after working hours, thus avoiding a systematic dropout of children whose parents were both working at daytime. The interviewer handed over the questionnaire to the parent, read the questions aloud and filled it out. After the interview, parents were asked for permission to interview their 11- to 18-year-old child. If they consented, the adolescent was asked to participate. Adolescents filled out the problem behavior questionnaire and were interviewed on the other themes. Written informed consent was obtained from parents and adolescents. We asked the parents and adolescents for permission to send the teacher a questionnaire. Reminders were sent to non-responding teachers. We telephoned teachers who did not respond the second time.

Instruments

The Child Behavior Checklist/4-18 (CBCL), Teacher's Report Form (TRF), and Youth Self-Report (YSR) were used to obtain standardized reports on children's problem behaviors (Achenbach, 1991a, b, c, d; Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1996, 1997a, b). The CBCL was translated into Moroccan-Arabic. We performed an independent back translation into Dutch to check the accuracy of the translation. As most of the parents were unable to read, the CBCL items were read aloud to the parents. Moreover, most parents only spoke the Berber

language. Because this language has no writing, the interviewers translated the CBCL during the interview. To decrease the probability of an inadequate translation, the meaning of the CBCL items was clearly explained to the interviewers. In addition, a phonetic translation of the words that were most difficult to translate into the Berber language was developed. The adolescents filled out a Dutch YSR, as all adolescents were educated in Dutch. A description of the other instruments used in the study can be found in the concerning chapters.

The structure of this thesis

In chapter 2, levels of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant, Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents are compared. Attention is paid to gender and age differences in emotional and behavioral problems. Patterns of psychological acculturation for both adolescents and their parents are described in chapter 3. Latent class analyses are used to identify classes of adolescents and adults with similar patterns of acculturation, and associations between the patterns and other acculturation measures are examined. Next, we examine whether the acculturation classes are associated with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents (chapter 4). We investigate the gender specificity of the associations, and the mediating role of parent-child conflict. Parenting is the central theme in chapter 5. Associations between parenting and emotional and behavioral problems are assessed, differences in the upbringing of boys and girls and children and adolescents examined, and the gender and age specificity of the relation between parenting and problem behavior investigated. In chapter 6 & 7, we provide an overview of the predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. Again, attention is paid to the gender specificity of the associations. We distinguish factors concerning the child, family, peers/school, and migration. Furthermore, the family factor is divided into a proximal family, parent, contextual family and global family factor. The relative strength of each factor is assessed. Finally, in chapter 8, the main findings and conclusions of this thesis are discussed, and recommendations are given.

2 | **Parent, teacher and self reported problem behavior in the Netherlands: Comparing Moroccan immigrant with Dutch and with Turkish immigrant children and adolescents**

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Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology, 2003, 38, 576-585

Chapter 2

Parent, teacher and self reported problem behavior in the Netherlands: Comparing Moroccan immigrant with Dutch and with Turkish immigrant children and adolescents

Abstract

Although literature leaves little doubt that migration from one country to another is stressful, empirical studies do not warrant general conclusions regarding the impact of migration on psychological development. Moroccans and Turks are two of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands and share a similar migration history and religion. However, there are important differences between Turkish and Moroccan society for instance concerning the level of education and illiteracy. In this study, levels of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents were compared to these levels in Dutch native and Turkish immigrant children and adolescents. Our samples consisted of 819 4- to 18-year-old Moroccan immigrant children, 2,227 Dutch native children and 833 Turkish immigrant children. Parent-, teacher-, and self-reports were obtained using the Child Behavior Checklist, Teacher's Report Form and Youth Self-Report. Moroccan immigrant parents reported as many problems as Dutch parents but fewer problems than Turkish immigrant parents. Teachers, however, presented a different picture: Substantial more externalizing problems were reported for Moroccan immigrant pupils compared to Dutch native and Turkish immigrant pupils. Moroccan immigrant adolescents themselves reported fewer problems than Dutch native and Turkish immigrant adolescents. The effects of migration on children and adolescents of two populations with a similar migration history and religion can be rather different. Moreover, levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth varied widely with the informant questioned. The results of the present study may reflect true differences in children's behavior, both across ethnic groups and across the contexts of home and school. Perceptual biases, social desirability, and differences in thresholds of reporting problem behaviors may also be responsible for the observed differences.

Introduction

With the increasing number of immigrants and refugees worldwide, the effect of migration on psychological development has become very important. The available literature leaves little doubt that migration from one country to another is stressful. Immigrants are exposed to considerable changes in their social and cultural environment; they have to learn a new language, and have to conform to new moral values and standards (Pawliuk et al., 1996). Migrant families are frequently confronted with poverty, unemployment, and accommodation

problems (Dijkman, 1996; Martens, 1999). Moreover, authors have pointed out that structural adversity and rejection by the host society may cause stress and negatively influence psychological adaptation (Berry & Sam, 1997). Adolescents seem to be at particular risk of developing psychological problems. They have to function in different cultural contexts, e.g., those of their family, ethnic community, peers and (institutions of the) wider society, which can lead to feelings of alienation. Moreover, the difficulties experienced with respect to language, integration in the educational system, racism and identity in a period of life, in which they are facing the developmental challenges of adolescence, may induce behavioral and emotional problems (Davies & McKelvey, 1998).

Thus, it is to be expected that immigrant children and especially adolescents show more emotional and behavioral problems than their non-immigrant peers in the host country. Early studies indeed indicated increased risk of disorder for some groups of immigrant children (Munroe-Blum, Boyle, Offord & Kates, 1989). However, recent research has produced contradictory results. Adolescent immigrants from various countries living in Australia and Greece reported fewer externalizing problems than their non-immigrant peers in the host country (Davies & McKelvey, 1998; Livaditis et al., 2000). Klimidis, Stuart, Minas and Ata (1994) found no differences on self reported psychopathology between immigrant and non-immigrant adolescents in Australia. Compared to Dutch native adolescents, Turkish immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands showed more internalizing and externalizing problems (Darwish Murad, Joung, Van Lenthe, Bengi-Arslan & Crijnen, 2003).

Examining studies that use parent-reports, we found the same mixed results. Chinese immigrant parents, African-American parents, and immigrant parents from a variety of countries in Australia, reported fewer emotional problems for their children than non-immigrant parents (Chang, Morrissey & Koplewicz, 1995; Weisz, Sigman, Weiss & Mosk, 1993; Davies & McKelvey, 1998), whereas Turkish immigrant parents in the Netherlands reported more internalizing and externalizing problems for their children than Dutch parents (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, Van der Ende & Erol, 1997). No differences were found in levels of disorder between immigrant and non-immigrant children in Britain using parent-reports (Rutter et al., 1974).

Finally, in studies using teachers as informant no differences in problem behavior were found between Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children in the Netherlands (Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan & Verhulst, 2000). Hawaiian teachers reported fewer psychological problems for Asian immigrant children than for Caucasian immigrant and Hawaiian children (Loo & Rapport, 1998). In contrast, in an early British study (Rutter et al., 1974), teacher ratings indicated that 49% of the immigrant boys as compared to 24% of the non-immigrant boys, and 34% of the immigrant girls as compared to 13% of the non-immigrant girls showed some form of disorder.

Taken together, it is clear that the data do not warrant general conclusions regarding the impact of migration on psychological development. Differences between the examined migrant groups concerning their culture of origin, socio-economic status, level of education, migration history, position and reception in the host country, may have caused the variety of results. Furthermore, different instruments were used to measure behavioral and emotional problems. Klimidis et al. (1994) and Rutter et al. (1974) did not use the Child Behavior Checklist, Teacher's Report Form or Youth Self-Report, which were used in the other discussed studies. Moreover, the samples in the discussed studies varied widely on size, the way in which respondents were obtained, and the definition of immigrant children. In one study, adolescents who attended a school for newly arrived, non-English speaking youth were questioned (Davies & McKelvey, 1998). In another study, the ethnicity of children was classified through parental self-identification as Hawaiian, Asian or Caucasian (Loo & Rapport, 1998). In the study on Turkish immigrant children, children with at least one parent born in Turkey were randomly selected from municipal registers of two major cities in the Netherlands.

In this paper, we will present the results of a recent study on emotional and behavioral problems of Moroccan youth in the Netherlands, and compare these with the data from equally designed earlier studies on Turkish immigrant and Dutch native youth. Comparisons between Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents have been reported in several earlier publications (Bengi-Arslan et al., 1997; Crijnen et al., 2000; Darwish Murad et al., 2003). As mentioned above, Turkish immigrant youth showed more emotional and behavioral problems as reported by parents and adolescents, whereas comparisons of teacher-reports did not reveal differences between Turkish immigrant and native Dutch children and adolescents.

Moroccan and Turkish immigrants belong to the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands. Currently, there are 275,000 Moroccan and 299,000 Turkish immigrant people (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001). Moroccans and Turks have a comparable migration history. In the 1960s, Moroccan and Turkish men came to the Netherlands to fill gaps in the lower segments of the Dutch labor market. From the early 1970s on, many of these immigrants brought their families to the Netherlands. It was expected that Moroccan and Turkish immigrants would stay in the Netherlands only temporarily, but most of them settled permanently. Although labor migration has decreased considerably since the 1980s, there is still an ongoing influx of new Moroccan and Turkish immigrants due to the fact that a considerable part of the pioneering generation's offspring gets their spouse from Morocco or Turkey. Today, about 40% of the Moroccan and Turkish immigrants are born in the Netherlands. Children from Turkish and Moroccan families are mostly bilingual: Often they speak their mother tongue at home, but at school and among peers they usually communicate in Dutch. Most Moroccan and Turkish people are Muslim by religion. Besides similarities,

some differences between Moroccan and Turkish immigrant groups should be pointed out. Morocco is a parliamentary monarchy, in which church and state are less separated and processes of democratization and of industrialization are of a more recent date than in Turkey. Generally, level of education is lower and illiteracy is much higher in Morocco than in Turkey: 70% of the women and 43% of the men in Morocco are illiterate compared to 28% of the women and 8% of the men in Turkey (De Valk, Esveldt, Henkens & Liefbroer, 2001). These societal differences suggest that Moroccans living in the Netherlands, which is a highly secularized and industrialized democratic state characterized by a relatively high level of individualization and emancipation, generally have to bridge a wider cultural gap than the Turks.

In the present paper, parent-, teacher-, and self-reports on emotional and behavioral problems of Moroccan immigrant children living in the Netherlands are compared to reports on Dutch native and Turkish immigrant children and adolescents from studies conducted earlier. We expect that the Moroccan immigrant youth, just as the Turkish immigrant youth, show more emotional and behavioral problems than Dutch native youth. Moreover, because we suggested that Moroccan immigrants have to bridge a wider cultural gap than Turks, we expect Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents to show more emotional and behavioral problems than Turkish immigrant children and adolescents.

Methods

Sample

Moroccan immigrant sample. For the Moroccan immigrant sample, children, aged 4 through 18 with at least one parent born in Morocco, were randomly selected from municipal registers of two major cities in the Netherlands, The Hague and Rotterdam. The sample originally consisted of 1,260 children. Since the sample contained some children belonging to the same family, and only one child per family was to be included in the study, 96 children were excluded. Another 37 children were excluded because they either did not have a parent born in Morocco were mentally retarded or lived in Morocco. A total of 1,127 children were eligible for inclusion in the sample. Seventy-three percent of their parents participated in the study ($N = 819$). Two parent-interviews were not conducted properly. This left a total of 817 parent-reports for analysis. Parents who participated in the study were: 80.5% mothers, 17.6% fathers and 1.7% others (e.g., aunt, stepparent, adult brother; depending on with whom the child lived). Four hundred fifteen parents were interviewed about a child in the age of 11 through 18. We included these adolescents in the study. Ten parents did not give permission to interview their child, and 29 adolescents refused to participate (response rate 91%, $N = 376$). Furthermore, another 11 adolescents whose parents were not interviewed participated in the study. In total 387 adolescents were interviewed. Six hundred sixty-three adolescents

and/or parents granted permission for the teacher to complete a questionnaire. Excluded from the study were 11 teachers, because it was found that the child or adolescent did not attend school anymore. Five hundred forty-one teachers filled out the questionnaire (response rate 83%). Two teachers did not fill out the questionnaire properly, which left 539 questionnaires for analyses.

Data collection took place from April 2001 to July 2002. Parents and adolescents were sent an introductory letter in Dutch and Arabic, describing the aims of the study. About 1 to 2 weeks later, a trained Moroccan interviewer visited the respondents' home. When parents were not at home, at least one visit was made after working hours, thus avoiding a systematic drop out of children whose parents were both working at the daytime. The interviewer asked one of the parents of the randomly selected child or adolescent to participate in the study. The interviewer read the questions of the instruments aloud to the parent and filled out the questionnaire. The parents were asked for permission to interview their 11- to 18-year-old child. If they consented, the adolescent was asked to participate. After an instruction from the interviewer, adolescents filled out the Youth Self-Report (YSR) themselves. The interviewer checked the YSR and answered the adolescent's questions for further information. Written informed consent was obtained from both parents and adolescents. Teacher's Report Forms were sent to the teachers. Reminders were sent to non-responders. We telephoned teachers who did not respond the second time.

Turkish immigrant sample. Like the Moroccan immigrant sample, the Turkish immigrant sample was selected from the municipal registers of Rotterdam and The Hague. Data collection took place from February 1993 to June 1994, and the same procedure was followed as in the Moroccan study. A sample of 1,218 subjects was randomly selected; 19 children were excluded from the study because they had no Turkish parents or were mentally retarded. Eight hundred thirty-three parents participated in the study (response rate 70%): 62.9% were mothers, 33.4% fathers and 3.7% others. For details about the data collection procedure and in- and exclusion criteria, see Bengi-Arslan et al. (1997). Four hundred eighteen children were between 11 and 18 years old and therefore eligible for filling out the YSR. Three hundred eighty-two adolescents filled out the YSR correctly (response rate 91%) (Darwish Murad et al., 2003). Five hundred twenty-four teachers completed the TRF (Crijnen et al., 2000).

No differences in percentages of children born in the Netherlands were found between the Moroccan immigrant and Turkish immigrant samples. Comparing the parent samples, 82.0% of the Moroccan and 80.6% of the Turkish children were born in the Netherlands ($\chi^2 = 1.8$; $p = .41$). In the adolescent samples, 67.7% of the Moroccan and 75.6% of the Turkish children were born in the Netherlands ($\chi^2 = 5.1$; $p = .08$). Of the children for which teachers filled out the TRF, 84.4% of the Moroccan and 81.7% of the Turkish children were born in

the Netherlands ($\chi^2 = 1.8$; $p = .41$). In all samples, less than 1% was born in another country than the Netherlands or Turkey/Morocco.

Dutch sample. The Dutch sample was selected from municipal registers using multistage cluster and random sampling. Data was collected from April to June 1993. A sample of 2,916 subjects aged 4 through 18 years was selected; 57 subjects were excluded for instance because of mental retardation. Parent-reports were available for 2,227 children in the age of 4 through 18 (response rate 78%). Of the parents interviewed, 95.3% were mothers, 4.3% were fathers and 0.4% others. Furthermore, 1,124 adolescents of ages 11 through 18 were included. Only 8 adolescents, whose parents participated in the study, did not fill out the YSR (response rate 99%). Most parents and adolescents (2,078) gave permission for the teacher to complete the TRF. Eighty-three percent of the teachers filled out the TRF ($N = 1,720$). The data collection procedure was the same as for the Moroccan and Turkish sample, except that the parents were telephoned to make appointments, and parents who could not be reached after five callbacks were not interviewed. The data collection procedure and in- and exclusion criteria are described in detail elsewhere (Verhulst et al., 1996; Verhulst et al., 1997a, 1997b; Verhulst, Van der Ende & Rietbergen, 1997).

In the Turkish immigrant sample, relatively many fathers were interviewed about the level of emotional and behavioral problems in their children (33.4% fathers in the Turkish immigrant sample, 17.6% fathers in the Moroccan immigrant sample, and 4.3% in the Dutch immigrant sample). To find out whether this unequal distribution of fathers influenced the levels of problem behavior, we examined the differences between reports by mothers, fathers and others on CBCL Total Problems. For all three samples, no differences occurred between reports by fathers, mothers and others.

Instruments

CBCL/4-18. The Child Behavior Checklist/4-18 (CBCL) was used to obtain standardized parent-reports on children's problem behaviors. The 118 problem items describe a wide array of problems. Respondents are asked to rate the occurrence of problems in the preceding 6 months on a 3-point scale: 0 = not true (as far as you know), 1 = somewhat or sometimes true, and 2 = very true or often true (Achenbach, 1991b). A syndrome score is the sum of scores on all items included in the syndrome scale as defined by Achenbach (1991a). The following syndromes were analyzed: Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Anxious/Depressed, Social Problems, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Delinquent Behavior and Aggressive Behavior. Internalizing is indicated by the sum of scores on items in the Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, and Anxious/Depressed syndrome profiles, and Externalizing by the sum of scores on the Delinquent and Aggressive Behavior syndromes. The Total Problems score is the sum of scores on all items except item 2 (Allergy) and 4 (Asthma).

The CBCL was translated into Moroccan-Arabic, Turkish and Dutch. Independent back translations into English (for the Dutch CBCL) or Dutch (for the Turkish and Moroccan-Arabic CBCL) were performed to check the accuracy of the translations. Reliabilities of the Dutch and Turkish translations have already been established (Bengi-Arslan et al., 1997; Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1996). Reliabilities of the Moroccan-Arabic CBCL were comparable to the reliabilities of the Dutch CBCL. The alphas of most syndrome scales ranged from .60 to .80; the alphas of the broadband scales ranged from .79 to .96. Based on test-retest intervals averaging 10 days with 38 Moroccan immigrant parents, the correlation was .92 for Total Problems, .94 for Internalizing and .97 for Externalizing. For the syndrome scales, the correlation ranged from .72 (Withdrawn) to .98 (Somatic Complaints).

YSR. To obtain self-reports, 11- to 18-year-old adolescents were asked to fill out the Youth Self-Report (YSR), which consists of 102 problem items. The YSR was modelled after the CBCL and has the same format, except that items are worded in the first person. Good validity and test-retest reliability of the YSR has been established (Achenbach, 1991d) and confirmed for the Dutch translation (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1997b). In this study, we used the Dutch translation of the YSR in the samples, since all adolescents were educated in Dutch.

TRF. Teachers of the children in the Dutch, Turkish and Moroccan sample were asked to provide reports of the children's problem behavior in the last two months. We used the Teacher's Report Form (TRF), which is also based on the CBCL. The satisfactory reliability and validity (Achenbach, 1991c) were confirmed for the Dutch TRF (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1997a). All teachers filled out the Dutch TRF.

Results

Table 2.1 shows the mean problem scores for Moroccan immigrant, Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents on the CBCL, TRF and YSR Internalizing and Externalizing. Because the Internalizing and Externalizing problem scales of the CBCL, TRF and YSR do not consist of the same number of items, no comparisons can be made between scores on the three instruments. Moroccan immigrant parents reported significantly fewer internalizing and externalizing problems than Turkish immigrant parents and more internalizing problems than Dutch native parents. According to the teachers, Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents show almost twice as many externalizing problems as Dutch native and Turkish immigrant children and adolescents. Moroccan immigrant adolescents reported fewer internalizing problems than Turkish immigrant adolescents, and fewer externalizing problems than Turkish immigrant and Dutch native adolescents.

Table 2. 1 Comparing Moroccan immigrant, Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents on CBCL, TRF and YSR Internalizing and Externalizing

	Moroccan immigrant youth	Turkish immigrant youth	Dutch native youth	One-way ANOVA
	<i>N</i> = 817	<i>N</i> = 833	<i>N</i> = 2,227	
CBCL Internalizing	6.3 ^a (5.2)	10.3 ^a (6.5)	5.6 ^a (5.5)	F = 216.3 df = 3,876
CBCL Externalizing	7.3 ^a (6.7)	9.2 ^{a,b} (7.1)	6.9 ^b (6.4)	F = 35.7 df = 3,876
	<i>N</i> = 539	<i>N</i> = 524	<i>N</i> = 1,720	
TRF Internalizing	6.1 (6.3)	5.8 (6.1)	5.8 (6.5)	
TRF Externalizing	10.2 ^{a,b} (11.4)	5.7 ^a (8.7)	5.3 ^b (8.1)	F = 61.9 df = 2,782
	<i>N</i> = 387	<i>N</i> = 382	<i>N</i> = 1,124	
YSR Internalizing	8.6 ^a (6.7)	13.2 ^{a,b} (8.1)	9.7 ^b (6.6)	F = 48.4 df = 1,892
YSR Externalizing	7.8 ^{a,b} (5.8)	9.9 ^a (6.5)	10.8 ^b (6.4)	F = 32.5 df = 1,892

Standard deviation between brackets; ^{a, b} Refers to significant Bonferroni post hoc test ($p < .01$).

The mean CBCL, TRF and YSR Total Problems, Internalizing, Externalizing and syndrome scores were compared by analyses of variance (ANOVA). For comparisons on the CBCL and TRF between Moroccan immigrant and Dutch native or Turkish immigrant children and adolescents, a 2-culture (Moroccans vs. Dutch and Moroccans vs. Turks) x 2-gender (boys vs. girls) x 2-age (4-11 vs. 12-18 years) factorial design was used. For the YSR, we used a 2-culture (Moroccans vs. Dutch and Moroccans vs. Turks) x 2-gender (boys vs. girls) factorial design. Our large sample sizes provided high statistical power to detect even very small differences. We therefore accepted as significant only differences with a $p < .01$, and applied Bonferroni corrections for the number of comparisons made. As a consequence, we divided the p-value through 7 (7 comparisons were conducted per analysis), which leaves a $p < .0014$. We applied the criteria of Cohen (1988) to categorize effect sizes for ANOVAs: Effects accounting for 1 - 5.9% of the variance are considered small; effects of 5.9 - 13.8% are considered medium; and effects of more than 13.8% are considered large. Socio-economic status (SES) was used as a covariate in the analyses. The highest parental educational level was taken to score SES. The educational level of parents was scored on a 5-point scale, as follows: 0 = no schooling or uncompleted elementary school, 1 = elementary school, 2 =

lower level of secondary or vocational training, 3 = medium level of secondary or vocational training and 4 = university or higher level of vocational training. As SES reached significance only once, it was not included in the analyses reported here.

Emotional and behavioral problems reported by parents

As shown in table 2.2, Moroccan immigrant parents reported fewer Attention Problems than Dutch native parents. Turkish immigrant parents reported more problems than Moroccan immigrant parents on six of the eight syndrome scales, and on Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems. The largest difference was found for the Anxious/Depressed scale, accounting for 20.0% of the variance, which can be considered a large effect. Three effects were of medium size. Overall, boys obtained higher Externalizing, Aggressive Behavior, Delinquent Behavior and Attention Problem scores; girls showed more Somatic Complaints. 12- to 18-year-old children scored higher on Withdrawn and Somatic Complaints and showed less Aggressive Behavior than 4- to 11-year-old children. In the Moroccan immigrant vs. Dutch native comparison, 12- to 18-year-old children were reported more Delinquent Behavior than 4- to 11-year-old-children.

Two interaction effects reached significance in the comparison between Moroccan immigrant and Dutch native children. Moroccan immigrant children aged 4-11 years were scored lower than same-aged Dutch native children on Delinquent Behavior (young Moroccans: $M = 1.01$; young Dutch: $M = 1.15$), whereas Moroccan immigrant adolescents aged 12-18 years were scored higher than Dutch native adolescents on this scale (adolescent Moroccans: $M = 1.97$; adolescent Dutch: $M = 1.51$). Furthermore, gender differences on the Somatic Complaints scale were less marked at younger ages (young girls: $M = 1.02$; young boys: $M = 0.81$; adolescent girls: $M = 1.50$; adolescent boys: $M = 0.95$).

Five small culture by age interactions were found for Moroccan immigrant vs. Turkish immigrant youth. On the Anxious/Depressed (young Moroccans: $M = 2.80$; adolescent Moroccans: $M = 3.16$; young Turks: $M = 6.86$; adolescent Turks: $M = 5.84$), Delinquent Behavior (young Moroccans: $M = 1.01$; adolescent Moroccans: $M = 1.97$; young Turks: $M = 1.75$; adolescent Turks: $M = 1.23$), Externalizing (young Moroccans: $M = 7.23$; adolescent Moroccans: $M = 7.39$; young Turks: $M = 10.64$; adolescent Turks: $M = 7.27$) and Total Problems scales (young Moroccans: $M = 20.25$; adolescent Moroccans: $M = 20.64$; young Turks: $M = 32.44$; adolescent Turks: $M = 27.17$), scores increased with age for Moroccan immigrant children, whereas scores decreased with age for Turkish immigrant children. Moreover, Moroccan immigrant adolescents scored higher on Delinquent Behavior and Externalizing than Turkish immigrant adolescents, whereas Turkish young children scored higher on Delinquent Behavior and Externalizing than Moroccan young children. Scores on

Table 2.2 Effect sizes (%) of culture, gender, and age on emotional and behavioral problems reported by parents in Moroccan immigrant vs. Dutch native children and adolescents and in Moroccan immigrant vs. Turkish immigrant children and adolescents

CBCL problem scales	Moroccan immigrants (N = 817) vs. Dutch (N = 2,227)				Moroccan (N = 817) vs. Turkish (N = 833) immigrants			
	Culture	Gender	Age	Interactions	Culture	Gender	Age	Interactions
	C x A		G x A		C x A		C x A	
Withdrawn	-	-	<1 ^{O>Y}	-	2.5 ^{T>M}	-	<1 ^{O>Y}	-
Somatic Complaints	-	1.1 ^{F>M}	<1 ^{O>Y}	<1	-	<1 ^{F>M}	1.2 ^{O>Y}	-
Anxious/Depressed	-	-	-	-	20.0 ^{T>M}	<1 ^{F>M}	-	1
Social Problems	-	-	-	-	3.4 ^{T>M}	-	-	-
Thought Problems	-	-	-	-	2.8 ^{T>M}	-	-	-
Attention Problems	1.0 ^{D>M}	1.6 ^{M>F}	-	-	6.3 ^{T>M}	1.7 ^{M>F}	-	-
Delinquent Behavior	-	2.1 ^{M>F}	2.4 ^{O>Y}	<1	-	3.0 ^{M>F}	-	3.8
Aggressive Behavior	-	2.1 ^{M>F}	1.0 ^{Y>O}	-	2.1 ^{T>M}	1.8 ^{M>F}	2.7 ^{Y>O}	<1
Internalizing	-	-	<1 ^{O>Y}	-	10.5 ^{T>M}	<1 ^{F>M}	-	-
Externalizing	-	2.4 ^{M>F}	-	-	1.4 ^{T>M}	2.4 ^{M>F}	1.4 ^{Y>O}	1.7
Total Problems	-	<1 ^{M>F}	-	-	7.9 ^{T>M}	-	-	<1

Effect sizes are provided for significant effects only ($p < .0014$); no significant effects were found for the CxG and CxGxA interactions; D = Dutch youth, M = Moroccan immigrant youth, T = Turkish immigrant youth, F = female, M = male, O = children 12-18 years, Y = children 4-11 years.

Table 2.3 Effect sizes (%) of culture, gender, and age on emotional and behavioral problems reported by teachers in Moroccan immigrant vs. Dutch native children and adolescents and in Moroccan immigrant vs. Turkish immigrant children and adolescents

TRF problem scales	Moroccan immigrants (N = 539) vs. Dutch (N = 1,720)				Moroccan (N = 539) vs. Turkish (N = 524) immigrants			
	Culture	Gender	Age	Interactions	Culture	Gender	Age	Interactions
	C x G				C x G			
Withdrawn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Somatic Complaints	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anxious/Depressed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Social Problems	-	1.1 ^{M>F}	-	-	-	1.1 ^{M>F}	-	-
Thought Problems	-	<1 ^{M>F}	-	-	-	-	-	-
Attention Problems	1.5 ^{M>D}	4.3 ^{M>F}	-	-	1.7 ^{M>T}	4.0 ^{M>F}	-	-
Delinquent Behavior	8.0 ^{M>D}	2.9 ^{M>F}	<1 ^{O>Y}	<1	4.2 ^{M>T}	2.8 ^{M>F}	1.6 ^{O>Y}	-
Aggressive Behavior	4.7 ^{M>D}	4.6 ^{M>F}	-	-	5.3 ^{M>T}	4.7 ^{M>F}	-	-
Internalizing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Externalizing	5.9 ^{M>D}	4.7 ^{M>F}	-	<1	5.6 ^{M>T}	4.8 ^{M>F}	-	-
Total Problems	2.7 ^{M>D}	3.8 ^{M>F}	-	<1	3.0 ^{M>T}	3.9 ^{M>F}	-	1

Effect sizes are provided for significant effects only ($p < .0014$); no significant effects were found for the CxA, GxA and CxGxA interactions; D = Dutch youth, M = Moroccan immigrant youth, T = Turkish immigrant youth, F = female, M = male, O = children 12-18 years, Y = children 4-11 years.

Aggressive Behavior decreased with age for Turkish and Moroccan immigrant children, but the decline was much greater for Turkish children (young Moroccans: $M = 6.22$; adolescent Moroccans: $M = 5.42$; young Turks: $M = 8.89$; adolescent Turks: $M = 6.04$). In other words, the interaction effects pointed out that differences between Turkish and Moroccan immigrant young children were greater than differences between Turkish and Moroccan immigrant adolescents.

Emotional and behavioral problems reported by teachers

ANOVAs revealed several significant culture effects (table 2.3): Effects were found for Attention Problems, Delinquent Behavior, Aggressive Behavior, Externalizing and Total Problems. On each scale, teachers reported more problems for Moroccan immigrant youth than for Dutch native and Turkish immigrant youth. The effects of culture on Delinquent Behavior and Externalizing in the Dutch native vs. Moroccan immigrant comparison were of medium size, while all other culture effects were small. In both comparisons, significant gender effects were found for six problem scales, with more problems for boys than girls on Social Problems, Attention Problems, Delinquent Behavior, Aggressive Behavior, Externalizing and Total Problems. There was one age effect: Adolescents were scored higher on Delinquent Behavior than children aged 4 through 11. Significant culture x gender interactions emphasized that differences between Moroccan immigrant and Dutch native boys were larger than differences between Moroccan immigrant and Dutch native girls on Delinquent Behavior (Moroccan boys: $M = 2.60$; Dutch boys: $M = 0.99$; Moroccan girls: $M = 1.49$; Dutch girls: $M = 0.62$), Externalizing (Moroccan boys: $M = 13.32$; Dutch boys: $M = 6.92$; Moroccan girls: $M = 7.36$; Dutch girls: $M = 3.65$) and Total Problems (Moroccan boys: $M = 33.65$; Dutch boys: $M = 22.89$; Moroccan girls: $M = 21.12$; Dutch girls: $M = 16.11$). A comparable two-way culture by gender interaction was found for Moroccan immigrant and Turkish immigrant boys and girls on Total Problems (Moroccan boys: $M = 33.65$; Turkish boys: $M = 22.42$; Moroccan girls: $M = 21.12$; Turkish girls: $M = 17.78$).

Self reported emotional and behavioral problems

Dutch adolescents scored higher on Somatic Complaints, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Delinquent Behavior, Aggressive Behavior, Externalizing and Total Problems than Moroccan immigrant adolescents (table 2.4). The largest effect was found for Attention Problems. Even more culture effects were found for Moroccan immigrant vs. Turkish immigrant adolescents. Culture effects were found on all except one problem scale. Five effects were of medium size, and five effects were small. Four small gender effects were revealed in both comparisons. Girls scored higher on Somatic Complaints, Anxious/Depressed and Internalizing; boys scored higher on Delinquent Behavior. No significant interactions were found.

Table 2.4 Effect sizes (%) of culture and gender on emotional and behavioral problems reported by adolescents in Moroccan immigrant vs. Dutch native adolescents and in Moroccan immigrant vs. Turkish immigrant adolescents

YSR problem scales	Moroccan immigrants (N = 387) vs. Dutch (N = 1,124)		Moroccan (N = 387) vs. Turkish (N = 382) immigrants	
	Culture	Gender	Culture	Gender
Withdrawn	-	<1 ^{F>M}	5.8 ^{T>M}	-
Somatic Complaints	<1 ^{D>M}	2.9 ^{F>M}	4.1 ^{T>M}	3.8 ^{F>M}
Anxious/Depressed	-	1.9 ^{F>M}	8.8 ^{T>M}	2.4 ^{F>M}
Social Problems	-	-	6.1 ^{T>M}	-
Thought Problems	1.6 ^{D>M}	-	4.3 ^{T>M}	-
Attention Problems	6.3 ^{D>M}	-	6.6 ^{T>M}	-
Delinquent Behavior	3.2 ^{D>M}	1.9 ^{M>F}	-	2.5 ^{M>F}
Aggressive Behavior	3.5 ^{D>M}	-	3.5 ^{T>M}	-
Internalizing	-	2.8 ^{F>M}	9.3 ^{T>M}	3.5 ^{F>M}
Externalizing	4.2 ^{D>M}	1.1 ^{M>F}	2.9 ^{T>M}	-
Total Problems	4.0 ^{D>M}	-	10.1 ^{T>M}	-

Effect sizes are provided for significant effects only ($p < .0014$); no significant interaction effects were found; D = Dutch adolescents, M = Moroccan immigrant adolescents, T = Turkish immigrant adolescents, F = female, M = male.

Discussion

The present study provides a comparison between emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant and native Dutch children and adolescents, and a comparison between two of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands: Moroccan and Turkish immigrant children and adolescents. Parent, teacher and adolescent perspectives on problem behavior were taken into account. We expected the Moroccan immigrant youth, just as the Turkish immigrant youth, to show more emotional and behavioral problems than the Dutch native youth. Moreover, important differences between the Turkish and Moroccan society suggest that Moroccans living in the Netherlands generally have to bridge a wider cultural gap than Turks. Therefore, we also hypothesized that Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents would experience more emotional and behavioral problems than Turkish immigrant children and adolescents.

Overall, Moroccan immigrant parents reported similar levels of problems as Dutch parents. Teachers, however, presented a different picture, reporting substantially more externalizing problems for Moroccan immigrant than for Dutch native pupils. Surprisingly, Moroccan immigrant adolescents themselves reported fewer problems than Dutch native adolescents. On most problem scales, Moroccan immigrant parents reported fewer emotional and behavioral problems than Turkish immigrant parents. Differences between Moroccans and Turks were most striking for children aged 4 through 11 years. Again, teachers revealed more externalizing problems for Moroccan immigrant than for Turkish immigrant children and adolescents. Moroccan immigrant adolescents reported fewer problems than their Turkish immigrant contemporaries on all but one problem scale. According to parents and adolescents, boys showed more externalizing problems than girls, whereas girls experienced more internalizing problems. Teacher-reports did not reveal gender differences on internalizing problems. Gender differences in this study were similar to those found in other studies: Girls exhibit far less externalizing problems than boys but show more internalizing problems than boys, especially in adolescence (e.g., Achenbach, 1991b, 1991c; Crijnen, Achenbach & Verhulst, 1999; Weisz & Eastman, 1995; Zahn-Waxler, 1993; Zahn-Waxler, Klimes-Dougan & Slattery, 2000). The gender differences we found in the Moroccan immigrant, Turkish immigrant and Dutch native samples indicate causal factors that transcend ethnic differences, such as biological or genetic predispositions, or widespread value judgments and stereotypes regarding gender roles (Weisz & Eastman, 1995).

From this study, two major conclusions can be drawn. First, the effects of migration on two immigration populations in the same host country with a similar migration history and religion can be rather different. Our hypothesis that Moroccan immigrants have to bridge a wider cultural gap than Turks, which leads to more problem behavior, is only confirmed by teacher-reports. Turkish immigrant parents and adolescents reported more problem behavior

than Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescents. Furthermore, we expected Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents to show more emotional and behavioral problems than Dutch children and adolescents. Again, only teachers confirmed this expectation, as teachers reported almost twice as many externalizing problems for Moroccan immigrant as for Dutch children and adolescents. Levels of parent and adolescent reported problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents were comparable to or lower than those in native Dutch children and adolescents. Second, the level of problems varied widely with the informant questioned. Weisz, McCarty, Eastman, Chaiyasit and Suwanlert (1997) came to the same conclusion in their cross-national research. The authors emphasized that cross-national research on developmental psychopathology is not a perfectly additive process, particularly if one adopts a strategy of methodological diversity. They stated that findings may change if methods and informants change.

The results of the present study may reflect (1) true differences in children's behavior, both across ethnic groups and across the contexts of home and school, (2) perceptual biases (3) social desirability, and (4) differences in thresholds for reporting problem behaviors.

True differences in children's behavior. Differences in reported problem behavior between ethnic groups and between the home and school context may represent actual differences in the behavior of children and adolescents. Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents may truly show more externalizing problems in the school setting than Dutch native and Turkish immigrant children and adolescents. An interaction-study focusing on disengagement in two ethnically mixed junior classes confirmed the hypothesis that Moroccan pupils show more behavioral problems in the school context than Dutch native and Turkish immigrant pupils (Pels, in press a). Moroccan students were more provocative in their self-presentation, both vis-à-vis the teacher and peers. They were more inclined to rule violation and disruptive behavior and to seeking the teacher's attention and approval. Moreover, qualitative research indicated that Moroccan boys, who misbehave in school and/or on the streets, tend to behave properly at home (Pels, 2003b).

Whereas Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents may be more prone to act out at school, Turkish immigrant children and adolescents may actually show more internalizing problems than Dutch native and Moroccan immigrant children. Bengi-Arslan et al. (1997) explained the high level of internalizing problems in Turkish immigrant children by pointing to specific upbringing values and practices of Turkish parents. In Turkish culture, dependency, obedience, conformity and respect for adults is expected from children. Verbal criticism, punishment and persistent threats of adults towards children is said to be rather common, whereas praise is not (Kagitcibasi, 1990). Parental criticism, punishment, or punishment threats may result in internalizing problems in children. Comparative child rearing studies, however, do not point to many differences with respect to hierarchical relations and the use of power techniques between Turkish and Moroccan families in the

Netherlands (Pels & Nijsten, in press). On the other hand, Turkish immigrant youth value conformism more than Dutch native youth, whereas Moroccan immigrant youth take an intermediate position (Pels, Nijsten, Oosterwegel & Vollebergh, 2002). In addition, other studies show that social control and pressures to conform are much higher within the Turkish community compared to the Moroccan community (Vermeulen & Penninx, 1994).

Perceptual biases. The teacher-reports on behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents are possibly biased by prejudices against the behavior of Moroccan immigrant youth. Moroccan children and adolescents are more and more seen as a problem for Dutch society. Therefore, teachers may attend more sharply to the behavior of Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents and as a result report more problem behavior for Moroccans. Sonuga-Barke, Kuldeep, Taylor and Sandberg (1993) also suggested a perceptual bias in teacher-reports, as the teachers' subjective ratings of hyperactivity were higher than the ratings on more objective measures of hyperactivity for Asian immigrant compared to British native children.

Social desirability. The negative image of Moroccan youth in the Netherlands may also have another effect. Most Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescents are aware of their low status in Dutch society. Especially adolescents protest against the one-sided representation and stigmatization of their ethnic group (Geense & Pels, 2002). As a reaction, Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescents possibly underreport behavioral and emotional problems. In short, the negative image of Moroccan youth in the Netherlands may partly explain the teachers' high externalizing problem score as well as the low scores of adolescents and parents. Furthermore, Van Gemert (2002) argues that Turkish immigrant men are more willingly to talk about delinquent behavior than Moroccan immigrant men. According to the author, it is less acceptable for Moroccans to talk about these issues with outsiders.

Differences in parents', adolescents' and teachers' thresholds for reporting child problem behaviors. Differences in ethno-cultural standards of what constitutes appropriate child behavior could explain the differences in reported levels of emotional and behavioral problems between teachers and Moroccan immigrant adolescents, as well as the differences in levels of emotional and behavioral problems reported by Dutch native, Turkish immigrant and Moroccan immigrant adolescents and parents. Moroccan immigrant adolescents and Dutch teachers may differ with respect to which behavior is considered proper or intolerable in school. The (Dutch native) teachers tend to negatively interpret the provocative self-presentation and the attention and approval seeking of Moroccan adolescents (Pels, in press a). The adolescents however, seem to regard this behavior as more or less functional. Zimmerman, Khoury, Vega, Gil and Warheit (1995) used the same explanation in their study, in which they found that African American teachers gave African American students a more moderate mean TRF Total Problem score than did Hispanic or non-Hispanic white teachers. Furthermore, Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch parents and adolescents may have different

standards with respect to appropriate child behavior. Culture may influence expectancies and beliefs regarding children, thus influencing the distress felt by particular kinds of child behavior (Weisz & Eastman, 1995).

The findings of this study are subject to several limitations. First of all, the Turkish data was collected in 1993 and 1994; the Moroccan data collection took place in 2001 and 2002. In the last ten years, Dutch society has become less tolerant towards migrants. It is no longer unacceptable to air one's (negative) opinion about migrants. As a result, answer tendencies might have changed. Teachers may have become more willing to report problems in migrant children, whereas migrant parents and adolescents might have become more reluctant to report problem behavior. Dutch data were also collected in 1993. However, we do not expect current problem levels in Dutch children reported by parents, adolescents and teachers to be different from problem levels ten years ago. Verhulst, Van der Ende and Rietbergen (1997) compared problem scores of a sample of Dutch children in 1983 with this Dutch sample in 1993. No significant differences were found between the 1983 and 1993 Total Problem scores obtained from parents or teachers. Therefore, we also do not expect a secular increase in malfunctioning of Dutch native children and adolescents between 1993 and 2001 to occur. Second, we only interviewed Turks and Moroccans from two of the largest cities in the Netherlands, while the interviewed Dutch can be considered representative for the entire Dutch population. It should be noticed, however, that in the Netherlands most immigrant people live in urban areas.

Parent and teacher reported problem behavior predict poor outcomes 6 years later, such as academic problems, school behavior problems, receipt of mental health services, a child's need for professional help and police contacts (Verhulst, Koot & Van der Ende, 1994). Teacher-reports predicted poor outcomes equally well or even somewhat better than parent-reports. This implies that the high level of internalizing problems reported by Turkish immigrant parents and the high level of externalizing problems of Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents reported by teachers must be taken seriously. Furthermore, the discrepancies in parent, adolescent, and teacher reported behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents possibly reveal a problem in the school setting. If in the adolescent's or parents' view no problem exists, it will be difficult for the teacher to discuss a pupil's behavioral problem with the parents and adolescents. Again, this may result into conflicts between parents, adolescents and teachers.

3 | **Patterns of psychological acculturation in adult and adolescent Moroccan immigrants living in the Netherlands**

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Chapter 3

Patterns of psychological acculturation in adult and adolescent Moroccan immigrants living in the Netherlands

Abstract

Psychological acculturation patterns within a Moroccan adult and adolescent population in the Netherlands were determined through latent class analysis. The Psychological Acculturation Scale (Tropp, Erkut, Coll, Alarcon & Garcia, 1999) was adapted, and strong psychometric properties were demonstrated. We found a Dutch and Moroccan Psychological Acculturation sub scale (D-PAS; M-PAS). Three classes with similar patterns of acculturation were revealed for both populations. One class showed medium scores on the D-PAS and M-PAS items, one class revealed a pattern with high scores on the M-PAS and medium to high scores on the D-PAS items. The third class was characterized by low scores on the D-PAS and high scores on the M-PAS items. These acculturation classes were shown to be meaningful constructs and yield detailed information about acculturation.

Introduction

Given the ethnical diversity in our world today, the concept of acculturation has become increasingly important. This concept contributes to the explanation of how people react to exposure to new sociocultural environments (Rogler, Cortes & Malgady, 1991). Acculturation has been defined as a process that entails contact between two cultural groups, resulting in numerous cultural changes in both parties (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936). In effect, however, the contact experiences have much greater consequences for the non-dominant group members (Berry, 2001). Results of a study on psychological acculturation of Moroccan adults and adolescents living in the Netherlands are presented in this paper. More specifically, psychological acculturation patterns were determined through latent class analyses.

With a number of around 275,000, Moroccan immigrants belong to one of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001). In the 1960s, Moroccan men came to the Netherlands to fill the gaps in the lower segments of the Dutch labor market. From the early 1970s on, many Moroccan migrants brought their families to the Netherlands. Initially, both the Dutch government and the Moroccan migrants expected their stay to be temporarily, but most of them eventually settled permanently. Although labor migration has decreased considerably since the 1980s, there is still an influx of Moroccan immigrants because of the fact that a considerable number of the pioneering generation's offspring gets their spouses from Morocco. Today, about 40% of the Moroccan immigrants

are born in the Netherlands (De Valk, Esveldt, Henkens & Liefbroer, 2001). Children from Moroccan families are mostly bilingual: Often they speak their mother tongue at home, but at school and among peers they usually communicate in Dutch. Most Moroccans are Muslim by religion.

The available acculturation instruments measure behaviors, attitudes, values, ethnic identification and psychological attachment. Most frequently used are behavioral and attitudinal acculturation scales. Behavior acculturation scales often consist of items about language use, social contacts, media use and cultural habits (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Faragallah, Schumm & Webb, 1997; Ghuman, 1991; Shen & Takeuchi, 2001; Sadowsky & Plake, 1991; Stephenson, 2000; Suinn, Ahuna & Khoo, 1992). Other scales measure respondents' attitudes or preferences with respect to, for instance, language use, social activities, social contacts, music, marriage and cultural traditions (Ataca & Berry, 2002; Neto, 2002; Pham & Harris, 2001; Roccas, Horenczyk & Schwartz, 2000; Sam & Berry, 1995; Szapocznik, Kurtines & Fernandez, 1980). Barry, Elliott and Evans (2000), Jasinskaja Lahti and Liebkind (2000), and Kim, Atkinson and Yang (1999) developed acculturation instruments that measure cultural values such as conformity to norms, emotional self-control, and collectivism. Furthermore, some authors measured psychological aspects of acculturation, including affirmation and belonging, emotional attachment, pride and identity (Arcia, Skinner, Bailey & Correa, 2001; Barry et al., 2000; Cameron, Sato, Lalonde & Lay, 1997; Meredith, Wenger, Liu, Harada & Kahn, 2000; Phinney, 1992; Roberts et al., 1999; Tropp et al., 1999). Psychological acculturation is, in our opinion, an important aspect of the acculturation process, since it grants attention to immigrants' emotional attachment to the host culture and/or the culture of origin (Betancourt & Lopez, 1993; Rogler, 1994). We will focus on this aspect of acculturation in our study.

Acculturation instruments not only vary with respect to the domains of acculturation they cover, but also in terms of dimensions. Acculturation is conceptualized either as a unidimensional or bidimensional model. The primary difference between these two approaches concerns the underlying assumptions about the relatedness between people's orientations to their ethnic group and the host country. Unidimensional instruments are based on the assumption that acculturation takes place along a single continuum ranging from an exclusive own group orientation to an exclusive orientation to the host culture. In this case, acculturation is supposed to be a process in which cultural adaptation to the mainstream goes hand in hand with a loss of attachment to one's own ethnic and cultural ties (Faragallah et al., 1997; Ownbey & Horridge, 1998; Shen & Takeuchi, 2001; Suinn et al., 1992; Tropp et al., 1999; Wallen, Feldman & Anliker, 2002). In contrast, authors who adopt a bidimensional perspective argue that acculturation can be more completely understood when both orientations are seen as being relatively independent of one another. Thus, individuals may adapt to the new environment without giving up their adherence to the culture of origin and

attachment to their coethnics (Berry, 1998; Eyou, Adair & Dixon, 2000; Jasinskaja Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Nguyen & von Eye, 2002; Phinney & Flores, 2002; Szapocznik et al., 1980). The dimensionality of acculturation was tested in a few studies: Results supported the bidimensional model (Nguyen, Messe & Stollak, 1999; Ryder, Alden & Paulhus, 2000). In our study we will use a bidimensional instrument to measure acculturation.

The most widely researched bidimensional approach to acculturation has been John Berry's acculturation framework (e.g., Berry, 1997; Berry, Kim, Power, Young & Bujaki, 1989). Berry conceptualized four distinct acculturation strategies based on the quadrants of the two dimensions. Assimilation involves cultural adaptation at the cost of the orientation to one's own group and culture. Integration implies both adherence to one's own group and culture as well as orientation to the cultural mainstream. Separation means that cultural adaptation is rejected and orientation is focused on one's own group and cultural heritage. Finally, the option of marginalization is defined as the rejection of both one's own group and mainstream orientations.

Two methods have been reported in the literature to measure Berry's acculturation strategies. First of all, instruments are used consisting of four acculturation sub scales with items pertaining to integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization (Barry et al., 2000; Berry et al., 1989; Kwak & Berry, 2001; Pham & Harris, 2001; Sam & Berry, 1995; Van de Vijver, Helms-Lorenz & Feltzer, 1999). Although this methodology has yielded a number of studies that have enriched our understanding of acculturation processes, it has been criticized on various conceptual and methodological grounds (Rudmin & Ahmadzadeh, 2001; Ryder et al., 2000). 'The theoretically interdependent nature of the scales implies that a high score on one scale should be accompanied by low scores on the other three. However, reported scale inter-correlations vary wildly and frequently contradict theoretical expectations' (Ryder et al., 2000, pp. 50-51). Another way to construct Berry's acculturation strategies has been to measure the two-acculturation dimensions (orientation to one's own culture and to the dominant culture) separately. To obtain the four-acculturation strategies, Eyou et al. (2000), Farver, Bhadha and Narang (2002), Ward and Kennedy (1994), and Ward and Rana-Deuba (1999) subjected the home and host culture scales to a median split. In yet other studies, the home culture score was subtracted from the host culture score to get the acculturation strategies (Pawliuk et al., 1996; Szapocznik et al., 1980). Obviously, a disadvantage of these mathematical methods is the arbitrary nature of the classification into low and high levels of acculturation. Therefore, some authors choose to use the sum scores of the dominant culture scale and the heritage culture scale separately for further analyses (Birman & Trickett, 2001; Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Rodriguez, Myers, Morris & Cardoza, 2000). In the current study, a third, empirical method is applied to identify groups of migrants with similar acculturation patterns. We will examine whether these groups coincide with Berry's four-strategy model of acculturation.

In summary, in this paper the psychological concept of acculturation will be explored, because we feel it is an important aspect of the acculturation construct that, so far, has not received the attention it deserves in acculturation research. An empirical approach will be used by deducing acculturation classes from the data instead of imposing preconstructed classification on the data.

Methods

Sample

Interviews were conducted with 783 adults and 387 adolescents. Eighty-two percent of the adults were female and 18% were male. The average age of the adults was 40 years. Fifty-two percent of the adults received no education at all. All adults were born in Morocco; on average they had been living in the Netherlands for 18 years. The partners of 98% of the adults were also born in Morocco. Of the adolescents, 30.0% were born in Morocco, 69.5% in the Netherlands and 0.5% in another country. Fifty-one percent of the adolescents were female. The mean age of the adolescents was 14.2 years. We used data of a larger study for which children, aged 4 through 18 with at least one parent born in Morocco, were randomly selected from municipal registers of two of the four largest cities in the Netherlands, The Hague and Rotterdam (Stevens et al., 2003). A total of 1,127 children were eligible for inclusion in the study. Seventy-three percent of their parents participated in the study ($N = 819$). For this paper, participating parents who were not born in Morocco were excluded from the sample, and two interviews were not conducted properly. This left a total of 783 parent interviews, hereafter called adult interviews, for analysis. Four hundred fifteen parents were interviewed about a child in the age of 11-18 years. These adolescents were included in the study. Ten parents did not give permission to interview their child, and 29 adolescents refused to participate (response rate 91%, $N = 376$). Furthermore, another 11 adolescents whose parents were not interviewed participated in the study. In total, 387 adolescent interviews were used for analyses.

Data collection took place from April 2001 to July 2002. Parents and adolescents were sent an introductory letter in Dutch and Arabic describing the aims of the study. About 1 to 2 weeks later, a trained Moroccan interviewer visited the respondents' home. The interviewer asked one of the parents of the randomly selected child or adolescent to participate in the study. After the interview, we asked the parents for permission to interview their 11- to 18-year-old child. If they consented, the adolescents were asked to participate. In both parent and adolescent interviews, the interviewer read the questions aloud and filled out the questionnaire. Written informed consent was obtained from parents and adolescents.

Instruments

Psychological Acculturation. The Psychological Acculturation Scale (PAS) was originally developed to assess an individual's sense of emotional attachment to, belonging within, and understanding of the Anglo American and Latino/Hispanic cultures (Tropp et al., 1999). For our study, we selected six items measuring the respondent's sense of emotional attachment and belonging. Items were applied to both the Dutch and Moroccan culture and were rated on a 3-point Likert-type scale. The PAS was translated into Dutch and an independent back translation into English was performed to check the accuracy of the translation. We used the Dutch translation of the PAS for the adolescents, since all adolescents were educated in Dutch. For the adults, the PAS was translated into Moroccan-Arabic. We performed an independent back translation into Dutch.

Behavioral acculturation. To assess behavioral acculturation, we asked the respondents how often they use Dutch and Moroccan language when talking to important others such as partners, parents/children, other relatives and Moroccan friends. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from never to always. 'Talking Dutch with important others' was measured by a three- or four-item instrument (three items for adolescents, four items for adults) with an alpha of .80 for adults and .52 for adolescents. The three- or four-item instrument 'Talking Moroccan with important others' consisted of the same items for Moroccan language use (adults: $\alpha = .71$; adolescents: $\alpha = .66$). Furthermore, we asked whether the respondent had Dutch and Moroccan friends.

Moroccan, Dutch and Muslim identity. Ethnic identity was assessed with the items 'I consider myself to be Moroccan' and 'I consider myself to be Dutch'. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from totally disagree to totally agree. We measured Muslim identification with a five-item instrument developed by Phalet, Van Lotringen and Entzinger (2000): Two items emphasize cognitive Muslim identity (e.g., 'Being a Muslim is something I often think about'), one item emphasizes emotional attachment, and two items measure whether respondents identify as a Muslim. Items were rated on a 5-point Likert-type scale ranging from totally disagree to totally agree. The alpha was .76 for adolescents and .58 for adults.

Results

Confirmative factor analyses

To find out whether the adapted Psychological Acculturation Scale (PAS) consisted of a Dutch and a Moroccan sub scale, we performed a confirmative factor analysis. Table 3.1 shows the factor loadings of both the adult and the adolescent sample. Model fit was determined by the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), the Goodness of fit index (GFI) and the percentage of explained variance. Overall, the two-factor model achieved

a good fit to the data in both populations. RMSEA's indicated a fair fit (MacCallum, Browne & Sugawara, 1996) and GFI's indicated a good fit (Hu & Bentler, 1998).

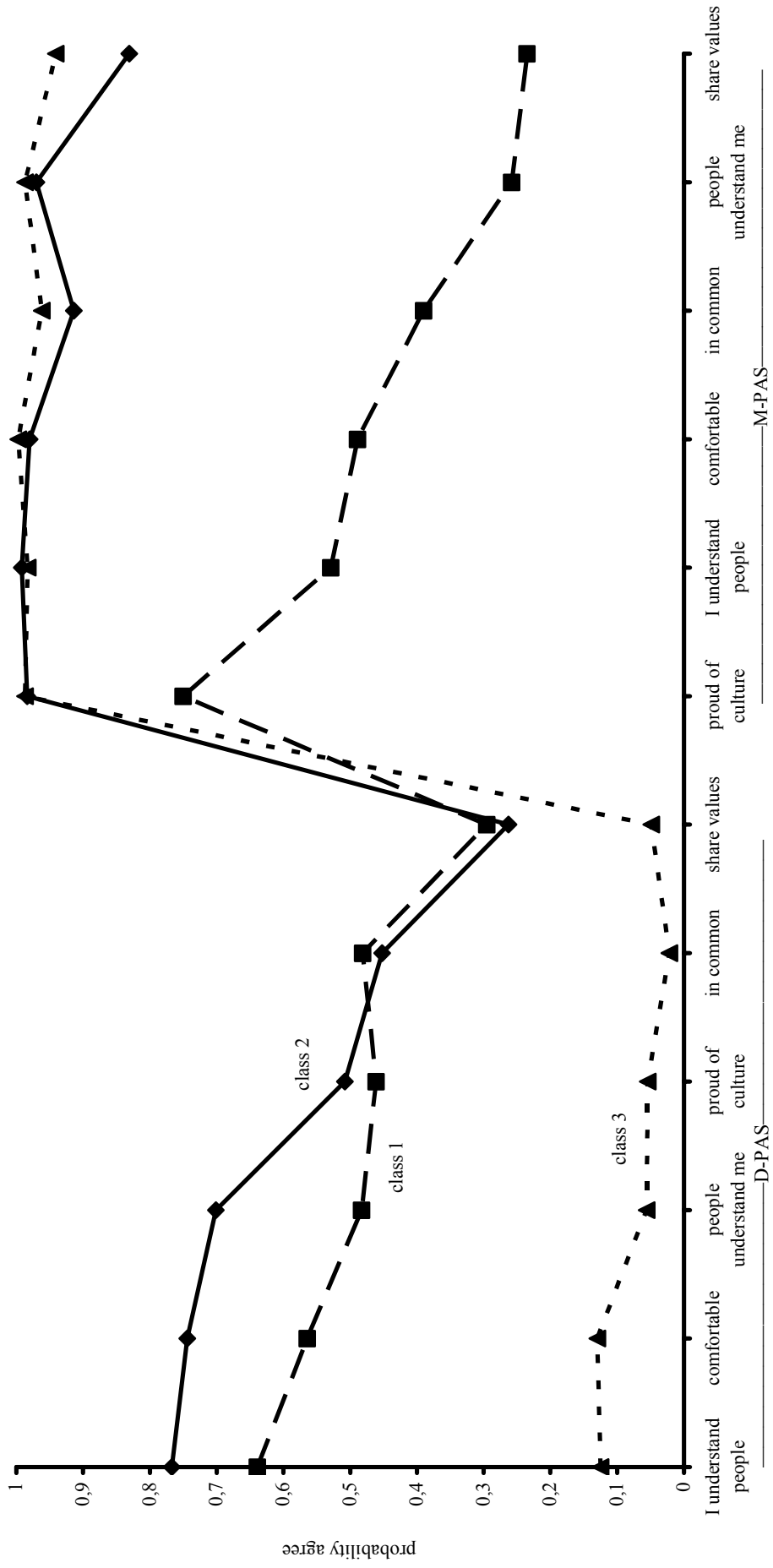
(Test-retest) reliability

In the adult sample, alphas were .85 for the Dutch PAS (D-PAS) and .73 for the Moroccan PAS (M-PAS). Alphas in the adolescent sample were .76 for the D-PAS and .75 for the M-PAS. Alphas of .70 and higher are considered sufficient for group comparisons (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994). Fifty-one randomly selected adults and 43 randomly selected adolescents were asked by the interviewer to participate a second time; 34 adults and 31 adolescents agreed. Within 2 weeks, the same interviewer conducted a part of the original interview with the adult or adolescent. The test-retest interval was, on average, 10 days. For adults, the correlation was .89 for the D-PAS, and .86 for the M-PAS. For adolescents, a correlation of .77 for the D-PAS, and .87 for the M-PAS was found.

Table 3.1 Confirmative Factor Analyses on the adapted Psychological Acculturation Scale for adult and adolescent Moroccan immigrants

	Factorloadings Adult-Sample	Factorloadings Adolescent-Sample
Dutch Psychological Acculturation Scale (D-PAS)		
Dutch people understand me	.91	.80
I understand Dutch people	.86	.74
I feel comfortable with Dutch people	.84	.75
I have a lot in common with Dutch people	.81	.69
I feel proud to be a part of Dutch culture	.69	.64
I share most of my beliefs and values with Dutch people	.67	.59
Moroccan Psychological Acculturation Scale (M-PAS)		
I feel comfortable with Moroccan people	.89	.79
I understand Moroccan people	.85	.86
Moroccan people understand me	.83	.87
I have a lot in common with Moroccan people	.78	.71
I share most of my beliefs and values with Moroccan people	.71	.65
I feel proud to be a part of Moroccan culture	.61	.63
RMSEA	.07	.06
GFI	.96	.91
Explained variance D-PAS	64.5%	49.4%
Explained variance M-PAS	61.5%	57.2%

Figure 3.1 Probabilities of agreement with D-PAS and M-PAS items for the adult acculturation classes



Latent Class Analysis

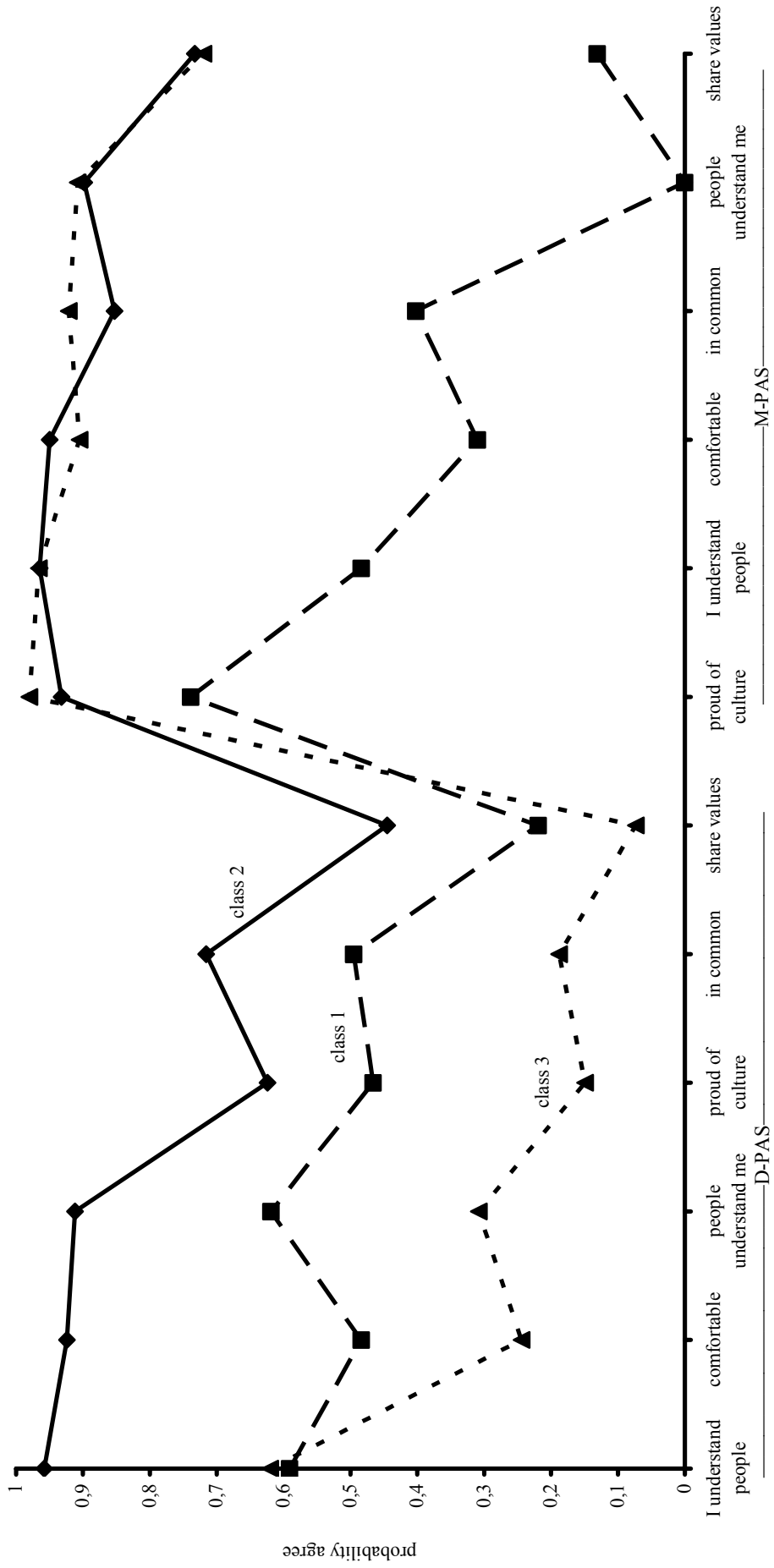
Respondents with similar patterns of acculturation were identified through latent class analysis (McCutcheon, 1987; Van Lier, Verhulst, Van der Ende & Crijnen, 2003). The primary objective of a latent class analysis is to find the smallest number of classes of individuals with similar patterns of acculturation that can explain the relationships among a set of observed variables. In the analyses, classes are added stepwise until the model optimally fits the data. The parameters of the latent class model are latent class probabilities, which estimate the likelihood for individuals to belong to each of the classes, and class-specific symptom profiles, which give the probabilities of a set of items for individuals in a particular class. The Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test decides how many classes fit the data best (Lo, Mendell & Rubin, 2001).

For the adults, the Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test indicated a three-class solution for the data. The three-class solution improved the two-factor model ($p < .01$), whereas the four-class solution did not improve the three-class model ($p = .11$). Adults were classified to a latent class based on their highest class probability. Class sensitivity, the average class probability after classifying adults, was high (.93 - .96), which shows that adults are well classified to their particular acculturation class. The Vuong-Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test also indicated a three-class solution for the adolescent population. The four-class model was not identified as a probable model, and the three-class model improved the two-factor model ($p < .01$). Again, class sensitivity was high (.93 - .94).

In figure 3.1, the acculturation classes for adults are presented. Class 1, which consists of 77 adults (10% of the total adult sample), is characterized by moderate probabilities on the D-PAS and moderate probabilities on the M-PAS. Class 2 consists of 53% of the adults. Adults in class 2 are highly attached to Moroccan people and culture and moderately attached to Dutch people and culture. Finally, 37% of the adults can be characterized by an extremely low Dutch score (probabilities of .13 or lower) and an extremely high Moroccan score (probabilities of .94 and higher).

Figure 3.2 presents the acculturation classes for adolescents. Thirteen percent of the adolescents are found to have a class 1 acculturation pattern. Adolescents in the first class show a moderate attachment to both Moroccan and Dutch culture and people. The highest probability on the D-PAS items was found for 'Dutch people understand me', while the probability for the item 'Moroccan people understand me' was zero. Class 2 consists of 47% of the adolescents and is characterized by medium to high probabilities on the D-PAS and high probabilities on the M-PAS. Forty-one percent of the adolescents are in class 3 and can be characterized by a low attachment to Dutch people and culture (except for the item 'I understand Dutch people' for which the probability is medium) and a high attachment to Moroccan people and culture.

Figure 3.2 Probabilities of agreement with D-PAS and M-PAS items for the adolescent acculturation classes



Roughly, the adult and adolescent acculturation classes have comparable patterns, although in the adolescent model probabilities on the D-PAS items are considerably higher than in the adult model. The probabilities on the D-PAS items in the adolescent classes 2 and 3 exceed those of the adult classes 2 and 3 with an average of almost .2. Gender was not distributed equally over the adult and adolescent acculturation classes. In the adult sample, 81% of the total population was female, whereas in class 1 90% was female, class 2 consisted of 79% and class 3 of 84% females ($\chi^2 = 6.9$; $p < .05$). In the adolescent sample, 51% of the total population was female, whereas 74% of the respondents in class 1 were female, 48% in class 2 and 49% in class 3 ($\chi^2 = 10.9$; $p < .01$). Furthermore, only 33% of the adults in class 3 had enjoyed some form of education, whereas 51% of the adults in class 1 and 58% of the adults in class 2 had enjoyed some form of education ($\chi^2 = 43.6$; $p < .01$).

Construct validity of the Latent Class Analyses

The construct validity of the acculturation classes was examined in terms of expected associations with demographic variables, behavioral acculturation and Moroccan, Dutch and Muslim identification. The associations were examined using one-way ANOVAs with post hoc Bonferroni tests. Next, we performed univariate ANOVAs to get insight in the effect sizes of acculturation class membership on behavioral acculturation and identification. We accepted differences with a $p < .05$ as significant and applied the criteria of Cohen (1988) to categorize effect sizes for ANOVAs: Effects accounting for 1 - 5.9% of the variance were considered small; effects of 5.9 - 13.8% were taken as medium; and effects of more than 13.8% as large.

As shown in table 3.2, adults in class 2 and class 1 were significantly younger when they migrated than class 3 respondents, and class 2 members have been living in the Netherlands for a longer period of time than respondents in class 3. Class 1 and 2 individuals used Dutch language more often than respondents in class 3, whereas class 3 members more often used Moroccan language than class 2 and 1 members. In addition, adults in class 2 used Moroccan language more often than adults in class 1. Class 1 and 2 respondents had more Dutch friends than class 3 respondents. Moreover, class 2 adults had more Moroccan friends than members of the other classes. With respect to the group identification variables, class 1 scored highest on Dutch identification, whereas class 3 individuals scored lowest. Likewise, class 1 individuals scored lowest on Muslim identification, whereas class 3 individuals scored highest. Finally, class 1 members identified less with Moroccans than adults in the other classes. The effect of class membership on behavioral acculturation and identification were largest in the comparison of class 1 and 3: Three large, two medium and two small effects were found. In the class 2 vs. class 3 comparison, three effect sizes were medium and five small. When comparing class 1 and 2, only small effects appeared.

Table 3.2 Comparing the acculturation classes for adult Moroccan immigrants on demographic variables, behavioral acculturation and Moroccan/Dutch/Muslim identification

	Class 1 (N = 77)	Class 2 (N = 417)	Class 3 (N = 289)	One-Way ANOVA	Effect sizes* comparison Class 2 & 3	Effect sizes* comparison Class 2 & 1	Effect sizes* comparison Class 1 & 3
Age at migration	19.56 ^a (8.99)	20.96 ^b (8.63)	24.83 ^{a,b} (8.80)	F = 20.6 df = 773; p < .01	4.6%	-	5.7%
Number of years in the Netherlands	18.12 (7.42)	19.39 ^a (7.37)	16.77 ^a (7.56)	F = 10.5 df = 777; p < .01	2.9%	-	-
Behavioral acculturation							
Talking Dutch with important others (0-16)	4.42 ^a (4.27)	3.57 ^b (3.64)	1.33 ^{a,b} (2.27)	F = 45.8 df = 712; p < .01	11.0%	-	16.6%
Talking Moroccan with important others (0-16)	13.78 ^a (2.88)	14.62 ^a (2.12)	15.57 ^a (1.21)	F = 31.3 df = 712; p < .01	6.3%	1.7%	15.4%
Dutch friends (% yes)	47% ^a (0.50)	43% ^b (0.50)	12% ^{a,b} (0.32)	F = 48.7 df = 782; p < .01	11.4%	-	13.1%
Moroccan friends (% yes)	78% ^a (0.42)	94% ^{a,b} (0.24)	80% ^b (0.40)	F = 19.3 df = 782; p < .01	4.6%	4.4%	-
Group identification							
Dutch identification (0-4)	0.82 ^a (1.32)	0.40 ^a (1.00)	0.07 ^a (0.45)	F = 24.8 df = 780; p < .01	3.7%	2.0%	14.8%
Moroccan identification (0-4)	3.79 ^{a,b} (0.73)	3.97 ^a (0.30)	3.97 ^b (0.33)	F = 7.5 df = 78; p < .01	-	2.5%	2.5%
Muslim identification (0-20)	18.05 ^a (2.72)	19.03 ^a (1.74)	19.47 ^a (1.13)	F = 22.5 df = 780; p < .01	2.0%	3.3%	11.6%

Standard deviation between brackets; ^{a, b} Refers to significant Bonferroni post hoc test (p < .05); * p < .05.

Table 3.3 Comparing the acculturation classes for adolescent Moroccan immigrants on behavioral acculturation and Moroccan/Dutch/Muslim identification

	Class 1 (N = 49)	Class 2 (N = 180)	Class 3 (N = 158)	One-Way ANOVA	Effect sizes* comparison Class 2 & 3	Effect sizes* comparison Class 2 & 1	Effect sizes* comparison Class 1 & 3
Behavioral acculturation							
Talking Dutch with important others (0-16)	9.49 ^a (2.29)	7.99 ^a (2.28)	7.20 ^a (2.22)	F = 18.6 df = 374; p < .01	2.9%	6.7%	15.6%
Talking Moroccan with important others (0-16)	4.79 ^{a,b} (3.07)	7.24 ^a (2.72)	7.57 ^b (2.39)	F = 21.1 df = 380; p < .01	-	11.4%	17.7%
Dutch friends (% yes)	84% ^a (0.37)	82% ^b (0.39)	54% ^{a,b} (0.50)	F = 18.9 df = 386; p < .01	8.6%	-	6.5%
Moroccan friends (% yes)	96% (0.20)	98% (0.13)	99% (0.11)	F = 0.9 df = 386; p = .43	-	-	-
Group identification							
Dutch identification (0-4)	1.20 ^a (1.31)	1.15 ^b (1.30)	0.37 ^{a,b} (0.80)	F = 23.0 df = 386; p < .01	11.2%	-	12.4%
Moroccan identification (0-4)	3.43 ^a (0.96)	3.69 ^b (0.79)	3.90 ^{a,b} (0.48)	F = 9.1 df = 385; p < .01	2.4%	-	9.3%
Muslim identification (0-20)	14.38 ^{a,b} (4.15)	16.90 ^a (3.75)	17.40 ^b (2.93)	F = 14.0 df = 382; p < .01	-	6.8%	13.5%

Standard deviations between brackets; ^{a,b} Refers to significant Bonferroni post hoc test (p < .05); * p < .05.

In the adolescent sample, distribution of country of birth was equal across classes. In every class about 70% of the adolescents were born in the Netherlands. No differences in having Moroccan friends were found: Practically every adolescent had a Moroccan friend. However, differences between the classes appeared on other behavioral acculturation variables and group identification (see table 3.3). Adolescents in class 1 used Dutch language more often, and used Moroccan language less often than adolescents in class 2 and 3. Adolescents in class 2 used Dutch language more often than adolescents in class 3. Class 3 members had less Dutch friends than adolescents in the other classes. In addition, class 1 and 2 members scored higher on Dutch identification and identified less with Moroccans than adolescents in class 3. Adolescents in class 1 scored lower on Muslim identification than adolescents in class 2 and 3. Effect sizes were largest when comparing classes 1 and 3: Two large and four medium effects were found.

Discussion

In this study, psychological acculturation patterns within a Moroccan adult and a Moroccan adolescent population were distinguished. Psychological acculturation is, in our opinion, an important aspect of the acculturation process, since it grants attention to individuals' emotional attachment to the host culture and the culture of origin. We adapted Tropp et al.'s (1999) Psychological Acculturation Scale to measure psychological acculturation. Overall, this adapted instrument demonstrated strong psychometric properties. Executing CFAs, a two-factor model consisting of a Dutch and a Moroccan Psychological Acculturation sub scale, achieved a good fit to the data in both populations. The D-PAS and M-PAS sub scales showed good internal consistency and test-retest reliability.

Patterns of acculturation were found by performing latent class analyses for adults and children separately. For both samples, three classes were revealed. Class 3, an acculturation pattern with high probabilities on the M-PAS and low probabilities on the D-PAS, fits well into Berry's acculturation framework (Berry, 1997; Berry, 1998). Class 3 can be considered a separation class. Both the adolescents and adults in class 3 used Dutch language less often, had less Dutch friends, and identified less with Dutch people than members of the other classes. Furthermore, compared to subjects in class 1, adults and adolescents in class 3 scored higher on using Moroccan language, Moroccan and Muslim identification. Class 2, with medium to high probabilities on the D-PAS and high probabilities on the M-PAS, approaches Berry's integration strategy, although the M-PAS probabilities were considerably higher than the D-PAS probabilities. Generally speaking, both the adults and adolescents in class 2 scored relatively high on Dutch behavioral acculturation and identification (when compared to class 3) and high on Moroccan behavioral acculturation and identification (when compared to class

1). Finally, class 1 is not interpretable within Berry's framework. It is characterized by moderate attachment to both cultures, therefore designating it as assimilated, integrated or marginalized would be arbitrary and inadequate. Compared to class 3, class 1 members more often had Dutch friends, used Dutch language more often, and scored higher on Dutch identification. Moreover, adults and adolescents in class 1 scored lower on using Moroccan language, and identified less with Moroccans and Muslims than member of the other classes.

Class 1 might be seen as representing an ambivalent acculturation pattern. The over-representation of females in class 1 in both samples gave rise to this hypothesis. Values and norms adhered to by Moroccans result in far more restrictions regarding the autonomy and freedom of movement for females compared to males. Women increasingly oppose this gender inequality and those of the younger generation especially are in a clear process of emancipation. On the other hand, most of them do not want to risk their family and community bonds and turn their back on the heritage culture altogether (Pels, 2000, in press b). The women in our sample with a class 1 acculturation pattern appear to be pulled between opposite forces. They do not feel understood by their fellow Moroccans, and do not (wholly) subscribe to Moroccan values without, however, writing off their own group and cultural attachments radically. Following Rudmin and Ahmadzadeh (2001), their choices might also represent a process of individualization. Attachment on the basis of ethnicity may leave too little room for individuality.

Our adult and adolescent acculturation classes were meaningful constructs as appeared from their association with behavioral acculturation and group identification. The three classes were distinct with respect to their mean scores on behavioral acculturation and group identification. Although the (significant) differences in mean scores were rather small, a considerable proportion of variance was explained by acculturation group membership. Several effects were medium or large. Furthermore, meaningful relations were shown to exist between age at migration and acculturation, and between the number of years in the Netherlands and acculturation. In general, the largest differences on behavioral acculturation and group identification were found between the separated class and the ambivalent class.

Our study revealed an over-representation of females in class 1. Similar gender differences were reported in other studies about migrant youth in the Netherlands. According to Andriessen and Phalet (2002), girls attach less value to ethnic maintenance at home than boys. Phalet and Schoenpflug (2001) reported a higher level of distance or separateness from the family in Moroccan girls compared to boys. In international studies however, findings on the gender-specific nature of acculturation have not been consistent, with some studies showing a higher level of acculturation towards the host culture for males (Arcia et al., 2001; Ghuman, 2000), and others showing no significant differences (Sodowsky & Plake, 1991). In our view, gender differences in acculturation are dependent of the specific cultural context in which males and females are brought up.

The parent and adolescent acculturation classes have comparable patterns, although probabilities on the D-PAS items are considerably higher in the adolescent classes. Probabilities on the D-PAS items in the adolescent classes 2 and 3 were, on average, almost .20 higher than those in the parent classes, whereas the probabilities on the M-PAS items were more or less the same for parents and adolescents. The literature suggests that an acculturation gap exists between parents and children, with parents retaining their traditional culture and children acculturating to the host culture (Pawliuk et al., 1996; Perez & Padilla, 2000; Ranieri, Klimidis & Rosenthal, 1994). In our study, however, the adolescent acculturation patterns were characterized by a higher attachment to the Dutch and an attachment to Moroccans that about equals that of their parents. Other Dutch studies showed similar results (Pels & Nijsten, in press; Phalet et al., 2000). Most Moroccan adolescents have been part of Dutch society for (almost) all of their lives, went to a Dutch school and often have Dutch friends. Apparently, this has resulted into a higher attachment to Dutch people than their parents, but no loss of attachment to Moroccan people. Thus, if a generation gap exists at all, it is only partial.

Two major conclusions can be drawn from the classification into groups with similar patterns of acculturation. First, our data revealed three acculturation classes: Two resembled Berry's separation and integration patterns, and one new pattern was found, an ambivalent acculturation pattern. No pattern was found that could be characterized as marginalized. As already remarked by Berry (1997, p.10) 'people rarely choose such an option'. Next, a clear assimilation class, in which members are highly attached to Dutch and not attached to Moroccans at all, does not appear from the data either. Apparently, Moroccans in the Netherlands remain, at least to some extent, attached to their own group and culture.

Second, latent class analyses yield more detailed information about acculturation than other methods. To begin with, it offers information about the relative position of each item within a class. For instance, the analyses revealed that 'sharing beliefs and values with Dutch people' is not agreed upon by many Moroccans, and that ambivalently acculturated Moroccans hardly feel understood by other Moroccans, but do feel proud to be part of Moroccan culture. Next, the analyses provide the means to induct acculturation classes from the data instead of imposing preconstructed classes on the data. As mentioned in the introduction, some authors divided heritage and dominant culture acculturation into low and high categories and used this to create Berry's four acculturation strategies. Our findings show that such a construction may not be consistent with reality. Moreover, we were able to find classes with medium scores on both the Dutch and Moroccan dimension. Other authors used the sum scores of the dominant-culture scale and the heritage-culture scale separately in further analyses. Latent class analyses enabled us to analyze the scores on both dimensions at once.

In our opinion, using latent class analysis in future acculturation research will enhance the knowledge on this concept. As classes emerged from the data that consist of complex patterns of acculturation, we expect to be able to conduct more refined studies on the influence of acculturation on several aspects of the functioning of immigrants. For instance, we recently found a clear gender-specific relation between the acculturation classes and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant adolescents (Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels & Crijnen, in submission b). Furthermore, conducting latent class analyses on acculturation data measured at two points in time may enhance our knowledge on the stability of acculturation. Finally, acculturation patterns in other migrant samples may be identified, providing us more insight into the culture specificity of acculturation.

The findings of this study are subject to limitations. Several remarks should be made on our samples. We only interviewed Moroccans from two of the largest cities in the Netherlands, and our first-generation Moroccan adult population only consisted of parents. Moreover, only a small amount of fathers were interviewed. In other words, our samples may not be representative for the Moroccan immigrant population in the Netherlands. However, almost 50% of the first and second generation Moroccans live in the four largest cities in the Netherlands, and about 90% of the first-generation Moroccans in the age of 30-49 have children (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001), which implies that our samples represent a large proportion of the Moroccan population in the Netherlands.

4 | **Problem behavior and acculturation in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands: Effects of gender and parent-child conflict**

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Chapter 4

Problem behavior and acculturation in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands: Effects of gender and parent-child conflict

Abstract

The relation between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands was examined. Three hundred eighty-seven adolescents and 376 parents participated. Three previously identified classes of adolescents with similar patterns of acculturation were used in the analyses: An integrated, separated and ambivalent class. Girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern showed more problems than the other girls on almost all Youth Self-Report and Child Behavior Checklist problem scales. For boys, no effects of acculturation on problem behavior were found. The high amount of conflicts between parents and their ambivalently acculturated daughters can explain the relation between acculturation and problem behavior. Our findings emphasize that gender and parent-child conflict should be taken into account to understand the complex relation between acculturation and problem behavior.

Introduction

As a result of all kinds of technological, political, and economic developments, current cross-cultural migrations are of an unprecedented volume. Hence, it has become very important to study the impact of migration on psychological development. Immigration to a new country is accompanied by a psychological process of adaptation to changes in the cultural context, called acculturation. As a result, stress may occur with increased levels of anxiety, depression, feelings of alienation, psychosomatic symptomatology and identity diffusion (e.g., Berry, 1990). Whether stress arises depends on a variety of individual and group characteristics, such as a person's acculturation strategy i.e., degree of cultural maintenance and adaptation to the host culture. In this paper, we will examine the relation between acculturation strategies and problem behavior in an adolescent sample.

Berry (1997) conceptualized four distinct acculturation strategies. Assimilation involves cultural adaptation at the cost of the orientation to one's own group and culture. Integration implies both adherence to the own group and culture as well as orientation to the cultural mainstream. Separation means that cultural adaptation is rejected and orientation is focused on the own group and cultural heritage. Finally, the option of marginalization is defined as the rejection of both the own group and mainstream orientations. Several methods have been used to construct Berry's acculturation strategies (e.g., Berry, Kim, Power, Young

& Bujaki, 1989; Pawliuk et al., 1996; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). A disadvantage of these methods is that a preconstructed classification is imposed on the data. To overcome this, we applied an empirical method to identify groups of migrants with similar acculturation patterns (Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh & Crijnen, in press). One acculturation class, in which adolescents are highly attached to Moroccans while hardly attached to the Dutch, resembles Berry's separation strategy. A second class, consisting of adolescents who are again highly attached to Moroccans but now moderately to highly attached to the Dutch, approaches Berry's integration strategy, although Moroccan attachment is considerably stronger than Dutch attachment. The last class can not be interpreted within Berry's framework. It is characterized by moderate attachment with respect to both cultures. We tend to see this group as representing an ambivalent acculturation pattern.

The association between acculturation strategies and psychological functioning in adolescent populations has been examined in a number of studies. Contradictory results were found. The mixed findings may have largely been due to differences in the minority groups (e.g., culture of origin, attitudes towards immigrants in the host culture), and differences across studies in measures of acculturation and psychological problems. Berry (1997) reported that individuals who are marginalized experience the most stress and mental health problems, while integration was the healthiest mode of acculturation. Eyou, Adair and Dixon (2000), Sam and Berry (1995), and Aycan and Kanungo (1998) roughly confirmed these findings; Sam (2000), however, revealed opposite results. In that study, separation contributed significantly to life satisfaction, marginalization to self-esteem and integration was positively related to mental health problems. Contrasting associations were also found in studies in which Berry's acculturation framework was not used. Three studies revealed that adaptation to the host culture protected adolescents against developing psychological problems (Birman, Trickett & Vinokurov, 2002; Nguyen, Messe & Stollak, 1999; Sam, 2000), whereas the relation of maintaining the culture of origin to psychological problems differed in the studies. Birman et al. (2002) found no association between maintaining the culture of origin and psychological problems, Nguyen et al. (1999) found a positive relation and Sam (2000) a negative relation with psychological problems. Wong (1999), however, reported that adolescents who adopted the host culture were more often engaged in delinquent acts. Other studies did not find associations between acculturation and psychological variables (Rodriguez, Myers, Morris & Cardoza, 2000; Katragadda & Tidwell, 1998; Ward & Kennedy, 1993).

Most studies have examined the effects of acculturation strategies on psychological problems without considering the influences of potentially important mediating variables (Dinh, Roosa, Tein & Lopez, 2002). One such mediator is the parent-child relationship. Several researchers reported that increased family conflict leads to a greater incidence of adolescent problem behavior (e.g., Burt, Krueger, McGue & Lacono, 2003). Furthermore, it is

argued that adolescents whose orientation towards their ethnic culture is low have more conflicts with their parents than adolescents whose orientation towards the ethnic culture is high (Szapocznik, Kurtines & Fernandez, 1980; Liebkind & Jasinskaja Lahti, 2000). For instance, Szapocznik et al. (1980) argued that adolescents, who are in the process of giving up their roots, give rise to serious family conflicts. Dinh et al. (2002) confirmed this hypothesis: Parental involvement was a significant mediator in the relation between acculturation and problem behavior proneness in a Hispanic youth sample. Children and adolescents who scored high on American behavioral acculturation reported less parental involvement, which in turn was related to problem behavior proneness. Samaniego and Gonzales (1999) examined which factors mediated the effect of acculturation status on delinquency in Mexican American adolescents. Family conflict turned out to be a significant mediator: Adolescents who were more acculturated (i.e., used American language often and were born in America) experienced more family conflicts than other adolescents, and therefore showed more delinquent behavior.

The aim of this paper is to gain insight into the relation between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands. Moroccan immigrants belong to one of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001). In the 1960s and 1970s, Moroccan men were recruited to work in the lower segments of the Dutch labor market. After a number of years, most Moroccan men brought their wives and children to the Netherlands. Although labor migration has decreased since the 1980s, there is still an influx of Moroccan immigrants because of the fact that a considerable number of the pioneering generation's offspring gets their spouses from Morocco. Nowadays, about 40% of the Moroccan immigrants are born in the Netherlands (De Valk, Esveldt, Henkens & Liefbroer, 2001). Most Moroccan people are Muslim by religion. Compared to Dutch people, Moroccans more often attach great value to obedience and respect towards the family, and to traditional family relations (Phalet, Van Lotringen & Entzinger, 2000). In the Netherlands, Moroccan immigrants are exposed to sex role attitudes that are substantially more egalitarian than their own. For instance, one out of four Moroccan young adults feels that a girl is not allowed to have relationships with males she does not marry, whereas Dutch young adults virtually never share this opinion (Phalet et al., 2000). Furthermore, Moroccans, especially those of the first generation, refer negatively to the freedom accorded to Dutch women, and consider this incompatible with their Islamic ideas (Pels & De Haan, 2003).

Although findings on the association between acculturation and problem behavior are mixed, we hypothesize that positive relationships to both cultures provide the strongest foundation for good mental health. Moroccan adolescents go to Dutch schools, have jobs within the Dutch society, but grow up in families in which Moroccan values are important, therefore we expect the integrated adolescents to be best equipped for a development without problems. Second, we aim to find out whether the relation between acculturation and problem

behavior is similar for boys and girls. We previously found that Moroccan immigrant girls are over-represented in the ambivalent class (Stevens et al., in press), which gave rise to the hypothesis that the relation between acculturation and problem behavior might be gender specific. Moreover, as rules are much more strict for girls than for boys in Moroccan culture (Pels & De Haan, 2003), and these gender rules differ considerably from Dutch culture (Phalet et al., 2000), we expect Moroccan girls who adopt an ambivalent acculturation strategy or who are integrated, to be at higher risk of problem behavior than boys with these acculturation patterns. If an association is found between acculturation and problem behavior, we will examine whether this association can be explained by the amount of conflicts between parents and adolescents. As adolescents with an ambivalent acculturation pattern are only moderately attached to Moroccan people and culture, and their parents are usually much more orientated towards Morocco and Moroccan culture (Stevens et al., in press), conflicts might be more common within these families. As a result, adolescents with an ambivalent acculturation pattern may experience more emotional and behavioral problems than the other adolescents.

Methods

Sample

For this paper, we used data of 387 interviews with adolescents and 376 interviews with parents. This data originated from a larger study for which children, aged 4 through 18 with at least one parent born in Morocco, were randomly selected from municipal registers of two of the four largest cities in the Netherlands, The Hague and Rotterdam (Stevens et al., 2003). A total of 1,127 children were eligible for inclusion. For 73% of these children one of their parents participated in the study ($N = 819$). Four hundred fifteen parents reported about a child in the age of 11 through 18 years. Ninety-one percent of their 11- to 18-year-old children also participated in the study ($N = 376$); 10 parents did not give permission for their child to be interviewed, and 29 adolescents refused to participate. Furthermore, another 11 adolescents whose parents were not interviewed participated in the study. In total, 387 adolescents were interviewed. Thirty percent of the adolescents were born in Morocco, 69.5% in the Netherlands and 0.5% in another country. Fifty-one percent of the adolescents were female. Adolescents' mean age was 14.2 years. As we only used parent interviews for which an adolescent interview was available, 376 parent interviews were included in the analyses. The parents were: 80.2% mothers, 17.9% fathers and 1.9% others (e.g., aunt, stepparent, adult brother; depending on with whom the child lived). In 70% of the families, both parents were not educated at all or only completed elementary school, in 19% of the families at least one parent completed a low level of secondary school or vocational training, while 11%

concluded a medium to high level of secondary school or vocational training or completed university.

Data collection took place from April 2001 to July 2002. Parents and adolescents were sent an introductory letter in Dutch and Arabic, describing the aims of the study. About 1 to 2 weeks later, a trained Moroccan interviewer visited the respondents' home. The interviewer asked one of the parents of the randomly selected adolescent to participate in the study. The interviewer read the questions of the instruments aloud to the parent and filled out the questionnaire. After the interview, the parents were asked for permission to interview their 11- to 18-year-old child. If they consented, the adolescents were asked to participate. Adolescents filled out the Youth Self-Report themselves and were interviewed about the other themes. Written informed consent was obtained from parents and adolescents.

Instruments

Psychological Acculturation. Adolescents were interviewed in Dutch about their acculturation strategies, using the Psychological Acculturation Scale (PAS). This instrument was originally developed to assess the individual's sense of emotional attachment to, belonging within, and understanding of the Anglo-American and Latino/Hispanic cultures (Tropp, Erkut, Coll, Alarcon & Garcia, 1999). For our study, we selected six items measuring the adolescent's sense of emotional attachment and belonging (Stevens et al., in press), for instance 'I feel comfortable with Dutch people' and 'Moroccan people understand me'. Items were applied to both the Dutch and Moroccan culture and were rated on a 3-point Likert-type scale. The PAS was translated into Dutch. To check the accuracy of the translation, an independent back translation into English was performed. Confirmatory factor analysis revealed a two-factor model, consisting of a Dutch and a Moroccan Psychological Acculturation Scale (D-PAS; M-PAS). RMSEA's indicated a fair fit (.06) and GFI's indicated a good fit (.91) to the data. The D-PAS and M-PAS scales showed good internal consistency (D-PAS: .76; M-PAS: .75) and test-retest reliability (D-PAS: .77; M-PAS: .87). In chapter 3, we identified three classes of adolescents with similar patterns of acculturation using latent class analysis (Stevens et al., in press). A more or less integrated class, a separated and an ambivalent class was found. Thirteen percent of the adolescents were ambivalently acculturated, 40% separated and 47% integrated. Gender was not distributed equally over the classes. Fifty-one percent of the total population was female, whereas 74% of the respondents in the ambivalently acculturated class were female, 48% of the respondents in the integrated class were female, and 49% of the respondents in the separated class were female.

Parent reported problem behavior. The Child Behavior Checklist/4-18 was used to obtain standardized parent-reports on children's problem behaviors (Achenbach, 1991b). Respondents were asked to rate the occurrence of problems in the preceding 6 months on a 3-point scale: 0 = not true, 1 = somewhat or sometimes true, and 2 = very true or often true. The

following syndromes were analyzed: Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Anxious/Depressed, Social Problems, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Delinquent Behavior and Aggressive Behavior. Internalizing is indicated by the sum of scores on items in the Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, and Anxious/Depressed syndrome profiles, and Externalizing by the sum of scores on the Delinquent and Aggressive Behavior syndromes. The Total Problems score is the sum of scores on all items except item 2 (Allergy) and 4 (Asthma). The CBCL was translated into Moroccan-Arabic and Dutch. Reliability of the Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic translation has already been established (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1996; Stevens et al., 2003).

Adolescent reported problem behavior. To obtain self-reports of problem behavior, 11- to 18-year-old adolescents were asked to fill out the Youth Self-Report (YSR). The YSR was modeled after the CBCL and has the same format, except that items are worded in the first person. Good validity and test-retest reliability of the YSR has been established (Achenbach, 1991d) and confirmed for the Dutch translation (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1997b). In this study, we used the Dutch translation of the YSR, since all adolescents were educated in Dutch.

Parent-adolescent conflict. The adolescents were questioned in Dutch about the amount of conflicts with their parents, using the Parent-Adolescent Conflict List (Dekovic, 1999a). Adolescents were asked to indicate on a 5-point scale (0 = never to 4 = very often) how often they quarrel with their parents about 16 issues (e.g., academic achievement, spending money, home chores, friends). Internal consistency was .85.

Statistical Analysis

Associations between acculturation and YSR and CBCL problem scores were examined using linear regression analyses. Gender (boys: 0; girls: 1), acculturation and gender by acculturation interactions were entered into the models. The ambivalent acculturation class was used as the reference group. To investigate acculturation effects comparing the integrated and separated classes, we used the separated class as the reference group. The criteria of Cohen (1988) were applied to categorize effect sizes for regressions: Effects accounting for 2 - 12% of the variance were considered as small; effects of 13 - 25% as medium; and effects > 25% as large.

To find out whether the association between acculturation and problem behavior is mediated by the amount of conflicts between parents and adolescents, we examined whether the following criteria were met (Baron & Kenny, 1986). The first criterion holds that there must be a significant relation between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems. Second, it is necessary for acculturation to relate to parent-child conflict. Therefore, a one-way ANOVA with a post hoc Bonferroni test was performed. Third, parent-child conflict must be related to problem behavior in the hypothesized direction: We examined whether

Table 4.1 Relation of gender, acculturation, and gender by acculturation to YSR and CBCL problem scales

	Gender					
	Ambivalently acculturated vs. Integrated		Ambivalently acculturated vs. Separated		Ambivalently acculturated vs. Separated * Gender	
	Beta	R ²	Beta	R ²	Beta	R ²
Youth Self-Report						
Withdrawn	.48	2.3%	.08	-	.03	1.3%
Somatic Complaints	.76	5.7%	.13	-	.11	3.1%
Anxious/Depressed	.67	4.5%	.18	-	.11	3.2%
Thought Problems	.41	1.7%	.13	-	.14	1.2%
Attention Problems	.73	5.2%	.31	1.1%	.23	4.8%
Aggressive Behavior	.42	1.7%	.21	-	.24	2.8%
Internalizing	.78	6.0%	.17	-	.10	3.4%
Externalizing	.32	1.0%	.17	-	.21	2.1%
Total Problems	.68	4.5%	.20	-	.19	3.6%
Child Behavior Checklist						
Somatic Complaints	.65	4.0%	.13	-	.10	1.8%
Attention Problems	.29	-	.31	1.1%	.17	2.2%
Aggressive Behavior	.21	-	.03	-	.05	1.0%
Internalizing	.41	1.6%	.11	-	.00	1.2%
Total Problems	.35	1.1%	.13	-	.07	1.1%

Problem scales that reveal significant effects for acculturation were reported ($p < .05$); Effect sizes (R^2) are reported for significant effects ($p < .05$) only.

there is a positive correlation between parent-child conflict and problem behavior. Finally, it must be shown that when parent-child conflict is included along with acculturation in a model predicting problem behavior, the previously significant relationship between acculturation and problem behavior becomes close to zero (evidence for total mediation) or accounts for significantly less variance (evidence for partial mediation). We used linear regressions to investigate the last criterion. Again, the ambivalent class was used as the reference group.

Results

Acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems

Relations of gender, acculturation, and gender by acculturation interactions to parent and self reported emotional and behavioral problems are shown in table 4.1. Problem scales that revealed significant acculturation and gender by acculturation effects are reported.

Interactions between acculturation and gender were found on six YSR syndrome scales, YSR Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems when comparing the ambivalent acculturation class with the integrated class and with the separated class. Furthermore, significant gender by acculturation interactions were found for three CBCL syndrome scales, on Internalizing and on Total Problems. All significant effects were small. When comparing the separated with the integrated class, no significant main and interaction effects of acculturation were found.

To gain insight into the direction of the interaction effects, we performed one-way ANOVAs with post hoc Bonferroni tests comparing problem scores for the three acculturation classes for boys and girls separately. In table 4.2, the YSR and CBCL problem scales that revealed significant differences between acculturation and problem behavior were reported. Differences were found only for girls. Girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern reported more problems than girls in the other acculturation classes on six of the eight syndrome scores, Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems. Parent-reports also revealed higher levels of problem behavior in girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern: Differences were found on Somatic Complaints, Aggressive Behavior, Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems.

The mediating role of parent-child conflict

We examined whether Baron and Kenny's (1986) criteria for mediation were met. To keep the number of analyses surveyable, we performed analyses for YSR and CBCL Internalizing and Externalizing only. The first criterion has already been confirmed: There was a significant relation between acculturation and internalizing and externalizing problems in girls. Second, girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern reported considerably more conflicts with their parents than girls in the other acculturation classes (ambivalent: $M = 13.8$ (10.0); integrated: $M = 9.1$ (7.8); separated: $M = 9.5$ (8.3); $F = 3.9$, $p = .02$). Boys with an ambivalent

Table 4.2 Comparing the acculturation classes on YSR and CBCL problem scales

	Girls				Boys			
	Ambivalently acculturated	Integrated	Separated	One-way ANOVA	Ambivalently acculturated	Integrated	Separated	One-way ANOVA
Youth Self-Report	<i>N</i> = 36	<i>N</i> = 86	<i>N</i> = 77		<i>N</i> = 13	<i>N</i> = 94	<i>N</i> = 81	
Withdrawn	3.8 ^{a,b} (2.8)	2.5 ^a (2.1)	2.2 ^b (2.0)	<i>F</i> = 6.5**	1.8 (1.2)	2.2 (1.9)	2.0 (1.8)	NS
Somatic Complaints	4.7 ^{a,b} (3.7)	2.2 ^a (2.2)	2.2 ^b (2.5)	<i>F</i> = 13.0**	1.0 (1.6)	1.6 (1.9)	1.5 (1.7)	NS
Anxious/Depressed	7.7 ^{a,b} (6.1)	4.8 ^a (3.8)	3.7 ^b (3.4)	<i>F</i> = 11.4**	2.6 (1.8)	4.0 (3.0)	3.4 (2.9)	NS
Thought Problems	1.4 ^{a,b} (1.5)	0.8 ^a (1.1)	0.8 ^b (1.3)	<i>F</i> = 3.8*	0.4 (1.1)	0.7 (1.1)	0.8 (1.5)	NS
Attention Problems	5.3 ^{a,b} (3.5)	3.0 ^a (2.2)	2.9 ^b (2.6)	<i>F</i> = 12.0**	1.6 (1.6)	3.2 (2.3)	2.8 (2.2)	NS
Aggressive Behavior	7.5 ^{a,b} (4.9)	4.3 ^a (3.6)	4.6 ^b (3.9)	<i>F</i> = 8.5**	3.9 (3.7)	5.7 (4.3)	6.0 (4.4)	NS
Internalizing	15.8 ^{a,b} (10.5)	9.3 ^a (6.5)	8.1 ^b (6.2)	<i>F</i> = 14.5**	5.4 (2.7)	7.6 (5.1)	6.8 (5.1)	NS
Externalizing	10.1 ^{a,b} (6.5)	6.2 ^a (4.7)	6.5 ^b (5.3)	<i>F</i> = 7.5**	6.5 (4.8)	8.4 (6.0)	9.0 (6.1)	NS
Total Problems	40.8 ^{a,b} (23.0)	25.3 ^a (15.3)	24.2 ^b (16.2)	<i>F</i> = 12.8**	18.4 (9.4)	25.1 (14.8)	24.7 (14.7)	NS
Child Behavior Checklist	<i>N</i> = 35	<i>N</i> = 84	<i>N</i> = 74		<i>N</i> = 12	<i>N</i> = 93	<i>N</i> = 78	
Somatic Complaints	3.3 ^{a,b} (3.7)	1.3 ^a (1.7)	1.6 ^b (1.9)	<i>F</i> = 9.8**	0.5 (0.9)	1.0 (1.6)	0.9 (2.0)	NS
Aggressive Behavior	7.5 ^{a,b} (7.5)	4.1 ^a (4.5)	4.1 ^b (4.4)	<i>F</i> = 6.7**	5.3 (4.1)	5.7 (4.9)	5.8 (6.2)	NS
Internalizing	10.2 ^{a,b} (7.9)	6.9 ^a (5.9)	7.0 ^b (5.4)	<i>F</i> = 4.0*	5.5 (5.2)	6.7 (5.5)	5.5 (4.5)	NS
Externalizing	9.3 ^{a,b} (8.9)	5.5 ^a (6.3)	5.3 ^b (5.5)	<i>F</i> = 5.1**	7.3 (5.6)	7.6 (6.4)	8.3 (8.8)	NS
Total Problems	27.9 ^{a,b} (19.3)	18.7 ^a (16.4)	18.6 ^b (14.0)	<i>F</i> = 4.8*	17.2 (10.0)	21.1 (14.9)	19.5 (15.3)	NS

Standard deviations between brackets; NS = non significant; Problem scales that reveal significant effects for acculturation were reported (*p* < .05); **p* < .05; ***p* < .01; ^{a, b} Refers to significant Bonferroni post hoc test

acculturation pattern, however, reported as many conflicts with their parents as boys with an integrated or separated acculturation pattern (ambivalent: $M = 10.2$ (6.6); integrated: $M = 11.1$ (9.3); separated: $M = 13.0$ (8.3)). Furthermore, parent-child conflict correlated positively with YSR Internalizing (girls: $r = .44$, $p < .00$; boys: $r = .33$, $p < .00$), YSR Externalizing (girls: $r = .45$, $p < .00$; boys: $r = .37$, $p < .00$), CBCL Internalizing (girls: $r = .26$, $p < .00$; boys: $r = .24$, $p < .00$) and CBCL Externalizing (girls: $r = .28$, $p < .00$; boys: $r = .34$, $p < .00$).

As there were no significant differences in levels of reported problem behavior between the acculturation classes for boys, final mediation analyses were conducted only for girls. First, linear regression analyses between acculturation and YSR Internalizing, YSR Externalizing, CBCL Internalizing and CBCL Externalizing were performed without the influence of parent-child conflict. Then, parent-child conflict was entered into the models. Table 4.3 shows that the effects of acculturation on YSR Internalizing, YSR Externalizing and CBCL Externalizing decreased after adding parent-child conflict into the analyses (e.g., $-.40$ to $-.29$, $-.35$ to $-.23$, and $-.28$ to $-.21$). The associations between acculturation and CBCL Internalizing became non-significant after parent-child conflict was entered into the analyses. All in all, the relations between acculturation and problem behavior were partly mediated by parent-child conflict.

Table 4.3 Relation of acculturation and parent-child conflict to YSR and CBCL Internalizing and Externalizing for girls

	YSR		YSR		CBCL		CBCL	
	Internalizing		Externalizing		Internalizing		Externalizing	
	Beta	R ²	Beta	R ²	Beta	R ²	Beta	R ²
Analyses without Parent-Child Conflict								
Acculturation (Ambivalently acculturated vs. Integrated)	-.40	7.7%	-.35	6.0%	-.24	2.7%	-.28	3.8%
Acculturation (Ambivalently acculturated vs. Separated)	-.47	11.0%	-.31	4.8%	-.23	2.6%	-.29	4.1%
Analyses with Parent-Child Conflict								
Acculturation (Ambivalently acculturated vs. Integrated)	-.29	3.9%	-.23	2.5%	-.17	-	-.21	2.0%
Acculturation (Ambivalently acculturated vs. Separated)	-.38	6.7%	-.21	2.0%	-.17	-	-.22	2.4%
(Ambivalently acculturated vs. Separated)								
Parent-Child conflict	.40	15.1%	.42	17.0%	.24	5.3%	.25	5.8%

Effect sizes (R²) are reported for significant effects ($p < .05$).

Discussion

The present study provides insight into the relation between patterns of psychological acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems in a population of Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands. We hypothesized that integrated adolescents show the lowest levels of problem behavior. Moreover, we expected high levels of problem behavior in ambivalently acculturated adolescents, as it was hypothesized that these adolescents experience most conflicts with their parents. Furthermore, we expected gender differences in the relation between acculturation and problem behavior to occur.

The association between psychological acculturation and problem behavior turned out to be very different for Moroccan adolescent girls than for boys. Girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern reported more problems on almost all YSR problem scales than the other girls. Parents confirmed their daughters' self-reports: Parent-reports also revealed higher levels of problem behavior in girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern. In contrast, Moroccan boys with an ambivalent acculturation pattern reported as many emotional and behavioral problems as boys with an integrated or separated acculturation pattern. Parent-reports did not reveal significant differences either. Our hypothesis that high identification with both the Moroccan and Dutch culture was associated with a low risk of emotional and behavioral problems was not confirmed. For both boys and girls, adolescents with a separated acculturated pattern showed as much problem behavior as integrated adolescents. Furthermore, the hypothesis that ambivalently acculturated adolescents show highest levels of problem behavior was only confirmed for girls. In accordance with our expectations, the relation between acculturation and problem behavior can be partly explained by the high level of conflicts between parents and their ambivalently acculturated daughters. In addition, the high rates of problem behavior in ambivalently acculturated girls may be due to the presence of moderate attachment to both the Moroccan and Dutch culture.

How can we explain the striking difference between boys and girls in the relation between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems? A main characteristic of adolescents with an ambivalent acculturation pattern is that they are less attached to Moroccan culture than other adolescents. They do not share Moroccan ideas and values and do not feel understood by Moroccans at all (Stevens et al., in press). This ambivalent acculturation pattern is more often found in Moroccan girls than in boys, which may be related to the fact that Moroccan values and norms in some respect are highly gender specific. Girls are much more restricted regarding their autonomy and freedom of movement than boys: They are much more tied to the home than boys, have to do more household chores and are less allowed to make decisions about leisure activities and (boy)friends (Pels & De Haan, 2003). As a result, detachment from the Moroccan culture, values and norms, may have more impact on the day-to-day attitude and behavior of Moroccan adolescent girls than boys, and may

become much more visible within the home. This, in turn, may lead to a problematic relation with the family. As boys are allowed much more freedom, both within and outside the family, their detachment from the Moroccan culture may be less prominent, and may not become visible within the home as easily. In other words, adopting an ambivalent acculturation pattern may have more radical consequences for Moroccan girls than for boys. Our finding that girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern experience considerably more conflicts with their parents than other girls, while no relation between acculturation and parent-child conflict exists for boys, is in accordance with this hypothesis.

Our findings emphasize that gender differences in the association between acculturation and problem behavior, and mediators such as parent-child conflict, should be taken into account to get insight into the complex relation between acculturation and problem behavior. To our knowledge, few international studies reported about the gender-specific nature of the association between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems in adolescent populations. For an ethnic minority group in Norway, Kvernmo and Heyerdahl (2003) revealed that boys who scored low on integration or high on marginalization, and girls who scored high on separation showed more problem behavior. Kvernmo and Heyerdahl's study confirmed our findings about the gender specificity of the relation between acculturation and problem behavior, but we did not find similar relations. As mentioned in the introduction, Dinh et al. (2002) and Samaniego and Gonzales (1999) studied the effects of several mediators on the relation between acculturation and problem behavior. The authors used unidimensional instruments to measure acculturation, in which cultural adaptation to the mainstream goes hand in hand with a loss of attachment to one's own ethnic and cultural ties. In both studies this relation was mediated by the parent-child relationship: Children and adolescents who scored high on American acculturation (and therefore low on ethnic acculturation) reported less parental involvement and more family conflicts, which in turn was related to problem behavior. As we used a bidimensional instrument to measure acculturation, the results of the studies are incomparable.

The findings of this study are subject to limitations. Moroccan adolescents from two of the largest cities in the Netherlands were interviewed. This sample might not be representative for the entire Moroccan immigrant adolescent population in the Netherlands. However, as almost 50% of the Moroccans live in the four largest cities in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001), it is not likely that our results differ considerably from results in the total Moroccan immigrant population. Second, this study has a cross-sectional design. Assessment of problem behaviors, acculturation, and parent-child conflict at the same point in time provides a good opportunity to find associations. However, this design is limited in determining causal directions of the associations. We assumed that an ambivalent acculturation pattern in girls would lead to more problem behavior. Nevertheless, it is also possible that girls with a high level of emotional and behavioral problems do not feel at ease

with other (Moroccan and Dutch) people, resulting in an ambivalent acculturation pattern. Furthermore, we expected that girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern experience more conflicts with their parents. However, girls experiencing many conflicts with their parents might also tend to lose their appreciation of their parents' culture, the Moroccan culture. Third, only 13 boys had an ambivalent acculturation pattern, which might indicate that the power of the analyses, in which comparisons between boys' acculturation patterns were performed, is limited. It is however unlikely that this is the case, as we calculated that there was enough power to detect small to medium effects. Finally, in this paper we examined the relation between the adolescent's acculturation pattern and their problem behavior, without taking into account the acculturation level of the parent. The question arises whether adolescents who have a different acculturation pattern as their parents, experience more problem behavior than adolescents who share an acculturation pattern with their parents. Further research may answer this question.

Clinicians should be aware of the specific relation between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems for (Moroccan) immigrant girls. Moreover, it is important for clinicians to keep in mind that emotional and behavioral problems in these Moroccan girls often coincide with conflictious relationships with their parents. In therapy, consultations with the parents are necessary both to examine which processes underlie the problematic relationship between parents and their daughters and to avoid the risk of a further alienation between them. In prevention programs aimed at Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescent girls, attention needs to be paid to this theme in order to help these girls and their families to cope with the complex demands they are faced with.

5 | **Parenting and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth in the Netherlands**

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Chapter 5

Parenting and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth in the Netherlands

Abstract

Although an increasing proportion of the population in Western countries originates from non-Western parts of the world, little research has been conducted on the relation between parenting and problem behavior in immigrant samples. We present a study on the relation between parenting and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents in the Netherlands. Seven hundred twenty-seven interviews with parents and 376 interviews with adolescents were conducted. The Child Behavior Checklist and Youth Self-Report were obtained to measure problem behavior. We used The Nijmegen Rearing Questionnaire to assess parent-reports on parenting practices. Associations between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth seem to be largely comparable to associations found in Western samples. High levels of discipline were associated with high levels of emotional and behavioral problems. High levels of parental affection were associated with low levels of emotional and behavioral problems and high levels of monitoring were associated with low levels of behavioral problems. It was found that once a particular level of adequate parenting is achieved, differences between parenting are not of importance for the development of problem behavior in children and adolescents. Several associations between parenting and problem behavior were age and gender specific. Moreover, gender and age differences were found in the way Moroccan immigrant parents bring up their children.

Introduction

Parenting has been a central component of most child developmental theories in the history of pedagogy and child psychiatry (Mrazek, Mrazek & Klinnert, 1995). Hence, there is a substantial body of evidence to indicate an association between parenting and child emotional and behavioral problems. In several studies, high levels of parental warmth were associated with low levels of internalizing and externalizing problems, parental discipline has been shown to relate positively to externalizing problems, and negative relations were found between parental monitoring and externalizing behavior (e.g., Barnes & Farrell, 1992; DeKlyen, Speltz & Greenberg, 1998; Dishion & McMahon, 1998; Galambos, Barker & Almeida, 2003; Hammen & Rudolph, 1996; Miller, Cowan, Cowan, Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1993; Patterson, DeBaryshe & Ramsey, 1989; Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber,

1984; Smith & Krohn, 1995; Straus, Sugarman & Giles-Sims, 1997). Although an increasing proportion of the population in Western countries originates from non-Western parts of the world, little research has been conducted on the relation between parenting and problem behavior in immigrant samples. If our theories are to be generalizable, research on parenting must increasingly focus on samples, which represent the diversity in Western societies.

The relation between parenting and problem behavior in children may vary within different cultural or ethnic contexts. Kagitcibasi (1990) suggested that in cultural contexts where strict parental discipline is prevalent and therefore viewed as normal by children, strictness may not be perceived as rejection but as parental concern. As a consequence, strict discipline may not lead to problem behavior. Furthermore, in the adverse circumstances in which ethnic minority groups often have to raise their children, for instance, in an insecure socio-economic situation, in a neighborhood where problems accumulate, and where discrimination is structural, strict parental discipline is argued to be an important protective factor (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan & Buriel, 1990; McLoyd, 1990). Few authors however empirically tested whether the relation between parenting and problem behavior is ethno-specific. Deater Deckard, Dodge, Bates and Pettit (1996) reported a positive association between physical punishment and externalizing behavior in white children, whereas no relation between physical punishment and externalizing behavior was found for African-American children. Gunnoe and Mariner (1997) showed a negative relation between parental spanking and aggression in black children, whereas this relation was positive in white children. However, other studies revealed that parenting is similarly associated with child outcomes across ethnic groups (Hart, Nelson, Robinson, Olsen & McNeilly Choque, 1998; Kilgore, Snyder & Lentz, 2000; Rowe, Vazsonyi & Flannery, 1994).

In this paper, we present a study on the relation between parenting and emotional and behavioral problems in children of Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. Moroccan immigrants belong to one of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001). In the 1960s and 1970s, Moroccan men came to the Netherlands to fill the gaps in the lower segments of the Dutch labor market. From the early 1970s on, many Moroccan migrants brought their families to the Netherlands. Initially, both the Dutch government and the Moroccan migrants expected their stay to be temporary, but most of them eventually settled permanently. Although labor migration has decreased considerably since the 1980s, there is still an influx of Moroccan immigrants due to the fact that a considerable part of the pioneering generation's offspring gets their spouse from Morocco. Today, about 40% of the Moroccan immigrants are born in the Netherlands (De Valk, Esveldt, Henkens & Liefbroer, 2001). Most Moroccans are Muslim by religion. Recently, Moroccan youth is more and more seen as a problem for Dutch society: Male adolescents are over-represented in the population of juvenile delinquents (Van Gemert, 1998) and teachers report high levels of externalizing problems in Moroccan children and adolescents (Stevens et al., 2003).

Therefore, it is important to gain insight into the predictors of problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth. Parenting might be one important factor.

The two major dimensions of parenting are warmth (supportive behavior of parents towards their children) and control (imposing discipline by the parents) (Baumrind, 1967; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). Baumrind (1968) emphasized that control in fact takes different forms. Some parents expect their children to accept their judgment, values and goals without questioning, whereas others are more open to give and take with their children and make greater use of explanations. In line with this, within the construct of control a distinction has been made between parenting behavior like harsh punishment and power exertion on the one hand, and the use of reasoning, monitoring and autonomy-granting on the other. Qualitative research among Moroccan families in the Netherlands (Pels, 1998) has shown that both warmth and control are important parenting dimensions in Moroccan families.

Although there is evidence from numerous studies that parenting is related to problem behavior in children, several questions concerning the association between parenting and problem behavior have remained unanswered up till now. To get an overview of the relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant families, we address these questions in this paper. First of all, one issue that has remained unresolved is whether or not there is specificity in the association between parenting and child outcomes (Garber & Hollon, 1991; O'Connor, 2002). In other words, is the relation with parenting similar for different types of problem behavior? There seems to be some evidence for specificity in the relation between parenting and problem behavior (Barber, Olsen & Shagle, 1994; Galambos et al., 2003; Gray & Steinberg, 1999; Weiss, Dodge, Bates & Pettit, 1992). For instance, Weiss et al. (1992) revealed an association between harsh parental discipline and externalizing problems, but found no association with internalizing problems. Barber et al. (1994) demonstrated that parental monitoring was more predictive of externalizing problems than of internalizing problems.

Furthermore, little attention has been paid to differences in the upbringing of children and adolescents and differences in the relation between parenting and problem behavior in the successive stages of children's development. According to O'Connor (2002), this lack of interest may originate from the assumption that parental support and control remain important throughout childhood. Rothbaum and Weisz (1994) argued that the failure to report age differences in the relation between parenting and problem behavior possibly indicates the absence of such differences. However, as suggested by O'Connor (2002), parental monitoring may play an increasingly salient role in problem behavior in late childhood, while the impact of discipline may decrease in adolescence.

In addition, there is no consensus on the gender specificity of the relation between parenting and problem behavior. Some studies reported a stronger effect of parenting on boys' externalizing problems than on girls' externalizing problems (McFadyen Ketchum, Bates,

Dodge & Pettit, 1996; Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter & Silva, 2001; Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994). Others reported the opposite pattern (Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Pettit, Laird, Dodge, Bates & Criss, 2001; Webster Stratton, 1996). Moreover, according to Rothbaum and Weisz (1994), there is reason to expect a stronger association between internalizing problems and parenting practices for girls than for boys. Stewart et al. (2000) and Pettit et al. (2001) confirmed this hypothesis. Other authors did not find evidence for gender differences in the relation between parenting and problem behavior (Hart et al., 1998; Kilgore et al., 2000). Moreover, it is not clear to what extent parents make systematic differences in their rearing of boys and girls. Keenan and Shaw (1997) reviewed studies on early differences in the parenting of boys and girls. The authors found some support for gender differences. For instance, temperamental characteristics are responded to differently, discipline strategies are modified, and interventions in peer conflicts vary on the basis of the sex of the child. In a meta-analysis, however, Lytton and Romney (1991) turned up with no major differences in the way parents treat their sons and daughters.

Finally, the assumption in most research on the effect of parenting on child behavior is that the relation is linear (Deater Deckard & Dodge, 1997), which implies that high support is associated with low levels of problem behavior, medium support is associated with medium levels of problem behavior, and low support is associated with high levels of problem behavior. Baumrind (1991) however, addressed possible non-linear relations between the adjustment of adolescents and both support and control. First of all, it was hypothesized that moderate levels of support and control are best for adolescents' psychosocial adjustment. Some support for the 'moderate parenting is best' hypothesis has been found (Kurdek, Fine & Sinclair, 1995; Mason, Cauce, Gonzales & Hiraga, 1996; Stice, Barrera & Chassin, 1993). Second, Baumrind (1991) hypothesized that adjustment levels reach a plateau after an optimal level of support and control is reached. In other words, when comparing parents who score above a certain threshold, no effects of parenting on problem behavior are found. Kurdek and Fine's (1994) and Deater Deckard and Dodge's (1997) findings confirmed the second hypothesis. Clearly, further research is needed to describe the specific nature of the relation between parenting and problem behavior in children and adolescents.

With this paper, we aim to get insight into the relation between parenting and problem behavior in a sample of Moroccan immigrant youth in the Netherlands. Is the relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents in the Netherlands comparable to the relationship reported in the Western psychological literature? The specificity of the association between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth is investigated; gender and age differences in parenting and gender and age differences in the relation between parenting and problem behavior are examined. Because several Moroccan values and norms are age and gender specific (Pels & De Haan, 2003), we expect gender and age differences in the upbringing of Moroccan

children to occur. Finally, we examine the specific nature of the relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan youth: We want to find out whether moderate parenting is best for children's and adolescent's adjustment, whether moderate parenting is associated with moderate levels of problem behavior, or whether no effect of parenting is found after an optimal level of support and control is reached.

Methods

Sample

For this paper, we used data of 727 interviews with parents and 376 interviews with adolescents. This data originated from a larger study for which children, aged 4 through 18 with at least one parent born in Morocco, were randomly selected from municipal registers of two of the four largest cities in the Netherlands, The Hague and Rotterdam (Stevens et al., 2003). A total of 1,127 children were eligible for inclusion in the study. Seventy-three percent of their parents participated in the study ($N = 819$). For children aged 6 or older, one of the parents was interviewed about parenting practices ($N = 727$). Of these parents, 415 parents reported about a child in the age of 11 through 18 years. Ninety-one percent of their 11- to 18-year-old children also participated in the study ($N = 376$). Eighty point one percent of the 727 participating parents were mothers, 18.0% fathers and 1.9% others (e.g., aunt, stepparent, adult brother; depending on with whom the child lived). In 60% of the families, both parents were not educated at all or only completed elementary school; in 23% of the families at least one parent completed a low level of secondary school or vocational training; in 17% of the families at least one parent concluded a medium to high level of secondary school, a medium to high level of vocational training or completed university. Of the Moroccan children aged 6 through 10, 7% were born in Morocco, 92% in the Netherlands, and 1% in another country; 51% were male and the mean age was 8 years. Twenty-eight percent of the 11- to 18-year-old Moroccan adolescents were born in Morocco, 71% in the Netherlands and 1% in another country; 51% of the Moroccan adolescents were male and the mean age was 14 years.

Data collection took place from April 2001 to July 2002. Parents and adolescents were sent an introductory letter in Dutch and Arabic, describing the aims of the study. About 1 to 2 weeks later, a trained Moroccan interviewer visited the respondents' home. The interviewer asked one of the parents of the randomly selected child or adolescent to participate in the study. The interviewer read the questions of the instruments aloud to the parent and filled out the questionnaire. After the interview, we asked the parent for permission to interview their 11- to 18-year-old child. If the parent consented, the adolescent was asked to participate. Adolescents filled out the Youth Self-Report themselves. Written informed consent was obtained from parents and adolescents.

Instruments

Parent reported problem behavior. The Child Behavior Checklist/4-18 (CBCL) was used to obtain standardized parent-reports on children's problem behaviors (Achenbach, 1991b). The 118 problem items describe a wide array of problems. Respondents were asked to rate the occurrence of problems in the preceding 6 months on a 3-point scale: 0 = not true, 1 = somewhat or sometimes true, and 2 = very true or often true. Internalizing is indicated by the sum of scores on items in the Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, and Anxious/Depressed syndrome profiles, and Externalizing by the sum of scores on the Delinquent and Aggressive syndromes. The Total Problems score is the sum of scores on all items except item 2 (Allergy) and 4 (Asthma). The CBCL was translated into Moroccan-Arabic and Dutch. Reliability of the Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic translation has already been established (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1996; Stevens et al., 2003).

Adolescent reported problem behavior. Self-reports on emotional and behavioral problems were obtained using the Youth Self-Report (YSR). The YSR was modeled after the CBCL and has the same format, except that items are worded in the first person. Good validity and test-retest reliability of the YSR has been established (Achenbach, 1991d) and confirmed for the Dutch translation (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1997b). In this study, we used the Dutch translation of the YSR, since all adolescents were educated in Dutch.

Parenting. To assess parenting practices, we used five sub scales of the Nijmegen Rearing Questionnaire (Dekovic, Janssens & Van As, 2003; Engels, Dekovic & Meeus, 2002; Gerris, Vermulst, Van Boxtel, Janssens, Van Zutphen & Felling, 1993; Gerrits, Dekovic, Groenendaal & Noom, 1996): Affection, responsiveness, discipline, autonomy, and induction. Parents were asked to indicate on a 6-point scale (0 = highly disagree to 5 = highly agree) whether they agreed with the items. Affection is a nine-item list assessing the extent to which the parent shows feelings of positive affection towards the child. Responsiveness, defined as the extent to which the parent reacts promptly and sensitively to the child's signals and needs, was measured by eight items. Discipline is a five-item questionnaire, defined as the use of different ways of punishment and discipline by the parent. Autonomy is a seven-item questionnaire measuring the parental encouragement to act independently, autonomously and with one's own responsibilities. Induction, defined as the degree to which parents point the child to the consequences of certain misbehaviors for others, was measured by four items. For this Moroccan sample, internal consistency ranged from .82 (discipline) to .87 (responsiveness). Parental monitoring was measured by a five-item instrument (Brown, Mounts, Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993) on a 4-point scale (0 = nothing to 3 = everything). Parents were asked to indicate how much they know about, for instance, their child's friends, how their child spends his/her money, and what their child does with his/her free time. Again internal consistency was high for the Moroccan sample: .87. The parenting questionnaires were translated into Moroccan-Arabic. We performed an independent back translation into

Dutch to check the accuracy of the translation. Based on test-retest intervals averaging 10 days with 37 Moroccan immigrant parents, the correlation ranged from .93 (monitoring) to .99 (affection).

Statistical Analyses

Associations between parenting and CBCL Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems were examined in children and adolescents separately using univariate and multivariate linear regression analyses. In the same way, associations between parenting and YSR Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems in adolescents were investigated. We created a low, medium and high parenting group by splitting the parenting dimensions into three equally sized groups. Low parenting was used as the reference group for affection, responsiveness, autonomy, induction and monitoring. For discipline, high was used as the reference group. Differences between medium and low discipline and medium and high affection, responsiveness, autonomy, induction and monitoring were investigated using medium parenting as the reference group. The highest educational level of both parents was taken to score SES. The parental educational level was scored on a 5-point scale: 0 = no schooling or uncompleted elementary school, 1 = elementary school, 2 = lower level of secondary or vocational training, 3 = medium level of secondary or vocational training and 4 = university or higher level of vocational training. Gender of the child and SES of the family were entered into each analysis as covariates. All parenting dimensions were entered into the multivariate analyses.

To find out whether Moroccan boys and girls, and children and adolescents are brought up similarly, Pearson Chi-square tests were performed. Furthermore, the age specificity in the relation between parenting and problem behavior was measured by conducting linear regression analyses on CBCL problem behavior for each parenting dimension separately, taking into account gender, SES of the family, age (6-10 = 0; 11-18 = 1), and the interaction between age and parenting. As the YSR was filled out by adolescents only, we were not able to investigate whether the association between parenting and YSR problem behavior differed for children and adolescents. To investigate gender differences in the relation between parenting and CBCL and YSR problem behavior in children and adolescents separately, we conducted linear regression analyses for each parenting dimension separately, taking into account SES of the family, gender of the child/adolescent, and the gender by parenting interaction.

Table 5.1 Gender and age-specific parenting

	Children (43%)*	Adolescents (57%)*	χ^2	Boys (51%)*	Girls (49%)*	χ^2
Affection						
Low	22%	78%	74.1, p < .01	58%	42%	7.1, p = .03
Medium	43%	57%		50%	50%	
High	61%	39%		46%	54%	
Responsiveness						
Low	28%	72%	33.6, p < .01	60%	40%	11.2, p < .01
Medium	47%	53%		51%	49%	
High	52%	48%		45%	55%	
Autonomy						
Low	52%	48%	27.9, p < .01			2.7, NS
Medium	49%	51%				
High	30%	70%				
Induction						
Low	29%	71%	33.1, p < .01			1.7, NS
Medium	44%	56%				
High	55%	45%				
Discipline						
Low	24%	76%	64.3, p < .01			3.7, NS
Medium	43%	57%				
High	60%	40%				
Monitoring						
Low	22%	78%	72.7, p < .01	62%	38%	16.4, p < .01
Medium	42%	58%		50%	50%	
High	60%	40%		44%	56%	

We only reported gender and age distributions for which significant chi-squares were found ($p < .05$). *Of the total population, 43% was child and 57% adolescent; 51% was boy and 49% girl. The table must be read in the following order: Although 43% of the total sample is a child, only 22% of the low affection group is child, as a consequence 78% of the low affection group consists of adolescents.

Results

Age- and gender-specific parenting

In table 5.1, the gender and age distribution within the low, medium and high parenting groups are lined out. Compared to children, adolescents were over-represented in the low affection, responsiveness, induction, discipline, and low monitoring group and were under-represented in the high affection, responsiveness, induction, discipline, and high monitoring group. The opposite was found for autonomy. These age effects remained significant when boys and girls were examined separately: i.e., for both boys and girls, adolescents were brought up with less affection (boys: $\chi^2 = 45.0$, $p < .01$; girls: $\chi^2 = 30.5$, $p < .01$), responsiveness (boys: $\chi^2 = 23.7$, $p < .01$; girls: $\chi^2 = 15.1$, $p < .01$), induction (boys: $\chi^2 = 14.2$, $p < .01$; girls: $\chi^2 = 21.6$, $p < .01$), discipline (boys: $\chi^2 = 35.2$, $p < .01$; girls: $\chi^2 = 30.8$, $p < .01$) and monitoring (boys: $\chi^2 = 59.9$, $p < .01$; girls: $\chi^2 = 18.8$, $p < .01$) and more autonomy (boys: $\chi^2 = 18.8$, $p < .01$; girls: $\chi^2 = 9.85$, $p = .01$) than children. Furthermore, as shown in table 5.1, boys were over-represented in the low affection, responsiveness and monitoring group and were under-represented in the high affection, responsiveness and monitoring group. When we examined gender differences for children and adolescents separately, gender differences were only found for adolescents (affection adolescents: $\chi^2 = 7.1$, $p = .03$; affection children: $\chi^2 = 1.6$, NS. Responsiveness adolescents: $\chi^2 = 12.4$, $p < .01$; responsiveness children: $\chi^2 = 3.9$, NS. Monitoring adolescents: $\chi^2 = 22.0$, $p < .01$; monitoring children: $\chi^2 = 0.9$, NS).

Table 5.2 Relation of parenting to CBCL problem behavior in children

	Child Behavior Checklist					
	Internalizing		Externalizing		Total Problems	
	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β
Affection						
Medium	-.11	-.08	-.03	-.01 ^a	-.07	-.04
High	-.13	-.12	-.14	-.16 ^a	-.12	-.13
Discipline						
Medium	-.14	-.17	-.15	-.17	-.18	-.20
Low	-.09	-.13	-.12	-.16	-.15	-.21

For affection low was taken as the reference category; for discipline high was the reference category. Gender of the child and SES of the family were entered into each analysis as covariates. All parenting dimensions were entered into the multivariate analyses. Bold betas refer to significant differences ($p < .05$) with reference group; ^a Refers to a significant difference between medium and high affection.

Associations between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant children

The data revealed few associations between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant children (see table 5.2). Responsiveness, autonomy, induction, and monitoring showed no relation with CBCL problem behavior in children. An association was found

between affection and CBCL Externalizing: Moroccan children with parents who express a medium level of affection showed more CBCL Externalizing than children with parents who express a high level of affection. Comparing high affection with low affection on CBCL Externalizing, a borderline significant effect was revealed (univariate analysis: $p = .07$; multivariate analysis: $p = .05$). Furthermore, discipline was related to CBCL Internalizing, Externalizing and Total Problems: Children who were disciplined at a low or medium level showed fewer problems than highly disciplined children.

Associations between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant adolescents

Table 5.3 shows the relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. First of all, no associations were found between induction and problem behavior. The following associations were revealed in the multivariate analyses. Affection was related to all CBCL and YSR problem scales. In all but one case, Moroccan adolescents with parents who express a low level of affection showed more problem behavior than adolescents with parents who express a medium or high level of affection. Responsiveness was associated with CBCL Internalizing and Total Problems; the low group experienced the most problems. Adolescents who were granted a high level of autonomy showed more CBCL Internalizing than adolescents who were granted a low level of autonomy. For adolescents who were disciplined at a low or medium level, parents reported less CBCL Externalizing and Total Problems than for highly disciplined adolescents. Moreover, for adolescents who were disciplined at a low level, parents reported less CBCL and YSR Internalizing and CBCL Total Problems than for adolescents who were disciplined at a medium level. Finally, monitoring was found to relate to both CBCL and YSR Externalizing and CBCL Total Problems. Again, the low group showed the most problems.

Age-specific associations between parenting and problem behavior

The data revealed several age-specific relations between parenting and CBCL problem behavior. Significant ($p < .05$) age by responsiveness, age by autonomy, and age by monitoring interactions were found. In line with results in table 5.2 and 5.3, effects occurred only for adolescents. Adolescents who were brought up with a high level of responsiveness were scored lower on CBCL Internalizing and Total Problems than adolescents who were brought up with low levels of responsiveness, whereas no effect was found for children. Adolescents who were granted a high level of autonomy showed more CBCL Internalizing than adolescents who were granted a low level of autonomy, again no effect was found for children. Finally, adolescents who were brought up with a medium or high level of monitoring showed less CBCL Externalizing and Total Problems than adolescents who were brought up with a low level of monitoring. No effect was found for children.

Table 5.3 Relation of parenting to CBCL and YSR problem behavior in adolescents

	Youth Self-Report											
	Child Behavior Checklist						Youth Self-Report					
	Internalizing		Externalizing		Total Problems		Internalizing		Externalizing		Total Problems	
	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β
Affection												
Medium	-.12	-.14	-.14^a	-.15	-.12^a	-.13	-.12	-.12	-.16	-.14	-.15	-.14
High	-.18	-.16	-.20^a	-.18	-.22^a	-.20	-.12	-.12	-.19	-.16	-.20	-.18
Responsiveness												
Medium	-.12	-.12	-.12	-.08	-.17	-.14	-.03	.00	-.09	-.05	-.07	-.02
High	-.23	-.22	-.19	-.10	-.26	-.21	-.07	-.04	-.14	-.07	-.12	-.04
Autonomy												
Medium	.08	.09	.02	.01	.04	.03	-.05	-.06	-.10	-.06	-.10	-.09
High	.12	.15	.04	.01	.07	.07	.02	.01	-.06	-.03	-.05	-.05
Discipline												
Medium	.02 ^a	-.07 ^a	-.02	-.13	-.01 ^a	-.13^a	.08 ^a	.04 ^a	-.01	-.10	.04	-.04
Low	-.11 ^a	-.19^a	-.10	-.22	-.13^a	-.26^a	-.03 ^a	-.09 ^a	.04	-.09	-.01	-.13
Monitoring												
Medium	-.06	-.02	-.24	-.23	-.15	-.12	-.05	-.05	-.19	-.17	-.12	-.12
High	-.15	-.05	-.28	-.24	-.25	-.16	-.07	-.04	-.18	-.14	-.15	-.11

For affection, responsiveness, autonomy and monitoring low was taken as the reference category; for discipline high was the reference category. Gender of the child and SES of the family were entered into each analysis as covariates. All parenting dimensions were entered into the multivariate analyses. Bold betas refer to significant differences ($p < .05$) with reference group. ^a Refers to significant differences between medium and high affection, and significant differences between medium and low discipline.

Gender-specific associations between parenting and problem behavior

Some gender by parenting interactions were found for the relation with problem behavior in *adolescents*. Significant interactions ($p < .05$) were revealed between gender and affection on CBCL Externalizing. Adolescent boys who received high levels of affection were scored lower on CBCL Externalizing than boys with medium or low levels of affection. For adolescent girls, no effects of affection on CBCL Externalizing were found (adolescent boys: high-low $\beta = -.33$, $p < .01$, high-medium $\beta = -.19$, $p = .02$; adolescent girls: high-low $\beta = -.07$, NS, high-medium $\beta = .04$, NS). Similarly, an interaction occurred between gender and responsiveness on CBCL Externalizing. Adolescent boys with high levels of responsiveness showed fewer CBCL Externalizing problems than boys with low levels of responsiveness, whereas no effects were found for adolescent girls (adolescent boys: high-low $\beta = -.31$, $p < .01$; adolescent girls: high-low $\beta = -.07$, NS). Moreover, an interaction was found between gender and affection on YSR Internalizing. For adolescent boys, no effect of affection on YSR Internalizing was revealed. Adolescent girls who were brought up with a medium level of affection, however, showed less YSR Internalizing behavior than girls who were brought up with a low level of affection (adolescent girls: medium-low $\beta = -.23$, $p < .01$; adolescent boys: medium-low $\beta = .00$, NS).

Two interactions between gender and discipline occurred in the population of *children*. Girls in the age of 6 through 10 who were brought up with a high level of discipline showed more CBCL Externalizing and Total Problems than girls who were brought up with a low level of discipline. For boys in the age of 6 through 10 no effects were found (Externalizing 6- to 10-year-old girls: low-high $\beta = -.25$, $p < .01$; 6- to 10-year-old boys: low-high $\beta = .04$, NS. Total Problems: 6- to 10-year-old girls: low-high $\beta = -.27$, $p < .01$; 6- to 10-year-old boys: low-high $\beta = .00$, NS). One interaction between gender and discipline was found. 6- to 10-year-old girls with medium levels of discipline were scored higher on CBCL Total Problems than 6- to 10-year-old girls with low levels of discipline, whereas the opposite was found for 6- to 10-year-old boys: Boys with medium levels of discipline were scored lower on CBCL Total problems than boys with low levels of discipline. Differences between medium and low discipline were not significant (6- to 10-year-old girls: low-medium $\beta = -.10$, NS; 6- to 10-year-old boys: low-medium $\beta = .15$, NS).

Discussion

The associations between parenting and problem behavior in the Moroccan immigrant adolescent population seem to be largely comparable to those found in Western samples. High parental affection, responsiveness and monitoring was associated with low levels of problem behavior in adolescents, autonomy and induction were hardly associated with problem behavior, and high discipline was associated with high levels of problem behavior. Using the same parenting instruments, Meeus, Dekovic and Noom (1996) revealed similar relations between parenting and problem behavior in Dutch adolescents. Affection and monitoring were most clearly related to problem behavior, since we found associations with both parent- and adolescent-reports on problem behavior. Responsiveness and discipline were only related to problem behavior reported by parents. Furthermore, most effects of discipline on adolescents' problem behavior only reached significance in the multivariate analyses. This indicates that discipline contains elements of affection, responsiveness or monitoring that neutralize the negative effects of discipline. After correcting for these positive aspects of discipline, high levels of discipline were associated with high levels of problem behavior.

Another picture emerged from the results found in Moroccan immigrant children. In contrast to studies in Western samples, our study showed few associations between parental warmth (affection and responsiveness) and problem behavior, and no associations between parental monitoring and problem behavior. Considering the rather large betas for the effects of affection, the absence of significant relations between affection and CBCL Internalizing and Total Problems may be explained by the small amount of children in the low affection group. Relations with discipline, autonomy and induction were in accordance with studies in Western samples.

The previous indicates that the relation between parenting and problem behavior differs for children and adolescents. Testing the age specificity of the relation between parenting and problem behavior, we found no significant differences in the associations with parental affection and discipline. The effects of responsiveness, autonomy, and monitoring, however, turned out to be age specific: Associations only occurred in the adolescent population. Our findings confirm O'Connor's (2002) suggestion that parental monitoring plays an increasingly important role in problem behavior in late childhood, but do not confirm that discipline has less impact on the level of problem behavior in adolescents compared to children.

In some studies on parenting in ethnic minorities, no relation with problem behavior occurred, or frequent discipline was associated with low levels of problem behavior (Deater Deckard et al, 1996; Gunnoe & Mariner, 1997). Our results are in contrast to these studies: Children and adolescents who were disciplined frequently showed the most problem behavior. Just as youth from Western countries, Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents may

regard use of discipline as parental rejection. Furthermore, within both the adolescent and the child population, no associations occurred with induction and only one association was found with autonomy, which is in line with previous Western research (Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Meeus et al., 1996). Eccles et al. (1991) argued that no relation exists between autonomy granting and problem behavior, because the extent to which children can cope with autonomy varies. As a result, no overall effect of autonomy-granting on problem behavior is to be expected. The concept of induction was originally developed to measure the extent to which parents stimulate their child's moral development. Although it seems likely that this concept is associated with problem behavior in children and adolescents, hardly any association between induction and problem behavior have been found in previous studies. Possibly, the operationalization of this concept into a questionnaire is difficult.

Some additive questions concerning the relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant adolescents were addressed in this paper. The first was whether the relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth shows specificity, i.e., the extent to which the relation with parenting is similar for different types of problem behavior. The relation between monitoring and problem behavior turned out to be specific, as monitoring was associated with adolescents' externalizing behavior, but not with internalizing behavior. This result is in accordance with findings from Barber et al. (1994) and Gray and Steinberg (1999). In the adolescent sample, affection was related to all problem scales, whereas in children affection was only related to externalizing problems. In contrast to Weiss et al. (1992), who only found evidence for the relation between discipline and externalizing behavior, our findings revealed associations between discipline and both externalizing and internalizing problems.

Second, in line with the hypothesis that differences in parenting are not of importance for the development of problem behavior in children and adolescents once a particular level of adequate parenting is achieved, our results revealed that adolescents who are raised with medium or high affection, responsiveness or monitoring show less problem behavior than adolescents who are raised with low levels of affection, responsiveness or monitoring, whereas no differences occurred between medium and high affection, responsiveness or monitoring. Similarly, children who were brought up with a high level of discipline showed more problem behavior than the other children, whereas no differences occurred between children who were raised with medium or low levels of discipline.

Third, we wanted to find out whether adolescents and children and boys and girls were brought up comparably. Moroccan adolescents seem to be much more left to their own than children, as adolescents were brought up with far less affection, responsiveness, induction, discipline and monitoring and with more autonomy than children. Pels and De Haan (2003) argued that many Moroccan parents of the first generation believe that their child rearing tasks should ideally be completed at the onset of puberty. From the age of 12, children are

expected to know how to behave morally and socially, to be responsible for one self and others, and to be self-reliant. Moreover, according to Pels and De Haan (2003) the young are offered most personal attention and affection. These notions are clearly reflected in our findings.

In addition to these age effects, it was found that adolescent girls are more often brought up with high levels of responsiveness, affection and monitoring than adolescent boys. As Pels (in press c) and Pels and De Haan (2003) pointed out, adolescent Moroccan boys have less face to face contact with their parents than girls, which may result into less parental support. Furthermore, Moroccan values and norms result into far more restrictions regarding the freedom of movement of females, compared to males. As a result, parents may be more eager to supervise their daughters than their sons. Similar gender differences were revealed by Stewart et al. (2000) and Lytton and Romney (1991). Pakistani adolescent girls perceived their parents as being warmer and more knowledgeable about their activities and whereabouts than did boys (Stewart et al., 2000). Although non-significant, Lytton and Romney's (1991) meta-analysis revealed the tendency of parents to bring up their daughters with more warmth than their sons. In contrast to our findings, they found that differential treatment between boys and girls decreased over age.

Fourth, some associations between parenting and problem behavior turned out to be gender specific. Adolescent boys who were brought up with high levels of affection or responsiveness were scored lower on CBCL Externalizing than boys with medium or low levels of affection or low levels of responsiveness; no effects were found for adolescent girls. Furthermore, adolescent girls who were brought up with a medium level of affection showed less YSR Internalizing behavior than girls who were brought up with a low level of affection; no effect occurred for adolescent boys. In short, adolescent boys may react differently to low levels of warmth than adolescent girls. These interactions modestly confirm the hypothesis that the relation between parenting and internalizing behavior is stronger for girls, whereas the relation between parenting and externalizing behavior is stronger for boys (McFadyen Ketchum et al., 1996; Moffitt et al., 2001; Pettit et al., 2001; Rothbaum & Weisz, 1994; Stewart et al., 2000). For children however, findings were in contrast to the previous hypothesis as highly disciplined 6- to 10-year-old girls showed more CBCL Externalizing than girls who were in the low discipline group, whereas no effect occurred for boys.

The findings of this study are subject to limitations. Due to the cross-sectional design of our study, no causal directions of the associations between parenting and problem behavior can be detected. It is important to keep in mind that problem behavior in children and adolescents may as much influence parental behavior as parental behavior may influence problem behavior in children and adolescents. For instance, externalizing behavior in children and adolescents may provoke low levels of affection or high levels of discipline in parents. According to O'Connor (2002) and Harris (1995), ignoring these 'child effects' will inflate

estimates of the parents' contribution to children's socialization. Next, our parenting data is based on parent-reports. Some authors have argued that parent-reports might be somewhat biased, because parents tend to respond in a social desirable way (Cook & Goldstein, 1993). Finally, Moroccan parents and adolescents from two of the largest cities in the Netherlands were interviewed. This sample might not be representative for the entire Moroccan immigrant population in the Netherlands. However, as almost 50% of the Moroccans live in the four largest cities in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001), it is not likely that our results differ considerably from results in the total Moroccan immigrant population.

Since Moroccan male adolescents are over-represented in the population of juvenile delinquents (Van Gemert, 1998) and teachers report high levels of externalizing problems for Moroccan children and adolescents (Stevens et al., 2003), it is important to develop programs to prevent or overcome problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth, in particular in boys. The fact that associations between parenting and problem behavior in the Moroccan immigrant population were found to be more or less comparable to those in Western samples implicates that child rearing interventions for Moroccan parents in the Netherlands should aim at the same aspects of parenting as interventions directed at Dutch parents. In general, interventions should focus on stimulating parents to express affection towards their children and adolescents, monitor the adolescent's activities and whereabouts, and make known the potential negative consequences of using frequent discipline for children and adolescents. It is important to pay special attention to the upbringing of adolescents and especially adolescent boys, as parents tend to monitor them considerably less and express less affection towards them.

6 | Predicting externalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands

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Chapter 6

Predicting externalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands

Abstract

Although an increasing proportion of the population in Western countries originates from non-Western parts of the world, little research has been conducted on predictors of externalizing problems in immigrant adolescent samples. This study on the predictors of externalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands aims at contributing to the knowledge in this field. We obtained 415 parent-, 376 self-, and 238 teacher-reports on problem behavior in a general population sample of randomly selected 11- to 18-year-old Moroccan immigrant adolescents, using the Child Behavior Checklist, Youth Self-Report and Teacher's Report Form. The data revealed a clear relation between externalizing problems and several child (gender, internalizing problems), school/peer (problems at school, involvement with deviant peers, hanging out), proximal family (parental monitoring, parent-child conflict), contextual family (conflicts between parents about parenting, destructive communication between parents), and migration variables (adolescent's perceived discrimination, Muslim identification). Hardly any associations occurred between externalizing problems and parental psychopathology, and between externalizing problems and global family variables (e.g., family employment level). Most findings matched results found in former studies on non-immigrant youth. Our results suggest that the child, school/peer, and proximal family factor are essential in models predicting the development of externalizing behavior. The impact of the migration factor on externalizing problems turned out to be relatively small.

Introduction

Although an increasing proportion of the population in Western countries originates from non-Western parts of the world, little research has been conducted on predictors of behavioral problems in immigrant adolescent samples. Only two European studies on the psychological functioning of immigrant adolescents with a sample larger than 200 exist (De Graaf, Ten Have, Van Dorselaer & Vollebergh, 2004): A study on Turkish immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, Van der Ende & Erol, 1997) and a study on Sami adolescents in Norway (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003). This study on the predictors of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands aims at contributing to the knowledge in this field. Moreover, as Moroccan male youths are over-

represented in the population of juvenile delinquents (Van Gemert, 1998), and teachers report high levels of externalizing problems in Moroccan adolescents (Stevens et al., 2003), it is important to advance our understanding of why problems develop in this immigrant group.

Moroccan immigrants belong to one of the largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands: 275,000 Moroccans are currently living in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001). About 40% are born in the Netherlands (De Valk, Esveldt, Henkens & Liefbroer, 2001). In the 1960s and 1970s, Moroccans came to the Netherlands to perform unskilled labor. Their stay was expected to be temporary, but most Moroccans eventually settled permanently. Nowadays, the majority still marries a co ethnic, mostly from Morocco. Most Moroccans are Muslim by religion. In the Netherlands, Moroccan immigrants are exposed to sex role attitudes that are substantially more egalitarian than their own. Moroccans, especially those of the first generation, refer negatively to the freedom of Dutch women, and consider this incompatible with their Islamic ideas (Pels & De Haan, 2003). Children from Moroccan families are bilingual: Often they speak their mother tongue at home, but at school and among peers they usually communicate in Dutch.

To create factors that predict the level of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents, we used the social interactional (Dishion, French & Patterson, 1995) and ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). According to these models, factors influencing the adolescent's development may be ordered from proximal to distal from the adolescent. Proximal factors are hypothesized to be more influential than distal factors. As such, a child, proximal family, parent, contextual family, global family, and school/peer factor is distinguished. In addition, we investigate the effects of a migration factor. Although research indicates a relation between several migration variables and behavioral problems, to our knowledge little is known about the relative strength of this factor in predicting behavioral problems.

Child factor. Associations between child variables and externalizing behavior are well established in literature. Girls exhibit fewer externalizing problems than boys (e.g., Weisz & Eastman, 1995; Zahn-Waxler, 1993); levels of externalizing problems are found to vary with age (Bongers, Koot, Van der Ende & Verhulst, 2003; Crijnen, Achenbach & Verhulst, 1997; Lahey et al., 2000), and the co-morbidity between childhood internalizing and externalizing problems is considerable (Lilienfeld, 2003). Furthermore, chronic illness is related to behavioral problems in adolescents (Gortmaker, Walker, Weitzman & Sobol, 1990).

Family factors (proximal family, parent, contextual family and global family factor). Parental behavior in interaction with the child is the family factor most proximal to the child's every day experience (Dekovic, Janssens & Van As, 2003). Moroccan immigrant adolescents who are brought up with low levels of affection and monitoring showed high levels of externalizing problems (Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels & Crijnen, in submission a). In addition, parental support is known to be a protective factor and parent-child conflict a risk factor for

behavioral problems in adolescence (Burt, Krueger, McGue & Iacono, 2003; Dumka, Roosa & Jackson, 1997; Windle, 1992). Characteristics of the parents, such as parental psychopathology, also have shown to influence the level of behavioral problems in adolescents (Kaslow, Deering & Racusin, 1994; Mordoch & Hall, 2002). The family as a system provides the context for children's adjustment. As such, family characteristics may be related to externalizing behavior in adolescents. Buehler and Gerard (2002) reviewed literature on the association between marital conflict and adolescent's maladjustment: In most research a positive association was found. Furthermore, life-events in the family increase the risk of psychopathology in adolescents (Goodyer, 1993). Finally, global family variables, for instance socio-economic and marital status, are associated with behavioral problems in adolescents. Low SES children more often manifest symptoms of psychiatric disturbance and maladaptive social functioning than children in more affluent circumstances (Bradley & Corwyn, 2002). Moreover, children of divorced parents show more behavioral problems than children in intact families (Amato & Keith, 1991).

School/peer factor. The child's movement into adolescence is marked by increased involvement with peers. In this period, parental influence diminishes whereas peer influence increases (Dishion et al., 1995). In previous research, unsupervised peer contact and hanging out have been linked to adolescent adjustment difficulties (Galambos & Maggs, 1991; Pettit, Bates, Dodge & Meece, 1999), and many authors found positive associations between involvement with deviant peers and externalizing problems (Erickson, Crosnoe & Dornbusch, 2000; Keenan, Loeber, Zhang & Stouthamer Loeber, 1995; Kim, Atkinson & Yang, 1999). The relation between peer support and externalizing problems is ambiguous. McCreary, Slavin and Berry (1996) revealed that support from friends protects adolescents against developing behavioral problems, Windle (1992) found no effects of peer support on externalizing problems, and Reicher (1993) showed that high peer support was associated with greater levels of externalizing behavior. Furthermore, academic problems predicted externalizing behavior (Sowa, Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan & Verhulst, 2000) and delinquency (Junger & Marshall, 1997), and positive relations were found between the experience of boredom and aggression in adolescent and young adult populations (Rupp & Vodanovich, 1997).

Migration factor. Finally, variables specific for migration, like country of birth and fluency in the language used in the current country may influence the level of externalizing problem in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. In general, results concerning the relationship between migration variables and externalizing behavior in adolescents are mixed. Some studies revealed more externalizing problems in adolescents of the second compared to the first generation (Samaniego & Gonzales, 1999), whereas no effects were found in other studies (Sam & Berry, 1995; Sowa et al., 2000). Although several studies revealed negative associations between perceived discrimination and emotional problems in adolescents (e.g.,

Liebkind & Jasinskaja Lahti, 2000; Simons et al., 2002; Verkuyten, 1998), little is known about the relation between discrimination and externalizing problems. Finally, some studies reported an effect of parental migration variables on problem behavior in their children (Pawliuk et al., 1996; Mghir, Freed, Raskin & Katon, 1995). No such effects occurred in other studies (Sowa et al., 2000; Weiss, Goebel, Page, Wilson & Warda, 1999).

This paper serves three purposes. First, we aim to gain insight into the predictors of externalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the age of 11 through 18 years. Overall, we have no reason to expect the associations to be very different from associations in previously described research in predominantly non-migrant populations. Second, the gender specificity of the associations is examined. As gender roles are strong within this population (Pels & De Haan, 2003), we expect to find some gender-specific relations with externalizing problems. Third, we want to find out which predictor set is most strongly associated with behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. According to the social interactional and the ecological perspective, it is the more proximal person-environment transactions that define the adolescent immediate day-to-day experience and therefore most strongly influence child development (Felner et al., 1995). In line with this, we expect the child factor to have most impact on developmental outcomes, followed by the proximal family and peer factor.

Methods

Sample

For this paper, we used data of 415 parent interviews, 376 adolescent interviews, and 238 teacher questionnaires. This data originates from a larger study for which children, aged 4 through 18 with at least one parent born in Morocco, were randomly selected from municipal registers of two of the four largest cities in the Netherlands, The Hague and Rotterdam (Stevens et al., 2003). A total of 1,127 children were eligible for inclusion. For 73% of these children, one of their parents participated in the study ($N = 819$). Four hundred fifteen parents reported about a child in the age of 11 through 18 years. Ninety-one percent of their 11- to 18-year-old children also participated in the study ($N = 376$). Two hundred ninety-six parents and adolescents granted permission for the teacher to complete a questionnaire. Seven teachers were excluded from the study, because it was found that the adolescent did not attend school anymore. Two hundred thirty-eight teachers participated in the study (response rate 82%). As the teacher sample is considerably smaller than the parent and adolescent sample, we examined the comparability of the samples regarding the levels of reported behavioral problems: We compared the levels of externalizing problems reported by parents and adolescents for subjects with and without a teacher-report. No differences were found (parent-report: Subjects with a teacher-report, $M = 6.8$ (7.5); subjects without a teacher-report, $M =$

7.7 (7.0), $F = 1.8$ $p = .19$; adolescent-report: Subjects with a teacher-report, $M = 7.7$ (6.0), subjects without a teacher-report, $M = 7.7$ (5.3) $F = 0.0$ $p = .89$).

Table 6.1 is included to describe the sample. The SES of this sample is extremely low: In 72% of the families both parents only completed elementary school or received no schooling at all and in 60% both parents did not have a job. Furthermore, when at least one of the parents had a job, the highest level of employment was low in 65% of the families. Sixty-three percent of the fathers and 91% of the mothers did not have a job. In comparison, 24% of the males and 49% of the females in the age of 30 through 65 born in the Netherlands do not have a job (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2000).

Table 6.1 Sample description

% Girls	52%
Mean age adolescents (SD)	14 (2.2)
% Adolescents born in the Netherlands	72%
% Mothers participating	82%
Mean number of years in the Netherlands participating parent (SD)	19 (7.8)
Mean age participating parent (SD)	44 (9.2)
% Married parents	90%
Family educational level*	72% no schooling/elementary school
Family employment*	60% has no job**
Employment fathers	63% has no job**
Employment mothers	91% has no job**
Family level of employment*	65% low level of employment***
Mean number of children in family (SD)	6 (2.0)

* The highest educational/employment level of both parents; ** Parents who were 65 years or older were excluded; *** Of the 40% families in which at least one parent had a job, in 65% the highest level of employment was low.

Data collection took place from April 2001 to July 2002. Parents and adolescents were sent an introductory letter in Dutch and Arabic, describing the aims of the study. About 1 to 2 weeks later, a trained Moroccan interviewer visited the respondents' home. The interviewer asked one of the parents of the randomly selected adolescent to participate in the study. The interviewer read the questions aloud to the parent and filled out the questionnaire. After the interview, parents were asked for permission to interview their 11- to 18-year-old child. If they consented, the adolescent was asked to participate. Adolescents filled out the Youth Self-Report themselves and were interviewed about the other subjects. Written informed consent was obtained from parents and adolescents. We asked the parents and adolescents for permission to send the teacher a questionnaire. Reminders were sent to non-responding teachers. We telephoned teachers who did not respond the second time.

Instruments

Internalizing and externalizing behavior. The Child Behavior Checklist/4-18 (CBCL) was used to obtain standardized parent-reports on children's problem behaviors (Achenbach, 1991b). Respondents were asked to rate the occurrence of problems in the preceding 6 months on a 3-point scale: 0 = not true, 1 = somewhat or sometimes true, and 2 = very true or often true. Internalizing is indicated by the sum of scores on items in the Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, and Anxious/Depressed syndrome profiles, and Externalizing by the sum of scores on the Delinquent and Aggressive Behavior syndromes. The CBCL was translated into Moroccan-Arabic and Dutch. Reliabilities of the Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic translation have already been established (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1996; Stevens et al., 2003). To obtain self-reports of problem behavior, 11- to 18-year-old adolescents were asked to fill out the Youth Self-Report (YSR). The YSR was modeled after the CBCL and has the same format, except that items are worded in the first person. Good validity and reliability of the YSR has been established (Achenbach, 1991d) and confirmed for the Dutch translation (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1997b). Since all adolescents were educated in Dutch, we used the Dutch translation of the YSR. Finally, teachers were asked to provide reports of the adolescent's problem behavior in the last two months. We used the Teacher's Report Form (TRF), which is also based on the CBCL. Satisfactory reliability and validity (Achenbach, 1991c) were confirmed for the Dutch TRF (Verhulst, Van der Ende & Koot, 1997a). All teachers filled out the Dutch TRF.

Child factor. Information about gender, age, and chronic health problems of the child were obtained from the parent.

Proximal family factor. Parents were asked to indicate on a 6-point scale (0 = highly disagree to 5 = highly agree) whether they agreed with nine items assessing the extent to which the parent showed feelings of affection towards the child (Dekovic et al., 2003). The alpha was .86. Parental monitoring was measured by a five-item scale on a 4-point scale (0 = nothing to 3 = everything) (Brown, Mounts, Lamborn & Steinberg, 1993). Parents were asked to indicate how much they knew about, for instance, their child's friends, how their child spends his/her money, and what their child does with his/her free time. Again the alpha was .86. To assess the amount of conflicts between adolescents and their parents, we used the Parent-Adolescent Conflict List (Dekovic, 1999a). We asked adolescents and parents to indicate on a 5-point scale (0 = never to 4 = very often) how often they quarrel with their parents/child about 16 issues (e.g., academic achievement, spending money, home chores, friends). For adolescents, the alpha was .85, for parents .90. The Social Support Scale for Children (Harter, 1985a) was used to measure the adolescent's perceived support from father (α : .86) and mother (α : .78).

Parent factor. We used the 28-item version of the General Health Questionnaire to measure minor psychiatric disorders in the participating parents (Goldberg & Williams,

1988). The GHQ-28 was rated on a 4-point scale and consisted of 4 scales measuring the following constructs: Somatic Symptoms, Anxiety/Insomnia, Social Dysfunction and Severe Depression. The alphas ranged from .77 (Severe Depression) to .90 (Anxiety/Insomnia).

Contextual family factor. We used a 6-point scale by Groenendaal, Dekovic and Noom (1996) to measure conflicts between parents about parenting (e.g., disagreements about rules for the children to obey). Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from never to very often. Reliability was high: .89. Furthermore, parents were asked whether they had conflicts with their partner about other things than parenting (0 = never to 2 = often). Moreover, three items measured positive communication (α : .74) and six items destructive communication (α : .82) between partners, on a 6-point scale ranging from totally disagree to totally agree (Gerris et al., 1993). For instance, 'I discuss personal problems with my partner' (positive communication), and 'When my partner and I disagree on something, we often get angry with each other' (destructive communication). Thirteen life-events in the (extended) family of the adolescents were assessed from the parents (Sowa et al., 2000). Parents were for instance asked whether a family member has past away, has been faced with serious physical problems, or has been divorced during the last year. The sum score of the thirteen items was used in the analyses.

Global family factor. Parents provided information on their marital status (married and living with their partner vs. other) and the number of children in the family. Furthermore, the highest educational and employment level of both parents was taken to score family educational level (0 = no education at all to 4 = high level of vocational training or university), and family level of employment (0 = no job to 3 = high job level).

School/Peer factor. Parents were asked whether their child experienced any problems at school; adolescents were asked how often they felt bored (0 = never to 4 = each day). The Social Support Scale for Children (Harter, 1985a) was used to measure the adolescent's perceived support from friends (α : .86). Furthermore, we asked adolescents whether at least one of their friends showed deviant behavior in the last month on a seven-item list, e.g., ran away from home, got into a serious fight, stole something (0 = no; 1 = yes). The alpha was .80. Finally, adolescents were asked how often they hung round the streets with others (0 = never to 4 = each day).

Migration factor. Adolescent's and parents' Muslim identity was obtained by a five-item instrument developed by Phalet et al. (2000). Two items emphasize cognitive Muslim identity (e.g., 'being a Muslim is something I often think about'), one item is about the emotional attachment to the Muslim religion, and two items measure whether respondents identify as a Muslim. Items were rated on a 5-point scale ranging from totally disagree to totally agree. The alpha was .76 for adolescents and .59 for parents. Furthermore, adolescents and parents were asked whether they felt Moroccans are discriminated against in six situations (e.g., at school, in shops). Answers ranged from never to always on a 4-point scale.

Table 6.2 Relation of the predictors to CBCL, YSR and TRF Externalizing in Moroccan immigrant adolescents

	CBCL Externalizing		YSR Externalizing		TRF Externalizing	
	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β
Child factor						
Gender (boys 0; girls 1)	-.16	-.19	-.11	-.22	-.31	-.27
Age	.11	.11	.10	.11		
Internalizing*	.37	.39	.47	.52	.35	.32
Chronic health problems (no 0; yes 1)						
Proximal family factor**						
Affection	-.18		-.17		-.13	
Monitoring	-.36	-.22	-.23		-.13	
Support from father	-.20		-.28			-.19
Support from mother	-.15		-.28			.20
Parent-child conflict (parent-report)	.38	.20	.24		.16	
Parent-child conflict (adolescent-report)	.32		.44	.22		
Parental psychopathology **						
Somatic Symptoms						
Anxiety/Insomnia						
Social Dysfunction						
Severe Depression			.11			
Contextual family factor**						
Conflicts parents about parenting	.13		.18			
Conflicts parents about other things	.11					
Positive communication parents	-.12					
Destructive communication parents	.18	.12	.13			
Total number of life-events	.18	.11	.12			
Global family factor**						
Marital status (married 0; not married 1)					.13	
Family educational level						
Family employment level						
Number of children in the family						
School/Peer factor**						
Problems at school (no 0; yes 1)	.18	.13	.18	.14	.23	.18
Being bored	.15		.22			
Support from friends						
Deviant peers	.20		.42	.28	.17	
Hanging out	.20	.15	.34	.20	.22	
Migration factor**						
Country of birth adolescent (Neth 0; Mor 1)						
Muslim identification adolescent	-.10		-.15			
Perceived group discrimination adolescent	.21	.15	.22	.12		
Muslim identification parent	-.11		-.11			
Perceived group discrimination parent						
Fluency in Dutch parent (understanding)						
Fluency in Dutch parent (speaking)						
N		367-415		322-376		201-238

Only significant ($p < .05$) betas were reported in the table; * We examined associations between CBCL Internalizing and CBCL Externalizing, YSR Internalizing and YSR Externalizing, and TRF Internalizing and TRF Externalizing; ** In the multivariate analyses, besides all variables from the set, the child variables were taken into account.

Reliabilities were high: .87 for adolescents and .93 for parents. Finally, parents were asked to what extent they understand and speak Dutch (0 = not at all to 3 = very well).

Statistical analyses

Associations between the predictors and CBCL, YSR and TRF Externalizing were examined using univariate and multivariate regression analyses. We entered all variables from one predictor set and the four child variables into the multivariate analyses. Next, we investigated whether the associations between the predictors and externalizing problems were gender specific. Linear regression analyses were conducted for each predictor separately, taking into account gender, and the interaction between gender and the predictor. Furthermore, the initial contribution of each predictor set was examined, i.e., we assessed the explained variance of each set without controlling for the other predictor sets. Finally, by taking into account the contribution of the other predictor sets, the unique contribution of each predictor set was examined. The criteria of Cohen (1988) were applied to categorize effect sizes for regressions: Effects accounting for 2 - 12% of the variance were considered as small; effects of 13 - 25% as medium; and effects > 25% as large.

Results

Table 6.2 presents the significant univariate and multivariate associations between the predictors and CBCL, YSR, and TRF Externalizing. The variables gender, Internalizing, parental affection, parental monitoring, parental support, parent-child conflict, destructive communication between parents, total number of life-events, problems at school, deviant peers, hanging out, adolescent's perceived group discrimination, and Muslim identification were most pronouncedly related to externalizing problems.

Only 5% of the analyses (5 out of 105) revealed a significant interaction effect with gender. With a p level of .05, this number of effects can be expected purely based on chance.

Table 6.3 shows the explained variance of the predictor sets. The strongest initial contributions to the prediction of CBCL and YSR Externalizing were found for the child, proximal family, and school/peer factor. The proximal family factor explained the most variance on CBCL Externalizing; the school/peer factor explained the most variance on YSR Externalizing. Teacher-reports only revealed a relation with the child and school/peer factor. Overall, no associations occurred between parental psychopathology and externalizing problems, and between the global family factor and externalizing problems. The child, proximal family, contextual family, and school/peer factor provided a unique contribution to the prediction of CBCL Externalizing. The child, proximal family, and school/peer factor

provided a unique contribution to the prediction of YSR Externalizing, and only the child factor provided a unique contribution to TRF Externalizing.

Table 6.3 Explained variance of the predictor sets on CBCL, YSR and TRF Externalizing

Predictor set	CBCL Externalizing		YSR Externalizing		TRF Externalizing	
	Initial R ² change	Unique R ² change	Initial R ² change	Unique R ² change	Initial R ² change	Unique R ² change
Child factor	.18 **	.06 *	.28 ***	.07 *	.20 **	.13 **
Proximal family factor	.23 **	.11 *	.25 **	.03 *		
Parental psychopathology						
Contextual family factor	.07 *	.04 *	.05 *			
Global family factor						
School/peer factor	.11 *	.03 *	.29 ***	.10 *	.11 *	
Migration factor	.07 *		.08 *			
R ² Total		.42		.51		.33

We only reported the explained variance whenever a significant effect was found ($p < .05$); * Small effect size; ** Medium effect size; *** Large effect size.

Discussion

As little research has been conducted on the predictors of behavioral problems in immigrant adolescent samples, and Moroccan immigrant adolescents are reported to show high levels of externalizing problems (Stevens et al., 2003), the first goal of this paper was to get insight into the predictors of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. Overall, our findings match results from previous studies on the risk and protective factors of behavioral problems in non-immigrant youth. Gender differences revealed that boys are at higher risk of externalizing problems than girls, and the co-morbidity of internalizing and externalizing problems turned out to be considerable. Furthermore, school and peer factors were of major importance: Children who hung out with friends regularly, whose friends were deviant, and who had problems at school showed the most externalizing problems. In addition, high levels of conflict within the family both between parents and especially between parents and their children, and low levels of parental monitoring, affection, and support were clear risk factors. Finally, adolescents who felt Moroccans are often discriminated against were at risk of externalizing problems, and parents and adolescents who identify highly with Muslims showed relatively little externalizing problems.

Some findings need to be further explained. First, no effect of peer support on externalizing behavior was found. We may explain this by pointing out that peers may both protect each other against acting out or may encourage each other to act out. Second, an unusual relation was found between maternal support and TRF Externalizing. Maternal

support was associated with low levels of CBCL and YSR Externalizing, but with high levels of TRF Externalizing. As Moroccan mothers often act as mediators between fathers and children, and often hide their children's misbehavior from their husband for fear of his harsh reaction (Pels, 2003b) maternal support may contain an element of permissiveness. Mother's permissiveness may reinforce boundless behavior in adolescents such as violation of rules and disruptive behavior. According to Pels (2003b), this kind of adolescent behavior is most visible in settings outside the family, like the school. Third, parental psychopathology was hardly related to adolescents' externalizing behavior, which is not in accordance with most previous studies (Kaslow et al., 1994). However, using the same measure for parental psychopathology, Darwish Murad, Joung, Verhulst, Mackenbach and Crijnen (2004) did not find a relation with YSR Externalizing in Turkish immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands either. Possibly, the healthy parent may have been able to somehow compensate for the parent with psychiatric problems, or adolescents whose parents experience psychiatric symptoms might behave less aversive and more compliant to relief their mother or father (Hops et al., 1987). Fourth, no effects of parental education and employment on externalizing problems were found. The absence of this effect might be explained by the limited variance within the SES variables in the sample. In a sample of low SES Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, similar results were revealed (Sowa et al., 2000).

The second goal was to gain insight into the gender specificity of the associations. Because Moroccan girls have a considerably different role and position in their family than Moroccan boys, we expected to find several gender-specific relations. However, we found as many gender differences as could be expected based on chance alone. Apparently, gender hardly exacerbates the influence of risk factors or, conversely, hardly protects the individual from its influence. This is in accordance with Moffitt, Caspi, Rutter and Silva (2001), who concluded that sex differences in associations between risk factors and antisocial behavior are small and not very robust. Gender role differences in Moroccans may predominantly result into gender differences in the level of the variables that influence both girls' and boys' externalizing problems (Lahey, Waldman & McBurnett, 1999). For instance, we previously found that Moroccan adolescent girls are brought up with more affection and monitoring than boys (Stevens et al., in submission a).

The third goal of this paper was to find out which predictor set showed the strongest contribution to the prediction of externalizing behavior. We expected the factors closest to the adolescent to be most strongly related to behavioral problems. The child factor by definition is closest to the adolescent, followed by the factors on the interaction within the family and school and with peers. Our findings confirmed this assumption, although the order of these three factors varied with the reporter, and only the child and school/peer factor significantly contributed to the variance in teacher reported externalizing behavior. The migration and contextual family factor were also significantly associated with CBCL and YSR

Externalizing. Finally, we examined whether the factors provided a unique contribution to the prediction of externalizing problems, i.e., whether significant relations were found between the predictor sets and externalizing problems after controlling for the other predictor sets. Our findings revealed a unique contribution of the child, proximal family and school/peer factor to the level of CBCL and YSR Externalizing. Deater Deckard, Dodge, Bates and Petit (1998) revealed similar results. Moreover, a unique contribution was found for the contextual family factor to CBCL Externalizing, and for the child factor to TRF Externalizing.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the previous. First, our findings suggest that child, school/peer and proximal family factors are essential in models predicting the development of externalizing behavior. The school/peer factor turned out to be as important as the proximal family factor. Second, the proximal family factor is the strongest family factor: What matters is the interaction between parents and children. In a study on family predictors of antisocial behavior in Dutch adolescents, similar results were found (Dekovic et al., 2003). Although the adolescent's perceived discrimination is shown to be of some importance, the explained variance of the migration factor is relatively small. However, this does not mean that migration is not related to externalizing behavior, as it may play an important role through the other factors. For example, as Moroccan immigrant children catch up with the new culture more rapidly than their parents do (Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels & Crijnen, in press), a clash of values and styles that strikes at the core of the family may occur (Sluzki, 1979). This may result into frequent conflicts between parents and children, which turned out to be a major predictor of externalizing problems. Furthermore, due to migration, family structures and roles may change (Sluzki, 1979; Pels & De Haan, 2003), which may ensue spouse conflict (Guarnaccia & Lopez, 1998). Spouse conflict is also found to relate to externalizing problems.

The findings of this study are subject to limitations. Using a cross-sectional design, we were unable to examine the causal directions of the associations. For instance, it is as logically to assume that involvement with deviant peers leads to externalizing behavior as it is to assume that showing externalizing behavior leads to more involvement with peers who behave comparably. Longitudinal research is needed to test mutual influences of the predictors and externalizing problems. Second, although we found that the most important predictors of externalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents are also essential in studies in Western populations, we were not able to test whether the associations were equally strong. Smith and Krohn (1995) for instance revealed that family variables were more important in constraining delinquency for Hispanic than for African American and white American adolescent boys. In addition, Fisher, Storck and Bacon's (1999) findings suggested that white American adolescents are less affected by stressful events than American Indian adolescents. Third, we selected several child, school/peer, family and migration variables that have been identified as important predictors of externalizing behavior. However, not all

important predictors have been taken into account. For instance, temperament of the child is an important predictor of externalizing behavior (Deater Deckard et al., 1998), which has not been assessed in the study. Finally, Moroccan parents and adolescents from two of the largest cities in the Netherlands were interviewed. This sample might not be representative for the entire Moroccan immigrant population in the Netherlands. However, as almost 50% of the Moroccans live in the four largest cities in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001), it is not likely that our results differ considerably from results in the total Moroccan immigrant population.

This study offers several suggestions to prevent or overcome externalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands. First, interventions should predominantly focus on the child, school/peer, and proximal family domain. Interventions aimed at both adolescents and parents should pay attention to the high co-morbidity between externalizing and internalizing behavior, the risk of problems at school, involvement with deviant friends, and hanging out frequently. Furthermore, parents should be stimulated to monitor their child's activities and whereabouts, to support their child, and to make known the negative consequences of frequent conflicts between parents and children. Moreover, parents should be aware of the effects of the quality of their relationship on their child's level of externalizing behavior. School counselors may use the most important predictors to identify adolescents with behavioral problems. Organizing out-of-school activities within the school or neighborhood possibly prevents adolescents from hanging out frequently, and involvement with deviant peers. Finally, although the data cannot support any claims regarding the direction of effects and we only measured the perceived level of discrimination, Dutch society should be aware of the possible negative effects of discrimination on the level of externalizing behavior in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. In addition, whereas adopting a Muslim identity is perceived of as a developmental risk by the Dutch public (Pels, 2003a), our findings indicate that this is not correct.

7 | **Predicting internalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands**

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Chapter 7

Predicting internalizing problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands

Abstract

With the increasing number of immigrants worldwide, it is essential to have insight into the factors influencing the emotional development of immigrant youth. However, little research on this subject has been conducted. The current study on the predictors of emotional problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands aims at contributing to the knowledge in this field. We obtained 415 parent-, 376 self-, and 238 teacher-reports on problem behavior in a general population sample of randomly selected 11- to 18-year-old Moroccan immigrant adolescents, using the Child Behavior Checklist, Youth Self-Report, and Teacher's Report Form. The data revealed relations between internalizing problems and several child (externalizing and chronic health problems), school/peer (being bored), proximal family (paternal and maternal support, parent-child conflict), contextual family (conflicts between parents about parenting), and migration variables (adolescent's perceived discrimination). Few associations occurred with parental psychopathology and with the socio-economic status of the family. Most findings matched results found in previous studies on non-immigrant youth. In addition, several relations between the predictors and YSR Internalizing turned out to be gender specific. Our results suggest that the child, school/peer, and proximal family factor are essential in models predicting the development of internalizing behavior. The impact of the migration factor on internalizing problems turned out to be small.

Introduction

With the increasing number of immigrants worldwide, it is essential to have insight into the factors influencing the emotional development of immigrant youth. However, little research on this subject has been conducted. Only two European studies on the psychological functioning of immigrant adolescents with a sample larger than 200 exist (De Graaf, Ten Have, Van Dorsselaer & Vollebergh, 2004): A study on Turkish immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst, Van der Ende & Erol, 1997) and a study on Sami adolescents in Norway (Kvernmo & Heyerdahl, 2003). The current study on the predictors of emotional problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands aims at contributing to the knowledge in this field. In order to develop interventions to prevent the emotional problems, it is necessary to advance our understanding of the mechanisms inducing emotional problems in this immigrant group.

Migration is often perceived of as a form of stress. Stress factors for instance concern the predominantly adverse circumstances in which immigrant youth are raised, frequent arguments within the family, problematic functioning at school, and rejection and discrimination by the host society. In the current study, we examined which predictors were most closely related to emotional problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. Factors influencing the adolescent's development are ordered according to the level of proximity to the adolescent (Bronfenbrenner, 1986; Dishion, French & Patterson, 1995): We distinguished a child, proximal family, parent, contextual family, global family and school/peer factor. Furthermore, we investigated associations with migration-related variables such as perceived discrimination, and fluency in the Dutch language. To our knowledge little is known about the relative strength of this migration-related factor in predicting emotional problems.

Child factor. According to Zahn-Waxler, Klimes-Dougan and Slattery (2000), the strongest risk factor for emotional problems is gender: Female adolescents are at least twice as likely as males to become anxious and depressed, a pattern that continues throughout adulthood. This gender effect turned out to be consistent over 12 cultures (Crijnen, Achenbach & Verhulst, 1997). Moreover, it was found that the level of emotional problems increased with age for girls only (Bongers, Koot, Van der Ende & Verhulst, 2003; Stanger & Verhulst, 1995), and that the co-morbidity between childhood internalizing and externalizing problems is considerable (Lilienfeld, 2003). In addition, chronically ill adolescents have been reported to show a relatively low level of psychological well being (Gortmaker, Walker, Weitzman & Sobol, 1990).

Family factors (proximal family, parent, contextual family and global family factor). Several processes in and characteristics of the family influence the development of emotional problems in adolescents. First of all, the quality of the interaction with their parents contributes to the well-being of adolescents. Parental affection, support and monitoring protect against emotional problems (Hammen & Rudolph, 1996; Helsen, Vollebergh & Meeus, 2000; Stice, Ragan & Randall, 2004), and parent-child conflict is a risk factor for developing a depression in adolescence (Marmorstein & Iacono, 2004). Characteristics of the parents have also been shown to affect the level of emotional problems in adolescents. Mordoch and Hall (2002) argued that family life is complex and challenging for a child whose parent has been diagnosed with a mental illness. In accordance with this, in several studies an association has been found between parental psychopathology and depression and anxiety in adolescents (Kaslow, Deering & Racusin, 1994; McClure, Brennan, Hammen & Le Brocque, 2001). Furthermore, marital conflict and life-events within the family have a negative impact on the emotional development of adolescents (Buehler & Gerard, 2002; Osborne & Fincham, 1996; Berden, Althaus & Verhulst, 1990; Goodyer, 1993). Finally, adolescents from single parent and low SES families are at high risk of emotional problems (Amato & Keith, 1991; Bradley & Corwyn, 2002).

School/peer factor. Although parents occupy a central position in the lives of their children, relations with peers become increasingly important during adolescence. The impact of peer support on the emotional functioning of adolescents in empirical research is however unclear. Some research indicated a protective effect of peer support on emotional problems (Harter & Whitesell, 1996; Hirsch & DuBois, 1992), whereas in other research no effect of peer support was found (Helsen et al., 2000; Stice et al., 2004). In addition, involvement with deviant peers, outside unstructured activities and academic problems have been positively associated with emotional problems (Dekovic, 1999b; Posner & Vandell, 1999; Sowa, Crijnen, Bengi-Arslan & Verhulst, 2000). Finally, high levels of experienced boredom were associated with psychological problems in adolescent populations (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; Sommers & Vodanovich, 2000).

Migration factor. Moroccan adolescents may be faced with risk factors related to their (or their parents') migration. According to Berry and Sam (1997), rejection and discrimination by the host society causes stress and negatively influences psychological adaptation. Several authors indeed revealed negative associations between perceived discrimination and psychological adjustment in adolescents (Fisher, Wallace & Fenton, 2000; Jasinskaja Lahti & Liebkind, 2000; Liebkind & Jasinskaja Lahti, 2000; Simons et al., 2002; Szalacha et al., 2003; Verkuyten, 1998; Wong, Eccles & Sameroff, 2003). Furthermore, immigrants are exposed to considerable changes in their cultural environment; they have to learn a new language and have to conform to new moral values and standards (Pawliuk et al., 1996). With this mind, it is to be expected that second generation migrants experience fewer emotional problems than first-generation migrants. However, findings were mixed. Some authors reported more emotional problems in adolescents of the second compared to the first generation (Harker, 2001), whereas others reported more emotional problems for first-generation immigrant youth (Hamilton, 2002). Moreover, in other studies no relation was found (Sam & Berry, 1995; Sowa et al., 2000). Similarly, fluency in the language used in the current society has been hypothesized as a protective factor. Pawliuk et al.'s (1996) results confirmed this hypothesis, whereas no effect was observed by Sowa et al. (2000).

This paper serves three goals. Our first aim is to get insight into the predictors of emotional problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands. In order to detect the most important predictors of emotional functioning, problem behavior reports of parents, teachers and adolescents were used. Our second goal is to examine the gender specificity of the associations. As Moroccan girls in general have a considerably different position in their families than boys (Pels & De Haan, 2003), we expect to find some gender specificity in the relation with emotional problems. Finally, we examine the contribution of the child, proximal family, parent, contextual family, global family, school/peer and migration factor to the prediction of emotional problems with and without controlling for the other predictor sets. In accordance with the social interactional and the ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner,

1986; Dishion et al., 1995), we expect the factors closest to the adolescent, i.e., the child factor and the factors on the interaction between the adolescent and parents, school and peers, to have the most impact on their emotional development.

Methods

Sample

For this paper, we used data of 415 parent interviews, 376 adolescent interviews, and 238 teacher questionnaires. As the teacher sample is considerably smaller than the parent and adolescent sample, we examined the comparability of the samples regarding the levels of reported emotional problems, by comparing the levels of CBCL and YSR Internalizing for subjects with and without a teacher-report. No differences were found on CBCL Internalizing (subjects with a teacher-report $M = 6.9$ (5.8), subjects without a teacher-report $M = 6.7$ (5.3), $F = 0.1$ $p = .71$). We did however find a difference on YSR Internalizing: Subjects with a teacher-report showed more internalizing problems ($M = 9.3$ (7.2), $M = 7.7$ (6.0) $F = 5.4$ $p = .02$). This indicates that adolescents who reported more internalizing problems were more willing to give permission for the participation of their teachers. Alternatively, teachers may have been more prepared to participate whenever adolescents experienced more emotional problems. For information concerning the response rates, the description of the sample, and the data collection procedure, see chapter 6.

Instruments

Associations between the predictors and emotional problems were examined using a large number of measures. These measures are described in chapter 6. In short, levels of emotional problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents were assessed by the Internalizing scale of the Child Behavior Checklist/4-18, the Youth Self-Report, and the Teacher's Report Form. Furthermore, questions were posed on for instance the adolescent's perceived social support from parents and friends, involvement with deviant peers, parental monitoring, conflicts between adolescents and their parents, parental psychopathology, the quality of the relation between parents, and perceived discrimination by both the adolescent and the parent.

Statistical analyses

Associations between the predictors and CBCL, YSR and TRF Internalizing in Moroccan immigrant adolescents were examined using univariate and multivariate linear regression analyses. In the multivariate analyses, all variables from one predictor set and the four child variables were entered into the analysis. We investigated the gender specificity of the relations by conducting linear regression analyses for each predictor separately, taking into account gender and the interaction between gender and the predictor. In line with Dekovic,

Table 7.1 Relations of the predictors to CBCL, YSR and TRF Internalizing in Moroccan immigrant adolescents

	CBCL Internalizing		YSR Internalizing		TRF Internalizing	
	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β	Uni β	Multi β
Child factor						
Gender (boys 0; girls 1)		.16	.22	.28	-.14	
Age						
Externalizing*	.37	.39	.47	.50	.35	.33
Chronic health problems (no 0; yes 1)	.12	.13	.11	.11		
Proximal family factor**						
Affection	-.15	-.11				
Monitoring						
Support from father	-.20		-.24			
Support from mother	-.15		-.21			
Parent-child conflicts (parent-report)	.22		.18		.17	.16
Parent-child conflicts (adolescent-report)	.24	.11	.36	.21		
Parental Psychopathology**						
Somatic Symptoms						
Anxiety/Insomnia	.20	.22				
Social Dysfunction	.11					
Severe Depression	.13		.14			
Contextual family factor**						
Conflicts parents about parenting	.18	.12	.13		.17	
Conflicts parents about other things						
Positive communication partners	-.10				-.14	
Destructive communication partners	.14					
Total number of life-events	.14		.15			
Global family factor**						
Marital status (Married 0; Not married 1)					.20	.17
Family educational level						
Family employment level						
Number of children in the family						
School/Peer factor**						
Problems at school (no 0; yes 1)					.14	
Being bored	.25	.15	.38	.24		
Support from friends			-.15	-.12		
Deviant peers						
Hanging out		-.13				
Migration factor**						
Country of birth adolescent (Neth 0; Mor 1)						
Muslim identification adolescent						
Perceived group discrimination adolescent	.11		.16	.09	-.19	-.20
Muslim identification parent						
Perceived group discrimination parent						
Fluency in Dutch parent (understanding)						-.26
Fluency in Dutch parent (speaking)						.24
<i>N</i>		354 - 415		322 - 376		201 - 238

Only significant ($p < .05$) betas were reported in the table; * We examined associations between CBCL Internalizing and CBCL Externalizing, YSR Internalizing and YSR Externalizing, and TRF Internalizing and TRF Externalizing; ** In the multivariate analyses, besides all variables from the set, the child variables were taken into account

Janssens & Van As (2003) and Deater Deckard, Dodge, Bates & Pettit (1998), the initial contribution of each predictor set was investigated by entering the predictor sets on the first step of the analysis (i.e., without taking into account the other predictor sets). We examined the unique contributions of the sets by entering each predictor set on the last step of the analysis (i.e., taking into account the other predictor sets). The criteria of Cohen (1988) were applied to categorize effect sizes for regressions: Effects accounting for 2 - 12% of the variance were considered as small; effects of 13 - 25% as medium; and effects > 25% as large.

Results

The significant univariate and multivariate associations between the predictors and CBCL, TRF and YSR Internalizing are presented in table 7.1. Clearest effects were found for externalizing problems, chronic health problems, parental support, parent-child conflict, conflicts between parents about parenting and being bored.

Several relations with YSR Internalizing were found to be gender specific (table 7.2); these associations were always stronger for girls than for boys. The results showed no gender specificity in the relations with CBCL and TRF Internalizing. Self reported externalizing behavior was a stronger predictor of internalizing behavior in girls than in boys. Furthermore, effects of both paternal and maternal support on YSR Internalizing were absent in boys, whereas a clear effect was found for girls. Parent-child conflict turned out to be a stronger risk factor for girls than boys. In girls, adolescent's Muslim identification was a protective factor, and hanging out a risk factor. Finally, the relation with being bored was stronger for girls than for boys.

Table 7.2 Gender-specific relations with YSR Internalizing

Predictors	β Boys	β Girls
Externalizing	.32 ***	.68 ***
Support from father	-.11	-.38 ***
Support from mother	-.13	-.33 ***
Parent-child conflict (adolescent-report)	.25 ***	.55 ***
Muslim identification adolescents	.06	-.16 *
Hanging out	-.01	.22 **
Being bored	.19 **	.53 ***

Analyses were conducted taking into account gender, one predictor and the gender by predictor interaction; Whenever the gender by predictor interaction reached significance ($p < .05$), betas were reported for boys and girls; * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 7.3 shows the explained variance of the predictor sets. For all informants, the child factor was the strongest initial and unique predictor. The proximal family and the school/peer factor explained the second and third most variance for CBCL and YSR Internalizing. In addition, a relation emerged between the contextual family factor and both CBCL and YSR Internalizing, between parental psychopathology and CBCL Internalizing, between the migration factor and YSR Internalizing, and between the global family factor and TRF Internalizing.

Table 7.3 Explained variance of the predictor sets on CBCL, YSR and TRF Internalizing

Predictor set	CBCL Internalizing		YSR Internalizing		TRF Internalizing	
	Initial R ² change	Unique R ² change	Initial R ² change	Unique R ² change	Initial R ² change	Unique R ² change
Child factor	.18 **	.08 *	.31 ***	.14 **	.14 **	.09 *
Proximal family factor	.11 *		.18 **	.04 *		
Parental psychopathology	.05 *					
Contextual family factor	.06 *		.04 *			
Global family factor					.06 *	.04 *
School/peer factor	.09 *	.03 *	.17 **	.06 *		
Migration factor			.05 *			
R ² Total		.32		.48		.33

We only reported the explained variance whenever a significant effect was found ($p < .05$); * Small effect size; ** Medium effect size; *** Large effect size.

Discussion

In this paper, we aimed to identify predictors of emotional problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in the Netherlands. First, we noticed a high level of co-morbidity between internalizing and externalizing problems, and found that adolescents who experience chronic health problems are at greater risk of emotional problems than others. Boredom also appeared to be a clear risk factor. Where interest is enjoyable and stimulating, boredom is said to be a state of relatively low arousal and dissatisfaction, which is attributed to an inadequately stimulating situation (Mikulas & Vodanovich, 1993). Within the family, support from father and mother, and conflicts between parents and children were of major importance. Finally, a relation was found between parental conflicts on the upbringing of the children, and emotional problems in adolescents, which has previously been explained by the deleterious effect of mere exposure to inter-parental conflict, or by its impact on parent-child relationships (Osborne & Fincham, 1996). These predictors have also been indicated as important for the development of emotional problems in adolescents in predominantly Western studies.

However, some of our findings were in contrast to previous research. Parental psychopathology was only weakly related to adolescents' emotional problems. Possibly, the healthy parent or another family member may have been able to somewhat compensate for the parent with psychiatric problems (Hops et al., 1987). Alternatively, using an instrument that predominantly measured minor psychiatric disorders, we might not have been able to differentiate between parents with and without psychiatric problems. Moreover, we may not have been able to detect associations, because relatively few parents reported symptoms of a severe depression (Bengi-Arslan, Verhulst & Crijnen, 2002; Sanderman & Steward, 1990). Furthermore, we did not find an effect of family education and employment, which may be explained by the limited variance within these variables in the sample. In a sample of low SES Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, similar results were revealed (Sowa et al., 2000).

Some risk and protective factors for teacher reported emotional problems were remarkably different from these factors for parent and adolescent reported emotional problems. First, in the univariate analysis teachers reported more emotional problems for boys than for girls, which is in contrast to literature (e.g., Zahn-Waxler et al., 2000). Adolescents reported higher levels of emotional problems in girls, and parents did not report an effect for gender. Second, adolescents from two-parent families were at lower risk for teacher reported emotional problems, whereas no such effect was revealed for parent and adolescent reported emotional problems. Possibly, teachers pay more attention to the emotional development of adolescents from a single parent family, resulting into higher levels of reported emotional problems. Third, a positive association was found between adolescent's perceived discrimination and parent and adolescent reported emotional problems. In contrast, a negative association was found between perceived discrimination and teacher reported emotional problems. We hypothesize that adolescents who experience discrimination will confront their teacher with these feelings. In line with this, some studies pointed out that the inclination among Moroccan adolescents to clearly manifest themselves in the classroom might be understood as a reaction to the negative public image of Moroccans in the Netherlands (Pels, in press a; Phalet & Andriessen, 2003). In turn, teachers may perceive these adolescents as rather assertive and may therefore be unable to observe adolescents' withdrawn or anxious/depressed behavior. Finally, regarding the parents' fluency in Dutch, contrasting results were found: Speaking Dutch was positively related and understanding Dutch was negatively related to teacher reported emotional problems, whereas no effects were found for parent and adolescent reported emotional problems. These parental variables related to migration were included in the study, because we expected better functioning in children of immigrant parents who are able to use the language of the host culture (Pawliuk et al., 1996). Our findings on the understanding of the Dutch language were in accordance with this idea, although the effect was found for TRF Internalizing only. Opposite results were revealed for fluency in speaking the Dutch language. We hypothesize that parents, who have mastered the

Dutch language, more easily inform the teacher about their child's (emotional) problems, than parents who are not able to speak the Dutch language. Hence, teachers may report a higher level of emotional problems in children of parents who have no trouble communicating in Dutch.

In this paper, we also investigated whether the associations between the predictors and emotional problems were comparable for boys and girls. In accordance with our expectations, several gender-specific relations were found, but only for YSR Internalizing. Externalizing behavior was a stronger predictor of internalizing behavior in girls than in boys. We hypothesize that Moroccan girls suffer more strongly from their oppositional behavior than boys, and therefore show more emotional problems. As behaving appropriately seems to be more essential for Moroccan girls than for boys, and girls spend far more time at home, girls who misbehave will more often experience problems with their parents than boys. In addition, three associations on the parent-child interaction were found to be considerably stronger for girls than for boys. Similar results were found for Dutch adolescents (Helsen, Vollebergh & Meeus, 1997). As girls spend more time at home than boys (Maccoby, 1986), problems with their parents are likely to affect girls' emotional development more than boys' development (Keenan, Loeber & Green, 1999). Because Moroccan girls have less freedom of movement than boys, this seems to be particularly true for Moroccan adolescents (Pels & Meeus, 1999).

Furthermore, girls who showed a low identification with the Muslim religion reported relatively high levels of emotional problems, whereas no effect was revealed for boys. This finding parallels our previous results on the relation between acculturation and emotional problems (Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels & Crijnen, in submission b), in which we found that girls, who identify only moderately with Moroccan and Dutch people, show a high level of emotional problems, whereas no association was found for boys. This relation was partly explained by the high amount of conflicts these girls experience with their parents. Similarly, we expect that girls, who highly identify with Muslims, may experience fewer conflicts with their parents than other girls, and therefore show fewer emotional problems. The significant negative correlation between Muslim identification and parent-child conflicts in girls, and the absence of such an effect in boys, indicates that this hypothesis may be valid (girls: $r = -.17$, $p = .02$; boys: $r = -.09$, NS). Finally, being bored was more strongly related to emotional problems in girls than in boys. This result may again be explained by the limited freedom of Moroccan immigrant girls. As girls are less allowed to make decisions about leisure activities, (boy)friends, and have to remain at home more often than boys (Pels & Meeus, 1999), girls who experience boredom as often as boys (e.g., 3 times a week), may have fewer possibilities to overcome this feeling. In other words, girls may remain bored much longer than boys, and therefore the association with emotional problems may be more pronounced.

Our last goal was to examine the initial and unique contribution of each predictor set to the prediction of emotional problems. We expected the child factor to be most influential,

followed by the proximal family and school/peer factor. In accordance with our expectations, the child factor explained far the most variance in both the analyses with and without the other predictor sets. The factors on the interaction between the adolescent and their parents, school and friends accounted for the second and third most explained variance. In contrast, the migration factor hardly contributed to the prediction of emotional problems. However, this does not mean that migration is not related to emotional problems, as it may play an important role through the other factors.

Our findings make clear that interventions aimed at the prevention or treatment of emotional problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents should focus on the child, proximal family, and school/peer factor. We found that externalizing and internalizing problems often occur together; hence treatment of externalizing problems may also reduce levels of internalizing problems. Interventions for both adolescents and parents may pay attention to the risk attached to frequent boredom, the adolescent's perceived discrimination, and parent-child conflict. Parental support and reduction of conflicts between parents on the upbringing of their children is important, and should therefore be stimulated in interventions for parents. Moreover, the extra vulnerability of girls to conflicts with their parents, lack of parental support, and the experience of boredom, should be addressed in interventions aimed at parents. Teachers need to realize that pupils, who react upon their feelings of being discriminated against, may also experience emotional problems.

Finally, the findings of this study are subjected to limitations, such as the cross-sectional design, the unavailability of data on Western populations, the limited amount of predictors that have been taken into account, and the representativity of our sample. In chapter 6, these limitations were elaborated.

8 | General discussion

Chapter 8

General discussion

Moroccan immigrant youth are expected to be at high risk of emotional and behavioral problems: They are over-represented in the population of juvenile delinquents (Van Gemert, 1998), and they increasingly apply for youth assistance (Vollebergh, 2002). In addition, Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents possibly have to cope with risk factors related to migration and culture. Risk factors related to migration for instance include the predominantly low socio-economic status of their families, problems experienced at school, conflicts within the family as a result of changed social roles and differences between family members in levels of acculturation, and discrimination and rejection by the host society. Moreover, differences in the upbringing of Moroccan and Dutch parents indicate an increased risk of problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth. However, little is known about the extent to which Moroccan youth in the general population experience emotional and behavioral problems. The same accounts for the factors associated with this problem behavior. In this thesis, we aimed to gain insight into these questions.

Prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth

The first aim of this thesis was to compare the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant, Turkish immigrant and Dutch native youth. Moroccan immigrant parents reported similar levels of emotional and behavioral problems as Dutch native parents, whereas Turkish immigrant parents reported more emotional and behavioral problems for their children than Moroccan immigrant parents. Teachers presented a different picture, reporting substantially more behavioral problems for Moroccan immigrant pupils compared to Dutch native and Turkish immigrant pupils. Surprisingly, Moroccan immigrant adolescents themselves reported fewer behavioral problems than Dutch native adolescents, and fewer emotional and behavioral problems than Turkish immigrant adolescents.

Although we compared two immigration populations in the Netherlands with a similar migration history and religion, the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in these groups varied considerably. This may be explained by differences in the effects of migration, and differences in cultural factors influencing the child's psychological development. In addition, levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth varied widely with the informant questioned. This discrepancy may reflect differences in children's behavior at school and at home, perceptual biases, social desirability, and differences in thresholds for reporting problems.

First of all, differences in reported levels of behavioral problems may represent actual differences in the behavior of Moroccan immigrant youth. This implicates that Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents show more behavioral problems at school than at home. Qualitative research indeed indicated that Moroccan boys, who misbehave at school and/or on the street, tend to behave properly at home (Pels, 2003b). Second, the teacher-reports on behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth are possibly biased. As Moroccan children and adolescents are more and more seen as a problem for Dutch society, teachers may sharply attend to the behavior of Moroccan pupils and therefore report relatively high levels of behavioral problems (Pels, in press a). The negative image of Moroccan youth in the Netherlands may also have another effect. As most Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescents are aware of their low status in Dutch society, Moroccans may tend to underreport behavioral problems. Moroccans may also underreport behavioral problems, because they feel it is unacceptable to discuss these kinds of problems with strangers (Van Gemert, 2002). Finally, differences in ethno-cultural standards of what constitutes appropriate child behavior could explain the differences in reported behavioral problems. Culture may influence expectancies and beliefs regarding children, thus influencing the distress felt by particular kinds of child behavior (Weisz & Eastman, 1995).

Patterns of psychological acculturation

One of the factors possibly influencing the emotional and behavioral development of migrant youth is their acculturation strategy. The most widely researched bidimensional approach to acculturation has been John Berry's acculturation framework. Berry distinguished four acculturation strategies: Integration, separation, assimilation, and marginalization. To test the appropriateness of Berry's acculturation strategies, we empirically identified classes of adolescents and adults with similar patterns of psychological acculturation using Latent Class Analyses. Acculturation was obtained with an adapted version of the Psychological Acculturation Scale, which was originally developed to assess the individual's sense of emotional attachment to, belonging within, and understanding of the Anglo-American and Latino/Hispanic cultures (Tropp, Erkut, Coll, Alarcon & Garcia, 1999). For our study, we used items measuring the respondent's sense of emotional attachment and belonging to Dutch and Moroccan culture. Overall, this adapted instrument demonstrated strong psychometric properties.

For both the adult and adolescent sample, three classes were revealed. Roughly, the adult and adolescent acculturation classes showed comparable patterns, although the adolescent classes were characterized by a higher attachment to Dutch culture and people than the adult classes. One class consisted of persons who identified highly with Moroccan people

and culture, and at the same time showed a moderate to high identification with Dutch people and culture. Fifty-three percent of the adults, and 47% of the adolescents belonged to this class, which approached Berry's integration strategy. In the second class, attachment to Dutch people and culture was low, and attachment to Moroccan people and culture high. This class can be considered a separation class, and consisted of 37% of the adults and 41% of the adolescents. Ten percent of the adults and 13% of the adolescents were in the last acculturation class. This class was not interpretable within Berry's framework, as it is characterized by moderate attachment with respect to both cultures. Designating it as assimilated, integrated or marginalized would be arbitrary and inadequate. We hypothesized that this class might be seen as representing an ambivalent acculturation pattern. The over-representation of females in this class gave rise to this hypothesis. Compared to males, Moroccan females are far more restricted regarding their autonomy and freedom of movement. Although some women oppose this gender inequality, most of them do not want to risk their family and community bonds and to turn their back on the heritage culture altogether (Pels, 2000, in press b). Women with an ambivalent acculturation pattern appear to be pulled between opposite forces.

Predicting emotional and behavioral problems

In the general introduction, several migration-related stress factors that Moroccan immigrant youth may be confronted with were described. Moreover, it was hypothesized that some cultural differences regarding the upbringing of Moroccan and Dutch parents might negatively influence the level of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. In this thesis, we examined which factors were related to emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. Some included factors were directly related to migration (e.g., acculturation, perceived discrimination, and fluency in the current language). Some factors were indirectly related to migration, as these factors were hypothesized to occur more often in immigrant families (e.g., conflicts within the family, problems experienced at school, low socio-economic status), whereas other factors showed no relation with migration (e.g., gender and age of the child).

Acculturation and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant adolescents

Having identified patterns of acculturation, we examined the associations with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. Although it is often hypothesized that migrants who identify highly with both the culture of origin and the current culture are best equipped for developing without problems, earlier studies revealed mixed findings regarding this relation. Our results showed that associations between psychological

acculturation and problem behavior differed for boys and girls. Girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern experienced high levels of parent and self reported emotional and behavioral problems. In contrast, Moroccan boys with an ambivalent acculturation pattern showed as many emotional and behavioral problems as boys with an integrated or separated acculturation pattern. The high level of conflicts between parents and their ambivalently acculturated daughters partly explained the high level of emotional and behavioral problems in these girls. In addition, it was hypothesized that the high rates of problems might result from the ambivalent attachment to both the Moroccan and Dutch culture. We explained the gender specificity of our findings by proposing that detachment from the Moroccan culture, values and norms, may be more salient in the case of girls, since they are expected to conform more, and are more homebound than boys. This, in turn, may lead to a conflictious relation with the family, and to more emotional and behavioral problems.

Parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth

The upbringing of Moroccan parents has previously been hypothesized as a risk factor for the development of emotional and behavioral problems in their children. Although our data did not enable us to compare the upbringing of Moroccan immigrant with Dutch native parents, we were able to investigate the relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth, and to examine gender and age differences in the upbringing within this sample. Our findings showed that associations between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth were largely comparable to associations found in Western samples. High levels of discipline were associated with high levels of emotional and behavioral problems, and high levels of parental affection were associated with low levels of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. No relations occurred with autonomy and induction. Furthermore, high levels of parental monitoring were related to low levels of behavioral problems in adolescents, whereas no effect of monitoring on behavioral problems was found for children aged 6 through 10 years. Overall, once a particular level of adequate parenting was achieved, upbringing differences were not essential for the development of problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth: Our results for instance revealed that adolescents who were raised with medium or high affection, showed less problem behavior than adolescents who were raised with low levels of affection, whereas no differences occurred between the adolescents who were raised with medium or with high affection.

In addition, gender and age differences were found in the upbringing of Moroccan immigrant youth. We found that adolescents aged 11 through 18 years are brought up with far less affection, responsiveness, induction, discipline and monitoring, and with more autonomy than children aged 6 through 10 years. These findings were in accordance with Pels and De Haan (2003), who argued that many Moroccan parents of the first generation believe that their

child rearing tasks should ideally be completed at the onset of puberty. Moreover, we found that adolescent Moroccan girls are more often brought up with high levels of responsiveness, affection and monitoring than adolescent boys. As Moroccan adolescent boys spend a lot of time outside their home, they may receive less parental support than their sisters (Pels & De Haan, 2003). Furthermore, because Moroccan adolescent girls are much more subject to rules than boys (Pels & De Haan, 2003), it is not strange that parents more often monitor their daughters than their sons. All in all, it is clear that Moroccan adolescent boys have to do with the least support and supervision from their parents.

Additional predictors of problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant adolescents

Finally, we provided an overview of the factors associated with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. A child, proximal family, parental, contextual family, global family, school/peer, and migration factor was distinguished. Consistent with prior research (Windle & Mason, 2004), some predictors were related to both behavioral and emotional problems, whereas others were specifically related to emotional or behavioral problems. The child and school/peer variables uniquely predicted emotional or behavioral problems. Gender differences revealed that boys showed more behavioral problems but fewer emotional problems than girls. Furthermore, experiencing chronic health problems was a risk factor for emotional problems only. Adolescents who hung out with friends regularly, whose friends showed deviant behavior, and who had problems at school showed high levels of behavioral problems, whereas adolescents who were often bored experienced high levels of emotional problems. Peer support turned out to be a protective factor of self reported emotional problems, whereas no relation was found with behavioral problems.

Most variables concerning the relationship between parents, and the interaction between parents and their children, contributed to both emotional and behavioral problems: Parent-child conflict, maternal and paternal support, and conflicts between parents about the upbringing of their children were not specifically related to one type of problem behavior. In contrast, parental monitoring was only associated with behavioral problems. In accordance with our findings, Dekovic (1999b) and McMahon, Grant, Compas, Thurm and Ey (2003) revealed that several attributes of the adolescent's family were important for both types of problem behavior. Finally, our findings revealed that adolescents, who felt Moroccans are often discriminated against, were at risk of both parent and self reported behavioral and emotional problems. Parents and adolescents who identified highly with Muslims showed relatively little behavioral problems.

We examined the relative strength of the child, school/peer, proximal family, parental, contextual family, global family and migration factor. The first three factors explained the most variance for both emotional and behavioral problems, which indicated that the factors closest to the adolescent were most important for the development of problem behavior.

However, the initial contribution of the proximal family and school/peer factor was considerably stronger for behavioral than for emotional problems. Overall, relations with parental psychopathology and the global family factor (i.e., socio-economic and marital status of the family) were weak. In addition, the migration factor accounted for only a small amount of explained variance in emotional and behavioral problems. This does not mean that migration is not related to problem behavior, as it may play an important role through the other factors. As remarked previously, migration may result in frequent problems at school, and conflicts within the family because of changed social roles and differences between family members in levels of acculturation (Guarnaccia & Lopez, 1998; Pels & De Haan, 2003; Sluzki, 1979; Sam & Berry, 1995).

Gender specificity

Throughout this thesis, we investigated whether associations between the predictors and emotional and behavioral problems were comparable for Moroccan immigrant boys and girls. We were interested in this subject, because Moroccan girls occupy a rather different position within the family than boys. Pels and De Haan (2003) reviewed literature on socialization in Morocco and in Moroccan families in the Netherlands. In Morocco, the domain of women is the private, whereas the men's domain is outside the home. Relationships between men and women are hierarchical, although in every day practice part of this is negotiable and flexible. For instance, women and girls have to pay services to men, girls are much more restricted in their freedom than boys, and boys have privileges such as the right to do less household chores than girls. The majority of the Moroccans who migrated to the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s have maintained this traditional gender role division. However, this does not mean that settlement in the Netherlands has remained without consequences. Women, particularly the better educated, have begun to take on new roles and have gained some autonomy through combining employment and family life (Pels, 2000; Pels & De Haan, 2003). Male family members tend to somewhat oppose this increasing autonomy and emancipation of the females in the family. According to both quantitative and qualitative studies, adolescent boys are more conservative about the division of roles in the family than girls (Bouw, Merens, Roukens & Sterckx, 2003; Dagevos, Gijsberts & Van Praag, 2003; Veenman, 1996). Girls are expected to guard their virginity, to be the primary caretaker in their future family, and to support their future husband in his position of family authority. All in all, although the relations between the sexes have changed, Moroccan male power is kept alive in the Netherlands. Considering this, we made gender specificity one of the important issues in this thesis.

The relationship between acculturation and problem behavior turned out to be gender specific. Whereas cultural ambivalence had no effect on boys, adolescent girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern showed more emotional and behavioral problems than girls with an integrated or separated acculturation style. This relation could be partly explained by the high level of conflicts girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern experience with their parents. In contrast, only a few relations between parenting and problem behavior turned out to be gender specific. For instance, highly disciplined 6- to 10-year-old girls showed more behavioral problems than girls who were in the low discipline group, whereas no effect was found for boys. In addition, virtually no gender-specific relations between the child, family, school/peer and migration predictors and behavioral problems were revealed. We found as many gender-specific associations as could be expected based on chance alone. The data did reveal several gender-specific relations between these predictors and self reported emotional problems. The results showed that effects were stronger or only occurred in girls. For instance, three associations on the parent-child interaction were found to be considerably stronger for girls than for boys, and externalizing behavior was a stronger predictor of emotional problems in girls than in boys. Furthermore, adolescent girls who showed a relatively high identification with Muslims reported low levels of emotional problems, whereas no effect was found for boys. Finally, being bored was a stronger risk factor for emotional problems in girls than in boys.

Although Moroccan immigrant girls have a considerably different position in the family than boys, our results indicated that many predictors of emotional and behavioral problems are equally important for Moroccan immigrant boys and girls. Overall, gender only mildly exacerbated the influence of the risk factors or, conversely, mildly protected the individual from its influence. The gender-specific relations we did find seem to be linked to gender differences in the socialization of Moroccan immigrant boys and girls. As boys have less culturally or religiously bound rules to attend to, and are much freer to go out, we expected that low attachment to Moroccans and Muslims would have more consequences for the day-to-day behavior of girls and (therefore) would be more easily noticed by their parents. This in turn could result into a problematic relationship with the parents. Our findings confirmed this expectation: We found that ambivalently acculturated girls and girls who reported a relatively low Muslim identification, had more conflicts with their parents than other girls, whereas these relations did not occur for boys. Furthermore, the stronger relation between, for instance, parent-child conflict and emotional problems in girls can be explained by the fact that Moroccan girls spend more time at home and with their parents than boys, and therefore are likely to be more vulnerable to conflicts with their parents. Finally, the limited freedom of Moroccan immigrant girls may also explain the stronger relation between boredom and emotional problems for girls. Girls, who experience boredom as often as boys, may be less able to overcome these feelings.

Limitations of this study

After addressing our main findings, we need to put forward the main limitations of this study. First, we made use of a randomly selected sample of two of the largest cities in the Netherlands, Rotterdam and The Hague. This sample might not be representative for the entire Moroccan immigrant population in the Netherlands. However, as almost 50% of the Moroccans live in the four largest cities in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2001), it is not likely that our results differ considerably from results in the total Moroccan immigrant population. Using a cross-sectional design, we were unable to draw conclusions about the direction of the associations. Although the term ‘predictor’ implies an influence on the level of emotional and behavioral problems, we do not know whether for instance parent-child conflict leads to behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents, or whether behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents result into frequent conflicts with their parents. Moreover, it is likely that the associations are cyclic, i.e., that both variables influence each other continuously.

Furthermore, most predictors of emotional and behavioral problems we used in the study on Moroccan youth were not assessed in the studies on Dutch native and Turkish immigrant youth, which considerably limited the questions we were able to answer with this study. For instance, it was hypothesized that migrant children are at relatively high risk of experiencing problems at school and having conflicts with their parents. As we did not have this data available for Dutch native children, we were unable to test this hypothesis. In addition, it was expected that Moroccan immigrant parents discipline their children more often and support and monitor their adolescent children less often than Dutch native parents. Again, we were unable to examine this. Finally, we were not able to test whether the associations between the predictors and problem behavior are unique for Moroccan immigrant youth or whether the associations are actually comparable to associations for Dutch native or Turkish immigrant youth. It was beyond the scope of this thesis to get into contact with researchers who used the same instruments in other samples, and to match our Moroccan data with these data.

Finally, as the CBCL and YSR have not been validated for Moroccan (immigrant) samples, questions may be posed on the validity of these measures for this sample. Although this study has not been designed to validate the outcome measures used, our findings however indicate that the CBCL and YSR are applicable to Moroccan populations. Overall, the CBCL and YSR items seemed to have been properly understood by parents and adolescents, although some additional explaining was sometimes necessary. Except for the items on sexual problems of their children, which somewhat annoyed the parents, no major problems occurred regarding the use of the CBCL and YSR. Furthermore, our data revealed associations between numerous predictors and CBCL and YSR problem scales that were in accordance with

previous research. In addition, significant correlations were found between YSR Externalizing ($r = .58$), Delinquent Behavior ($r = .55$), and Aggressive Behavior ($r = .51$) and another instrument measuring self-reported criminal behavior. Significant correlations were also revealed between the adolescent's global self-worth (Harter, 1985b) and YSR Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Anxious/Depressed, and Internalizing ($r = -.28$, $r = -.14$, $r = -.33$, $r = -.29$).

Implications

Recommendations for further research

A remarkable discrepancy was found in the reported levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan youth. Teachers reported more behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant than in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native youth; Moroccan immigrant parents reported as much behavioral problems as Dutch parents, and fewer behavioral problems than Turkish immigrant parents; Moroccan immigrant adolescents reported lower levels of behavioral problems than Dutch native and Turkish immigrant adolescents. Although we provided several explanations for this discrepancy, more research is needed on this subject. In future research, associations between an external indicator of problem behavior (such as observations at school or at home, records on mental health service use and police contacts) and parent, adolescent, and teacher reported problem behavior should be examined, providing more insight into the value of the different problem reports. Moreover, observations in school and at home may be used to investigate whether Moroccan immigrant youth behave differently at school than at home. Furthermore, in order to test to what extent teacher-reports are biased teachers may be questioned on their views on Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands. Comparing levels of parent and adolescent reported problem behavior in Moroccan children in Morocco and Dutch children in the Netherlands might indicate whether Moroccan parents and adolescents overall tend to report fewer problems.

Regarding the concept of acculturation, several recommendations for future research can be presented. Overall, the use of latent class analyses to identify patterns of acculturation may enhance the knowledge on this subject. Conducting this analysis in other migrant populations could provide insight into the culture specificity of our identified acculturation patterns. Furthermore, more research is needed on the dynamics of acculturation over time. It seems worthwhile to study to what extent acculturation patterns remain stable over time and whether subjects go through different stages. To get insight into the complex relation between acculturation and problem behavior, future studies on this relation should examine gender differences in this association and include potential mediators between acculturation and problem behavior.

The last recommendations for future research are on the recruitment of migrants for scientific research (Stevens, Kamperman, De Jong & Crijnen, in submission), which is regarded to be difficult. Several authors experienced problems in the data collection process and response rates are often low. In our opinion, interviewers are of crucial importance to a successful data collection; interviewers who are female, inventive, vigorous and polite were most successful. As we only used Moroccan interviewers, we are not able to come to conclusions about the desirability of ethnic matching of the interviewer and respondent. The interviewers however indicated that several respondents only agreed to participate because of the Moroccan background of the interviewer. Moreover, we feel it is important to engage interviewers on a freelance basis. Payment per interview motivates the interviewers to keep up with their work; it enables the interviewers to work whenever it is most convenient to them, and makes it possible to easily replace poorly functioning interviewers. A generous salary emphasizes the important task interviewers have in the study and is an extra motivation for the interviewers. Furthermore, to thank to respondents for their participation, we gave them a small gift. We think this served as a motivation for participation. More importantly, parents were willing to participate in the study because they are committed to the well-being of (their) children. In general, it is important to include themes in the interview that appeal to the target group. Finally, working with an interview bureau that is specialized in research in migrant groups seems to increase the chances of a successful data collection.

Implications for mental health

One of the explanations for the discrepancy we found in levels of reported behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth was the tendency in Moroccans to underreport behavioral problems. If this explanation turns out to be valid, it is very important that Moroccans who turn to general practitioners and other clinicians with relatively little complaints about the behavioral functioning of their child should be taken seriously. Although we must stress that at this point we do not know to what extent teacher-reports on behavioral problems are biased, for a broad view on the behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth it may be informative for clinicians to have teacher-reports available. Finally, whenever clinicians encounter Moroccan girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern, they should keep in mind that these girls are at high risk of a problematic relation with their parents. Clinicians may need to mediate between these girls and their parents to prevent further alienation between them.

Implications for intervention programs

We started this study with the hypothesis that Moroccan youth in the Netherlands are at high risk of emotional and behavioral problems. Police and youth care records gave rise to this hypothesis. However, the findings only partly confirmed our hypothesis. Only the teachers

reported high levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. Levels of emotional problems were as high as or lower than levels of emotional problems in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents. However, as teacher reported problem behavior is found to predict poor outcomes 6 years later (Verhulst, Koot & Van der Ende, 1994), we do think it is necessary to develop programs to prevent emotional and behavioral problems in this population.

Our findings offer several suggestions for the development of interventions to prevent emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. Interventions must predominantly focus on the interactions within the family, contacts with peers, and functioning within the school. Interventions aimed at the adolescents should address the relationship between parents and children, the risk of problems at school and being bored, involvement with deviant friends, hanging out frequently, and perceived discrimination. The adolescents should for instance be learned how to cope with a (perceived) negative reception from the environment, how to resist involvement with deviant peers, and how to engage in activities which prevent the adolescents from boredom and hanging out.

As our findings indicated that parents play a crucial role in the development of their children, this should be pointed out in the interventions aimed at parents. Parents must try to avoid constant conflicts with their children, must be stimulated to monitor their child's life, and to express affection towards their child. Moreover, parents should be aware of the potential negative effects of punishing their child frequently. Special attention regarding the upbringing of adolescents and especially adolescent boys is essential, as parents tend to monitor them considerably less and express less affection towards them. The effects of the quality of their relationship on their child's emotional and behavioral development may also be addressed in interventions. Finally, the position of ambivalently acculturated girls should be discussed with parents.

Because our findings gave rise to the hypothesis that Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents behave rather differently at school than at home, it is important for their parents to remain informed on their child's behavior at school. This information enables the parents to take action as soon as problems arise within the school setting. In addition, the discrepancy in levels of reported behavioral problems should be discussed with parents, adolescents, and teachers, as conflicts may occur concerning the approach of the alleged problems. It is essential for them to realize that different views may exist concerning the interpretation of the behavior of the child. School counselors might use the most important predictors of emotional and behavioral problems to identify adolescents who experience problems. Finally, organizing out-of-school activities within the school or neighborhood possibly prevents adolescents from hanging out frequently, involvement with deviant peers, and feelings of being bored.

In the previous paragraphs, a number of risk factors for emotional and behavioral problems that may be addressed in interventions aimed at Moroccan immigrant youth, parents, teachers and school counselors were pointed out. Only a few factors were directly related to migration: The problems in ambivalently acculturated girls and the risk of experienced discrimination. Most other factors are well known in interventions for non-immigrant populations: Parental support and monitoring prevents a child from problem behavior, and discouraging involvement with deviant peers decreases the risk of behavioral problems. In other words, most themes addressed in interventions aimed at preventing emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth may be comparable to the themes addressed in interventions directed at the Dutch population. However, to develop an effective intervention for Moroccan parents and adolescents, more information is needed for instance on the way Moroccan parents bring up their children. Moreover, we do not know what restrains or motivates Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescents to participate in interventions, and do not know what approach is most successful in preventing emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan youth. Research is needed in which interventions aimed at Moroccan immigrant parents and their children are tested. Finally, it should be remarked that not all problems are contributable to the situation within Moroccan families: Dutch society should also have a role in preventing emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth.

The political debate

In the last years, politicians have been increasingly interested in the migrants' cultural adaptation towards the Dutch society. A lot of worries have been expressed on the supposedly failed integration of migrants in the Netherlands (Rijkschroeff, Duyvendak & Pels, 2003). Our findings, however, indicated that the majority of the Moroccans interviewed are at least moderately attached to Dutch people and culture: 40% of the Moroccan adolescents and parents showed moderate to high attachment to Dutch and Moroccan people, 20% of the adolescents and parents were moderately attached to both Moroccan and Dutch people, and 40% of the adolescents and parents only felt at ease with Moroccans. Moreover, although Moroccan adolescents remain close to their parents with respect to their orientation towards Moroccans, their orientation towards the Dutch society is considerably larger.

Furthermore, in the Dutch public opinion assimilation (i.e., cultural adaptation at the cost of orientation to one's own group and culture) or integration (i.e., the adherence to the own group and culture as well as orientation to the cultural mainstream) is perceived of as optimal for the development of migrant youth. We did not find empirical evidence for this assumption. First, no acculturation pattern that approached an assimilation acculturation strategy was found. Second, our results indicated that adolescents who are separated (i.e., who

are attached to the culture of origin, but not to the current culture) show as many emotional and behavioral problems as integrated adolescents.

Conclusion

Our findings on the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth only partly confirmed the expectation that Moroccan immigrant youth are at high risk of emotional and behavioral problems. Only teachers reported high levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. Levels of emotional problems were as high as or lower than levels of emotional problems in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents. Several explanations may account for our divergent findings concerning the levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth: Moroccan children and adolescents may behave differently at school than at home, teacher-reports may be biased, Moroccan adolescents and parents may underreport problem behavior, or they may have different standards of what constitutes appropriate child behavior. Clearly, more research is needed on this subject.

This study also gained insight into the predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. An important finding was that ambivalently acculturated girls were at high risk of emotional and behavioral problems. Most other predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth have also been revealed in research in Western youth. For instance, parental support and monitoring are well known protective factors, and parent-child conflict and involvement with deviant peers are well known risk factors for the development of problem behavior. Finally, our results indicated that many predictors of emotional and behavioral problems are equally important for Moroccan immigrant boys and girls. The gender-specific relations we did find seemed to be linked to gender differences in the socialization of Moroccan immigrant boys and girls.

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Summary

Summary

The objective of the present study was to examine the prevalence and predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in a general population sample of Moroccan immigrant children aged 4 through 18 living in the Netherlands. In *chapter 1*, it was described that Moroccan immigrant youth are expected to be at high risk of emotional and behavioral problems, as they are over-represented in the population of juvenile delinquents and they increasingly apply for youth assistance. Moreover, Moroccan immigrant youth may have to cope with several risk factors related to migration and culture. An overview was provided of levels of emotional and behavioral problems in immigrant youth samples, and factors associated with emotional and behavioral problems were lined out. As presented in the first chapter, with this study we aimed to:

1. Determine the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents, and to compare this with the prevalence of emotional and behavioral problems in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents.
2. Identify patterns of psychological acculturation in Moroccan immigrant adolescents and adults.
3. Determine the factors associated with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth.
 - a. Examine the relation between acculturation and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents.
 - b. Gain insight into the association between parenting and emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant children and adolescents.
 - c. Determine other factors associated with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents.

Children, aged 4 through 18 with at least one parent born in Morocco, were randomly selected from municipal registers of two major cities in the Netherlands, The Hague and Rotterdam. Eight hundred nineteen parents (response rate 73%); 387 adolescents aged 11 through 18 (response rate 91%); and 541 teachers (response rate 83%) participated in the study. Parents and adolescents were interviewed and teachers were sent a questionnaire.

The first aim of the study was addressed in *chapter 2*. Moroccan immigrant parents reported similar levels of emotional and behavioral problems for their children as Dutch parents, whereas Turkish immigrant parents reported more emotional and behavioral problems than Moroccan immigrant parents. Teachers presented a different picture, reporting substantially more behavioral problems for Moroccan immigrant pupils compared to Dutch native and Turkish immigrant pupils. Surprisingly, Moroccan adolescents themselves reported fewer behavioral problems than Dutch adolescents, and fewer emotional and behavioral

problems than Turkish adolescents. In conclusion, levels of emotional and behavioral problems varied considerably in two migrant populations in the Netherlands with a similar migration history and religion and levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth varied widely with the informant questioned. We explained this discrepancy by pointing out that Moroccan immigrant youth may behave differently at school than at home, teacher-reports may be biased, Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescents may tend to underreport behavioral problems, and differences may exist in thresholds for reporting behavioral problems.

In *chapter 3*, patterns of psychological acculturation in Moroccan immigrant parents and adolescents were identified using latent class analysis. For both the adult and adolescent sample, three classes were revealed. Roughly, the adult and adolescent acculturation classes showed comparable patterns, although the adolescent classes were characterized by a higher attachment to Dutch culture and people than the adult classes. One class consisted of persons who identified highly with Moroccan people and culture, and at the same time showed a moderate to high identification with Dutch people and culture. This class approached Berry's integration strategy. In the second class, attachment to Dutch people and culture was low, and attachment to Moroccan people and culture high. This class can be considered a separation class. The last class was not interpretable within Berry's framework, as it is characterized by moderate attachment with respect to both cultures. We hypothesized that this class might be seen as representing an ambivalent acculturation pattern.

Having identified patterns of acculturation, we examined the associations with emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents in *chapter 4*. The associations between psychological acculturation and problem behavior turned out to be different for boys than for girls. Girls with an ambivalent acculturation pattern experienced high levels of parent and self reported emotional and behavioral problems. In contrast, Moroccan boys with an ambivalent acculturation pattern showed as many emotional and behavioral problems as boys with an integrated or separated acculturation pattern. The high level of conflicts between ambivalently acculturated girls and their parent partly explained the high level of problem behavior in these girls. We explained the gender specificity of our findings by proposing that detachment from the Moroccan culture, values and norms, may be more salient in the case of girls, since they are expected to conform more, and are more homebound than boys. This, in turn, may lead to a problematic relation with the family, and to more emotional and behavioral problems.

The relation between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth, and gender and age differences in the Moroccan upbringing were investigated in *chapter 5*. Associations between parenting and problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth were largely comparable to associations found in Western samples. High levels of discipline were associated with high levels of emotional and behavioral problems, and high levels of parental

affection were associated with low levels of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. Furthermore, high levels of parental monitoring were related to low levels of behavioral problems in adolescents, whereas no effect of monitoring on behavioral problems was found for children aged 6 through 10. Overall, once a particular level of adequate parenting was achieved, upbringing differences were not essential for the development of problem behavior in Moroccan immigrant youth: For instance, no differences in levels of emotional and behavioral problems were found between adolescents who were raised with medium or high levels of affection. In addition, gender and age differences were found in the upbringing of Moroccan immigrant youth. We found that adolescents aged 11 through 18 were brought up with far less affection, responsiveness, induction, discipline and monitoring, and with more autonomy than children aged 6 through 10 years. Moreover, it was revealed that adolescent Moroccan girls are more often brought up with high levels of responsiveness, affection and monitoring than adolescent boys. All in all, it is clear that Moroccan adolescent boys have to do with the least support and supervision from their parents.

In *chapter 6*, we provided an overview of the predictors of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant adolescents. A child, proximal family, parental, contextual family, global family, school/peer, and migration factor was distinguished. Gender differences revealed that boys were at higher risk of behavioral problems than girls, and the co-morbidity of emotional and behavioral problems turned out to be considerable. Furthermore, children who hung out with friends regularly, whose friends were deviant, and who experienced problems at school showed the most behavioral problems. In addition, high levels of conflict within the family both between parents and especially between parents and their children, and low levels of parental monitoring, affection, and support were clear risk factors. Finally, adolescents who felt Moroccans are often discriminated against were at risk of behavioral problems, and parents and adolescents who identified highly with Muslims showed relatively little behavioral problems.

In *chapter 7*, associations with emotional problems were examined. Obviously, we found a high level of co-morbidity between emotional and behavioral problems. Moreover, adolescents who experienced chronic health problems were at greater risk of emotional problems than others. Boredom also appeared to be a clear risk factor. Within the family, support from father and mother, and conflicts between parents and children were of major importance. Moreover, a relation was found between parental conflicts on the upbringing of the children, and emotional problems in adolescents. Finally, adolescents who felt Moroccans are often discriminated against were at risk of emotional problems.

Some predictors were related to both behavioral and emotional problems, whereas others were specifically related to emotional or behavioral problems. The child and school/peer variables uniquely predicted emotional or behavioral problems. Most variables

concerning the relationship between parents, and the interaction between parents and their children, contributed to both emotional and behavioral problems. Parental monitoring, however, was only associated with behavioral problems. Finally, perceived discrimination was related to emotional and behavioral problems, whereas Muslim identification was related to behavioral problems only.

Most predictors of behavioral and emotional problems outlined in *chapter 6* and *7* have also been identified as important for the development of behavioral and emotional problems in adolescents in predominantly Western studies. Furthermore, our results suggested that the child, school/peer, and proximal family factor are essential in models predicting the development of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. However, it needs to be remarked that the initial contribution of the proximal family and school/peer factor was considerably stronger for behavioral than for emotional problems. The impact of the migration factor turned out to be relatively small. This does not mean that migration is not related to problem behavior, as it may play an important role through the other factors. Finally, few associations occurred with parental psychopathology and with the socio-economic status of the family.

In *chapter 8*, the main findings of the thesis were summarized and discussed. Our findings only partly confirmed the expectation that Moroccan immigrant youth are at high risk of emotional and behavioral problems. Levels of emotional problems were as high as or lower than levels of emotional problems in Turkish immigrant and Dutch native children and adolescents. Only teachers reported high levels of behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth, whereas Moroccan immigrant parents reported as many behavioral problems as Dutch native parents, and Moroccan immigrant adolescents reported fewer behavioral problems than Turkish immigrant and Dutch native adolescents. Clearly, more research is needed to explain the discrepancy in levels of reported behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth.

Moreover, this study gained insight into the predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth. An important finding was that ambivalently acculturated girls were at high risk of emotional and behavioral problems. Most other predictors of emotional and behavioral problems in Moroccan immigrant youth have also been revealed in research in Western youth. Finally, our results indicated that many predictors of emotional and behavioral problems are equally important for Moroccan immigrant boys and girls. The gender-specific relations we did find seemed to be linked to gender differences in the socialization of Moroccan immigrant boys and girls. Several implications for mental health, interventions programs and the political debate were formulated.

Samenvatting

Samenvatting

Het doel van deze studie was het verkrijgen van inzicht in de prevalentie en predictoren van emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij 4 tot en met 18 jarige Marokkaanse jeugdigen uit de algemene bevolking.

In *hoofdstuk 1* werd de verwachting geformuleerd dat Marokkaanse jeugdigen een relatief hoog risico lopen op emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen, omdat zij zijn oververtegenwoordigd in de populatie jeugdige delinquenten en steeds vaker een beroep doen op de Jeugdhulpverlening. Bovendien worden Marokkaanse jeugdigen mogelijk geconfronteerd met verschillende migratiegebonden en culturele risicofactoren. Een overzicht werd gegeven van de prevalentie van probleemgedrag in andere populaties allochtone jeugdigen. Daarnaast beschreven we verschillende factoren die gerelateerd zijn aan emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij jeugdigen. Het doel van dit onderzoek was inzicht te krijgen in:

1. De prevalentie van emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse jeugdigen in Nederland en dit te vergelijken met de prevalentie van emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Turkse en Nederlandse jeugdigen.
2. Psychologische acculturatie patronen bij Marokkaanse jongeren en volwassenen.
3. De factoren die samenhangen met emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse jeugdigen.
 - a. De relatie tussen acculturatie en emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse adolescenten.
 - b. De relatie tussen opvoeding en emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse kinderen en adolescenten.
 - c. Andere factoren die samenhangen met emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse adolescenten.

De onderzoeksgroep bestond uit kinderen in de leeftijd van 4 tot en met 18 van wie tenminste één ouder was geboren in Marokko. De kinderen werden geselecteerd aan de hand van een aselechte steekproef uit de gemeentebestanden van Rotterdam en Den Haag. 819 Marokkaanse ouders (respons 73%) en 387 jongeren (respons 91%) in de leeftijd van 11-18 werden geïnterviewd. 541 leerkrachten vulden een vragenlijst over de jeugdigen in (respons 83%).

De prevalentie van probleemgedrag bij Marokkaanse, Turkse en Nederlandse jeugdigen werd onderzocht in *hoofdstuk 2*. Marokkaanse ouders rapporteerden gemiddeld evenveel emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen over hun kinderen als Nederlandse ouders, Turkse ouders rapporteerden meer emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen dan Marokkaanse ouders. Volgens de leerkrachten lieten Marokkaanse scholieren echter aanzienlijk meer gedragsproblemen zien dan Turkse en Nederlandse scholieren. Marokkaanse

jongeren zelf rapporteerden minder gedragsproblemen dan Nederlandse jongeren en minder emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen dan Turkse jongeren. Ook al hebben Marokkaanse en Turkse jeugdigen een vergelijkbare migratiegeschiedenis en religie, het niveau van emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen verschilde sterk. Daarnaast was het niveau van gerapporteerde gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse jeugdigen sterk afhankelijk van de informant. We verklaarden deze discrepantie op de volgende wijze: Marokkaanse jeugdigen gedragen zich op school misschien anders dan thuis, de negatieve beeldvorming rondom Marokkanen kleurt wellicht de rapportage van de leerkracht en zorgt er mogelijk voor dat Marokkaanse jongeren en ouders geneigd zijn tot onderrapportage van gedragsproblemen. Tenslotte bestaan er mogelijk verschillen in percepties van problematisch gedrag.

In *hoofdstuk 3* werden aan de hand van latente klasse analyses, klassen van Marokkaanse migranten geïdentificeerd met eenzelfde patroon van psychologische acculturatie. Voor zowel de adolescenten als de volwassenen vonden we drie klassen. De acculturatie patronen van de volwassenen waren in grote lijnen vergelijkbaar met de acculturatie patronen van de jongeren. De patronen van de jongeren kenmerkten zich echter wel door een grotere gerichtheid op Nederlanders en de Nederlandse cultuur. De eerste klasse bestond uit personen die zich in hoge mate verbonden voelden met Marokkanen en de Marokkaanse cultuur en zich gemiddeld tot in hoge mate verbonden voelden met Nederlanders en de Nederlandse cultuur. Deze klasse is min of meer vergelijkbaar met de geïntegreerde acculturatie strategie van Berry. Daarnaast werd een klasse geïdentificeerd waarin de verbondenheid met Marokkanen en de Marokkaanse cultuur hoog was en de verbondenheid met Nederlanders en de Nederlandse cultuur laag. Deze klasse werd gesepareerd genoemd. Tenslotte ontdekten we een klasse die niet aansloot bij Berry's acculturatie raamwerk: een klasse waarin personen zich zowel gemiddeld verbonden voelden met Nederlanders als Marokkanen. Deze klasse kreeg de titel ambivalent geaccultureerd.

Vervolgens onderzochten we de relatie tussen acculturatie en emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse adolescenten (*hoofdstuk 4*). We vonden een seksespecifiek verband. Meisjes met een ambivalent acculturatie patroon vertoonden aanzienlijk meer emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen dan geïntegreerde of gesepareerde meisjes, terwijl voor jongens geen verband werd gevonden tussen acculturatie en probleemgedrag. Deze relatie werd gedeeltelijk verklaard door de hoeveelheid conflicten tussen ambivalent geaccultureerde meisjes en hun ouders. Het feit dat alleen voor meisjes een verband werd gevonden tussen acculturatie en probleemgedrag werd als volgt verklaard: een ambivalente acculturatie strategie zal bij meisjes eerder tot problemen met hun ouders leiden dan bij jongens, omdat het nemen van afstand van de Marokkaanse cultuur eerder opvalt bij Marokkaanse meisjes dan bij jongens (meisjes zijn meer gebonden aan allerlei culturele regels en verblijven veel vaker thuis). Jongeren die vaker conflicten hebben met hun ouders, vertonen tevens meer probleemgedrag.

In *hoofdstuk 5* stond de relatie tussen opvoeding en probleemgedrag bij Marokkaanse kinderen en jongeren centraal. Deze relatie bleek vergelijkbaar met gevonden relaties in westerse populaties: Marokkaanse kinderen en jongeren van wie ouders regelmatig affectie toonden, hadden relatief weinig emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen. Kinderen en jongeren die veel gestraft werden, vertoonden veel emotionele en gedragsproblemen. Jongeren van wie ouders regelmatig toezicht hielden op hun kind, hadden tenslotte relatief weinig gedragsproblemen. In het algemeen geldt dat wanneer een bepaald niveau van adequate opvoeding was bereikt, er geen effect van opvoeding op probleemgedrag meer werd gevonden: adolescenten van wie ouders een gemiddeld of hoog niveau van affectie lieten zien, hadden een vergelijkbaar niveau van probleemgedrag. Ook werden sekse en leeftijdsverschillen gevonden in de opvoeding van Marokkaanse ouders. Adolescenten in de leeftijd van 11-18 werden opgevoed met aanzienlijk minder affectie, responsiviteit, inductie, straf en toezicht en met meer autonomie dan kinderen in de leeftijd van 6-10. Marokkaanse meisjes in de leeftijd van 11-18 werden opgevoed met meer affectie, responsiviteit en toezicht dan Marokkaanse jongens in dezelfde leeftijd. Het voorafgaande maakt duidelijk, dat Marokkaanse jongens in de leeftijd van 11-18 opgroeien met de minste steun en toezicht.

Een overzicht van de predictoren van gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse adolescenten werd gegeven in *hoofdstuk 6*. We onderscheidde een kind, proximale familie, ouder, contextuele familie, globale familie, school/vrienden en migratie factor. Allereerst vertoonden jongens meer gedragsproblemen dan meisjes en werd een aanzienlijke co-morbiditeit gevonden tussen emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen. Jongeren die regelmatig omgingen met deviante vrienden, vaak rondhingen op straat en schoolproblemen hadden, liepen een verhoogd risico op gedragsproblemen. Conflicten binnen het gezin, tussen ouders en vooral tussen ouders en kinderen, ouderlijke toezicht en steun waren sterk gerelateerd aan gedragsproblemen. Tenslotte vertoonden jongeren die veel discriminatie ervoeren een hoog niveau van gedragsproblemen en jongeren die zich in hoge mate identificeerden met het moslim geloof een laag niveau van gedragsproblemen.

In *hoofdstuk 7* onderzochten we de relatie tussen de hierboven genoemde predictoren en emotionele problemen. Uiteraard vonden we een sterke associatie tussen emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen. Jongeren die chronische lichamelijke problemen hadden en die zich regelmatig verveelden, liepen een verhoogd risico op emotionele problemen. Daarnaast werd een verband gevonden tussen emotionele problemen van de adolescent en ouderlijke steun, conflicten tussen ouders en kind en onenigheid tussen ouders over de opvoeding. Tenslotte hadden jongeren die veel discriminatie ervoeren een hoog niveau van emotionele problemen.

Een aantal predictoren was geassocieerd met zowel emotionele problemen als gedragsproblemen, terwijl andere predictoren gerelateerd waren aan emotionele problemen of gedragsproblemen. De variabelen in de kind en school/vrienden factor vertoonden een relatie

met slechts één van de twee typen probleemgedrag. De meeste familie variabelen waren zowel geassocieerd met emotionele problemen als met gedragsproblemen. Een uitzondering was ouderlijk toezicht: dit hing alleen samen met gedragsproblemen. Ervaren discriminatie vertoonde een samenhang met beide typen probleemgedrag, terwijl moslim identificatie samenhang met alleen gedragsproblemen.

De meeste verbanden die beschreven zijn in *hoofdstuk 6* en *7*, zijn reeds gevonden in onderzoek in westerse populaties. Ook werd in deze hoofdstukken duidelijk dat de kind, school/vrienden en proximale familie factor essentieel zijn in modellen die niveaus van emotionele en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse adolescenten trachten te verklaren. Hierbij moet opgemerkt worden, dat de initiële verklaarde variantie van de school/vrienden en proximale familie factor aanzienlijk groter was voor gedragsproblemen dan voor emotionele problemen. Daarnaast was de impact van de migratie factor op zowel emotionele problemen als gedragsproblemen klein. Dit hoeft echter niet te betekenen dat de invloed van migratie op probleemgedrag te verwaarlozen is, omdat deze factor mogelijk ook een rol speelt via de andere factoren. Tenslotte werd nauwelijks een verband gevonden tussen probleemgedrag bij Marokkaanse adolescenten en sociaal-economische variabelen en ouderlijke psychopathologie.

In *hoofdstuk 8* werden de belangrijkste bevindingen samengevat en bediscussieerd. De verwachting dat Marokkaanse jeugdigen een verhoogde kans lopen op emotionele problemen en op gedragsproblemen werd slechts gedeeltelijk bevestigd. Niveaus van emotionele problemen waren vergelijkbaar of lager dan bij Nederlandse en Turkse jeugdigen. Bovendien rapporteerden alleen leerkrachten een hoog niveau van gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse scholieren. Marokkaanse ouders rapporteerden evenveel gedragsproblemen als Nederlandse ouders, terwijl Marokkaanse jongeren minder gedragsproblemen rapporteerden dan Nederlandse en Turkse jongeren. Er is meer onderzoek nodig om deze discrepantie in gerapporteerd niveau van gedragsproblemen te kunnen verklaren.

Deze studie gaf daarnaast inzicht in de factoren die samenhangen met emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse jeugdigen. Een belangrijke bevinding was dat ambivalent geaccultureerde meisjes aanzienlijk meer probleemgedrag laten zien dan andere meisjes. Veel van de andere predictoren van emotionele problemen en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse jeugdigen zijn al eerder gevonden in onderzoek in westerse populaties. Tot slot bleek dat een groot aantal predictoren even belangrijk was voor Marokkaanse jongens als voor meisjes. Sommige verbanden bleken niet even sterk voor jongens als voor meisjes, hetgeen gerelateerd leek te zijn aan de seksespecifieke socialisatie van Marokkaanse jongens en meisjes. Verschillende aanbevelingen werden gedaan voor de geestelijke gezondheidszorg, preventieve interventies en het politieke debat.

**Dankwoord
Curriculum Vitae**

Dankwoord

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Curriculum Vitae

Gonneke Wilhelmina Jakoba Maria Stevens werd geboren op 25 juli 1976 te Arnhem. In 1994 behaalde zij haar V.W.O. diploma aan het Koningin Wilhelmina College te Culemborg. In hetzelfde jaar startte zij met de opleiding Algemene Sociale Wetenschappen aan de Universiteit Utrecht. Tijdens haar studie liep zij onder andere stage op de afdeling Preventie van Riagg Stad Utrecht, waar zij een afsluitingstraject voor een hulpverleningsgroep voor Marokkaanse vrouwen opzette en een kwalitatief onderzoek uitvoerde naar kinderen van ouders met psychiatrische problematiek in de Pleegzorg. Tijdens haar onderzoeksstage op de afdeling Geestelijke Gezondheid van het Trimbos-instituut deed zij een kwantitatief onderzoek naar opvattingen van allochtone en autochtone jongeren over psychische problemen, hulp zoeken en hulpverleningsinstellingen. In januari 2000 behaalde zij haar doctoraal Algemene Sociale Wetenschappen in de richtingen 'Gezondheidsstudies' en 'Communicatie, cultuur en identiteit'.

Vanaf maart 2000 tot maart 2004 was zij als assistent in opleiding (AIO) verbonden aan de afdeling Kinder- en Jeugdpsychiatrie van het ErasmusMC/Sophia Rotterdam. In deze periode voerde zij een onderzoek uit naar de prevalentie en predictoren van emotionele en gedragsproblemen bij Marokkaanse kinderen en adolescenten, waarvan de resultaten in dit proefschrift beschreven zijn. Van maart tot september 2004 was zij werkzaam als wetenschappelijk onderzoeker op deze afdeling.

Sinds september 2004 heeft zij een aanstelling als universitair docent Orthopedagogiek aan de Universiteit Leiden, daarnaast blijft zij voor 1 dag per week verbonden aan de afdeling Kinder- en Jeugdpsychiatrie van het ErasmusMC/Sophia.

