

Huijnk, W., Verkuyten, M., & Coenders, M. (2012). Family life and Acculturation Attitudes: A Study among Four Immigrant Groups in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 38, 555-575.

Family life and Acculturation Attitudes:
A Study among Four Immigrant Groups in the Netherlands

Abstract

This research examines the relationship between different aspects of family life and acculturation attitudes among adults of the four main immigrant groups in the Netherlands. The focus is on the importance of early parental practices and current (national and transnational) family relationships for the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance and the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. The results show that family life matters for both attitudes, but more strongly for the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance. Family (national and transnational) contacts, support and warmth are positively related to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance but not to the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. Growing up with loving and supporting parents is associated with a more positive attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. In addition to, and independently from the individual's language proficiency, immigrants within families that speak Dutch more often have a more positive attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation and a lower endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance.

Keywords: Acculturation attitudes, Family Relationships, Transnational Family, Language Proficiency, Family Background

Introduction

Acculturation concerns the question whether immigrants adapt to the country of residence and the extent to which they remain involved in their ethnic culture. Key elements in the acculturation process are the acculturation attitudes adopted by immigrants. Acculturation attitudes are important because they shape individuals' beliefs, their motivation to adapt to various spheres of life, and their acculturation behavior (see Sam and Berry 2006).

Research on the determinants of acculturation attitudes has increasingly emphasized the role of contextual influences (Berry 1997; Pfafferott and Brown 2006) and has shown that these attitudes depend, for example, on intergroup contacts and perceived acceptance by the host society (e.g. Bourhis et al. 1997; Sabatier 2008), and on social relationships with co-ethnics (Zhou and Bankston 1998).

In this paper, we examine the role of the family for acculturation attitudes among the four largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands. The focus is on the socio-cultural orientation on the own ethnic group and the socio-cultural orientation on Dutch society. While there is research on parental influences (e.g. socialization or status transmission) on acculturation attitudes (e.g. Pfafferott and Brown 2006; Sabatier 2008; Slonim-Nevo et al. 2009), relatively few studies have addressed the role of the family during adulthood. This is surprising because studies have shown that family members continue to influence each other and, thus, matter for individuals' attitudes and behaviors in adult life (Wood 2000). In addition, research has demonstrated that the family is a particularly important context for immigrants, for instance for cultural maintenance and for the adaptation to the country of residence (Zhou 1997). We focus on family life in terms of contacts (cohesiveness), emotional support (warmth), and the extent to which the host society language is spoken within one's family. In addition, many immigrants continue to be involved in their ethnic culture through transnational family ties. Where economic assimilation is known to depend on 'cultivating strong social networks across national borders' (Portes et al. 1999: 229), far less is known about the way that family relationships across national borders relate to the acculturation process.

Acculturation attitudes

Classical assimilation theory assumes that immigrants relinquish their culture of origin as they acculturate to the country of residence (Gordon 1964). However, the theoretical and methodological conceptualization of acculturation has changed from a uni-dimensional assimilation model to the recognition that acculturation is a bi-dimensional process: individuals can maintain their ethnic culture even when they acculturate to new societies (see Berry et al. 1989). The two dimensions of adaptation and maintenance should be measured separately and do not have to be combined to create four different acculturation modes (Rudmin, 2003, 2009). We adopt this approach in the current study because it allows us to investigate whether the family context is equally important for both adaptation and maintenance. Following other studies (e.g. Ward and Kennedy 1993), we consider both cultural and social involvement with one's own ethnic group and with the host society. The former is labeled '*socio-cultural maintenance*' and the latter '*socio-cultural adaptation*'.

Parents and acculturation attitudes

Theoretically, there are various reasons why parents can be expected to be important for acculturation attitudes. The nuclear family provides the primary living conditions in people's formative years in which family attitudes, positions, skills and behaviors are transmitted (Nauck 2001; Vollebergh et al. 2001; Zhou 1997). We focus on the socio-economic background of the parents and the emotional warmth of the parent-child relationships in adolescence.

Parent's socio-economic background (e.g. educational level) might be related to acculturation attitudes because it provides opportunities and resources for children's educational career, language proficiency, friendships, and is related to neighborhood conditions (Nauck 2001; Phinney et al. 2001). Furthermore, compared to the lower educated, higher educated parents tend to be more strongly oriented on the host society, maintain less attachment to their own ethnic culture, and have more informal contacts with natives (Nauck

2001; Phinney et al. 2001; but see Sabatier 2008). Although there are studies which demonstrated that socio-economic background of the parents is an important determinant of acculturation of their children (Rumbaut 1994; Sabatier 2008), it has not been examined to what extent these effects remain relevant for acculturation attitudes in adult life. We hypothesize that parental socio-economic background is positively related to the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation and negatively to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance (H1).

The emotional warmth of the parent-child bond in the child's formative years has been argued to influence the acquisition of attitudes through processes of identification and imitation. The transmission of cultural values is stronger when the bond between parent and child is warmer, whereas a lack of (perceived) emotional warmth may cause the child to reject its parents' attitudes and beliefs (Jaspers et al. 2008; Schönplflug 2001). Acculturation research has mostly focused on socio-cultural maintenance of adolescents and has demonstrated that warm family relations are related to the attitude towards cultural maintenance (e.g. Sabatier 2008; Wilson and Constantine 1999). Less is known about adults, and about the relationship between the emotional warmth of the parent-child bond in the formative years and the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation.

Parental warmth might contribute to socio-cultural adaptation because it facilitates a secure attachment, self-confidence and better social skills, which in turn stimulate adjustments to novel and unfamiliar settings (Chen et al. 2000). Mikulincer and Shaver (2001), for example, found that securely attached immigrants trust others more and have more social interactions with out-group members. In addition, studying ethnic and national identity, Sabatier (2008) found that immigrant adolescents' positive assessment of the relationship with their parents contributes not only to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance but also to socio-cultural adaptation. Hence, we hypothesize that the warmth of the parent-child relationship in adolescence is positively related to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance and also to the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation in adult life (H2).

Family context in adult life: warmth and cohesion

Family research has mainly focused on children and adolescents and neglected the processes shaping attitudes and orientations of adults. An important question is the degree to which current family life relates to acculturation attitudes, independently of the parents characteristics discussed. Research on adolescents has shown that in-group evaluation and cultural identity are enhanced by warm interpersonal relations with family and friends (Phinney et al. 2001; Wilson and Constantine 1999). Similar mechanisms might also work for adult immigrants (Demo and Hughes 1990). Family relationships are particularly salient for immigrants because they provide an important coping resource in the host society and provide continuity with the past. Ethnic group norms and values are most salient and most easily enforced in the private context of the family (Van de Vijver and Phalet 2004). Relationships with family members might affirm the ethnic identity and increase feelings of belonging to one's ethnic group and thereby foster a positive attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance.

We focus on two aspects of family life: the cohesion of the family and the warmth of the family relationships. Although cohesion and warmth are interrelated concepts (Bengtson and Roberts 1991) the two constructs differ and can have different effects on various outcomes (e.g. Doohan et al. 2009; Huijnk et al. 2010). Family cohesion refers to the actual bonds of family members and is typically conceptualized in terms of the frequency of contact, the degree of support and help, norms of family obligation, and the perceived strength of the family ties (see Bengtson and Roberts 1991). In general, cohesive or tight families have more social contacts and members of these families are more exposed to each other's beliefs and attitudes. The endorsement of cultural maintenance and in-group support is more typical for cohesive families whereas low cultural maintenance is more common in less cohesive families (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006).

Family warmth indicates the level of affection and emotional support that family members experience. In general, warm family relationships make people more responsive to social influences. Since families are the main cultural link to one's ethnic background, we assume that warm family relationships stimulate the orientation on one's own ethnic group

and culture. Thus, we hypothesize that family cohesion and family warmth independently and positively relate to the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance (H3).

For immigrants, warm family relationships might also facilitate socio-cultural adaptation because they reduce the negative effects of stressful events on social functioning (Slonim-Nevo et al. 2009). Warm relationships decrease anxiety and self-uncertainty, and foster (generalized) trust (Glanville and Paxton 2007; Stephan and Finlay 1999). In addition, psychological well-being and trust are related to a more open and accepting orientation toward out-groups (Tyler et al. 1997). Hence, we expect a positive association between family warmth and the endorsement of socio-cultural adaptation (H4). We do not have strong theoretical arguments to expect a (positive or negative) relation between family cohesion and the socio-cultural adaptation attitude.

Host language usage within the family

Proficiency in the host country's language is considered to be a key factor in immigrants' social, cultural, and economic adjustment (Chiswick and Miller 2001). In addition to the individual's language proficiency, we hypothesize that the extent to which one's family communicates in the host language is positively related to the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation and negatively to the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance (H5). The language spoken within the family indicates the acculturation orientations of the family members. For example, family members who are more adapted to the host society are also more likely to speak the host language among each other. Furthermore, interaction in the ethnic language provides a means by which ethnicity is experienced and expressed. Ethnic language usage is likely to reinforce ethnic identity and the orientation on the own ethnic culture, whereas the usage of the host language might strengthen socio-cultural adaptation. Hence, interactions with family members in the Dutch language might not only facilitate socio-cultural adaptation but might also result in a weaker endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance (H6).

Transnational family relationships

Many immigrants maintain social networks and relationships that stretch across national borders. These transnational ties constitute social, economic and cultural linkages to the country of origin (Ryan et al. 2009). Through transnational family relationships norms and practices of the ethnic culture are reinforced and families can use transnational activities for maintaining their ethnic identity across generations (Zontini 2007). Moreover, studies have shown that practical support reinforces notions of responsibility and attachment to family members in the country of origin (Reynolds 2006). Hence, we expect a positive relation between transnational family ties and the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance (H7).

It is less clear whether transnational ties also relate to the endorsement of socio-cultural adaptation. In public debates, transnational relationships are often perceived as hampering the integration into the host society. However, relationships with the family in the country of origin might be a source of support that promotes adjustment to the country of settlement.

Controls

To assess whether the family characteristics are independently related to the acculturation attitudes, several additional factors were considered: individual language proficiency, immigrant generation, length of residence, age, education, religiosity, and perceived acceptance of the host society. These factors have been found to be related to acculturation attitudes and to family relationships (e.g. Alba and Nee 1997; Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver 2008; Bourhis et al. 1997; Phinney et al. 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 2001) and therefore should be taken into account.

Method

Data

We use data from the migrant sample of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study (NKPS; Dykstra et al. 2005, 2007), drawn from 13 Dutch cities in which the majority from the four

largest immigrant groups live. The first wave of the study was conducted in 2002/ 2003 and the response rate varied from 52 per cent for the Turkish-Dutch to 41 per cent for the Surinamese-Dutch. In the second wave of the panel study, conducted in 2007, 47 per cent of the initial 1,410 immigrants of the first wave participated. After the interview, respondents received a supplementary self-completion questionnaire which was returned by approximately 90 per cent of the respondents. We mainly use the data from this second wave of the NKPS because information on the acculturation attitudes was not collected in the first wave. We only use information from the first wave when questions on background characteristics were not asked in the second wave, like questions on the ethnic background of the respondents. We discuss possible problems of selective non-response in the statistical procedure section.

The *ethnic background* of the participants is based on their country of birth and that of their parents. Since the 1960s a diverse group of immigrants have moved to the Netherlands due to the colonial history in the Caribbean area (e.g. Surinam and Dutch Antilles), the recruitment of labor immigrants from Mediterranean countries (e.g. Turkey and Morocco), and, more recently, the influx of asylum seekers from a wide variety of countries. Currently, approximately 11 per cent of the 16.6 million inhabitants of the Netherlands originate from non-Western countries, with the majority coming from Morocco, Turkey, Surinam, and the Dutch Antilles (SCP 2009). The latter two colonial groups are culturally and religiously more similar to the Dutch and have better socio-economic positions than the Turkish and Moroccan labor immigrants (SCP 2009). People of Turkish and Moroccan origin tend to be more traditional in their family norms and values than the Surinamese-Dutch and the Antillean-Dutch who, in turn, are more similar to the individualistic native Dutch (SCP 2009).

Participants born in Turkey, Morocco, Surinam or the Dutch Antilles, or with at least one parent born in one of these countries, were assigned to one of the four immigrant groups: Turkish-Dutch (N = 196), Moroccan-Dutch (N = 116), Surinamese-Dutch (N = 175), and Antillean-Dutch (N = 166).

Measures

Socio-cultural adaptation attitude was measured with 4 items. Respondents were asked how important they find it to 1) Follow the Dutch way of life 2) Have regular contacts with Dutch people 3) Raise their children in a Dutch way, and 4) Participate in typical Dutch activities. Response categories ranged from (1) = 'totally agree' to (5) = 'totally disagree'. For measuring the attitude towards *socio-cultural maintenance* the same four questions were asked in relation to the importance attached to the ethnic culture and contacts with co-ethnics.

Using factor analysis with oblique rotation, the data clearly confirmed a two factor model for these 8 items. Both factors showed eigenvalues greater than 2, communalities higher than .50, and factor loadings higher than .65. In addition, a multi-group comparison of a structural equation model indicated that the factor structure was the same for the four ethnic groups. Moreover, the fit of the model assuming metric equivalence – the values of the factor loadings of the items on the latent concepts are assumed to be the same across the groups (Steenkamp and Baumgartner 1998) – was acceptable (RMSEA=.069, CFI=.89, CMIN/DF=3.8, $\chi^2=287$). We constructed the two acculturation attitudes based on a Likert summation.

Reliability analyses revealed that the alpha for socio-cultural maintenance was .77 for the Turkish-Dutch, .56 for the Moroccan-Dutch, .72 for the Surinamese-Dutch, and .81 for the Antillean-Dutch. The alphas for socio-cultural adaptation were .61 (Turkish-Dutch), .73 (Moroccan-Dutch), .73 (Surinamese-Dutch) and .77 (Antillean-Dutch), respectively.

Parents' variables

Parental education was based on the highest educational attainment of either one of the parents (in the country of origin or the country of residence), and coded from (0) = 'did not complete elementary school' to (6) = 'university/ post-graduate'.

The *warmth of the parent-child bond in adolescence* was based on 8 items that assess the strength and emotional supportiveness at age 15. Respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with statements like "I could always turn to my father/ mother with my problems"

and “My father/ mother and I had a tight relationship”. Answer categories ranged from (1) = ‘totally agree’ to (5) = ‘totally disagree’. Although the effect of the parental bond on acculturation might differ somewhat for fathers and mothers (e.g. Sabatier 2008), the focus of our study is on general family influences. Therefore, we constructed one family level measure based on the mean score indicating the emotional warmth of the parental bond. The alpha for the eight items was .89, with a minimum of .85 for the Turkish-Dutch. When information on the bond with one of the parents was missing (7 per cent), the score was based on the items for the available parent.

Current family relationships

Feelings of affection and perceived emotional support are indicators of *family warmth* (Huijnk et al. 2010; Jaspers et al. 2008). Family warmth was measured with four items: ‘I receive enough help and advice from my family’, ‘I place confidence in my family’, ‘Should I need help, I can always turn to my family’, and ‘I can always count on my family’. Answer categories ranged from (1) = ‘totally agree’ to (5) = ‘totally disagree’. These items were combined in a scale by taking the mean value ($\alpha = .87$ for all groups, with a minimum of .78 for the Moroccans). A higher score indicates higher perceived family warmth. The questions did not differentiate between perceived family warmth from family members living in the Netherlands or abroad.

Family cohesion is indicated by the frequency of family contact and the exchange of instrumental support (Bengtson and Roberts 1991). We distinguish between contact with family members in the Netherlands and in the country of origin. *Family contact in the Netherlands* was measured by asking respondents about the actual face-to-face contact with their father, mother, sibling and a maximum of two children in the past 12 months. The answer categories varied from (1) = ‘never’ to (7) = ‘daily’. The contact measure was constructed by computing the mean score of the face-to-face contact frequency with the aforementioned (existing) family members in the Netherlands. Our measure of *transnational*

family contacts indicates how often a respondent visited the family in the country of origin varying from (0) = ‘never’ to (4) = ‘at least two times a year’.

Transnational family support. Respondents were asked to indicate whether they supported family members (e.g. financially or materially) in the country of origin, and if so, which specific family members (parents, children or other relatives). We computed one dichotomous variable indicating (0) = ‘no transnational family support’ to (1) = ‘transnational support to family’.

Host language usage within the family was assessed by asking respondents the extent to which they speak Dutch with their partner/ children/ parents/ siblings/ other relatives, with answer categories (1) = ‘never’, (2) = ‘sometimes’ and (3) = ‘often, always’. We computed the mean score on the Dutch language usage with the 5 types of family members ($\alpha = .90$ for all groups, with a minimum of .78 for the Turkish-Dutch). When one of these family members was missing, for instance when a parent was deceased or a respondent did not have any children, the mean score was based on the existing family members.

Individual variables and perceived acceptance

The *age* of the respondent was measured in years. The variable *gender* indicated whether the participant was male (0) or female (1). *Educational attainment* of the respondent was coded from (0) = ‘did not complete elementary school’ to (7) = ‘university/ post-graduate’. *Religious attendance* was based on the church or mosque attendance of the respondent with scores ranging from (0) = ‘never’ to (3) = ‘a few times a week or more’. *Employment status* indicated whether the respondent had a paid job (1) or not (0).

Respondent were asked whether they had sometimes difficulties with 1) speaking Dutch and with 2) reading Dutch in papers, letters or flyers. The answer categories were (1) = ‘yes, very often/ always’ (2) = ‘yes, sometimes’ and (3) = ‘no, never’. In addition, the interviewer was asked ‘How fluent is the respondent in Dutch?’. The answer categories were; (1) = ‘bad’, (2) = ‘moderate’ and (3) = ‘fluent’. These three items form a very reliable scale (alpha is .92 for all groups, with a minimum of .61 for the Dutch-Antilleans) and a higher

score indicates higher *Dutch language proficiency*. Participants' country of birth was used to assess who was first generation (born outside the Netherlands) or second generation (born in the Netherlands). In addition, immigrants who moved to the Netherlands before the age of six or younger were also regarded as *first generation* immigrants. Due to the age criterion in the NKPS sample (respondents had to be at least 18 years or older in the first wave), the percentage of second generation immigrants (22 per cent) is relatively low in our sample compared to the population. *Length of residence* of the immigrants was measured by subtracting the year of migration from the interview year. Following Kalmijn and Van Tubergen (2006) we based the year of migration for the second generation immigrants on their year of birth.

The *perceived acceptance by the host society* was measured with 5 items: 'In the Netherlands foreigners have excellent opportunities', 'In the Netherlands your rights as a foreigner are respected', 'The Dutch are hospitable to foreigners', 'Foreigners are treated fairly in the Netherlands', 'The Dutch are open to foreign cultures'. Response options ranged from (1) = 'strongly agree' to (5) = 'strongly disagree'. After recoding, the Cronbach's alpha of the 5-item scale was .75 for all groups, with a minimum of .64 for the Turkish-Dutch.

Analyses

A potential problem of the data of the second wave of the NKPS immigrant sample is selective panel attrition. To correct for this we estimated Heckman's models (Heckman 1979)¹. We estimated the propensity to participate with several socio-demographic characteristics (e.g. age, gender, having a partner), socio-economic variables (education and income), social and cultural values (e.g. religious attendance, family norms), and the number of missing values. Heckman models require variables that are related to selective non-response but not to the acculturation attitudes. We identified having a partner and the number of missing values in the first wave as being related to the chance to participate in the second wave, but not to the acculturation attitudes. Second, Mill's Lambda, an inverse transformation of the probability of the respondent participating in the second wave (Heckman 1979), was

included in our models predicting the acculturation attitudes. Thus, a positive effect of Mill's Lambda indicates that those who are less likely to respond have a higher score on the acculturation attitude under investigation. Missing values on the independent variables were replaced via a multiple imputation procedure².

We analyzed the two acculturation attitudes of maintenance and adaptation separately. We used regression analysis whereby sets of variables were stepwise entered into the models. First, we entered the control variables. In a second model, we added the parental variables, and in the third model the current family relationships are included. Analyses indicate that there was no problematic multi-collinearity between the variables: All VIF-values were smaller than 5. Finally, we examine the robustness of our results across the ethnic groups in additional analyses in which we included the relevant interaction terms.

Results

Preliminary findings

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations of the independent variables. In addition, zero-order correlations between all variables are included in Appendix 1.

TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

The ethnic group differences in warmth of the parent-child relationship in adolescence, in transnational family contact, and in current family warmth were significant but relatively small. The Turkish-Dutch and the Moroccan-Dutch visit their relatives in the country of origin more often, speak Dutch with their relatives less often and have lower educated parents, than the Surinamese-Dutch and the Antillean-Dutch. The ethnic group differences in transnational support showed that the Antillean-Dutch reported a lower level than the other three groups. The Turkish-Dutch showed the strongest socio-cultural maintenance attitude ($M=3.97$), followed by the Moroccan-Dutch ($M=3.73$), the Surinamese-

Dutch (M=3.20), and the Antillean-Dutch (M=2.84). A Bonferroni test showed that all the differences between the four groups were significant ($p < .01$).

For socio-cultural adaptation, the Antillean-Dutch showed the highest scores (M=3.49), followed by the Surinamese-Dutch (M=3.46), the Turkish-Dutch (M=2.86), and the Moroccan-Dutch (M=2.83). Except for the difference between the Moroccan-Dutch and the Turkish-Dutch, and the difference between the Surinamese-Dutch and the Antillean-Dutch, all other four mean scores on socio-cultural adaptation differed significantly ($p < .01$).

The correlation between socio-cultural maintenance attitude and socio-cultural adaptation attitude is .09 for the Moroccan-Dutch, -.12 for the Turkish-Dutch, -.03 for the Antillean-Dutch, and .02 for the Surinamese-Dutch³. None of the correlations is significant ($p < .05$).

Socio-cultural maintenance attitude

TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE

Model 1 in Table 2 shows that respondents with higher education and those who attend religious services less often, endorse socio-cultural maintenance less strongly than respondents with lower levels of education and those who attend religious services more often. Gender, age and employment status are not related to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance. In addition, Dutch language proficiency is negatively related to socio-cultural maintenance, whereas length of residence and generational status were not associated with socio-cultural maintenance. Immigrants who perceive the country of residence as being more accepting have lower endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance. Overall, the explained variance of the model is substantial ($R^2 = .36$). Mill's Lambda is not related to socio-cultural maintenance. Thus, those who were less likely to respond in the second wave do not appear to differ in their attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance from those who were more likely to respond.

Parental characteristics are introduced in the second model. Confirming hypotheses one and two, both parental education and parent-child warmth are related to socio-cultural maintenance. The higher educated one's parents, the lower the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance. A relatively warm parental bond in adolescence is related to higher levels of socio-cultural maintenance. In the second model, the effects of the individual characteristics remain largely the same.

In line with hypotheses 3 to 6, model 3 indicates that family relationships in adulthood are important for the socio-cultural maintenance attitude. The inclusion of the current family characteristics increases the explained variance to .43. All five family indicators are significantly and independently related to socio-cultural maintenance. Contact with relatives in the Netherlands is positively associated with the socio-cultural maintenance attitude. For transnational family relationships, both support and family contact relate positively to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance. In addition, a Dutch speaking family context is associated with a less positive attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance. Family warmth is positively related to cultural maintenance attitude. However, after the inclusion of family warmth, the effect of the warmth of the parental bond in adolescence is no longer significant.

Socio-cultural adaptation attitude

In Table 3 the results are presented of the regression analyses for the endorsement of socio-cultural adaptation.

TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE

Model 1 shows that age is positively and religious attendance is negatively related to socio-cultural adaptation. Further, females are less inclined to endorse socio-cultural adaptation. For the structural variables the analysis reveals that employment status is not related to socio-cultural adaptation, whereas education is positively associated with socio-

cultural adaptation. The perceived acceptance of the country of residence is positively associated with the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. Similar to socio-cultural maintenance, Mill's Lambda is not related to socio-cultural adaptation.

Further, in Model 2, a warm and loving relationship with the parents in adolescence is positively related to the endorsement of socio-cultural adaptation (H2). Furthermore, there is a significant and positive association between parental education and the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. Immigrants with higher educated parents show higher endorsement of socio-cultural adaptation (H1).

The third model includes the current family relationships and the explained variance in the full model is .29. Neither family contact in the Netherlands nor family warmth are significantly associated with the socio-cultural adaptation attitude. In addition, both measures of transnational family relationships – giving support and family contact – are unrelated to the endorsement of socio-cultural adaptation. However, in addition to the respondents' own Dutch language proficiency, the degree to which they speak Dutch with their relatives is independently and positively related to the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation (H6). After including our measures of the current family relationships, the effect of parental education is no longer significant.

Additional analyses

Additional analyses were performed to examine the robustness of our findings (available upon request). To investigate whether family characteristics matter in a similar way across the four immigrant groups, we included interactions between the (seven) family variables and ethnic background in predicting the two dependent variables. That means that we tested 84 interaction terms in total: for each analysis a comparison of four interaction terms between a family variable and ethnic group. The results do not indicate systematic differences between the ethnic groups in the effects of the family variables on the two acculturation attitudes. There were only three significant interaction effects. The effect of transnational support on the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation is somewhat weaker ($p = .04$) among the Turkish-

Dutch than the Moroccan-Dutch. In addition, the positive association between transnational family support and socio-cultural maintenance attitude is weaker for the Moroccan-Dutch than for the Antillean-Dutch ($p = .01$), and for the Surinamese-Dutch ($p = .02$). However, we have to be cautious with the interpretation of these significant interactions because the large number of statistical tests increases the chance of type I statistical errors.

Discussion

We examined the role of family life for adults' acculturation attitudes among the four main immigrant groups in the Netherlands. We focused on parental characteristics and on current family relationship in the Netherlands and in the country of origin.

First, within none of the four immigrant groups, socio-cultural maintenance and socio-cultural adaptation were significantly related. This supports previous studies that conceptualize these two dimensions of acculturation attitudes as independent (see Sam and Berry 2006). Individual migrants can maintain their ethnic culture and contact with co-ethnics even when they adapt culturally and socially to the new society.

A second conclusion is that family life matters for both attitudes, but not to the same degree. Family life is more strongly related to the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance than the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation (Sabatier 2008). The explained variance is substantially higher for the former compared to the latter attitude. This indicates that family relationships are particularly important for the continuation of ethnic culture and social contacts with co-ethnics (Van de Vijver and Phalet 2004).

A third conclusion is that different aspects of family life matter for the attitude towards *socio-cultural maintenance*. It turned out that all measured aspects had an independent significant association with this attitude. The family relationships in both adolescence and in adult life, as well as transnational family relations were related to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance. Thus, cohesive, warm and supportive family relations provide a source for immigrants in the transmission and continuation of their ethnic culture and belonging (Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 2006). The family is an important link to

one's culture and positive parental and family relationships make people more responsive to social influences. The finding that transnational family contact and support are related to the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance support the proposition that many immigrants remain influenced by social networks and relationships that stretch across national borders (Levitt and Schiller 2004). The use of the Dutch language within one's family and parental education showed negative associations with the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance. This indicates that immigrants from families that are more integrated in Dutch society are less in favor of maintaining their own culture.

The fourth conclusion is that the current family cohesion, warmth and support are not related to the endorsement of *socio-cultural adaptation*. That means that these aspects of family life do not constitute an obstacle for the orientation on the host society. This is an important finding because in the Dutch public debate it is often argued that family relationships, and particularly relationships with relatives in the country of origin, hamper immigrants' integration and orientation on the Netherlands. It can be argued, however, that these aspects of family life also are not a steppingstone for integration because they do not contribute to a more favorable attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation.

However, it turned out that the warmth of the parent-child bond in the adolescence period was positively associated with the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. This finding supports the reasoning that parental warmth and affection stimulates the development of feelings of security, self-confidence, and generalized trust (Glanville and Paxton 2007). These feelings inhibit a 'closed' in-group orientation and facilitate adjustments to novel and unfamiliar settings (Chen et al. 2000). Thus, our study shows that parental warmth in one's formative years matters for the importance attached to the endorsement of socio-cultural adaptation. When we took the current family relationships (e.g. family warmth) into account, parental warmth was no longer significantly related to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance.

The most important factor for the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation was the use of the Dutch language within one's family. Independently of the respondents' Dutch

language proficiency, it turned out that immigrants from families that more often speak Dutch among each other, endorse the importance of socio-cultural adaptation more strongly. Language proficiency is a crucial factor in the adaptation and integration of immigrants and the family is of key importance for the language acquisition of immigrant children (Chiswick and Miller 2001). Our study shows that the language usage within the current family also plays a role in the attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. Dutch language usage within the family probably reflects the acculturation orientation of the family context.

A fifth conclusion is that the perceived acceptance of immigrants by the host society matters for both acculturation attitudes, independently of the other factors and variables (Bourhis et al. 2007). The perception of a more accepting society was associated with a less strong endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance and a more positive attitude towards socio-cultural adaptation. Two other noteworthy results are the associations of the own Dutch language proficiency and of the regular attendance of religious services. Being more fluent in the Dutch language was associated with a less positive attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance and a more positive socio-cultural adaptation attitude. Thus, being able to use the Dutch language is closely related to the orientation on the culture of the host society. The result for religion shows that immigrants who more often attend religious services are more strongly oriented on their ethnic culture and less on socio-cultural adaptation. Together with findings of other studies this indicates that religion can stimulate an in-group orientation and can act as a barrier to socio-cultural integration in the Netherlands which is one of the most secular countries in the world (Te Grotenhuis and Scheepers 2001; Van Tubergen 2007).

A last result that we like to mention refers to the ethnic group differences and similarities. As could be expected, the two former colonial groups of Surinamese-Dutch and Antillean-Dutch were more likely to endorse socio-cultural adaptation than the labor migrants from Morocco and Turkey. The opposite result was found for the attitude towards socio-cultural maintenance. This means that the former two groups are very similar in their acculturation attitudes and differ in their attitudes from the latter two groups that also tend to have similar views. However, it should be noted that the ethnic group differences decreased

substantially when we took the individual and family characteristics into account. Thus part of the ethnic group differences were due to, for example, Turkish-Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch participants speaking less often Dutch with their relatives, being less educated and having lower educated parents. In addition, we found hardly any evidence for ethnic group differences in the associations between the family characteristics and the acculturation attitudes. Although we have to be careful with our interpretation because the sample size was not very large, these findings suggest the general importance of immigrants' family life for their acculturation attitudes.

In evaluating the present results some limitations have to be considered. We focused on the prediction of acculturation attitudes but some of the relationships might be bidirectional (Smokowski et al. 2008). In this study no repeated measurements of acculturation attitudes were available. Thus, we could not assess the causal relationship between family relationships and acculturation attitudes. We note, however, that most of the indicators of family relationships refer to the warmth and cohesion within the family prior to the measurement of current acculturation attitudes. For instance, the warmth of the parent-child bond in adolescence, the number of past transnational family contacts, and the frequency of family contacts in the Netherlands during the 12 months prior to the time of interview.

When immigrants turn away from their ethnic culture this might create an acculturation gap within families that can lead to conflicts, which, in turn, are likely to affect the warmth and cohesiveness of the family relationships (Sam and Virta 2003). Additionally, the importance of family relationships can be an expression of cultural maintenance, for instance when family cohesion is a core value of the ethnic culture (Umaña-Taylor et al. 2009). However, we found similar associations for the four immigrant groups that clearly differ in the importance attached to family integrity (SCP 2009). Still, future longitudinal studies are needed to examine the relationships in more detail

We studied the family as a single context but research has shown that family influences on acculturation outcomes can differ for particular family members. For instance,

Chen and colleagues (2000) and Sabatier (2008) found that the contribution of fathers and mothers to acculturation outcomes can be different. Furthermore, the relationship with one's partner might be particularly important for the acculturation attitude of immigrants (Polek and Schoon 2008). In addition, family processes might differ for those born and raised in the Netherlands compared to those socialized in the country of (ethnic) origin. Our sample was too small to investigate this possibility. In addition, the relatively small number of second generation immigrants meant that we could not examine the extent to which ethnic and cultural socialization practices persist throughout adult life.

In conclusion, acculturation is not only an individual matter or task but also involves one's family (e.g. Cort 2009; Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Controlling statistically for a range of factors, we have shown that family life in the country of residence and in the host country are related to the endorsement of socio-cultural maintenance and, to a lesser extent, to the attitude towards social-cultural adaptation. The findings improve our understanding of the ways in which past and current family relationships contribute to the acculturation process of immigrants.

Notes

- [1] More detailed information on the Heckman procedure is available upon request from the first author.
- [2] Most variables, including the two acculturation attitudes, had no missing values, whereas the variable *Family contacts in the Netherlands* (19 per cent), *Warmth of the parent-child bond* (16 per cent) and *Family warmth* (13 per cent) had the highest numbers of missing values. The relatively large number of missing values for the variable *Family contacts in the Netherlands* is mainly due to the fact that these, mostly first generation, immigrants, had no family members living in the Netherlands. The latter two variables were asked in the self-completion questionnaire.
- [3] The correlation between socio-cultural maintenance and socio-cultural adaptation attitude in the total sample is $-.22$ (see Appendix 1), which is due to the ethnic group differences in the level of social-cultural maintenance and adaptation attitudes. Within each ethnic group, there is no significant correlation between both acculturation attitudes.

References

- Alba, R. and Nee, N. (1997) 'Rethinking assimilation theory for a new era of immigration', *International Migration Review*, 31: 826-874.
- Arends-Tóth, J. and Van de Vijver, F.J.R. (2008) 'Family relationships among immigrants and majority members in the Netherlands: The role of acculturation', *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 57: 466-487.
- Bengtson, V.L. and Roberts, R.E.L. (1991) 'Intergenerational solidarity in aging families: An example of formal theory construction', *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53(4): 856-870.
- Berry, J.W. (1997) 'Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation', *Applied Psychology*, 46(1): 5-34.
- Berry, J.W., Kim, U., Power, S., Young, M. and Bujaki, M. (1989) 'Acculturation attitudes in plural societies', *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 38: 185-206.
- Bourhis, R.Y., Moïse, L.C., Perreault, S. and Senécal, S. (1997) 'Towards an interactive acculturation model: A social psychological approach', *International Journal of Psychology*, 32(6): 369-386.

- Chen, X., Liu, M. and Li, D. (2000) 'Parental warmth, control, and indulgence and their relations to adjustment in Chinese children: A longitudinal study', *Journal of Family Psychology*, 14: 401-419.
- Chiswick, B.R. and Miller, P.W. (2001) 'A model of destination-language acquisition: Application to male immigrants in Canada', *Demography*, 38: 391-409.
- Cort, D.A. (2009) 'What happened to familial acculturation?', *Ethnic and Racial studies*, 28(4): 313-335.
- Demo, D.H. and Hughes, M. (1990) 'Socialization and racial identity among black Americans', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 53(4): 364-374.
- Doohan, E.-A. M., Carrère, S., Siler, C. and Beardslee, C. (2009) 'The link between the marital bond and future triadic family interactions', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71: 892-904.
- Dykstra, P.A., Kalmijn, M., Knijn, T.C.M., Komter, A.E., Liefbroer, A.C. and Mulder, C.H. (2005) *Codebook of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study: A Multi-actor, Multi-method Panel Study on Solidarity in Family Relationships, Wave 1*. The Hague: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.
- Dykstra, P.A., Kalmijn, M., Knijn, T.C.M., Komter, A.E., Liefbroer, A. C. and Mulder, C.H. (2007) *Codebook of the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study: A Multi-actor, Multi-method Panel study on Solidarity in Family Relationships, Wave 2*. Den Haag: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.
- Glanville, J.L. and Paxton, P. (2007) 'How do we learn to trust? A confirmatory tetrad analysis of the sources of generalized trust', *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 70(3): 230-242.
- Gordon, M.M. (1964) *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heckman, J.J. (1979) 'Sample selection bias as a specification error', *Econometrica*, 47: 153-161.

- Huijnk, W., Verkuyten, M. and Coenders, M. (2010) 'Intermarriage attitude among ethnic minority and majority groups in the Netherlands: The role of family relations and immigrant characteristics', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*.
- Jaspers, E., Lubbers, M. and De Vries, J. (2008) 'Parents, children and the distance between them: Long term socialization effects in the Netherlands', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 39: 39-58.
- Kalmijn, M. and Van Tubergen, F. (2006) 'Ethnic intermarriage in the Netherlands: Confirmations and refutations of accepted insights', *European Journal of Population*, 22: 371-397.
- Levitt, P. and Glick Schiller, N. (2004) 'Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society', *International Migration Review*, 38: 595-629.
- Mikulincer, M. and Shaver, P.R. (2001) 'Attachment theory and intergroup bias: Evidence that priming the secure base schema attenuates negative reactions to out-groups', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 81: 97-115.
- Nauck, B. (2001) 'Intercultural contact and intergenerational transmission in immigrant families', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(2): 159-173.
- Pfafferott, I. and Brown, R. (2006) 'Acculturation preferences of majority and minority adolescents in Germany in the context of society and family', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30: 703-717.
- Phinney, J.S., Romero, I., Nava, M. and Huang, D. (2001) 'The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigration families', *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30: 135-153.
- Polek, E. and I. Schoon (2008) 'The sociocultural adaptation of Polish brides in the Netherlands: Marital and occupational status', *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 39(3): 353-370.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L.E. and Landolt, P. (1999) 'The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field', *Ethnic and Racial studies*, 22(2): 217-237.

- Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R.G. (2001) *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Portes, A. and Rumbaut, R.G. (2006) *Immigrant America: A Portrait (3rd edition)*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Reynolds, T. (2006) 'Caribbean families, social capital and young people's diasporic identities', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 29: 1087-1103.
- Rudmin, F.W. (2003) 'Critical history of the acculturation psychology of assimilation, separation, integration, and marginalization', *Review of General Psychology*, 7: 3-37.
- Rudmin, F.W. (2009) 'Constructs, measurements and models of acculturation and acculturative stress', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 33: 106-123.
- Rumbaut, R. (1994) 'The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants', *International Migration Review*, 18: 748-794.
- Ryan, L., Sales, R., Tilki, M. and Siara, B. (2009) 'Family Strategies and Transnational Migration: Recent Polish Migrants in London', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35(1): 61-77.
- Sabatier, C. (2008) 'Ethnic and national identity among second-generation immigrant adolescents in France: The role of social context and family', *Journal of Adolescence*, 31: 185-205.
- Sam, D.L. and Berry, J.W. (2006). *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sam, D.L. and Virta, E. (2003) 'Intergenerational value discrepancies in immigrant and host-national families and their impact on psychological adaptation', *Journal of Adolescence*, 26(2): 213-231.
- Schönpflug, U. (2001) 'Intergenerational transmission of values. The role of transmission belts', *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32: 174-185.
- SCP (2009) *Jaarrapport Integratie 2009*. The Hague: Social and Cultural Planning Office.

- Slonim-Nevo, V., Mirsky, J., Rubinstein, L. and Nauck, B. (2009) 'The impact of familial and environmental factors on the adjustment of immigrants. A longitudinal study', *Journal of Family Issues*, 30(1): 92-123.
- Smokowski, P.R., Rose, R. and Bacallao, M.L. (2008) 'Acculturation and Latino family processes: How cultural involvement, biculturalism, and acculturation gaps influence family dynamics', *Family Relations*, 57: 295-308.
- Steenkamp, J.-B.E.M. and Baumgartner, H. (1998) 'Assessing measurement invariance in cross-national consumer research', *The Journal of Consumer Research*, 25(1): 78-90.
- Stephan, W.G. and Finlay, K. (1999) 'The role of empathy in improving intergroup relations', *Journal of Social Issues*, 55(4): 729-743.
- Te Grotenhuis, M.T. and Scheepers, P. (2001) 'Churches in Dutch: Causes of Religious Disaffiliation in the Netherlands, 1937-1995', *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 40(4): 591-606.
- Tyler, T.R., Boeckmann, R.J., Smith, H.J. and Huo, Y. (1997) *Social justice in a diverse society*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Umaña-Taylor, A.J., Alfaro, E.C., Bámaca, M.Y. and Guimond, A.B. (2009) 'The central role of familial ethnic socialization in Latino Adolescents' cultural orientation', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 71: 46-60.
- Van de Vijver, F.J.R. and Phaet, K. (2004) 'Assessment in multicultural groups: The role of acculturation', *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 53(2): 215-236.
- Van Tubergen, F. (2007) 'Religious affiliation and participation among immigrants in a secular society: A study of immigrants in the Netherlands', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33: 747-765.
- Vollebergh, W.A.M., Iedema, J. and Raaijmakers, Q.A.W. (2001) 'Intergenerational transmission and formation of cultural orientations in adolescence and young adulthood', *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 63: 1185-1198.

- Ward, C. and Kennedy, A. (1993) 'Psychological and socio-cultural adjustment during cross-cultural transitions: A comparison of secondary students overseas and at home', *International Journal of Psychology*, 28(2): 129 - 147.
- Wilson, J.W. and Constantine, M.G. (1999) 'Racial identity attitudes, self-concept, and perceived family cohesion in black college students', *Journal of Black Studies*, 29(3): 354-366.
- Wood, W. (2000) 'Attitude change: Persuasion and social influence', *Annual Review of Psychology*, 51: 539 - 570.
- Zhou, M. (1997) 'Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation', *International Migration Review*, 31(4): 975-1008.
- Zhou, M. and Bankston, C.L. (1998) *Growing up American: How Vietnamese children adapt to life in the United States*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Zontini, E. (2007) 'Continuity and change in transnational Italian families: The caring practices of second-generation women', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33(7): 1103-1119

Table 1: Descriptives of the variables by ethnic group (N=653)

	Range	Turkish (n=196)		Moroccan (n=116)		Surinamese (n=175)		Antillean (n=166)		<i>Eta</i>
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
		<hr/>								
Acculturation attitudes										
Socio-cultural maintenance	1-5	3.97	.70	3.73	.61	3.20	.89	2.84	.81	.51***
Socio-cultural adaptation	1-5	2.86	.63	2.83	.74	3.46	.72	3.49	.71	.42***
Individual variables										
Female	0-1	.46		.51		.66		.48		.17***
Education	0-7	2.62	1.86	2.19	2.24	3.95	1.91	4.40	1.77	.42***
Religious attendance	0-3	.90	1.06	1.19	1.17	.74	1.22	.94	1.00	.13**
Age	21-82	41.85	10.74	45.47	14.27	47.67	11.63	42.80	12.81	.19***
Employment status	0-1	.50		.34		.59		.68		.24***
Second generation	0-1	.18		.18		.29		.21		.11*
Dutch language proficiency	1-3	2.08	.71	2.07	.79	2.88	.25	2.89	.31	.57***
Length of residence	5-76	23.42	8.36	24.40	9.62	30.32	11.25	23.37	9.68	.29***
Perceived acceptance	1-5	2.74	.61	3.33	.66	3.32	.68	3.22	.68	.36***
Family variables										
Warmth of parent-child bond	1-5	3.77	.71	3.56	.76	3.60	.90	3.47	.91	.17***
Parental education	0-6	.37	.97	.27	.86	1.53	1.93	2.47	1.80	.51***
Family contacts in the Netherlands	1-7	4.98	1.56	4.94	1.37	4.54	1.42	4.02	1.25	.25***
Transnational family contacts	1-5	3.49	.76	3.43	.84	2.21	1.06	2.30	1.03	.55***
Transnational support	0-1	.24		.29		.35		.10		.22***
Family warmth	1-5	4.17	.65	3.95	.55	3.87	.86	3.89	.88	.19***
Host language usage within family	1-3	1.41	.44	1.55	.53	2.64	.69	2.16	.51	.68***

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study

Table 2 Family relationships and socio-cultural maintenance (N= 653)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	SE B	B	SE B	B	SE B
Individual						
Ethnic background (Antillean=ref)						
Moroccan	.63***	.10	.49***	.11	.26*	.11
Turk	.83***	.10	.67***	.11	.38***	.11
Surinamese	.43***	.08	.34***	.08	.40***	.09
Education	-.06**	.02	-.04**	.02	-.05**	.02
Age	-.00	.00	-.01	.00	-.01	.00
Female	-.02	.06	.01	.06	-.02	.06
Religious attendance	.11***	.03	.11***	.03	.09***	.03
Employment status	-.09	.07	-.08	.07	-.10	.06
Dutch language proficiency	-.13*	.06	-.17**	.06	-.11*	.06
Length of residence	-.01	.00	-.00	.00	-.00	.00
Second generation	-.17	.11	-.11	.11	-.06	.11
Perceived acceptance	-.13**	.04	-.13**	.04	-.11**	.04
Parents						
Warmth of parent-child bond			.14***	.04	.06	.04
Parental education			-.06**	.02	-.04*	.02
Current family relations						
Family contacts in the Netherlands					.05*	.02
Transnational family contacts					.08**	.03
Transnational support					.16**	.07
Family warmth					.12***	.04
Host language usage within the family					-.24***	.06
Mills						
Intercept	4.23		3.89		3.63	
R ²	.36		.38		.43	

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study Note. B = regression coefficient;

S.E. = standard error, *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (one-tailed tests)

Table 3 Family relationships and socio-cultural adaptation (N= 653)

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	B	SE B	B	SE B	B	SE B
Individual						
Ethnic background (Antillean=ref)						
Moroccan	-.45***	.10	-.38***	.11	-.36***	.12
Turk	-.28**	.09	-.23**	.09	-.17*	.11
Surinamese	-.03	.08	-.02	.08	-.14*	.09
Education	.04*	.02	.03	.02	.03	.02
Age	.01**	.00	.01**	.00	.01**	.00
Female	-.11*	.06	-.09	.06	-.10*	.06
Religious attendance	-.06**	.02	-.06**	.02	-.06**	.02
Employment status	.03	.06	.04	.06	.03	.06
Dutch language proficiency	.20***	.06	.22***	.06	.15**	.06
Length of residence	-.00	.00	-.00	.00	-.01*	.00
Second generation	.11	.10	.10	.11	.09	.11
Perceived acceptance	.20***	.04	.20***	.04	.19***	.04
Parents						
Warmth of parent-child bond			.09**	.04	.08*	.04
Parental education			.04**	.02	.02	.02
Current family relations						
Family contacts in the Netherlands					.02	.02
Transnational family contacts					-.01	.03
Transnational family support					-.01	.06
Family warmth					.03	.04
Host language usage within the family					.23***	.06
Mills						
Intercept	1.78		1.36		.97	
R ²	.26		.27		.29	

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study Note. B = regression coefficient;

S.E. = standard error, *p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001 (one-tailed tests)

Appendix 1: Correlations between independent variables and acculturation attitudes (N= 653)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
1. Female	-																
2. Education	-.03~	-															
3. Religious attendance	-.09	-.20	-														
4. Age	-.09	-.29	.18	-													
5. Employment status	-.22	.31	-.05	-.31	-												
6. Second generation	ns	.26	-.22	-.38	.13	-											
7. Dutch language proficiency	-ns	.58	-.16	-.20	.29	.31	-										
8. Length of residence	-.06	.03~	-.13	.44	-.06	.35	.18	-									
9. Perceived acceptance	.07	ns	ns	.07	-.03~	.07	.14	.10	-								
10. Warmth of parent-child bond	-.12	-.05	.05	.07	-.03~	-.14	-.10	-.08	-.05	-							
11. Parental education	ns	.50	-.13	-.20	.21	.28	.36	.12	.11	-.06	-						
12. Family warmth	-.05	ns	ns	-.05	.03~	-.09	-.06	-.10	-.11	.41	ns	-					
13. Family contacts Netherlands	.07	-.04	.10	-.15	ns	.05	-.04	ns	ns	.14	-.07	.23	-				
14. Transnational family contacts	-.05	-.17	.11	ns	-.10	-.16	-.33	-.18	-.14	.20	-.28	.23	.21	-			
15. Transnational family support	ns	ns	.09	ns	.08	-.03~	ns	-.04	-.07	.08	-.08	.03~	.08	.17	-		
16. Language usage family	.08	.46	-.18	-.09	.22	.36	.64	.33	.20	-.12	.47	-.15	-.11	-.44	ns	-	
17. Socio-cultural maintenance	ns	-.38	.21	.04	-.18	-.20	-.44	-.17	-.22	.21	-.40	.24	.22	.39	.16	-.48	-
18. Socio-cultural adaptation	-.05	.29	-.13	.04	.13	.09	.39	.11	.25	.05	.29	ns	-.05	-.23	-.04	.41	-.22

Source: Netherlands Kinship Panel Study

Note. $p < .01$ for all correlations, except ~ $p < .05$ and ns = not significant ($p > .05$)